CULTURAL DRAG: THEORIZING THE PERFORMANCES OF NON-NATIVE SPANISH TEACHERS' LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL IDENTITIES

by

JENNIFER A. WOOTEN

(Under the Direction of Melisa Cahnmann-Taylor)

ABSTRACT

This qualitative study uses a methodology of performance to investigate how nine non-native teachers of Spanish in grades 6-16 in Georgia public schools construct and perform their second language identities. Specifically, the study employs the concept of *cultural drag* to consider how these non-native teachers of Spanish often perform as, or are expected by others to perform as, members of the cultures they teach (i.e, native speakers of Spanish). Similar to gender drag, cultural drag involves members of one group assuming characteristics of another, and here refers to non-native teachers' assumption of characteristics of native speakers of Spanish.

Organized in a manuscript format, the first article of this dissertation draws on Butler's theory of performativity to establish the theoretical underpinnings of cultural drag. I then illustrate the characteristics of cultural drag – desire, action, revelation, and proliferation – by analyzing three language memoirs. The second manuscript further elaborates on cultural drag, now applied to study data. I examine the contradictory and ambivalent statements and actions that participants enacted related to their second language identities during individual interviews and performance-based focus groups informed by Boal's theatrical techniques. The third manuscript focuses on one element of cultural drag, revelation. I further describe my use of

Boal's Forum Theatre, choosing to look concretely at how study participants acted out against being positioned as non-native speakers in the presence of school administrators when being a non-native speaker was interpreted as a professional liability.

Analyses in these articles indicated that language learners / teachers deeply invested in their second language identities struggled with feelings of illegitimacy when caught in the native speaker / non-native speaker binary that privileges the native speaker and undergirds foreign language education. They felt empowered, though, when they questioned the validity of the ideal native speaker and focused on their abilities as *both* Spanish language users *and* English language users, amongst other identities. This project, then, moved from the personal experiences of the teacher-participants as related to their language learning and pedagogical practices to the interrogation of imitating, or performing as, the "native speaker" as the foundation of foreign language education.

INDEX WORDS: Foreign Language Education, Non-Native Teachers, Linguistic and Cultural Identities, Cultural Drag, Judith Butler, Performativity, Focus Groups, Arts-Based Educational Research, Augusto Boal, Theatre of the Oppressed

CULTURAL DRAG: THEORIZING THE PERFORMANCES OF NON-NATIVE SPANISH TEACHERS' LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL IDENTITIES

by

JENNIFER A. WOOTEN

B.A., Stetson University, 1997

M.A., The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2000

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2010

© 2010

Jennifer A. Wooten

All Rights Reserved

CULTURAL DRAG: THEORIZING THE PERFORMANCES OF NON-NATIVE SPANISH TEACHERS' LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL IDENTITIES

by

JENNIFER A. WOOTEN

Major Professor: Melisa Cahnmann-Taylor

Committee Members: Victoria Hasko
Lesley Feracho
Corey Johnson
Elizabeth St.Pierre

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
July 2010

DEDICATION

For my parents, Bob and Joyce Wooten, who have supported me in every way imaginable, always.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The first act of this dissertation was performed over thirty years ago when I began learning Spanish at Little Rascal's preschool in Zephyrhills, Florida. I'm thankful to all those who have since supported my life and career in Spanish, and most especially those who made this dissertation with non-native teachers of Spanish possible.

I would like to thank Dr. Melisa Cahnmann-Taylor for being an incredible major professor who introduced me to Boalian theatrical techniques, urged me to sharpen my critical eye, and always thought the best of me. Misha, your collaborative spirit and enthusiasm for the field of language education are inspiring, and I hope to be the amazing mentor to students that you have been to me! I would also like to thank the members of my doctoral committee for their unwavering support and encouragement. To Dr. Elizabeth St.Pierre, I am so grateful to have started my doctoral studies with you. I can't imagine not having had "Read! Read! Get smart!" reverberate in my brain over the past five years. To Dr. Lesley Feracho, *gracias* for office chats that seemed breezy at the time but still have me thinking. To Dr. Victoria Hasko, thank you for always projecting a calm, cool, and collected vibe that I called on when in a tizzy. And, finally, to Dr. Corey Johnson, thanks for the road trip through Judith Butler and David Sedaris, drag queens, and keeping it (i.e., my voice) "real."

I would also like to thank the generous readers of the many versions of this project, including Dr. JoBeth Allen and writing retreat colleagues in QUAL 8750 in Amicalola and Unicoi State Parks. Also, members of the Translingual Writing Group both pushed me to write harder and patted me on the back for good writing – and always knew which I needed at the time. Dr. Karen Braxley was also amazingly perceptive in knowing what would help me write

my very best. Thank you, Karen, for taking such care with the texts I sent you each week. Janay Crabtree, my "writing buddy," read every single piece of this dissertation project, from notes on scraps of paper to conference papers to chapter and article drafts. I'm so glad we could not only finish up our dissertations together, but have a mighty fine time doing it, too!

I also appreciate the moral support of Bridgette Gunnels, Betsy Sandlin, and Susan Nordstrom. I've been lucky to make good friends at every stage of my life, but I am blessed to have met lifelong friends like you during my graduate programs. To Bridgette and Betsy, my sisters in UNC's "Spanish Trinity," thank you for encouraging me to join the PhD Club, making me feel lighter when things got heavy, and reminding me of what's important. To Susan, thanks for daily phone calls, dinners at The Grit, care packages, and being a kindred spirit. You are, as you know, a rock star!

But the true VIPs of this project are the nine non-native teachers of Spanish who signed on to a project with "drag" in the title that asked them to play, move, and act in front of others. I appreciated how open you all were in sharing your experiences with me and the other members of our group with words and actions, how you jumped into the theatrical space with the vigor of seasoned actors, how you questioned your actions and those of their colleagues to try to make sense of what the terms *non-native*, *teacher*, and *Spanish* mean, and how you reached beyond those terms. I am indebted to you all for investing your time and energy in this research.

Finally, I must recognize that this research project would not have been possible without a RED Seed Grant from the Center for Research & Engagement in Diversity and an ICE grant from Ideas for Creative Exploration, both at the University of Georgia. Amy Roeder, my collaborator in the ICE grant, was wonderful in the study's performance-based focus groups!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS…………………………………………………………………...v

LIST OF FIGURES……………………………………………………………………......x

POETIC PREFACE: DISSERTATION HAIKU…………………………………………......xi

CHAPTER

1 ENTER THE CULTURAL DRAG QUEEN, OR HOW AND WHY

THIS STUDY CAME TO BE……...………………………………………......1

Playing "Spanish" to the Hilt……………………………………………….......1

Cultural Drag, or Acting Like the Native Speaker…………………………......5

Statement of the Problem and Study Research Questions……………………15

The Show to Come: An Overview of Contents………………………………17

2 CULTURAL DRAG, OR PERFORMING THE NATIVE SPEAKER

IN LANGUAGE MEMOIRS…………………………………………………20

Abstract………………………………………………………………………..21

Introduction……………………………………………………………………22

Theorizing Cultural Drag: Identities as Performatively Realized……………..24

Cultural Drag in Language Memoirs…………………………………………32

Lessons Learned from Language Memoirs, or Cultural Drag as Pedagogy…..48

References……………………………………………………………………..51

3 A CONSTANT RACE TO PERFECTION?: THE AMBIVALENCE OF NON-NATIVE TEACHERS OF SPANISH ON "ACTING LIKE" THE NATIVE SPEAKER……….……………………………………………….56

Abstract…………………….……………………………………………….57

Impossible Goal, Real Effects: Spanish Teachers and the Native / Non-Native Binary……………………………………………………………….58

Performing Identities: Performance as Theory and Method…..……..………..60

Contradiction and Ambivalence in the Performances of Non-Native Teachers of Spanish…………………………………………………...68

"That's Identity! We are Contradictions!": Ambivalence, Contradiction, and Cultural Drag as Pedagogy……………………………………..85

References……………………………………………………..……………91

4 FIGHTING BACK AGAINST THE REVEAL: SPANISH TEACHERS PERFORM *NON-NATIVE SPEAKERNESS* IN VIEW OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS…………………………………………………………94

Abstract…………………………………………………………………..95

Not Knowing, or How Non-Native Speakers Become Visible…….……….....96

Setting the Scene, or Performance as Methodology…………….………….....99

Changing the Script in "Insufficient Funds": Non-Native Teachers of Spanish Act Out…………………………………………………...104

From Acting Up to Acting With: Conclusions on Non-Native Speakerness from Forum Theatre…………………………………………………….124

References…………………….…………………………………………...128

5 EXIT THE CULTURAL DRAG QUEEN: PRESENT CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS…………………..…………………………..……..132

Present Conclusions……………………………………………………..……132

Future Directions……………………………………………………..……135

REFERENCES……………………..…..………………………………………………………144

APPENDICES

A INTERVIEW #1 GUIDE (SAMPLE)…………………….……………………154

B PERFORMANCE-BASED FOCUS GROUP #1 AGENDA…..………………..156

C PERFORMANCE-BASED FOCUS GROUP #2 AGENDA…..…………………160

LIST OF FIGURES

Page

Figure 1.1: Areas of inquiry informing this study……………………………………………......18

Figure 3.1: Table of study participants…….…….…………………………………………..…..65

Figure 4.1: Forum Theatre model employed in PBFGs……….……………………………..…101

Figure 4.2: Antagonists of the teacher-protagonists……………………………………………102

Figure 4.3: Images of "Rashomon" technique…………………………………………………....116

Figure 5.1: Table of future study-based conferences and publications………………………...140

POETIC PREFACE: DISSERTATION HAIKU[1]

Cultural drag is

performing like the other

to become new *yous*.

---

[1] Wooten, J.A. To be submitted to Dissertation Haiku, (http://dissertationhaiku.wordpress.com/).

CHAPTER ONE

ENTER THE CULTURAL DRAG QUEEN, OR HOW AND WHY THIS STUDY CAME TO BE

Playing “Spanish” to the Hilt

“Ladies and gentlemen, welcome to the First Annual Drag Show to benefit the GLBTSA. That’s the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender, Straight Alliance for those outside the glamour loop. Tonight we have some lovely ladies and one hunky man that will leave you speechless, others titillated, and a few green with envy...and for some of you green does NOT flatter! Remember, this being the first show of its kind at UNC, the ladies and our mister are paying homage to UNC and Chapel Hill people, places, and things. ARE YOU READY, CHAPEL HILL?”

I sat in the fifth row of the auditorium buoyed by the roar of the crowd cheering in response to the Mistress of Ceremony, who, in her silver-bedazzled mini dress and red pumps, was sexier than half the biological females in the audience, myself included. I was giddy from the novelty of the experience, being that it was my first drag show, and delighted to be attending at the insistent invitation of Bobby (pseudonym), a student in an introductory Spanish course I taught at the time as a graduate teaching assistant. Prior to the emcee’s rousing introduction, I did not know the theme of the event or the organization it benefited, nor did I know Bobby was at that moment backstage squeezing the fleshy body he always hid under tent-like t-shirts and sweatpants into a slim white dress shirt and a navy pencil skirt cut just to the knee. Yet even with that ensemble and the long blond wig hanging unnaturally low on his

forehead, I recognized him immediately and clapped as hard as I could when he bounced onstage twenty minutes later. I didn't grasp who he was supposed to be, but the character seemed strangely familiar as she made her way to the end of the make-shift runway.

"*Vale, chicoh'*. I am *Yen-ee-fair* [mumbled last name], a Spanish goddess. Well," he paused briefly and took a quick downward glance and sharp sigh before continuing, "maybe an American goddess who loves *eh'pañol.*"

He carried on with eyes and grin now opened widely. "*Hoy* we are going to learn *muchíííííísimo en clase y leh' va a guh'tar!*" As he told the group how much they were going to like that day's lesson, he sprayed his hands as if performing an abracadabra trick.

As English-inflected catcalls of "*¡Caliente!*" and "*¡Viva!*" reverberated through the crowd, I was stunned to see Bobby twirl back towards the stage, balancing an enormous black bag that held our textbook over his shoulder and finally yelling "*¡Fenomenal!*" over that same shoulder as he exited stage-right. Applause like fireworks erupted, short bursts of whistles followed by a crescendo of clapping from standing audience members. Still seated, I was confused. *That was me, wasn't it?* His appearance on stage lasted less than a minute, but I spent the remainder of the show replaying it in my head trying to decide what it was I recognized of myself in his performance of *Yenifer Wooten, Spanish teacher*. I imagined him speeding from the curtain on the left to the end of the catwalk, clutching the straps hanging from his shoulder with his right hand and delicately thumbing with his left the burgundy dotted neckerchief tied in a way that many Americans might identify as "European." In fact, I had to be schooled by my best friend Ana's mother in Sevilla, Spain how to fashion it because I could not unlock the secrets of how a scarf stayed snuggly wrapped with no visible knot or cowboy-like hanky points hanging limply. The scarf, like the entire ensemble, was put together with an amazing accuracy, both by

my student imitating me and myself imitating the style of Spanish women I admired while living there. The obvious strain to the buttons on Bobby's blouse, slit with two-inch wide open gaps between buttons, and the bulging belly in the skirt suggested these were not his clothes, they were a throw-on costume, but I saw myself in the tightness. As my student struggled to keep all 250 plus pounds of himself in that get-up, I too had had to squeeze my American size 12, then 10, then 8 self into Spanish clothes designed for bodies half my width and twice my length until the Mediterranean diet and all the walking around made it possible for them (and me) to fit.

But more dramatic in terms of recognizing myself in his performance was my student's language. I heard myself in each syllable from the initial use of "vale," an expression used in Spain that approximates "okay," to the Andalusian-specific aspiration, or breathy deletion, of the syllable-ending "s" throughout, to the final flourish of "¡Fenomenal!" (the Spanish equivalent of "awesome"). Though exaggerated, I could check off each linguistic element of my student's performance as echoing how I spoke in class everyday. Likewise, introducing himself to the crowd as "Yen-ee-fair [mumbled last name]" reflected my own introduction to the class on the first day of my first semester as a Spanish instructor. I explained that in Spain "Jennifer" was softened to "Yenifer" and "Wooten" was an indecipherable mess since most Spaniards didn't know what to do with the "w." I waved off my name in English, insisting students call me "Yen" or "Yenifer" because pronouncing the hard "J" of "Jennifer" would snap the spell of Spanish I wanted to cast in the classroom.

Little wonder, then, my student would pronounce himself (performing as *Yenifer Wooten, Spanish teacher*) as "a Spanish goddess. Well, maybe an American goddess who loves eh'pañol." The use of "Spanish" in the initial statement could have been read in multiple ways (e.g., "from Spain" [origins, nationality], "of Spain" [emotional or spiritual connection], or "one

who speaks Spanish" [linguistic ability]). The clarification, however, wiped away the possibility of origins and positioned *Yenifer Wooten, Spanish teacher* as a desirous subject, a non-native speaker who loves Spanish (e.g., language and/or discipline). *Yenifer Wooten* was one who could have relationships with Spaniards, dress like a Spaniard, speak like a Spaniard, and understand popular and learned cultural references like a Spaniard, all at least to some degree, but who would always be putting on a show of sorts. In other words, my student's drag performance, blown up and distorted like a funhouse mirror, allowed me to see the hyperbolic possibilities of drag for critique, but also myself as a cultural drag queen who has played "Spanish" to the hilt.

I share this story not only to acknowledge my research as "parts of my own biography" (Foucault, 1988, p. 11), but, more importantly, to highlight the performative aspect of foreign language (FL) education. I had always believed that learning how to "do" another language and its cultural practices was the basic goal of the field, and so I made myself over. Similar to the makeup drag queens use to transform themselves, I thickly slathered on the red powder base of lexical and grammatical ability, followed by the flesh colored powder of the *sevillano* accent, hues of activities to my cheeks, languid strokes of social norms to my eyelashes, and *Yenifer* on my lips. Yet despite this complex transformative process, I still didn't see myself as one in a long line of professionals in the field who rarely if ever considered how language learners imitate and emulate others, or "slip into someone else's shoes" (Kramsch, 1998, p. 80), in order to speak in and act through the language under study. Bobby's performance years ago acted as a mirror for me to reflect on how my second language identities (e.g., being a woman in Spanish, a friend in Spanish, a teacher in Spanish) had been constructed in large part through imitating (though not always exactly) the speech and acts of Spanish-speaking friends, colleagues, and strangers, as

well as how my students' identities in Spanish were impacted by how they might in turn speak and act like me (amongst other possible models).

Spurred by Bobby's portrayal of *Yenifer Wooten, Spanish teacher*, along with theoretical, empirical, and literary readings over the course of my doctoral program, I now question how critiquing the native / non-native binary through cultural drag may allow us to think differently in the field of foreign language education, especially in terms of identity in/through another language. To answer this overarching question, I conducted a qualitative study to understand how nine non-native teachers of Spanish in grades 6-16 in Georgia public schools construct and act out their second language identities guided by a methodology of performance with cultural drag as a key concept. In this chapter, I define the term *cultural drag*. First, I describe how acting like the native speaker has a normative function in the field and then situate cultural drag within a branch of recent scholarship that seeks to critically contest the monolithic view of the native speaker. Second, I list the Statement of the Problem and the Research Questions that guided this study on cultural drag. Finally, I set the stage for the work to come by providing an overview of the content of this dissertation on the linguistic and cultural identities of nine non-native teachers of Spanish.

Cultural drag, or Acting Like the Native Speaker

Cultural drag, in its widest sense, is "the 'performance' of other cultural, sociopolitical, and subjective orders such as race, class, gender, and sexuality" (Arroyo, 2002, p. 156). As I take it up in the field of language education, however, cultural drag more concretely refers to how non-native speakers assume characteristics of so-called native speakers of the language under study. Similar to gender drag (e.g., males performing as women), non-native speakers act like members of the target language culture(s) by imitating what they say and how they say it, their

cultural practices (ranging from the everyday to the ritualistic), and/or their appearance. This drag show is played out daily in foreign language classrooms, as Cummins (1998) noted:

> Donned like an exotic evening gown by the student for self-creation and expression in communicative practice, the foreign language and culture are now [in the task-based, communicative language class] identified with the learner. In effect, the student linguistically and culturally cross-dresses in the foreign language and culture. (p. 168)

Cummins, who re-viewed FL education methodologies through the lens of queer theory, linked language study to drag – and glamour drag more precisely – by equating language and culture as something that students slip on "like an exotic evening gown." While I do not agree with his reductive metaphor of drag as the putting on and taking off of layers – drag is not the simple, lighthearted affair it may appear to be, as I discuss later in this chapter – Cummins' reference to the exotic in relation to performance and identity is especially important in understanding cultural drag in foreign language education.

"Acting Like" as Target and Arrow

The reigning methodology in foreign language education in the US today, as Cummins noted, is the communicative approach. In communicative classrooms, the instructor aims to simulate an immersion experience where students use the target language to complete various linguistic and cultural tasks that may be required of them in communities where the language is spoken. Such a class, then, works to create the illusion of being "there" and mandates that students perform cultural drag. Thinking back to language classes I taught to students like Bobby, I insisted the target language be spoken almost exclusively from the very first day. I managed to stay in Spanish by miming and exaggerating actions, using images or drawing

pictures on the board, and repeating myself as much as necessary. My “drag diva” (Cummins, 1998, p. 169) performance, epitomized in the over-the-top expressions and gestures of Bobby’s performance of *Yenifer Wooten, Spanish teacher*, was meant to foster students’ comprehension in Spanish so they too could ready their own linguistic and cultural drag performances.

Students’ first turn as cultural drag queens began on the first day of the introductory course when I taught Bobby and his classmates how to greet people like they do in Spain – a soft peck in the direction of each cheek between women and women and men and a handshake between men. I introduced myself, again as Yen or Yenifer, to three or four giggling, fresh-faced girls, to two apprehensive boys, and to one overly-eager boy, all of whom had caught on to putting “Soy” (for “I’m”) in front of their names. I repeated their names *a la española* and replied how enchanted, or *encantada*, I was to meet them. Thus, I modeled two of three possibilities with students. I cringe now as I recall the third model, how I looked slowly at one man and then another standing to his left and raised both brows as if to ask them to make their introductions. They both backed away from each other playfully as some members of the class laughed, the younger student putting his hands up as if to block any potential advances from the large man in his late twenties. The older man offered his right hand, and the younger student looked to me under his shaggy blond bangs and accepted the handshake after seeing me nod and deliver a rapid firing of “sí.” Shaking hands firmly, they introduced themselves, the older man pronouncing his name in Spanish, declaring, “Soy Bobby.”

As students scattered around the room after the demonstrations, dodging old wooden desks bolted to the linoleum floor to give kisses or shake hands, they were enveloped in novelty: the new sense of space as they drew in close to a stranger; the intimacy created as they pulled away from and looked into the eyes of that no-longer-stranger; the declaration of oneself with

"soy" rather than "I'm"; and the articulation of new selves as their tongues and mouths shape-shifted to form their names differently. On that very first day, not only was the normality of something as simple as introductions made strange, but the students were also made strange to themselves as they became "a foreigner on their own turf" (Kramsch, 2003, p. 256) by speaking and acting like a Spaniard during that activity in the classroom. Over the course of the semester, other everyday objects and experiences were exoticized as students role-played as if they were, for example, catching a flight to San Juan from Miami, dining in an elegant restaurant in Buenos Aires on a date, and meeting new Spanish-speaking friends at the university bar in Madrid. While each role-play was contextualized at the lesson and unit levels, each scenario required at least one student to play the role of the native speaker interacting with the non-native speaker, who in turn was trying to be understood and fit in to that particular situation in that specific location. Students also reenacted and took part in Hispanic holidays, such as building a class *altar* to celebrate *el Día de los Muertos* (the Day of the Dead) in Mexico City, Mexico and dancing *sevillanas* to upbeat flamenco songs during *la Feria de abril* (the April Fair) in Sevilla, Spain. The lesson on *Feria* and the arts gave me the opportunity to make over my class for a day; chairs pushed aside, music blaring, I taught students who wanted to dance the basic steps of *sevillanas* and those who didn't how to clap their hands rhythmically. I had also made myself over extra that day, having shimmied in the turquoise flamenco dress I hadn't had the occasion to wear outside of the fairgrounds in Sevilla.

Such activities, suggested in FL K-16 textbooks and often exploded in today's communicative FL classrooms, attempt to simulate "authentic" situations in the cultures under study and mandate that students act like native speakers of the target language – as mediated by their instructor and/or other sources – as a means to increase their linguistic and cultural

competency. Certainly, one could dispute the authenticity of the staging of such performances, and only recently have I come to realize that Bobby's description of *Yenifer Wooten, Spanish teacher* as "an American goddess who loves *eh'pañol*" may be a commentary on the role of the teacher – especially the non-native teacher – in today's FL classroom. Like a benevolent (and perhaps overly invested) deity in classical literature, such a teacher creates situations, positions people to act and react in those situations, and thus dictates who they might be. Remembering now the set-up of so many role-play situations and other task-based activities in my Spanish classes, including the first day greetings described earlier, a pattern emerges: first, planning the activity based on the syllabus, the material in the textbook, and my intellectual and personal experiences with the topic; next, sharing with or checking students' access to any linguistic and cultural information needed to complete the activity; providing a model for the activity, which varied between media representations of native speakers and my own interpretation; and finally, evaluating student performances in terms of the successful completion of the task and the style of the performance. Style, in that context, was related to how close students got to the native speaker ideal in relation to their level. Based on where they were in their studies, did they produce any language – both in terms of usage and pronunciation – that approximated a native speaker? Did they respond in the ballpark of how a native speaker might in a similar situation? Did they act somewhat "naturally" in the context of the performance? That is, was their performance (i.e., were *they*) moving towards *nativeness* and away from an easy recognition as something other than a Spanish speaker?

Such a standard was possible; I was the proof. Through a complex series of practices, including forming intimate friendships with Spaniards, imitating as closely as possible the accents of those around me, and participating in everyday and special occasion activities I came

to consider typical while I lived in Madrid and Sevilla in Spain, I cultivated myself as one who could sometimes pass as a member of the community I had long studied in academic and immersion settings. This was the fulfillment of what I understood to be the implicit contract of foreign language education; that is, language learners approximate those they consider native speakers as closely as possible, and language learners so successful they become FL teachers then serve as models for language students like Bobby to imitate. My purpose as a FL teacher, as I interpreted it then, was to provide a space for students to "make themselves over and to pass as natives" (Kramsch & von Hoene, 2001, p. 285), as I had.

Through such *doing*, language learners create identities in the language based on the native speaker. Starkey (2007) explained:

> Learners are encouraged to identify with the community of speakers of their target language and develop a sense of belonging […] Language education potentially gives access to new identities, as it is based on the premise that core aspects of other people's identities, including their language, are cultural features that can be borrowed or acquired. (p. 56)

Language education, then, has been motivated by and perpetuated the desire "to become one of 'them'" (Kramsch, 2003, p. 255), meaning that linguistic and cultural practices are both the target (as in the phrases *target language* or *target culture*) and the arrow of becoming, or both the end and the means of identity construction. Thus, acting like a native speaker, or doing cultural drag, is not just a question of acquisition (i.e., how linguistic and cultural knowledge are acquired) but, more importantly, a question of subjection (i.e., who one is allowed to become through linguistic and cultural practice).

Troubling the "Native Speaker"

The assertion that language learning affects one's identity is now considered normative in the field of second language acquisition, having "moved from the periphery to the center" (Mantero, 2007, p. 1) after the social turn of the 1990s when scholars (Pennycook, 1990; Norton Peirce, 1995, Rampton, 1995; Firth and Wagner, 1997) began to consider the interstices of language and power in allowing or limiting who speakers and interlocutors can be. What often goes uncontested, however, are the types of identities possible when predicated on the model of the native speaker, particularly as scholars recognize that becoming a native speaker "is a project doomed to failure" (Cook, 2002, p. 6) because such a figure is "an ideal, a convenient fiction" (Paikeday, 1985, p. x). The native speaker as fiction may seem nonsensical; after all, there are millions of people in the world whose first language is Spanish. Yet critics who trouble the foundation of the field suggest that the native speaker held up as the model in FL studies is not so much flesh-and-blood as an idealized figure often portrayed as "the middle-class, ethnically dominant male citizenry of nation-states" (Kramsch, 2003, p. 255; see also Pratt, 1984) who, I would add, is often endowed with linguistic and cultural omniscience. The model native speaker, then, is a benchmark which non-native speakers, even seasoned language teachers like myself, feel they cannot reach.

Llurda (2005) referred to his experiences as a language learner and non-native teacher of English as a "struggle" to "overcome the threats to [my] self-confidence posed by the perceived inferiority of non-natives" (p. xiii). Pavlenko (2003), who studied preservice teachers in a Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) program, and Armour (2004), who conducted life history research on an Australian woman teaching Japanese, similarly found that educators who compared their linguistic skills to those of native speakers described themselves

as unnatural, inauthentic, and incompetent. Such self-descriptions, along with Marx's (2002) declaration that she is "never quite a 'native speaker'" (p. 264), further affirm the privilege of the native speaker in language education. That is, the native speaker's experiences and very existence are considered "real" and are continuously legitimated, whereas the non-native speaker is a fraud, or a wannabe "left playing a game in which the goalposts are being shifted by people they cannot often challenge" (Rampton, 1995, p. 336).

Yet "the goalposts" Rampton mentioned are not wholly related to linguistic prowess, despite the fact that we so often employ the terms *native speaker* and *non-native speaker*. As I illustrated in the example of teaching beginning Spanish students how to perform greetings as if in Spain, foreign language education – and identity construction through language education – is inextricably related to cultural practice. If the idealized native speaker is, again, the "middle-class, ethnically dominant male" (Kramsch, 2003, p. 255), what identities become possible (or are made impossible) for foreign language learners who do not resemble, in part or whole, such a model? I am reminded of Kinginger's (2004) account of a university student in her introductory French class who inquired during an assignment in a unit on housing, "Comment dit-on *trailer park*? 'Cause I don't live in no, like, château" (p. 225). Through the student's comment, Kinginger realized the disconnect between her student's experience and the middle- to upper-class norm of French speakers as "ordering wine at refined cafés, buying silk scarves from obsequious salespeople, and contemplating celebrated works of art" (p. 225) on display – and to be performed – in the class. Similarly, I think back now on that first lesson on greetings in my introductory Spanish class where everyone was allowed to exchange kisses upon meeting except two men, who were expected to remain at arm's length. Such a cultural practice tells a student like Bobby, who came out two weeks later in class when he enunciated quite deliberately each

"o" (the morpheme in Spanish to indicate masculinity) as he gushed how *guapo* (handsome) and *simpático* (nice) his *novio* (boyfriend) was, that some of his experiences – his identities, really – are outside the norms established by the native speaker privileged and practiced in the classroom at my behest. I mentioned earlier I now cringe remembering the awkward actions couched in playfulness before Bobby and the other male student shook hands, but what I regret is that I had then not questioned the assumptions such a cultural practice carried. Instead, I accepted, performed, and passed on cultural practices mostly at face value; the fact that native speakers did them was reason enough to introduce them and to have students do them in class. Yet despite their instructors' assumptions and expectations, Bobby and Kinginger's student did not wholly identify with the native speaker ideal and would not play their parts. Instead, they resisted norms of sexuality and class prescribed by such a model by using the language under study to create personal, yet decidedly alternative, identities in the language (e.g., a person who is both learning French and living in a trailer park, a man who is both learning Spanish and gay).

To repeat Paikeday's (1985) description of the monolithic native speaker as "a convenient fiction" (p. x), I contend responses by Bobby, Kinginger's student, and even those participants who desired and attempted (often unsuccessfully, in their estimation) *native-speakerness* in the previously mentioned studies by Pavlenko and Armour reveal the native speaker ideal to be inconvenient at best and, more likely, oppressive in how it reifies social norms. The exclusionary characteristics, both in terms of perceived linguistic and cultural omniscience and privileged sociocultural identity categories, mean that something always eludes the second language (L2) learner / user and prohibits her from achieving the language education field's gold standard of *nativeness*. An identity of inferiority, or being identified by what one is "*not*, or at least *not yet*" (Kramsch, 1998, p. 28) or "*not ever*" (Cook, 1999, p. 189), is hardly

satisfying. Thus, over the past fifteen years or so, a growing number of language scholars have not only questioned the sovereignty of the native speaker but have also suggested ways to rethink the native speaker / non-native speaker binary.

Specifically, scholars have offered several metaphors to describe identity construction in / through a foreign or second language. Some of these metaphors include: Rampton's (1995) *crossing*, which was concerned with "switching into languages that are not generally thought to belong to you" and suggested "a distinct sense of movement across social and ethnic boundaries" (p. 280); Pavlenko's (2001) *self-translation*, in which the language learner reinterpreted herself "in order to position oneself in new communities of practice and to 'mean' in the new environment" (p. 133); and Armour's (2001) *identity slippage*, which referred to how one shifts from "one's enculturated identity to displaying characteristics of an acculturated identity" (p. 2) activated by language learning and use. The commonality amongst these metaphors is movement; the language learner shifts from L1 identities to new identities available in the L2. As a result of this shifting, according to these scholars, the learner is an L2 user, defined as "a person who knows and uses a second language at any level" (Cook, 2003, p. 4), rather than as a "deficient native speaker" (Cook, 1999, p. 185).

It is within this community of critique that I situate cultural drag, though I recognize that it is an ambivalent concept. On the one hand, cultural drag has served as the process by which the native speaker ideal has been reified (i.e., learners imitate the model native speaker as a means to approximate it and thus constantly re/create it) in the field of foreign language education. On the other hand, cultural drag's relation to the *both / and* (i.e., how it suggests the simultaneity of both the learner's L1 identities and L2 identities) calls into question the reality of any singular, coherent, and indivisible identity, namely that of the ideal native speaker. Its

complexity is why I find cultural drag to be such a useful metaphor for the construction of language learners' and teachers' identities. First, it names the performative process by which linguistic and cultural identities are constructed. Second, cultural drag offers analytic possibilities related to those identities (i.e., what norms are reified and/or subverted in the performance of these identities?). Third, within the frame of FL education, it suggests how teachers' linguistic and cultural identities often inform their practice and in turn their students' identities. That is, I understand cultural drag as process, analysis, and pedagogy and used this complex concept as a guide to understand the linguistic and cultural identities of the participants in my dissertation study.

Statement of the Problem and Research Questions of the Study

While reviewing literature on the native speaker / non-native speaker binary and language teacher identity, I realized that teachers were rarely given the opportunity to explore their linguistic and cultural identities collectively, no doubt because identity was viewed by scholars as unique and personal. Yet, as Norton (1995) explained, language use – and thus linguistic and cultural identities – involves a complex constellation of personal, social, and historical factors. I conceptualized my study on the linguistic and cultural identities of non-native teachers of Spanish as individual and collective, allowing the teacher-participants and I to reflect on how they have formulated their linguistic and cultural identities – particularly in relation to the "native speaker" – and how these identities may influence their practice. Speaking as a Spanish teacher, I believe we often forget our own performances as language learners and teachers (meaning, the things we do and say come to feel "natural" after awhile) and how these performances in turn serve as models for students. I designed my study so that teacher-participants could consider their identities as "quotation and invention, an improvisation on

borrowed themes" (Roach, 1996, p. 33) and possibly change how they perform their identities, or how they frame their identities, to students to benefit their pedagogy.

Statement of the Problem

This poststructural, arts-based study, which combined two individual interviews and two four-hour performance-based focus groups with nine female, non-native teachers of Spanish in grades 6-16 in Georgia schools, employed the concept of cultural drag to explore how teacher-participants have constructed and performed their linguistic and cultural identities and how such identities might have informed their teaching.

Guiding Research Questions

The following questions guided the study:

1. Cultural drag as a metaphor for self-formation:
    a. What practices or strategies have participants used / continue to use to create themselves as Spanish language users and teachers?
    b. What were the goals of such self-formation in/through a foreign language and cultures?
2. Cultural drag as critique:

    What resistance or tensions (i.e., internal/intellectual, social, etc.) did participants confront in the performance of these identities? How did / might they challenge them, if at all?
3. Cultural drag as pedagogy:

    How have teachers used the performance of such identities to inform classroom practice and/or students' identity formation in relation to Spanish language and Hispanic cultures?

The Show to Come: An Overview of Content

I wish I could say that seeing myself in Bobby's portrayal of *Yenifer Wooten, Spanish teacher*, "an American goddess who loves eh'pañol," was immediately liberating, that the epiphany of cultural drag as a way to destabilize the immovable native speaker / non-native speaker binary in the field of foreign language education took hold and allowed me to reconsider myself, my practice, and the field before the houselights came up. The truth is, despite my effusive compliments after the show, I felt both embarrassed that Bobby had outed me as a poseur and excitingly unsteady, as if sensing the first reverberations of a seismic shift to come. The seismic shift, or perhaps better stated, the paradigmatic shift (Kuhn, 1962/1996), that occurred in my thinking over time (and especially as a result of my doctoral studies) is, in the words of drag icon RuPaul, "You're born naked and the rest is drag" (RuPaul, 1995, p. xiii). In my field, then, the identity category "native" is no realer than "non-native," though the privilege afforded the native speaker in the discourse of language education certainly has material effects on both subjects.

This dissertation is in many ways the story of how I constructed the concept of cultural drag over time, beginning with Bobby's performance, passing through theoretical, empirical, and literary readings, and moving on to my own work with the teacher-participants in my study. This research, then, is guided by three areas of inquiry and practice that appear explicitly throughout the three articles that form the body of this dissertation (see Figure 1). That is, my work on the linguistic and cultural identities of non-native teachers of Spanish is informed by my understanding and use of performance as theory and method. The most significant theoretical influence on my work is Judith Butler (1988, 1990/1999, 1993, 1997, 2004), particularly her theory of performativity – or how subject positions (e.g., woman, heterosexual, White, non-

native speaker) that seem "natural" are actually "a *stylized repetition of acts*" (1988, p. 520, italics in the original) sanctioned in discourse and "real only to the extent that [they are] performed" (1988, p. 527). My adaptation of Augusto Boal's (1979, 1992/2002, 1995) theatrical techniques as a method, along with individual interviews, allowed me to explore how study participants perform complex and sometimes contradictory identities related to language and culture.

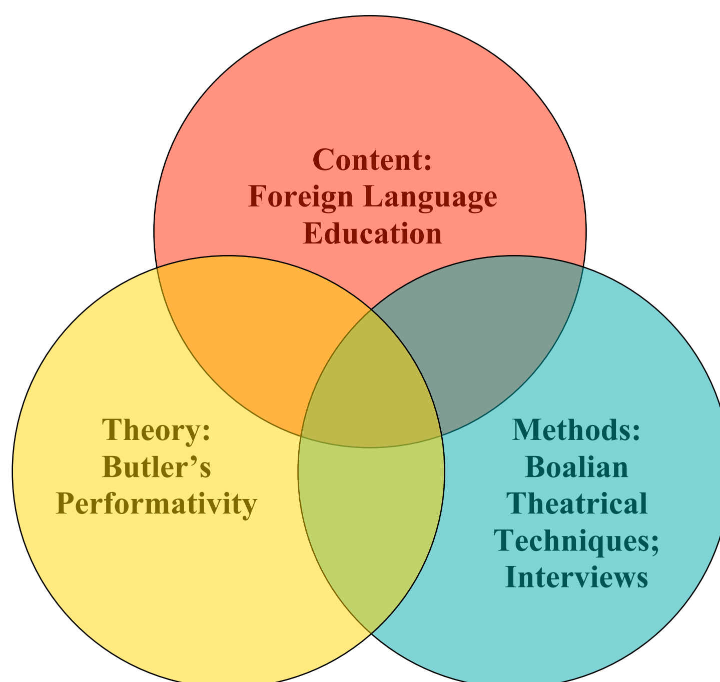

Figure 1.1. Areas of inquiry informing this study.

In **Chapter 2** – the first of three article-length manuscripts – I explain more fully the theoretical underpinnings of cultural drag, lingering on how Butler's work on the performativity of gender and drag can be helpful to those in foreign and second language education. I then define the four elements of cultural drag – desire, action, revelation, and proliferation – that I identified based on theoretical readings in gender studies and language education. I trace these

four elements through three language memoirs, namely Kaplan's (1993) *French Lessons: A Memoir*, Lvovich's (1997) *The Multilingual Self: An Inquiry into Language Learning*, and Tharps' (2008) *Kinky Gazpacho: Life, Love & Spain*.

Chapter 3 – the second article-length manuscript – is a companion piece to Chapter 2 in the sense it further elaborates on the four elements of cultural drag, now applied to study data. Specifically, I examine my participants' ambivalent and contradictory statements and actions related to the performances of their second language identities. This chapter also offers an extended look at study methods, including how I employed individual interviews and performance-based focus groups informed by Boal's theatrical techniques as modes of data collection and writing as the principal means of analysis.

Chapter 4 – the final manuscript – focuses on one element of cultural drag, revelation. I further describe the use of Boal's Forum Theatre in performance-based focus groups, choosing to look more concretely at how study participants responded to being revealed as non-native speakers in the presence of administrators, who were the implicit or explicit antagonists in those scenes.

Finally, in **Chapter 5**, I briefly summarize the findings of the manuscripts in the frame of the larger study, reiterate implications for the field of foreign language education provided in the three manuscripts, and illustrate how the study participants and I are working to extend this work through classroom practice and scholarly presence in conferences and publications.

CHAPTER TWO

CULTURAL DRAG, OR PERFORMING THE NATIVE SPEAKER IN LANGUAGE MEMOIRS[2]

---

[2] Wooten, J.A. Manuscript to be submitted to *The Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*.

Abstract

In this conceptual paper, I explore cultural drag, or how non-native speakers act like members of the target language under study. First, I outline the theoretical underpinnings critical to discussing cultural drag, drawing on Butler's theory of performativity to explain how identities are performatively realized. Secondly, I elaborate cultural drag through examples from language memoirs by Kaplan, Lvovich, and Tharps. I analyze the authors' desires to perform like native speakers of the language under study, the ways they act like native speakers, what gives them away as non-native speakers, and how such performances ultimately allow them to see themselves as bi- or multilingual/cultural rather than as failed native speakers. Finally, I show that a critical consideration of cultural drag may shift the focus of foreign language education from attempting to faithfully – and impossibly – reproduce the monolithic native speaker to recognizing the possibility of multiple identities available in the language.

Key Words: Cultural Drag, Language Memoir, Native / Non-Native, Performativity, Multiplicity

Introduction

Learning a second or foreign language involves learning how to perform, or "do," the language under study and its associated cultural practices. Performance as a mode of language learning is visible in sociologist Geoffrey Fox's (1996) description of his learning Spanish in Venezuela:

> I imitated voices, stances, walks, gestures, the way people puckered their lips to point to something or used hand signals, and so on. I wore what my neighbors in the *barrio* were wearing, only less flashy. Within a couple of months I was passing as a *criollo* [meaning "one from here"], at least in brief encounters. […] I was learning scripts, playing the part of *criollo*. Faking it, if you will. […] I was in full *criollo* drag […] My Latin American personae have long since ceased to be an actor's studied, self-conscious roles. They are simply among my selves. Rather, to state this a little more carefully, they constitute an alternative identity into which I slip whenever it seems to fit. (pp. 225-227; italics in original)

Fox's self-description is provocative because it equates identity construction in a second or foreign language with drag. Drag, popularly associated with female impersonators (Newton, 1979; Garber, 1992/1997; Norbury & Richardson, 1994), seems an audacious metaphor, particularly from a White, English-speaking, heterosexual male who sometimes attempts (and succeeds in his estimation) to pass as Hispanic. Yet Fox's use of the term "drag" names what has historically constituted both the ends and the means of foreign language education, that is, the non-native language learner's imitation of the native speaker.

More specifically, Fox's description of how the ontological project of "becom[ing] one of 'them'" (Kramsch, 2003, p. 255) was facilitated by acting "Venezuelan" in this case is

illustrative of cultural drag. Cultural drag, in its widest sense, is “the ‘performance’ of other cultural, sociopolitical, and subjective orders such as race, class, gender, and sexuality” (Arroyo, 2002, p. 156). In the field of foreign language education, I use the term “cultural drag” to refer to how non-native speakers assume characteristics of native speakers of the language under study. Similar to gender drag (e.g., males performing as women), non-native speakers act like members of the target language culture(s) by imitating what they say and how they say it, their cultural practices (ranging from the everyday to the ritualistic), and/or their appearance. Fox acknowledged this performative aspect, asserting he “slip[ped]” into his Latin American selves “whenever [they] seem[ed] to fit” (p. 227). These identities, Fox elaborated, were a result not only of language’s effects on him but also of his repetitive acts to perfect his second language by “[f]aking it, if you will” (p. 225) to the point that such identities became naturalized and deployed according to context. Thus, acting like a native speaker, or doing cultural drag, is not just a question of acquisition (i.e., how linguistic and cultural knowledge are acquired) but, more importantly, a question of subjection (i.e., who one is allowed to become and becomes through linguistic and cultural practice).

Analyzing the experiences of language learners like Fox performing cultural drag allows scholars to consider how language learners: perform the target language and culture(s); (re)create identities within the target language and culture(s); and potentially reify and/or subvert the binary between *native speaker* and *non-native speaker* that undergirds second and foreign language education. In this conceptual paper, I explore the process and effects of cultural drag. First, I provide an extended outline of the theoretical underpinnings critical to discussing cultural drag, drawing on Butler’s theory of performativity to explain how identities – including linguistic and cultural identities – are performatively realized. Second, I elaborate cultural drag

through examples from what Kaplan (1994) termed "language memoirs," or autobiographical narratives where language learning plays a central role in the lives of the authors. In order to focus more precisely on foreign language education, I analyze Kaplan's (1993) *French Lessons: A Memoir*, Lvovich's (1997) *The Multilingual Self: An Inquiry into Language Learning*, and Tharps' (2008) *Kinky Gazpacho: Life, Love & Spain*. I analyze the authors' desires to perform like native speakers of the language under study, the ways in which they act like native speakers, what gives them away as non-native speakers, and how such performances ultimately allow them to see themselves as bi- or multilingual/cultural rather than as failed native speakers. Finally, as a result of my analysis of these language memoirs, I illustrate that a critical consideration of cultural drag may shift the focus of foreign language education from attempting to faithfully – and impossibly – reproduce the monolithic native speaker to recognizing the possibility of multiple identities available in the language.

Theorizing Cultural Drag: Identities as Performatively Realized

Drag icon RuPaul (1994) famously asserted, "Like I've always said, 'You're born naked and the rest is drag'" (p. xiii). The implication of RuPaul's statement, which sums up much of mid- to late-20th Century cultural theory, is that we all do drag on multiple levels because we perform identities (e.g., gender, race, nationality) available to us in discourse that we take for granted as natural or innate.

Butler's Theory of Performativity

Butler's (1988, 1990/1999, 1993, 1997, 2004) work on performativity related to gender provides an instructive example for those of us in language studies. Butler (1993) argued that once biological sex is determined – be it in utero or at birth – a female is immediately "girled" (p. 7). That is, the performative statement "It's a girl!" produces the subject that it names; the

female *becomes* a "girl." As a result, a series of socially constructed beliefs and practices around the intersecting discourses of femininity and heterosexuality are activated to further, and continuously, create first the "girl" and then the "woman." The female, in turn, performs and recreates herself in the image of the prevailing social norms of what constitutes a "woman" through what Butler terms a "stylized repetition of acts" (1988, p. 520), thus making the category of "woman" seem natural. Gender and sex, then, are "real only to the extent that [they are] performed" (p. 527) and "a construction that conceals its genesis" (p. 522). Identities within a poststructural framework, then, are conceived as a perpetually in-progress construction based on one's access to available discourses and interactions with others. In other words, the 'I' is not the stable, essential *being* of the humanistic tradition, but rather the *acting* subject who navigates amongst historical, social, and linguistic planes dense with power relations and, thus, is contextually contingent.

Butler's theory of performativity linked language with performance in the production of the subject, the two being "invariably related, chiasmically so" (1990/1999, p. xxvi). Diamond (1996) explained the functions of performance and performativity within this reciprocal relationship as a "negotiation between a doing (a reiteration of norms) and a thing done (discursive conventions that frame our interpretations)" (p. 5). Performance, or "a doing," is the enactment of social norms made possible and understandable through performativity, "a thing done." Paradoxically, then, the subject is created by and recreates the identity category performed by repeating a script of sorts for that subject position (e.g., woman, Black, Spanish), as Butler (1988) offered:

> The act that one does, the act that one performs, is, in a sense, an act that has been going on before one arrived on the scene. Hence, gender [any identity category] is

> an act which has been rehearsed, much as a script survives the particular actors who make use of it, but which requires individual actors in order to be actualized and reproduced as reality once again. (p. 526)

Butler's conception of agency related to performativity is often skewed one of two ways. First, the simplification that performativity is wholly theatrical – or that people are a blank slate and can choose their identities like an actor chooses roles – negates the constructive power of discourse (including language). Second, interpreting "an act that has been going on before one arrived on the scene" as excluding the possibility for self-creation presupposes the rigidity and supremacy of discourse and thus precludes one's ability of "working the weakness in the norm" (Butler, 1993, p. 237). One provides too much agency, while the other too little. As Pennycook (2004) reminded those of us in language studies,

> we need, on the one hand, to avoid the pull towards performance as open-ended free display (we perform whatever identities we want to) and, on the other, the pull towards oversedimentation (we can only perform what has been prescripted): to some extent, the performative is always along lines that have already been laid down, and yet performativity can also be about refashioning futures. (p. 77)

Indeed, Butler (1990/1999, 1995) made it clear that agency is only possible *because* of the process of repeating social norms, arguing that agency would be impossible if gender, for example, was an exteriorized expression of some inner *woman-ness* or *man-ness* rather than performative. Butler explained that repetition allows individuals to use the tools at their disposal – that is, practices within the discourse in operation – to repeat themselves differently and, thus, play a part in their own construction. Butler (1990/1999) referred to this process as "subversive repetition" (p. 44).

The example most often offered for subversive repetition is the drag queen. Newton (1979), credited as the first scholar to systematically investigate drag performers, defined drag as both a noun and a verb. As a noun in Newton's work, gender drag referred to "the clothing of one sex when worn by the other sex" (p. 3), while "do[ing] drag" meant "role playing […] By focusing on the outward appearance of role, drag implies that sex role [gender] and, by extension, role in general [other identity categories] is something superficial" (p. 109). One who performs in drag – be it gender drag or cultural drag, like Fox in Venezuela – is produced within a particular discursive system which makes tools (or scripts, to reference Butler's earlier analogy) available to use. Subversive repetition, however, involves using those tools in unexpected ways, or, in the case of drag, those tools being used by unexpected or unsanctioned individuals. As noted previously, the subject positions *man* and *woman* are performative, meaning they produce as discursive effects that which they seem to express as inherent characteristics of biological sex. These subject positions are available in drag, too, but are liberated from any sense of biological determinacy because their norms are performed unexpectedly (e.g., a male dressing as a woman). This mismatch between practices and context is what makes drag subversive and allows it to trouble the binaries of man/woman, outside/inside, reality/illusion:

> [I]t is a double inversion that says "appearance is an illusion." Drag says, "my 'outside' appearance [clothes and accoutrements] is feminine, but my essence 'inside' [biological body; DNA] is masculine." At the same time it symbolizes the opposite inversion: "my appearance 'outside' [biological body; sex organs] is masculine but my essence 'inside' [identification] is feminine." (Newton, 1979, p. 103).

Newton suggested that this double inversion – a state where the drag queen is simultaneously both masculine and feminine, eschewing the *either/or* binary to become a "third term" (Garber, 1992/1997, p. 11) – is realized in the shifting back and forth between what is contextually considered reality and illusion to remind the viewer of the categorical superficiality of gender. This shift is performatively realized through revelation – "some telltale sign […] something readable, a foot that is too big, a subtle gesture or the peculiar grain of the voice" (Garber, 1992/1997, p. 149) or a more dramatic reveal such as a drag queen removing a fake breast or removing the wig (Newton, 1979). That is, drag queens question the "naturalness" of gender by taking up the very tools that stand as characteristics of gender and then revealing them to be tools rather than inherent.

Yet the critical edge of drag suggested by Newton and other drag scholars – including Butler – may be a question of how drag is read rather than the desire of the drag performer. Feminist critics of drag have asserted that males' performances as women involve a degree of misogyny because such males generally perform hyperbolic femininity (e.g., big hair, big breasts) that reinforces an oppressive standard. On the one hand, drag doesn't necessarily displace the categories performed and may even cement the very norms it supposedly transgresses. Lloyd (1999), reading Butler, reminded us that drag resides in the interstitial discourses of gender and heterosexuality. Because it cannot escape these discourses, and in fact operates using many of the same signs and practices (or accesses the same scripts), drag may reify these categories. On the other hand, Butler (1993) clarified her stance on drag, explaining that while "there is no necessary relation between drag and subversion" (p. 125), drag is still "subversive to the extent that it reflects on the imitative structure by which hegemonic gender is itself produced and disputes heterosexuality's claim on naturalness and originality" (Butler, p.

125). Though interesting, the subversiveness of drag does not reside wholly in the desire of the performer – whether s/he does drag to belittle that which s/he imitates, to re-invent herself or himself, or in protest – but also in how the performance is read by the audience when revealed as such.

Translating Butler's Performativity to Foreign Language Studies

Drag, then, is a metaphor for identity performance and subversion of monolithic identity categories; as such, it can be especially helpful to scholars interested in studying the effects of language on second or foreign language learners' identities. If identities are understood to be perpetually "produced, embodied, and performed" (Bell, 1999, p. 2), then the first question is to consider how categories like *native speaker* and *non-native speaker* are performatively realized and what the effects of these identities are on those produced as such. In the foreign language classroom, the very term "foreign" sets up the binary of native speaker (i.e., one from and who belongs "there," one who speaks and owns the language, one who is authentically bound to the practices of the culture under study) and non-native speaker (i.e., one *not* from "there," one who does *not* speak or own the language, one who is *un*aware and *not* bound to the practices of the culture under study) (see Reagan & Osborn, 2002). While the native speaker that lords over foreign language education has been dismissed as a myth (Paikeday, 1985; Singh, 1998; Davies, 2003; Kramsch, 2003), the privilege – and thus the material effects – of the figure of the native speaker are very real. In the context of the foreign language class, it is clear to the student that being able to speak and act like the native speaker is the ultimate goal. The inability to do so – no matter what the student's level in the language – immediately produces her as a non-native speaker. Translating Butler's "It's a girl!" performative to the context of language education, the implied performative of "It's a non-native speaker!" – not necessarily uttered aloud but rather

enacted by comparison to the native speaker norm – solidifies the binary of native speaker / non-native speaker and the project of foreign language education.

The way to become "native-like" is through cultural drag, or acting like a native speaker of the language under study. Cummins (1998) previously associated learning a foreign language in the context of the communicative classroom with drag, saying:

> Donned like an exotic evening gown by the student for self-creation and expression in communicative practice, the foreign language and culture are now identified with the learner. In effect, the student linguistically and culturally cross-dresses in the foreign language and culture. (p. 168)

While Cummins suggested that all students perform in drag in the context of the classroom, he also noted that some students will not assume the stage, or will not "participate other than nominally in the linguistic and cultural cross-dressing" (p. 170). Indeed, some students may resist moving towards the native speaker norm idealized in the foreign language classroom, seeking instead to flip the binary so that *non-native speakerness*, or even the students' first language over the foreign language, is privileged. Others, though, **desire** to "follow the program," perhaps seduced by the novelty of the target culture(s) – epitomized in Cummins' characterization of the language and culture(s) under study being "donned like an exotic evening gown" – and/or the possibility to create new identities.

Acting like native speakers by using their language and exploring and performing some of their practices – "slipping into someone else's shoes" (Kramsch, 1998, p. 255), effectively – these language learners create new identities through language and practice. These new identities in the foreign language, however, do not negate other identities in the students' first language. Rather, language learners have even more possibilities available within discourse since "It's a

girl!" in specific contexts in English in the United States mobilizes different modes of meaning and acting than "¡Es una niña!" in Spanish in Venezuela, for example. Recalling gender drag queens, this shifting between identities realized through discourse becomes visible when individuals **reveal** something that is not congruent with the identity being performed, perhaps a discrepancy in accent, in expected social behavior, or in cultural knowledge in the case of the language learner trying to act like a native speaker. Yet, rather than pointing to the failure of the non-native speaker's performance, these revelations point to the fact that they are neither the ideal native speaker, nor are they the wholly monolingual and monocultural non-native speaker of their first language. To use Garber's (1992/1997) term related to gender drag, they are a "third term" (p. 11) that simultaneously spans both L1 and L2 abilities. Language learners, especially those who make it their mission to act like native speakers and to become more "native-like," demonstrate the constructedness of and contest the monolithic categories *native* and *non-native* by showing just how close they often come to matching the native speaker. This emphasis on identity construction through discourse rather than biological innateness, then, shows the **proliferation** of identities language speakers may enact in context.

Butler's theory of performativity and the scholarship on drag allows scholars in the field of language education to consider the reasons why, the ways in which, and the effects of language learners acting like native speakers of the language under study. That is, looking at cultural drag through the points of desire, action, revelation, and proliferation suggested above in bold permits us to consider not only how language learners' identities are constructed through performance, but also the very identity categories learners are attempting to perform.

Cultural Drag in Language Memoirs

Like other scholars who have studied language memoirs over the past decade (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000; Pavlenko, 2001; Pavlenko, 2004; Kramsch, 2005; Li, 2007), I believe such texts offer extended, reflective insights into the bi- or multilingual experience. Language memoirs provide evocative first-person accounts of the process of being subjected in another language and through new cultural practices, as well as of the opportunities and struggles that accompany subjection. Kaplan (1994), discussing her fascination with the genre as both reader and writer, explained:

> the way someone says hello, holds a pencil, wears a scarf – tells more about race, class, and gender than the dreary litany of categories ('I am a white, female, middle-class heterosexual') that has come to pass in contemporary criticism for 'subject positioning.' (p. 60)

This focus on action in its plentitude – what/who enables performance, what is performed and by whom, and the effects of performance – is the cornerstone of my reading of Kaplan's (1993) *French Lessons: A Memoir*, Lvovich's (1997) *The Multilingual Self: An Inquiry into Language Learning*, and Tharps' (2008) *Kinky Gazpacho: Life, Love & Spain*. Specifically, I use the four characteristics of cultural drag - desire, action, revelation, and proliferation - as a framework to explore the author-protagonists' performances of native speakers of the languages they studied and lived.

Desirous Subjects: Trying to Leave Uneasy Identities Behind

Cummins (1998) stated that learners in language classes "linguistically and culturally cross-dress in the foreign language and culture" (p. 168), but Kaplan, Lvovich and Tharps extended their drag show beyond the walls of the classroom in the hopes of becoming members

of their target cultures. Each of the author-protagonists - all women who began their studies in foreign language classes in primary school in their home countries – invested (Norton Peirce, 1995) in the language under study due to a desire to create new, more advantageous identities. Norton (1997) explained that learners' investments in a foreign language are ultimately tied to desire: "identity relates to desire – the desire for recognition, the desire for affiliation, and the desire for security and safety" (p. 410). Kaplan (1993) declared that people like her adopt other cultures "[b]ecause there's something in their own they don't like, that doesn't *name* them" (p. 209). One who is not named yet made to feel marked, or exposed as different from prevailing social norms, most likely resides on the less advantageous side of one or more binaries (Christian/Jewish, White/Black, etc.) in her culture. Investing in another culture which makes possible more advantageous subject positions is one way "we may choose to live otherwise" (Rajchmann, 1985, p. 38).

Kaplan's assertion that those who invest in another language and culture do so suggests a degree of escapism. Certainly, her foreign language studies provided her a means to distance herself from personal tragedy and its aftermath. Kaplan, a second generation American of Eastern European Jewish descent, adopted French in fifth grade at a private all-girls school in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Kaplan's desire to become French, her need for French, was related to her desire to escape the grief of her father's sudden death when she was nearly eight years old. After his death, Kaplan found objects of the man she barely knew, including photos of Holocaust victims used as evidence against the Nazis by her father, a prosecutor in the Nuremburg Trials. She felt compelled to share the photos with classmates so they would know what people had done to others, an act of consciousness-raising she suspected was because "I missed my father. I was trying to do what he would do, be like him" (p. 31). The loss of her father had fractured her

life, but Kaplan found structure and salvation in French. Spending 10th grade in Switzerland, she became obsessed with detailing her language learning, keeping a journal of verb conjugations and linguistic exercises that measured her progress. She also began trading food for verbs, explaining "for every bar of chocolate I didn't eat I learned a verb" (p. 53). That is, Kaplan traded the chaos that her life had become in English as a result of her father's absence for the control of what went into her mouth (i.e., food) and what came out (i.e., language). French allowed her both to "put off what I needed to say, in English" to her remaining family – a way to distance herself from her father's death – while also connecting her to her father's life, since French "made me an expert the way he was an expert" (pp. 203-204). While Kaplan explicitly equated her desire to learn French with her avoidance of her father's death (i.e., allowing her to avoid the grieving daughter identity in English), there are subtle markers throughout her memoir that she was also trying to become a woman in French. The dietary restrictions (i.e., a possible eating disorder) above, for example, may have been a way to deal with adolescent body image issues exacerbated in a culture that valued slim and sleek women, a way to become a desirable woman in French (to herself and others, shown later).

Lvovich, also of Jewish descent, was wounded by the anti-Semitism waged against her in the former Soviet Union and chose French as a means of survival. She became an "émigré de l'interieur" (p. 2) by immersing herself in the language and culture from the time she began studying at a French language school when she was six. By her own account in *The multilingual self*, "[a] French personality, after all, was much less confusing and safer than being a Jew in Soviet Russia" (pp. 8-9). French, however, did not replace Judaism, but rather Russian, as the term to be rewritten. This substitution seems surprising since one might expect the minority subject position (Jewish) to be changed, but Lvovich's affective distance from Soviet ideology –

which she found “something ugly,” “hypocritical,” and “not mine” (p. 6) – made it expendable. Indeed, the incongruence between Judaism – characterized by familial and cultural nourishment – and the Soviet regime – symbolized by restriction and want – made the search for *something else* inevitable. Her education at the French language school was a first pass at creating what she termed “my French self” and “a beautiful Me, a Me that I liked” (p. 9). This desirable “French self” that Lvovich developed over the next twenty years felt the “authentic revolutionary spirit” (p. 37) of liberty, fraternity, and equality that French culture offered in place of “the spiritual emptiness of the country of the ‘winning revolution’” (p. 37). In other words, Lvovich’s French identity was more compatible with her other identities, including her Judaism, and also served as a means of rebellion against the Soviet regime and the harsh realities imposed on her people because of it.

Like Lvovich, Tharps in *Kinky gazpacho* sought to create a new identity through a foreign language due to her status as a historically oppressed racial minority in the US. From the initial chapter of her memoir, Tharps made it clear that being African-American – or more concretely, the reception of her performance of race – impeded her from being the subject she desired, one that fit in. In her White private school in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, she was cast as “the eye-rolling maid and the streetwise doo-wop girl” in class plays and asked to read Martin Luther King’s “I have a dream speech” because, according to the headmaster, she “just had a knack ‘for that sort of thing’” (p. 49). Similarly, during a brief time in a local public school, Tharps explained, “this Black girl wanted to beat my ass because I wasn’t acting like a real Black person was supposed to. She just wanted me to act right, instead of White” (p. 13). Caught in the binary of White/Black - contextually bound to both but seemingly belonging to neither - Tharps embraced “foreignness,” and Spanish specifically, as the site on which to construct her own

identity. Spain – as she imagined it in middle school – had a "bold and colorful history, filled with passion and romance" that transcended Black- and White-Milwaukee and provided "access into another world when this one got to be too much" (p. 13). Her Spanish classes in middle and high school also leveled the playing field. Tharps stated that in those classes "we were all foreigners […] Having the last name Bradley or Uihlien wouldn't help you roll your *r's* or conjugate the subjunctive" (p. 9). The binary in operation, then, shifted to native / non-native, where non-native is perceived as a more advantageous position than being African American due to its normativity in the Spanish classroom. Yet Tharps asserted that *native-speakerness*, becoming Spanish, was her ultimate goal. Studying abroad in Salamanca during her junior year in college, she explained that she, unlike some of her American companions, wanted to transform herself, to "change immediately. I wanted to be Spanish for the entire year" (p. 80). Tharps desired to be named, or newly subjected, in another language and culture "in an attempt to lend [her] voice more authenticity, allow [her] more personal freedom" (Fachinger, 1996, para. 2).

The origin stories of these language memoirs – the reason why adopting a foreign language and culture was a necessity – often focused explicitly on one subject position (i.e., grieving daughter, Russian Jew, African American) that marked the author-protagonists. These identities in the context of the author-protagonists' lives meant that they felt they never belonged; they were not accepted by and/or could not identify with others in their communities. Language education was the impetus which allowed Kaplan, Lvovich, and Tharps to recreate themselves because it "gives access to new identities, as it is based on the premise that core aspects of other people's identities, including their language, are cultural features that can be borrowed or acquired" (Starkey, 2007, p. 56). The new subject position of non-native speaker, or

language learner, engaged in the project of becoming French for Lvovich and Kaplan and Spanish for Tharps was desirable, "the same as finding a home […] to feel comfortable at home, fully functional, loving, and loved" (Lvovich, p. 82). Yet, while the author-protagonists may have joyfully assumed one identity (i.e., non-native speaker on the road to French or Spanish) for less advantageous identities, they each had multiple and intersecting desires related to race, gender, and class that came to bear on their access to identities in the new language.

Performative Acts, or Acting Like (and Depending on) the Native Speaker

While trying to create new identities through French and Spanish, the memoirists shifted into new discursive fields of nationality and language and culture, fields that have their own possibilities and limits, regardless of one's desires. That is, the desire to act like a native speaker in order to re-inscribe themselves as subjects, to create more comfortable or easier identities, did not wipe the slate clean of social constraint. The author-protagonists chose to adopt a new language and culture, but they could not create themselves independently because performance – and thus, identity – is "quotation and invention, an improvisation upon borrowed themes" (Roach, 1996, p. 33). The desire to make one's self over "is tantamount to the *consumption* of the Other" (Salih, 2002, p. 26, italics in original). In order to occupy a subject position related to the target culture, the non-native speaker imitates what she believes to be native speaker practices (as Kaplan says, "watching and pretending, pretending and watching," p. 92) until those imitative actions are naturalized and claimed as her new becoming. The performative act of walking in the native speaker's shoes, then, is the process by which the memoirists fashioned themselves. As elaborated previously, a performative act is one that constructs what it first seemed to express as prior being and that, repeated over time, further cements the illusion of

naturalness. In other words, actions that the author-protagonists performed in accordance with what they believed to be "Spanish" and "French" shaped them as subjects.

In Salamanca, Tharps vowed to stop being "American and learn to blend in and become a real Spaniard" (pp. 86-87). Her path to becoming, of course, involved acting like a "real" Spaniard based on her observations of the environs of the university town of Salamanca. She created a list of actions she would perform, including staying out past 10:00 p.m., going out and partying with the locals, speaking like a *salamantina*, and dressing the part:

> Having never been the blue-jeans type, I pulled out the closest thing I believed would do, my red jeans, and hoped they would suffice. I'd seen plenty of Spaniards in colorful jeans. Having never been the petite type, meaning I never wore tight clothing, my bulky, baggy sweaters weren't exactly screaming Spaniard, but I figured if I tucked my blue turtleneck sweater into my pants and actually wore a belt, I might get by. And for my neckerchief, I wrapped my floral-print scarf around my neck instead of my hair. I didn't know if I tied it right, but nothing was left hanging, and everything seemed neat and tucked into place. I even pulled my usually neglected hair into a neat bun at the nape of my neck. With my brand-new Spanish folder replacing the oversize green backpack I had brought from home, I thought nobody would know I was American now. (p. 87)

Tharps described in detail the uniform of the Spanish female student – or at least who she recognized as the Spanish female student and the style she saw accompanying that subject position. The juxtaposition of her implied sloppy dress as an American and the sleekness of the Spanish style she donned to fit in to her surroundings suggest the importance of appearance in acting like the native speaker.

Dressing like a member of the target community is an initial action in gaining entrée into that community since first impressions are generally visual. That is, the non-native speaker has the opportunity to "pass" even before she opens her mouth. But just like speech, one's appearance relays messages to others about identity. Tharps did not choose just any native speaker to model herself after (e.g., males, store clerks, old women), but rather a group of Spaniards who resemble her pre-existing identities in key ways, that of being a woman and a student at the university (which, in turn, suggests middle- to upper-class socioeconomic status). Tharps's performance, then, reified prior subject positions to some degree, but re-produced them in Spanish. In other words, she became newly subjected as a female and a student in Spanish as she navigated discursive norms of those intersecting identities.

Acting like a native speaker of the language community did not only (re)create identities for the memoirists, but also performatively that which is imitated. Lvovich illustrated this simultaneous construction:

> I constructed the walls of my fortress, and my beloved France was inside, the untouchable jewel of my creation. And because I was the center of that universe, I had to learn to do everything a French person does: speak with a Parisian accent, joke about domestic politics, sing children's songs, read and enjoy grotesque detective stories in argot as well as the most sophisticated literature, write in French in any style, curse, gesticulate, give speeches, count mentally, and dip the imagined croissant into coffee. I had to know how the French make their beds, talk on the phone, write business letters, and cook meals from different provinces. (pp. 1-2)

Lvovich described activities from the mundane to the cultured, all of which had to be mastered to become "French" – notably a static, monochromatic, and hegemonic image of what "French" was to her as opposed to performing Senegalese French customs or any other variation which itself has variations within it. Perhaps most interestingly, though, is that these acts not only *Frenchify* her, but created France as she repeated them. She performed these acts as if they were expressive of a singular, definable, knowable French identity, and in doing so, made France "the untouchable jewel of [her] creation." Living within the Soviet Union, Lvovich relied on relatives' previous living experiences in France, her academic career in a French language school, and, later, French-speaking friends to construct her idealized, monolithic notion of France – her script – while simultaneously constructing her "French self" (p. 9) through its performance.

Having access to "cultural sponsors" (Armour, 2001, p. 10) – or native speakers who initiate the learner into the community, serve as models for imitation, and validate the learner's performance in the role of audience member – is pivotal in the development of second language identities. Each of the memoirists recounted having cultural sponsors, ranging from classmates, colleagues, friends, to family members of friends, who initiated them into the desired "community of practice" (Wenger, 1998). Yet having a lover in the target community, according to Tharps, helps the learner "have a more authentic experience" (p. 99). Tharps, who dated a few Spaniards while in Salamanca and eventually married one of them, considered "attaching myself to a man" (p. 99) a way to gain acceptance into the community after her own attempts to make Spanish friends hadn't been successful. Kaplan, in a more visceral account, also shared how she equated her identity as a speaker of French, as a member of the community, with romance. In her description of her relationship with André – darkly handsome, compulsive, anti-conformist, and

French – she explained that it wasn't really him that she desired: "What I wanted more than anything, more than André even, was to make those sounds, which were the true sounds of being French" (p. 86). André became her lifeline to the French language, and by extension, her ability to become French: "I wanted to breathe in French with André, I wanted to sweat French sweat. It was the rhythm and pulse of his French I wanted, the body of it" (p. 94). This overt eroticism – linking sexual and linguistic desire (see Pavlenko, 2005; Piller, 2002; Piller & Takahashi, 2006) – portrayed Kaplan not only as a heterosexual woman but also as a student, both available to André's transmission of being (i.e., life-producing semen, subject-producing language).

Acting like the native speaker – and thus being dependent on the native speaker as a model and for feedback– placed the memoirists in relation to those who they selected to serve as models of what "Spanish" or "French" meant to them. That is, the memoirists defined what and who they counted as "Spanish" and "French" and imitated and aligned themselves with those individuals/practices. The memorists' performances – dressing like native speakers, engaging in practices natives speakers do, and speaking like a native speaker – produced their own numerous subject positions, many of which intersected (e.g., Tharps portraying a Spanish female university student). Yet these acts were not only performative in the sense that they created the memoirists as subjects in/through Spanish and French; they also (re)created "Spanish" and "French" as categories. Lvovich, Kaplan, and Tharps suggested they were sometimes able to "pass" – or be taken as native speakers – because other native speakers recognized the memoirists as being "like" them. The memoirists' actions made sense within the context of the community, thus continuously recreating the categories "Spanish" and "French," amongst others (e.g., woman, heterosexual, middle-class).

The Revelation, or When Non-Native Speakers Do Not "Pass"

Lvovich reminded readers of the importance of the native speaker as one who validates and gives feedback on the non-native's performance in the language and culture, saying "we still need other people to tell us who we are […] through them, we […] learn about and re-invent ourselves" (p. 69). Indeed, though the memoirists expressed desire to "become" a member of the language community under study and act like native speakers to achieve that end, they needed others to tell them how their project was progressing.

Returning to Kaplan's discussion of André, despite having mastered much of the language – including the French "r" that would allow her to disguise her Americanness (p. 55) – André rejected her, saying: "I want a woman I can express myself with. You understand my words but not my language – you don't even realize how great a problem it is between us" (p. 87). No matter how technically perfect her speech, her words were hollow to him and revealed how linguistic and cultural differences still divided them. She was devastated when he left her for a French woman:

> Two people who had the words and shared the world and were busy communicating in their authentic language, and me, all alone in my room. Maïté had something I couldn't have, her blood and her tongue and a name with accents in it. (p.89)

Kaplan previously professed believing that learning French, becoming French, was a question of dedication. Yet her rejection by André, especially for a woman that was so like him – and so like who Kaplan wanted to be – led her to question her ability to fulfill her mission. What she interpreted as the biological and social factors that made Maïté so desirable also meant that she could never become "French."

Tharps was also revealed as an outsider, though it was her body that seemingly excluded her from passing often as Spanish. Just after dressing in her red jeans like a typical female student, Tharps popped into a store to buy sunflower seeds, yet another practice she considered "Spanish." She chatted briefly with the shop owner, who inquired where she was from.

> "How do you know I'm not from Spain?" I answered back, teasing but kind of serious.
>
> He laughed then. A good-natured laugh, but a laugh just the same.
>
> "*Chica*, Spanish people don't look like you," he informed me.
>
> "What do you mean?" I demanded. Thinking of all the people I'd seen flaunting their red jeans.
>
> "*Eres morena*," he said, as if that explained it.
>
> I was Black. Which meant there was no way I could be Spanish. […] I put my sunflower seeds back and bought a bag of potato chips instead. (p. 88)

Tharps was exposed as an outsider because the color of her skin marked her as such. It is clear throughout the memoir that Tharps never forgot she was African American or rejected her blackness, but she was irritated during her year in Salamanca that she was so often "blacked" (to adapt Butler's "girled" expression) because it contradicted the colorful, multihued Spain of her adolescent imagination and blocked her in that moment from her chosen identity of "Spanish." Her response, symbolized in that moment by buying potato chips, was to retreat briefly to her the English-speaking American community where she knew where she stood – and who she was.

The lack of validation from members of the target group like André and the man in the store "robs [Kaplan and Tharps] of [their] position of masterful subject [and] makes [their] hold on subjecthood tenuous" (Davies, et al, 2001, p. 177). That is, they could not hold on to the

subject positions of "French" or "Spanish" because the members of the group they imitated perceived it as a show. The irony is, of course, that the store owner's and André's identities as "Spanish" and "French," as males, etc. were also performatively realized. Yet Kaplan and Tharps cannot pass because there was something that gave them away as non-native speakers, as not being from *there*.

While Kaplan and Tharps may have been hurt to be revealed as non-native speakers, others find revelation rewarding. Lvovich detailed two instances where the interstices of her Russian origins and her French language garnered her praise. In the first, a French bookstore owner was shocked when Lvovich explained she was from Moscow; because she didn't speak with an accent, seemed at home amongst the French books, and looked like she fit in (probably due in part to her Whiteness and possibly her style), he believed she was from his country. Second, colleagues in various Romance Languages departments in Russia said they "had never met anybody like [her], who spoke French without the slightest accent, who seemed to live, not just to know, French culture and civilization" (p. 28). Lvovich did not include the lead-up to these comments, so the reader is left wondering if she volunteered information about her origins or if interlocutors inquired with a fixing question like "Where are you from?" Regardless, it is clear in her memoir that she was extremely proud of her abilities to speak like a native when she was not.

While each memoirist suggested they could pass linguistically and culturally for varying periods of time, there was always something that gave them away. Just as in gender drag, there is something noticeable that reveals the non-native's status, and most often the telltale sign is a linguistic error (no matter how small), accent, or a lack of congruency between language/culture and expected appearance. Reading this sign, an interlocutor like the shop owner in Tharps'

memoir may ask "Where are you from?" The question subtly tells the non-native speaker that she has been discovered as an outsider, though not necessarily as a non-native speaker. As Piller's (2002a, b) research on intercultural marriage indicates, the non-native speaker in the relationship is often taken to be a member of another group of the same language (e.g., being thought to be Argentinean rather than Spanish). This revelation of the individual playing an unexpected role, however, is synonymous with drag. Newton (1979) asserted that very few drag queens pass, while Garber (1992/1999) stated that "foolproof imitations […] are curious, but not interesting" (p. 149).

While the memoirists may have expressed a desire to become or pass as French or Spanish, their reactions to being outed are indeed interesting. On the one hand, the hurt which accompanied the rejection of Kaplan by André and of Tharps by the shopkeeper seemingly resulted from the men *naming* what gave them away and those revelations being directly related to the desire that made them invest in the language in the first place. Kaplan could do everything right, be in control, but still have a man leave her; Tharps could dress any way she liked, but her skin color could not be disguised and would always be read by others. Lvovich, on the other hand, reveled in the revelation of her non-nativeness because it garnered her applause. Had she not been revealed as a non-native speaker, the bookstore owner and her language department colleagues would not have effusively complimented her knowledge of French language and culture. It is only in revealing a mark of difference from the expected subject position of native speaker that recognition for her hard work is granted. Likewise, as Tharps noted, being a non-native speaker often equates to a feeling of "being special" (p. 37) within a community comprised mostly of native speakers.

A Proliferation of Identities

This shifting from being a part of the culture and apart from the culture (Block, 2007), between native / non-native, "real" Spaniard or French / "fake" Spaniard or French, illustrates the tenuousness of identity in general and suggests the constructedness of seemingly natural – and monolithic – categories. Indeed, the language memoirists conclude that their original project – to "become" the native speakers of the countries of their imaginations – was impossible because no such place and no such speaker exist. The exoticized and romanticized notions of what Spain and France were and who the Spaniard and the French were to Lvovich, Kaplan, and Tharps precluded them from achieving the identity they originally envisioned for themselves. In its place, however, each memoirist recognizes the proliferation of identities available to them.

Tharps realized she need not be *either* Black *or* a legitimate Spanish speaker (amongst and including other identities), but rather could be both and "comfortable in my own skin" (p. 165). For Tharps, the move toward critical multiplicity involved searching for and finding evidence of Blacks in Spain's (whitewashed) history. Finding that "Spain had a Black history" (p. 193) allowed Tharps to see herself as racially connected to the country that she felt had often rejected her based on the color of her skin. Likewise, her marriage to a Spaniard she dated while in Salamanca and forming a biracial, bilingual, bicultural family with her husband and two boys (and thus the title of her memoir, *Kinky gazpacho*) in the US allowed her to see herself as multiple. In her web blog "American Meltingpot: Keeping track of where cultures collide, co-mingle and cozy up," Tharps (2010) currently highlights her own moments of multiplicity, as well as others' (including a recent entry on an African-American woman teaching salsa in Japan).

This move is in line with the acceptance of Kaplan and Lvovich, now both language teachers at the university level, to give up the pursuit of becoming "French" in favor of a critical multiplicity. Lvovich's immigration to the United States from Russia was a traumatic experience that saw her hold tightly to the security blanket of her French self for a brief time. As she acclimated to New York and began to see herself as a "citizen of the world" (p. 69), however, she realized that her French self had been a fantasy self-created to protect her:

> While learning French, I traveled into the depth of the language because I was in love with its culture and the cream of its people, but had I ever faced the real culture, real life, real people, in all their diversity and not just mirrored in literature and movies? I never had to create my real self, to find my niche in the real society, to function with love in the real world. Instead, I always sought refuge in a double or triple life, to defend myself, and to use my creativity reinventing myself. The only thing I loved was the fantasy, and I hated the real world around me. (p. 64)

The French self, substituted for a Russian identity that was counterproductive to her Jewish heritage, had served its purpose and was no longer necessary. From a space of affective distance, Lvovich could then interrogate how she had constructed France, too. The performativity of the previously cited list of activities to become French is now recognized: these acts not only created her French self, but also an exotic version of France of "culture and cream" that never existed. In other words, she created both France and her French self, a painful realization that is tempered by the acceptance of her multiple subject positions.

Similarly, Kaplan recognized the French fantasy alive and well in her university students. Working with Edna, an American student who had recently returned from France after a year

abroad, Kaplan was first amused at how the young woman was "every French professor's dream!" (p. 175). Edna had made herself over as "French" and had returned to the US so transformed "it was hard to even think of her as an American" (p. 176). Kaplan, recognizing Edna as "a kind of Stepford Wife, dressed as a Polytechnicienne [a female university student at the prestigious École Polytechnique in France]" (p. 180), became concerned that foreign language professors push a stereotypical view of countries under study. Kaplan now seeks to dismantle this monolithic, stereotypical view of French-speaking people by first recognizing her own role as one of the "language teachers [who] are so much teachers of culture that culture has often become invisible to them" (Kramsch, 1993, p. 48) and by fostering a discourse of multiplicity in her classes. That is, when students say they want to speak "just like a real French person," she asks them, simply, "Which one?" (Kaplan, 1993, p. 181).

Lessons Learned from Language Memoirs, or Cultural Drag as Pedagogy

Kaplan's call to move away from monolithic views of the target language and culture – culture being used here in the singular to represent how a particular country, city, or even class of people comes to represent the whole of the speakers of that language (e.g., the bourgeoisie shopping in boutiques, visiting art museums, and dining in a bistro in Paris noted by Kinginger, 2004) – is counter to what has typically been the project of foreign language education. Rather than holding up the native speaker, who is often "the middle-class, ethnically dominant male citizenry of nation-states" (Kramsch, 2003, p. 255; see also Pratt, 1992), as an idealized model for emulation, Kaplan suggested that representing a more vivid view of the target language cultures – plural here to indicate the multiple voices of those that speak the language under study – would allow students to see the language in its plentitude and as in constant motion.

Expanding content to include more sustained discussions on the multiplicity of identities of speakers of the language has several benefits. First, understanding that speakers of the target language as well as target language learners have various linguistic and cultural experiences lessens the pressure to conform to one standard of *native speakerness*. This in turn makes language learning more positive since it does not concern losing one's self, but rather making new connections in the language and with speakers of the language (i.e., a proliferation of identities). Secondly, considering the diversity of those in the target language cultures – including ethnic, racial, socioeconomic, and gender identities – provides language students a means to discuss issues (e.g., racism, class privilege, homosexuality) that are often discouraged in schools for being "controversial." Yet discussing these identities – how people come to be understood by these categories and what their effects are on people – may not only help students better understand the complexities of the target cultures but also of their own. For example, with a nod to Tharps's personal search for Blacks in Spain, studying racism in Spain in a historical context – how the Moors being expelled from the country in the 15th century fostered and solidified binaries of light/dark, European/African, and civilized/savage that are still visible today in the treatment of immigrants from Morocco and other nations from the south – would allow students to compare and contrast racism in their own country. A consideration of topics like these so often invisible in the curriculum in turn may help students become more tolerant of difference in themselves and others (Cahnmann-Taylor & Wooten, In Press), which is a third possible benefit.

Ultimately, the language memoirs by Kaplan, Lvovich, and Tharps demonstrated the tensions and possibilities present in learning another language and creating identities through that language and its associated cultural practices. While using the categories of desire, action,

revelation, and proliferation to analyze their memoirs makes cultural drag seem like a linear process, it is actually quite messy, uncomfortable, and contradictory. Each author-protagonist outlined numerous instances in which they acted like a native speaker and passed or was revealed as a non-native speaker and then returned to acting like a native speaker in a bid to *become* a member of that group. In other words, the subversion of cultural drag is not straightforward; indeed, one may need to be out of drag, so to speak, to have the critical distance to acknowledge that acting like a native speaker is impossible because such a figure is created and that multiplicity is foreign language education's highest end.

Certainly as I develop the concept of cultural drag further through literary and empirical studies as related to foreign language education, I believe its importance is related to teaching language learners how to cross the threshold of self and other and to see oneself in the other and the other in oneself. I see the need to shift language education so students are taught to critically consider a more fluid version of culture and language acquisition that is not a question of giving oneself up. Instead, language education offers students the opportunity to multiply their identity options and develop a sense of self in a globalized world where all identities are unstable, in process, and drag.

References

Armour, W.S. (2001). “This guy is Japanese stuck in a white man’s body”: A discussion of meaning making, identity slippage, and cross-cultural adaptation. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 22*(1), 1–18.

Arroyo, J. (2002). “Mirror, mirror on the wall”: Performing racial and gender identities in Javier Cardona's “You don't look like”. In L.A. Ramos-García (Ed.), *The state of Latino theater in the United States: Hybridity, transculturation, and identity* (pp. 152-171). New York; London: Routledge.

Bell, V. (1999). Performativity and belonging: An introduction. *Theory, Culture & Society, 16*(2), 1-10.

Block, D. (2007). *Second language identities*. London: Continuum.

Butler, J. (1988). Performative acts and gender constitution: An essay in phenomenology and feminist theory. *Theatre Journal*, 40(4), 519-531.

Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies that matter: On the discursive limits of “sex”*. New York: Routledge.

Butler, J. (1997). *Excitable speech: A politics of the performative*. New York: Routledge.

Butler, J. (1999). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York: Routledge. (Original work published 1990)

Butler, J. (2004). *Undoing gender*. New York: Routledge.

Cahnmann-Taylor, M. & Wooten, J. (In Press). Black, white, and Rainbow [of Desire]: The color of race-talk of pre-service foreign language educators in Boalian theatre workshops. In M.S. Hanley, G. Noblit & T. Barone (Eds.), *A way out of no way: The arts as social justice in education.*

Cummings, W.R. (1998). Foreign language: What a drag! *Modern Language Studies, 28*(3/4), 163-172.

Davies, A. (2003). *The native speaker: Myth or reality*. Clevedon; Buffalo: Multilingual Matters.

Diamond, E. (1996). Introduction. Performance and cultural politics. In E. Diamond (Ed.), *Performance and cultural politics* (pp. 1-2). New York: Routledge.

Fachinger, P. (1996). Cross-dressing as appropriation in the short stories of Emma Lee Warrior. *Studies in American Indian Literatures*, *8*(3), Retrieved February 9, 2008, from http://oncampus.richmond.edu/faculty/ASAIL/SAIL2/83.pdf

Fox, G.E. (1996). *Hispanic nation: Culture, politics, and the constructing of identity*. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press.

Garber, M. (1997). *Vested interests: Cross-dressing & cultural anxiety*. New York: Routledge. (Original work published 1992)

Kaplan, A. (1993). *French lessons: A language memoir*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kaplan, A. (1994). On language memoir. In A Bammer (Ed.), *Displacements: Cultural identities in question* (pp. 59-70). Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press.

Kinginger, C. (2004). Alice doesn't live here anymore: Foreign language learning and identity reconstruction. In A. Pavlenko, & A. Blackledge (Eds.), *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts* (pp. 219-242). Clevedon; Buffalo: Multilingual Matters.

Kramsch, C. (1998). *Language and culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kramsch, C. (2003). The privilege of the nonnative speaker. In C. Blyth (Ed.), *The sociolinguistics of foreign language classrooms: Contributions of the native, the near-native, and the non-native speaker* (pp. 251-262). Boston: Heinle.

Kramsch, C. (2005). The multilingual experience: Insights from language memoirs. *Transit, 1*(1), Retrieved July 21, 2009, from http://www.escholarship.org/uc/item/9h79g172

Li, X. (2007). Souls in exile: Identities of bilingual writers. *Journal of language, identity, and education, 6*(4), 259-275.

Lloyd, M. (1999). Performativity, parody, politics. *Theory, Culture & Society, 16*(2), 195-213.

Lvovich, N. (1997). *The multilingual self: An inquiry into language learning*. Mahwah, N.J.: L. Erlbaum Associates.

Newton, E. (1979). *Mother camp: Female impersonators in America*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Norbury, R., & Richardson, B. (1994). *Guy to goddess: An intimate look at drag queens*. Berkeley, CA: Ten Speed Press.

Norton Peirce, B. (1995). Social identity, investment, and language learning. *TESOL Quarterly, 29*(1), 9-31.

Norton, B. (1997). Language, identity, and the ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly, 31*(3), 409-429.

Reagan, T. & Osborn, T. (2002). *The foreign language educator in society: Toward a critical pedagogy*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Paikeday, T.M. (1985). *The native speaker is dead!* Toronto; New York: Paikeday Publishing.

Pavlenko, A. & Lantolf, J. (2000). Second language learning as participation and the (re)construction of selves. In J. Lantolf (Ed.), *Sociocultural theory and second language learning* (pp. 155-177).

Pavlenko, A. (2001). “How am I to become a woman in an American vein?”: Transformations of gender performance in second language learning. In A. Pavlenko, A. Blackledge, I. Piller, & M. Teutsch-Dwyer (Eds.), *Multilingualism, second language learning, and gender* (pp. 133-174). Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Pavlenko, A. (2004). “The making of an American”: Negotiation of identities at the turn of the Twentieth Century. In A. Pavlenko & A. Blackledge (Eds.), *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts* (pp. 34-67).Clevedon; New York: Multilingual Matters.

Pavlenko, A. (2005). *Emotions and multilingualism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pennycook, A. (2004). Performativity and language studies. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies: An International Journal, 1*(1), 1-19.

Piller, I. (2002a). Passing for a native speaker: Identity and success in language learning. *Journal of sociolinguistics*, 6(2), 179-206.

Piller, I. (2002b). *Bilingual couples talk: The discursive construction of hybridity*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: J. Benjamins.

Piller, I. & Takahashi, K. (2006). A passion for English: Desire and the language market. In A. Pavlenko (Ed.), *Bilingual minds: Emotional experience, expression, and representation* (pp. 59-83).

Pratt, M.L. (1992). *Imperial eyes*. New York: Routledge.

Rajchmann, J. (1985). *Michel Foucault: The freedom of philosophy*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Roach, J.R. (1996). *Cities of the dead: Circum-Atlantic performance*. New York: Columbia University Press.

RuPaul. (1995). *Lettin' it all hang out: An autobiography*. New York: Hyperion.

Salih, S. (2002). *Judith Butler*. London; New York: Routledge

Singh, R. (1998). Introduction. In R. Singh (Ed.), *The native speaker: Multilingual perspectives* (pp. 26-44). New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Starkey, H. (2007). Language education, identities and citizenship: Developing cosmopolitan perspectives. *Language and intercultural communication, 7*(1), pp. 56-71.

Tharps, L. (2008). *Kinky gazpacho: Life, love & Spain*. New York: Atria Books.

Tharps, L. (2010). American Meltingpot: Keeping track of where cultures collide, co-mingle and cozy up. Retrieved March 23, 2010, from http://www.myamericanmeltingpot.blogspot.com/

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

CHAPTER THREE

A CONSTANT RACE TO PERFECTION?: THE AMBIVALENCE OF NON-NATIVE TEACHERS OF SPANISH "ACTING LIKE" THE NATIVE SPEAKER[3]

Wooten, J.A. Manuscript to be submitted to the *Hispania*, a journal of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese.

Abstract

In this article, I describe how nine non-native teachers of Spanish navigated ambivalence towards their understanding of language and themselves as language users and teachers in relation to the native / non-native binary. Using performance as theory and method, the study considered how participants enacted and reacted to the conflicting and contradictory ways they related to the performance of their second language identities. Through theatrical exercises, ambivalence became visible – and dealt with – as participants performed their goals and desires for learning and teaching Spanish, the strategies they employed to become as "native-like" as possible, and their feelings upon being revealed as non-native speakers. Rather than a problem to be solved, embracing ambivalence – that is, accepting the *both/and* of their first and second language identities rather than seeing themselves as failed native speakers – could signal a significant shift in how non-native teachers view themselves and the project of foreign language education today.

Impossible Goal, Real Effects: Language Educators and the Native / Non-Native Binary

> Spain, there's just something that totally got in my blood there. I am a Spain junky - I love *flamenco*, I love bullfighting, I love strolling *la plaza*, I love *la siesta*, at least the concept of it. I love *la comida*, you know, the big meal in the middle of the day. I love that the children come home from school for lunch and how important family is. Spain just feels like home.
>
> […]
>
> On my first trip to Spain with the kids [high school students], somebody asked me, *"¿En qué trabajas?"* I said, *"Soy una profesora,"* but he was like, "No, no, *una profesora*, no. '*Soy profesora*,' no se necesita el artículo." I was like, "Oh, my GOSH!" I was just mortified because I LOOOVE…I hate to make mistakes, and so I have NEEEEVER made that mistake again. I hate to make mistakes, they totally remind me that I'm not a real Spanish speaker. (Lucy, Interview 1) (Note: Words in ALL CAPS through the manuscript indicate participants' marked tonal stress).

Lucy (all names are pseudonyms), a public high school Spanish teacher with seven years of classroom experience, verbalized the ambivalence non-native speaking language teachers often feel when language, identity, and desire intersect. Lucy's reiteration of her love for Spain – exemplified in practices that she identified with the Spain she experienced during extended sojourns in Salamanca as both student and teacher – contrasted with her hatred for making linguistic errors that revealed her outsider status in a place that "feels like home." While she may have been what she later called "a full participant" by earnestly imitating the speech of Spaniards with whom she had contact, participating in activities with homestay families and friends, and

including herself in local and national communities by adopting *nosotros* [we] – that is, acting like the native speaker she desired to become – Lucy believed her language skills sometimes betrayed her and identified her as what she was "*not*, or at least *not yet*" (Kramsch, 1998, p. 28) or "*not ever*" (Cook, 1999, p. 189). She was both a part of and apart from the target language community (Block, 2007).

This ambivalence, though, led Lucy to negatively describe herself as "not a real Spanish speaker" (i.e., apart from) even though she felt viscerally and passionately connected to the language, her image of the country, and her Spanish family and friends (i.e., a part of). A "real Spanish speaker," Lucy implied, does not make mistakes, is linguistically and culturally omniscient, and is thus the perfect native speaker. The irony, of course, is that such a flesh-and-blood being does not exist; instead, this ideal native speaker inhabits the imaginations of non-native teachers of Spanish like Lucy who attempt to achieve and promulgate the impossible standard of *nativeness* that undergirds foreign language education. This ideal native speaker may be "a convenient fiction, or a shibboleth rather than a reality" (Paikeday, 1985, p. x), but since it exists "in the minds of millions of teachers" (Medgyes, 1994, p. ix), as well as in popular conceptions of language learning, its effects on non-native teachers are very real. In other words, this standard of perfection that the native speaker symbolizes and that the non-native speaker cannot hope to achieve produces desire and restriction, joy and frustration, love and hate.

In this article, I describe how Lucy and eight other participants in a qualitative study I conducted on the linguistic and cultural identities of non-native teachers of Spanish navigated their ambivalence towards their understanding of language and themselves as language users and language teachers in relation to the native / non-native binary through performance. First, I explain the theoretical and methodological framework of the study, focusing on notions of

performance, cultural drag, and ambivalence, as related to language education. Specifically, I outline how Butler's work on performativity and Boal's theatrical techniques in focus groups allowed participants and me to explore how they performed in conflicting and contradictory ways related to cultural drag, or acting out second language identities based on the imitation of native speakers (Wooten, 2010a). Second, I show how ambivalence became visible – and dealt with – through Boalian theatrical exercises as participants performed stages of cultural drag. These stages include how they performed their goals and desires for learning and teaching Spanish, the strategies they have employed to become as "native-like" as possible, their feelings upon being revealed as non-native speakers, and new possibilities for identity other than *either* native *or* non-native. Finally, I explain how the teachers' acceptance of ambivalence – that is, emphasizing the *both/and* of their first and additional language identities and subsequently their status as a bi- or multilingual individual rather than as failed native speakers – signaled a significant shift in how these non-native teachers saw themselves and the project of foreign language education in today's postmodern, trans-global world.

Performing Identities: Performance as Theory and Method

Drag icon RuPaul pithily explained the interstices of identity and performance: "We're all playing roles, you know? […] the whole world's a stage and we're ALL actors playing roles" (Lake, Paramore, & Kellison, 2010). RuPaul pointed to the fact that identities are not inherent, but rather are to some degree prescribed (or pre-scripted) through discourse and enacted by the subject produced.

Performance as Theory

Butler's (1988, 1990/1999, 1993, 1997, 2004) work on the performativity of gender is especially helpful to those interested in questions of identity in foreign language education.

Butler explained that gender – an identity that seems natural, no less because of its ties to the biological body – is performatively realized. For example, a female is produced as a girl in utero or at birth when the doctor declares her sex and is raised to act like a girl and then a woman throughout her life; the act of acting like a woman, in its recognition (i.e., there is a known, accessible standard of "womanness") and repetition (i.e., the female must continue to repeat "woman" to be recognizable as such), creates that which it seemed only to express. Gender, as Butler argued, is not natural but discursively produced through performance.

Butler (1990/1999) offered drag queens like RuPaul as examples of how the performativity of gender becomes visible. The dichotomous subject positions *man* and *woman* are liberated in drag from any sense of biological determinacy because their norms are performed by an unlikely or unsanctioned individual (i.e., a male dressing as a woman). This mismatch between practices and context is what allows drag to trouble the binaries of man/woman, outside/inside, reality/illusion:

> [I]t is a double inversion that says "appearance is an illusion." Drag says, "my 'outside' appearance [clothes and accoutrements] is feminine, but my essence 'inside' [biological body; DNA] is masculine." At the same time it symbolizes the opposite inversion: "my appearance 'outside' [biological body; sex organs] is masculine but my essence 'inside' [identification] is feminine." (Newton, 1979, p. 103).

Newton made it clear that drag questions the "naturalness" of gender by taking up the very tools that stand as characteristics of gender. Butler (1991) concurred, adding "[d]rag constitutes the mundane way in which genders are appropriated, theatricalized, worn, and done; it implies that all gendering is a kind of impersonation and approximation" (p. 21). In other

words, drag points to gender's performativity, and by extension, other identity categories that are assumed to be natural or inherent.

Loosely translating Butler's work on gender and drag to language education – specifically the category of *speakerness*, or how one's linguistic and cultural practice identifies her (or not) as a legitimate speaker of a particular language – it is clear that the binary in operation is native speaker / non-native speaker. Similar to gender, speakerness is popularly considered a question of birth, or that one must be born into and raised in a language to speak it "like a native." Performatively realized, however, nativeness requires that one have access to a shared standard of native speakerness – including linguistic and cultural practices – and repeat it in order to be recognized as a member of that group. In other words, those individuals considered native speakers are in fact "acting like a native speaker," but their performance goes unnoticed as such because it makes sense in context. Those that do not have access to the shared standards of language and cultural practice and/or cannot repeat them as expected are positioned as non-native speakers (though, admittedly, a native speaker of another). They, too, are "acting like a native speaker" – or at least attempting to do so through linguistic and cultural practice – but there is something that marks them as outsiders (e.g., Lucy's superfluous use of the article "una" in "Soy una profesora").

I call this act of non-native speakers performing like native speakers *cultural drag* (Wooten, 2010a). Just as in gender drag, an unexpected individual (e.g., American, English-speaking Lucy) takes on characteristics and performs like members of the target language (e.g., "Spaniards" in Lucy's case). This act is expected in the context of the Spanish classroom and serves as both the means and ends of the discipline. Cummins (1998) associated language learning and teaching with drag, explaining that the learner "linguistically and culturally cross-

dresses in the foreign language and culture" (p. 168) while the non-native language teacher, as the performer who commands the most attention in the classroom due to her position as teacher, her supposed skill as communicator of all things Spanish, and her often larger-than-life exuberance, is a "drag diva" (p. 169). That is, with the goal of students becoming "native-like," the non-native teacher – herself enacting cultural drag – serves as the principal model for students to imitate, and she controls how students will imitate her as she's acting like others in Spanish who are performing as native speakers. The imitative structure – one might imagine a Russian nesting doll – is perpetuated until one performs differently. An example of performing differently might be a non-native speaker who acts like a native speaker (i.e., a part of) and then reveals herself or is revealed as a non-native speaker of Spanish (i.e., apart from). Much like gender drag queens who often shift back and forth between signs of femininity and masculinity to remind the audience that gender is a performance, a non-native shifting between linguistic and cultural identities may also cause interlocutors to consider who and what counts as "native."

Cultural drag, then, is ambivalent in that it can both subvert and reify the norms of construction and thus provokes a gamut of feelings in non-native speakers related to how they perform (as evidenced by Lucy's comments). Acting like a native speaker solidifies the privilege of the native speaker norm because it operates using many of the same signs and practices, yet it is "subversive to the extent that it reflects on the imitative structure" (Butler, 1993, p. 125). I contend that cultural drag – encompassing the non-native speaker's desire or goals in acting like the native speaker, the strategies she uses in her performance, her response to being revealed as a non-native speaker by choice or through some linguistic, cultural, or physical discrepancy, and often the realization that she is more than a failed native speaker – is fraught with tension and

contradiction because it is a question of identity, which is understood in this study as shifting, unstable, and multiple.

Performance as Method

Interested in the cultural and linguistic identities of non-native teachers of Spanish, I worked with nine such teachers in grades 6-16 in Georgia public schools who self-identified as: being non-native; as having “acted like” native speakers of Spanish as part of their personal and/or professional development; having “passed” as a native speaker; being female (a criteria I included due to the physicality of the focus groups, including members being on display in front of the group, potentially touching other group members, and performing dramatic role-plays); and having taught Spanish for at least three years (see Figure 1). A total of 18 people responded to announcements I sent through listservs of professional organizations (e.g., Foreign Language Association of Georgia) and foreign language and foreign language education departments in local secondary schools and colleges and universities. Nine participants met all of the selection criteria and agreed to take part in the study after I explained in more detail in the screening interview the aims of the study and the methods to be used. I then sent each participant a packet of information through electronic mail that included the Informed Consent Form, the Confidentiality Statement to safeguard privacy in the focus groups, the Participant Biography, and forms related to honorarium (each participant received $150 from research grants I received from the Center for Research & Engagement in Diversity and Ideas for Creative Exploration, both at the University of Georgia). Participants submitted these forms at the start of their individual interviews, the first study activity.

Name (All pseudonyms)	Level of instruction at time of study	Years of teaching experience	Most advanced degree at time of study
Janice	High School	14	MEd (FLE)
Amelia	University	12	PhD (Spanish)
Judith	University	11	PhD Candidate (Spanish; in progress)
Kathleen	High School	10	BA (Spanish)
Holly	Middle School	9	MEd (FLE)
Lucy	High School	7	MAT (Spanish Ed)
Allison	High School	6	MEd (FLE; in progress)
Sierra	High School	4	MA (Spanish)
Katarina	Middle School	3	MEd (FLE)

Figure 3.1. Table of study participants.

I conducted two semi-structured interviews of 60-90 minutes, including an initial interview and a follow-up interview at the end of the five-month formal data collection period that also served as a member check, with all nine participants. The initial interview focused on participants' backgrounds in Spanish, particularly how they saw themselves in terms of their experiences as language learners, their interest and formation in teaching Spanish, and how they see their identities as Spanish speakers affecting their pedagogy and their identities as language teachers affecting their views of themselves as Spanish speakers. Immediately upon returning home, I took notes on each interview. In these notes I richly described the scene, worked through my preliminary impressions of the data, and considered how I might improve the interview guide. I then transcribed each interview and took more notes in my Researcher's Journal. After sets of three interviews, I reviewed the audio recordings and the transcripts and created analytic memos to compare and contrast the participants' responses. I was particularly interested to write through how participants referenced the four steps of cultural drag that I had established through previous readings on second language identity construction, those steps being: (1) goals / desires; (2) strategies to act like a native speaker; (3) revealing one's non-native speakerness; and (4)

recognizing the multiplicity of one's identities (Wooten, 2010a). I continued to use writing as a method of inquiry (Richardson & St.Pierre, 2005) throughout the study, always looping back to these first interviews.

Based on these interviews – which highlighted the shifting, multiple identities and loyalties these teachers had – I planned activities for two four-hour performance-based focus groups (PBFGs) inspired by the work of Brazilian director and activist, Augusto Boal (1979, 1992/2002, 1995). Boal's work, which he named Theatre of the Oppressed (TO) drawing on Freire's (1970) Pedagogy of the Oppressed, "is about acting rather than talking, questioning rather than giving answers, analysing rather than accepting" (Jackson, 1992/2002, p. xxvii). Specifically, Boal's TO is a set of theatrical techniques that allow group members - whom Boal called "spect-actors" because they both critically observe and participate - to consider, critique, and potentially change their experiences through acting (understood here as both performing and taking action). TO, then, engages participants' bodies – "the main source of sound and movement" (Boal, 1979, p. 125) – as a mode of exploration. TO exercises include: Games, or exercises designed to de-mechanize the body, create a sense of community, and be metaphorically significant; Image Theatre, where participants sculpt their bodies like clay to "create an issue, story, or experience" that "becomes a form of text – a weave of potential meanings" (Linds, 2006, p. 119); and Forum Theatre, which is "fundamentally about troubling and dismantling fixed identities" (Banks, 2006, p. 189) and involves group members sharing and selecting stories of conflict to dramatize for critique and change.

TO emphasizes the body as the site on which to interrogate how identities are shaped by discourse (i.e., how the body is inscribed, what the body comes to mean) and how performing differently – what Butler called "subversive repetition" (1990/1999, p. 44) – allows one to be

different. I employed focus groups using TO as a method of data collection to allow teacher-participants and me to not only reflect on how they have formulated identities in Spanish but also consider how their identities may influence their students. Speaking as a non-native teacher of Spanish and as a teacher educator, I believe we often forget our own performances (meaning, the things we do and say come to feel "natural" after awhile) and how they serve as models for students. Making these performances visible – literally putting them on display for themselves and others – allowed teachers to consider their multiple and sometimes conflicting identities in Spanish.

I wrote about my impressions of each focus group that same evening, focusing on the notes I had taken during the session and the comments or actions that wouldn't leave me. I then transcribed the video files using a transcription software program, Transana. I added to my notes as I transcribed and captured screen images of participants in action that allowed me to consider the bodies of the participants along with their words. I also responded to the data artfully (Cahnmann-Taylor, Wooten, Souto-Manning & Dice, 2009), meaning that I wrote poems, short vignettes, and trans/scripts inspired by the data. While most of these creative pieces served only to help me think / write through the data differently – to see "hot spots" like the contradictions I discuss here – I later share two trans/scripts, or "compressed renderings of original transcripts that utilize techniques from poetry and the dramatic arts" (Cahnmann-Taylor, et al, 2009, p. 2548), in this article and explain their function in data analysis and representation. In total, I collected over 30 hours of audio and video data, 595 pages of transcript data, and wrote 203 single-spaced pages in my Researcher's Journal (including notes, analytic memos, and creative writing pieces).

Contradiction and Ambivalence in the Performances of Non-Native Teachers of Spanish

The performance-based focus groups (PBFGs) and initial and follow-up interviews with the teacher-participants were rife with contradictory statements and actions, as participants themselves noted on several occasions. Allison, a high school teacher in a rural county, wondered how I was going to make sense of it all. Indeed, that is my task as a researcher, even if making sense of contradiction seems nonsensical. I have organized this section around teacher-participants' actions and discussion in the Boalian activities in the PBFGs – Image Theatre, games, and Forum Theatre – in relation to three characteristics of cultural drag, namely goals and desire for performing like native speakers, strategies and actions performed, and being revealed as non-native speakers. I also include relevant data from individual interviews. This structure is in many ways organic; several of the topics participants talked about in their individual interviews related to cultural drag were mirrored in the PBFGs and some TO activities encouraged reflection and action on specific elements of cultural drag. Yet the purpose of this section – or even this study – is not to conclusively resolve contradiction or settle ambivalence, but rather to make them visible and ask "what will we find out if we do it this way?" (Jackson, 1995, p. xxiii).

"A constant race to perfection": Sculpting Images of Non-Native Speakers' Goals and Desires

In her initial interview, Amelia, a university instructor at a mid-level state university, explained how excited she was to have won a scholarship through a professional organization that would allow her to take courses in Spain over the summer. She looked forward to those refresher courses helping her hone her understanding of finer points of Spanish, such as the difference between *su mismo* and *sí mismo*, and continuing in her "constant race to perfection." Amelia's comment is significant for several reasons. First, she positions perfection – linguistic

perfection concretely – as the endpoint of language learning, echoing Lucy's earlier comments. Second, the notion of a race implies some sort of competition, but it is ambiguous as to who she is competing against (e.g., herself, other non-native speakers, the native speaker who is supposedly already at the finish line). Third, Amelia's use of the word "constant" to describe the race suggests pace, or how she is always racing but seemingly never arrives. Amelia's race metaphor – I picture her and other participants running down a desert road whose endpoint is a perpetual sizzling blur – in many ways summarized the teacher-participants' view of the native speaker of Spanish and subsequently the teachers' goals related to Spanish.

I adapted an Image Theatre exercise called "Image of a word" (Boal, 1992/2002, pp. 176-183) in the first PBFG so spect-actors could view and discuss how they see themselves as non-native teachers of Spanish and others as native speakers of the language. Amelia, Judith, and Lucy volunteered to show the first images of the label "non-native teacher of Spanish." Their images were evocative: Amelia placed her left hand on her hip and her right hand at her tilted forehead as if purposely hiding her face from the group; Judith had her left hand open as if balancing a book while her right hand was lifted as if writing on a board; and Lucy, quizzical brow furrowed, cupped her right ear with her right hand as if straining to hear. Allison and Holly joined them to construct images, Allison pretending to type on a computer keyboard to search for a translation and Holly miming a telephone call to a native speaker. As the second part of this activity, I asked each spect-actor to verbalize a monologue for their image. Amelia, still covering her face, sighed, "How do you say that again? How does that go? I can't look at them because then they'll know I don't know that word!" Judith peered down at the imaginary textbook in one hand, saying in a panicked tone, "Let me go back to my books to research what I need to know for this class, figure out these WORDS!" The other monologues, like these two examples,

solidified the link between "non-native teacher of Spanish" and *not knowing* (i.e., being apart from) and strategies to overcome *not knowing* the embodied images had suggested. The performance of these images also showed the emotions spect-actors associated with *not knowing*, namely embarrassment, confusion, stress, and anger.

I then asked the group to consider an image for the term "native speaker," a purposely broader category than the first. Amelia gesticulated widely, almost as if swatting flies, joyfully explaining in accented speech, "Pffft, I know everything, I know all these words and don't even have to THINK about them! HAHAHA!" Holly stretched her arms out wide in front of her, offering language: "Here it is! I know I'm right, I don't have to look anything up! Yo SÉ [I KNOW]!" Lucy's image, however, differed from Amelia's spastic portrayal and Holly's statue-like image. She stood in a very relaxed stance while holding something in her hand, later saying in an almost sleepy voice: "I'm on a break from class. I get back when I get back, but right now I'm relaxed and enjoying this conversation with a friend, having a cup of coffee." Each of the "native speaker" images showed the native speaker being in control – having easy access to language, having the authority to use the language indisputably, and having confidence in their status as speakers.

This Image Theatre exercise illustrated how participants perceived themselves within the native / non-native binary. Whereas the native speaker was portrayed as all-knowing, they were categorized as not knowing; the native speaker was confident, yet they were insecure; and the native speaker was in control while the participants enacted haplessness. Thinking back to Amelia's metaphor, they were losing the race. Katarina, a middle school teacher, said she felt defeated because she thought she'd "never get there" as she pointed to the space the spect-actors performing native speakers just occupied. I asked what "there" meant to her.

> My ultimate goal is to, you know, have a DEEEEEP understanding of the language and understand EVERYTHING. My ultimate goal is to be a native speaker, you know, somebody who is absolutely proficient in the language, someone who understands all dialects of that language, can basically talk about anything with anyone.

Katarina's concept of the native speaker is the ideal native speaker who is linguistically and culturally omniscient, the phantasm of foreign language education. Amelia, however, called the existence of this speaker into doubt despite having just portrayed the same figure during Image Theatre. Amelia explained that though she is a native speaker of English, she could never "talk about ANYthing with ANYone." Taking Katarina's mention of dialect as her starting point, she didn't believe that she would fare well "if you were to plop me down in Shannon, Ireland." The group agreed that language is not uniform and no speaker could do it all. Yet Amelia contradicted herself again in her next turn when she shared a story of having a conversation with a group of professors from Cuba:

> I've mostly been educated by Peninsular speakers and lived for a couple of years in Spain, so there were times [in the conversation] when I was just shaking my head because I could NOT, even after all of those years [of studying, teaching Spanish], you know, everything was so different to me, and I thought "I'm never gonna be near-native, I'm never gonna get this. I'm never... I can't even follow this conversation," it's SOOO different, you know?

While Amelia's point was to emphasize how the native speaker ideal is unrealistic because language is so diverse and dependent on so many variables, including geography here, she actually re-voiced Katarina's doubts about ever getting "there," or arriving at that desired

endpoint of being able to understand and speak Spanish in every situation. I questioned Amelia about this contradiction. She paused for a moment, sighed heavily, and said that there is no pressure for her to perform as a native English speaker. That is, she can call on her status as a native speaker in English to soften the blow of not knowing; her competence, her identity really, is not at stake. Spanish, however,

> has been the focus of my study. I've dedicated my life to it. If I was to go to Cuba and not be able to communicate, that would stress me out. […] It'd be like, 'I've studied for 20 plus years, and I still can't do this.'

I believe Amelia's contradictory statements – which reflect the desire to be a part of and frustration being apart from – are related to her multiple identities in Spanish. As a Spanish professor, she teaches her students about linguistic variety; intellectually, she knows that the ideal native speaker doesn't exist, that communication is infinitely more than single words. Yet as a perpetual language learner – evidenced by her "constant race to perfection"– invested in Spanish, the ties to the native speaker standard are seemingly impossible to unknot.

Amelia herself noted the different goals as teacher and learner by wondering in the first PBFG if her "constant race to perfection" was wholly personal. She explained that when she is in the classroom, she feels very secure in her ability to lead class, relay information to students, and respond to students (i.e., she felt she had won that race). Group members overwhelmingly agreed with Amelia, several jumping in to explain their own division between their personal and professional identities in Spanish. Picking up Amelia's race metaphor, Lucy offered,

> MY goal for MYSELF, the desire to be a native speaker has NOTHING to do with my classroom, it has everything to do with my perception of myself and this fantasy of not being yourself, of being a native speaker […] I want all of it [native

> speakerness] and that's the part that is the race, that's probably never won, but that learning is motivated by the selfish person that wants to be native, not necessarily *(chuckles)* for the sake of the kids!

Lucy mentioned an important element related to one's desire to perform cultural drag, the fantasy of creating new identities (or laying claim to another's identity) in the language. As in her first interview, she separated *Lucía* (the name she claimed for herself in Spanish) – who enjoyed her Spanish "father's" dirty jokes and waking up at dawn to watch *los sanfermines* [The Running of the Bulls] on television with him on hot July mornings in Salamanca – from Lucy, the Spanish teacher. That is, Lucy identified Lucía as the one trying to get "there," the one brought fourth when "language is the trigger" in non-professorial contexts. Lucía "is the part I'm playing in the culture" (Interview #1). Lucy, though, was the seemingly complete, competent, and confident Spanish teacher trained in language pedagogy and who "knows all the tricks" of teaching Spanish to non-native students – perhaps even better than native speaking teachers – because she herself is non-native. In other words, being apart from the community was sometimes viewed as advantageous as Lucy and other participants demonstrated by positioning themselves as having won the race in terms of their *Spanish teacherness*.

Returning to the images from "Image of a word," however, spect-actors represented non-native teachers as not knowing, as being oppressed by the weight of the standard of the native speaker, and having to strategize to create the illusion of knowing in class. This contradictory figure of the non-native teacher in Image Theatre and the debriefing that followed indicated that participants may not always have felt confident as non-native teachers, but they felt more secure in that role than as language learners chasing the all-knowing native speaker.

"It was just a game to see how far I could go": Strategies for "Acting Like" a Native Speaker

If the goal of the teacher-participants was to be a native speaker (or "near-native" or "native-like," as they also expressed), the road they took to that destination was to act like a native speaker (i.e., practice makes perfect). Early in the first PBFG, I asked participants to play a Boalian game called "The big chief" (Boal, 1992/2002, p. 101) that involved imitation. In this game, the group formed a large circle, while Sierra volunteered to leave the room. The group silently selected Holly to be the big chief, meaning that they would simultaneously imitate her movements exactly as she performed them (i.e., they would act like Holly). Sierra's goal when she re-entered the room was to discern who the model of the group's actions was. She first just observed the group from about five feet away and then began to slowly move around the group to look at each person. Though Sierra had three guesses, her first guess was Holly, saying that others' eyes and a slight delay between Holly's motions and the others' gave it away.

After several more rounds, I asked participants how they saw this game as a metaphor for language learning and teaching. Lucy immediately answered that "The big chief" reminded her of how she and her husband tried to act like *salamantinos* [those from Salamanca, Spain] as they walked through the Plaza Mayor on their most recent trip, which was just one example of the numerous activities that she enacted as Lucía – again, as she described her, "the part I'm playing in the culture." Lucy's answer of something as simple as walking like a *salamantina* reiterated that cultural drag entails a "new body experience" (Lucy, Interview #1). Group members recounted their own imitative actions, many of which they had detailed in great length during initial interviews. Most emphasized "looking like" a native speaker as the first step to being part of the target community, Amelia explaining:

> I got there and my Americanness in a physical sense was readily apparent, the tennis shoes, the blue jeans, the jogging clothes, the no makeup, the scrunchy [a fabric-covered hair tie] in my hair, like all of that pointed me OUT. So I flipped my wardrobe, makeup always on, accessories, you know, that was a big strategy. If I could just get them to look at me before I even opened my mouth and accept it [her performance], it's like "I got my foot in the door!" And then as soon as I started speaking without them questioning [her origins], it was like one more step. And then it was just a game to see how far I could go. (Interview #1)

Amelia's description of how she transformed herself to look as much like a *sevillana* (a woman from Sevilla, Spain) as possible was a strategy shared by nearly all of the participants. Other activities participants took part in to "simulate[e] other facets of the culture" (Amelia, Interview #1) involved: "putting on that Spanish attitude" in public spaces such as bars and cafés (Amelia, Interview #1); gesturing like members of the community (Judith, Interview #1); adopting practices like tardiness (Judith and Janice, Interview #1); observing mealtimes and eating so-called authentic foods almost exclusively (Lucy, Interview #1); taking part in family activities like movie nights, birthday parties, and picnics (Janice, Holly, Lucy, Katarina, Kathleen, Allison, Interview #1); making friends in the community to gain access to and participate in age-appropriate activities (Sierra, Janice, Lucy, Interview #1); and dating speakers of the language (Allison, Lucy, Janice, Katarina, Interview #1).

Through their linguistic skills, cultural skills, and/or appearance, participants believed they were able to "pass" as a native speaker *in situ* and/or at their school site. Amelia's reference to wondering how far / long she could go in her performance of a native speaker indicated that she was conscious of her attempts to pass. Janice, however, said that her passing was incidental;

she spent a lot of time in high school in the company of her Mexican boyfriend (whom she dated because she was interested in Spanish) and his friends and family: "I really can't describe what I did because I was just one of them," so much so newcomers into that group believed she "belonged there" (Interview, #1). That is, the participants' actions (based on others') allowed them to be a part of their target communities.

Additionally, it was often these same activities and experiences they called on in the Spanish classroom. Sierra, for example, declared that "foreign language teaching isn't just teaching the language; it's also my experiences" (Interview #2). She admitted that her emphasis in her classes was on Spain and her representation of Spain (based on her personal experiences of "the best two years ever") as "fun, amazing, a fantasy world" (Interview #2). Other participants, especially Amelia and Lucy, rejected this idealized portrayal in favor of more critical, social justice aims. Yet they, too, said that their pedagogy was experience-based – recalling Cummins's (1998) "drag diva" (p. 169) – and fostered the idea that one can and should want to become part of the teacher's target community by acting like a member of that community. Indeed, this sometimes contradicted their expressed desires to introduce students to the breadth of Spanish-speaking cultures and subcultures. Sierra, for example, said that she wanted her predominantly African-American students to see themselves represented in the cultures they studied, yet her emphasis on her personal experiences in contemporary Spain – essentially her performance of "Spanish" Sierra in the classroom – rather than communities with extensive historical ties to Africa (e.g., communities in the Caribbean, Nicaragua) offered students limited planes on which they might situate their own language learner identities.

"Maybe we're already THERE, who's to say we're not?": Non-Native Speakerness Revealed

As Rajagopalan (2005) noted, the goal for non-native speakers in a system that privileges the native speaker is "to be caught out later rather than sooner" (p. 286). All of the participants gleefully described situations in which they had "passed" as a native speaker, their performance "so impeccably mimic[king] 'reality' that it goes [temporarily] undetected as performance" (Ginsberg, 1996, p. 226). Such secret performances are possible because there is "a subject who does not tell and, on the other side, an audience who fails to ask" (Leary, 1999, p. 85). Yet as good as they were at playing the part of a native speaker, revelation was almost always inevitable because there is something, no matter how minute, that gives the performer away in drag (thus, distinguishing drag from passing). Recalling the game "The big chief," Sierra was able to pick Holly out as the leader because of the subtle indicator of other spect-actors' indirect eye movement and even the minute gap between Holly's and others' movements. Participants related this revelation in the game to gaps they couldn't even perceive giving them away as non-native speakers, or as being apart from the community.

In the case of the teacher-participants' accounts of passing, they often came to realize they had passed temporarily when something had given them away and their interlocutors (i.e., the audience of the performance) asked them where they were from – meaning they were recognizably not from *there*. Amelia said that she passed often and probably could have passed more regularly if she had evaded direct questioning (e.g., "Where are you from?"). She felt she easily fooled people in El Corte Inglés (a Spanish department store), coffee shops, and other consumer establishments for shorter periods of time, but something that she couldn't pinpoint would ultimately give her away because it's "hard to fool a native for too long" (Interview #1). I asked if she felt uncomfortable or upset when she was "found out," but she explained she took it

as a “wonderful affirmation.” In passing in the short term and then being discovered as a non-native, she knew she had become a successful language user because interlocutors would often remark how they couldn’t believe that she wasn’t a native Spanish speaker, that she spoke so well, etc. Being “caught” meant that, at least temporarily, she had performed well and/or her interlocutor suspended their disbelief.

> If I can pass for a native speaker in Spanish even for the briefest of moments it’s like I’ve done that jujitsu BACKFLIP and someone from the outside would be like “OOOH, listen to her, they don’t even know she’s American.” It’s an achievement, it’s definitely an achievement, it makes you feel good, like the hard work was paying off. (Interview #1)

Sierra echoed Amelia’s enthusiasm for being discovered as a non-native speaker and, more concretely, as an American. She could pass based on her physical body; the dark features of her Syrian and Italian background made her more closely resemble many Spaniards than fairer participants who had also lived in Spain. Because she was trying to perfect her linguistic skills during her sojourn in Madrid, Spain, she believed that her moments of revelation generally involved language. Sierra, like several participants, suggested that her accent – an amalgamation of previous study with Spanish teachers from different countries and personal travel – made it difficult to place her and, thus, spurred the question of her origins. When I asked how she felt in these moments where she believed she had passed and was then found out, she replied, “I love it – it’s the best feeling in the world!” (Interview #1). She clarified that she wanted to be found out so she could be praised for all of her hard work, which made her a unique American. Because of the stereotype of the monolingual American, she wanted to represent that Americans can learn other languages, do take interest in the cultures of others, and can even assimilate.

Eight of the nine participants discussed experiences of passing in reference to time spent studying or working abroad in Spain, Mexico, and/or Costa Rica (the exception being Kathleen, who was a blond, blue-eyed Peace Corps volunteer in a remote village with a large indigenous population in Honduras). Additionally, all of the participants related that other non-native speakers often confused them for native speakers of Spanish to some degree upon hearing them speak. Participants recounted that administrators, co-workers, and students in their schools often did not recognize that a non-native speaker can be a competent language user and thus assumed the teacher-participants were native speakers. Katarina said that her monolingual English co-workers were in awe when she spoke to Spanish-speaking parents in the main office or on the phone. Students also had this perception that she had to have either been born in a Spanish-speaking country or had Hispanic family in order to speak the language well and/or teach it. Because of the perceived incongruence of her language skills and her blond hair, light complexion, and native command of English, her students often asked her, "Were you born in Mexico?" When she explained her family was Polish, they often exclaimed, "We thought you were Spanish!?!" She stated she felt "good about myself" (Interview #1) when others took her for a native speaker, but acknowledged that non-native speakers were easily fooled into thinking she was a native speaker because they could not tell the difference between native speech and good non-native speech.

When discussing the moments in which they had perceived themselves as passing as native speakers and the times when their non-native status was revealed, participants almost wholly shaded the revelation as positive. Their revelation prompted interlocutors – the most valued being native speakers in the countries in which the participants lived – to validate their performance by expressing that they thought participants *were* native speakers but there was

some small discrepancy that compelled them to ask. The reaction to their non-native speakerness in these cases allowed participants to see themselves as unique border-crossers who had nearly completed the project of foreign language education. In other words, they felt "accomplished!" (Allison, Interview #1).

Yet revealing or being revealed as a non-native speaker was not always positive for participants. In the first PBFG, I asked the teachers to consider moments when they felt tension in the performance of their second language identities. Each teacher reflected and wrote notes on provided notepads, eventually listing between six and ten tensions each. They then shared their individual lists in groups of three and decided on one theme around which to develop a two- or three-scene skit for Forum Theatre, Boal's technique for spect-actors to re-enact conflict to produce a more positive outcome of the scene. Katarina, Allison, and Sierra created a three-scene play later titled "Insufficient funds" that focused on Sierra as the teacher-protagonist. The first scene, "The job interview," saw Sierra unable to secure employment at a private school because she was not a native speaker of Spanish. The second scene, "Aren't you supposed to, like, speak Spanish?", focused on how students embarrassed the teacher when she did not know a word in Spanish one of the students had asked her. The final scene, "Report to the office," showed Sierra being asked by an administrator to interpret for a Spanish-speaking parent who she had difficulty understanding. In each of these scenes, the teacher-protagonist felt oppressed because she felt she was expected to be a native speaker. While her personal goal (or race, remembering Amelia's metaphor), the professional expectations that she be all-knowing in Spanish expressed by administrators, parents, and students and her inability to live up to those expectations left her feeling lacking.

The teachers especially identified with "Aren't you supposed to, like, speak Spanish?" In this scene, Katarina played the part of one of Sierra's students who asked her the meaning of a word that one of Katarina's Latino friends had used the day before. I share the trans/script, or the condensed, stylized version of the original video transcript data that acted as a mode of analysis and a means of representation (Cahnmann-Taylor, et al, 2009), here to illustrate the theatricality and emotional charge of this scene in particular and the PBFGs in general:

Trans/script: Model of "Aren't you supposed to, like, speak Spanish?"

(The bell rings, and the Spanish teacher is ready to begin her middle school class.)

TEACHER (portrayed by Sierra): Hola clase, ¿cómo estáis? [Hello, class. How are you all {the use of the *vosotros* form of the verb *estar* indicates teacher's use of peninsular Spanish}?]

STUDENT 1 (played by Katarina): Hoooolaaaaa *(pronouncing the H forcefully)*

TEACHER: Buenos días clase, ¿qué tal? [Good morning, class. How are you?]

STUDENT 2 (performed by Allison): ¡Buenos días!

TEACHER: Buenos días, okay… *(moves to the projector by her desk to start the lesson)*

STUDENT 1: *(Raises hand)* Um…

TEACHER: Hoy vamos a ver *(looks up from the projector and sees Student 1's hand)* ¿Sí? [Today we're going to see…Yes?]

STUDENT 1: Yesterday, my friend Miguel who's from GuadalaJARa *(pronounces "jar" as if in English),* Mexico called his brother a "pendejo," but I don't know what that means.

TEACHER: *(looking quizzical)* ¿Cómo? [What?]

STUDENT 1: *(slightly raising her voice)* Pendejo! *(looking at the teacher with an ambiguous wide-eyed expression)* What does "pendejo" mean?

TEACHER: Mmmmmmm… *(pausing as she looks at the dictionary on the edge of her desk)*

STUDENT 2: *(having watched the teacher's gaze to the dictionary, asks in an accusatory tone)* Aren't you supposed to, like, speak Spanish?

The issue, as spect-actors interpreted it, was that the teacher was put on the spot when a student asked her the meaning of a word with which she was unfamiliar. Her lack of immediate response and the subtle glance to the dictionary alerted students to the fact that she didn't know the word, causing one of them to accuse her of not speaking the language (the implication being that a speaker of a language knows all of its words). Sierra's use of the *vosotros* [you all, formal] form indicated her use of Peninsular Spanish, which may have explained why she was unfamiliar with the word *pendejo*, which approximates "idiot" or, more forcefully, "jackass" in Mexico. Since *pendejo* is a word that would be avoided in formal contexts like the classroom, the spect-actors also questioned the student's intent in asking for the meaning of that particular word. Did she really not know what the word meant and was curious to learn more Spanish, or did she know that it was inappropriate and hoped – along with her friend, Student #2 – to get a rise out of the teacher? The spect-actors generally approached the scene with both possibilities in mind as they prepared to replace Sierra as the Teacher in subsequent re-enactments of "Aren't you supposed to, like, speak Spanish?" to make a change in the action that would allow the teacher to protect her authority.

In Forum Theatre, spect-actors who initially observe the model scene consider how they would change the scene if they were in the protagonist's place. As the original actors begin a

second run of the scene, spect-actors command them to "Stop!" so they can assume the role of the teacher and act out various strategies to improve the scene's outcome. Spect-actors of "Aren't you supposed to, like, speak Spanish?" who focused on the potential disruption a word not known to the teacher might cause generally enacted classroom management strategies when acting for change. Lucy opted to leave the question unanswered while still acknowledging the possibility of learning (e.g., "I love it when you learn new words from friends! Keep a list of those and we can all go over them later in the semester"), while Judith choose to ignore the question and focus the students' attention on the task at hand exclusively in Spanish (thus, reasserting her authority as language user and teacher). Amelia enacted a more dramatic, unrealistic (though cathartic) option to shut down Student #2's accusation by telling her, "¡Cierra el pico! [Shut your trap!]" These strategies, then, gave the teacher options around not knowing in ways that allowed her to save face. Other spect-actors, however, looked at the scene as a potential teachable moment. Holly, for example, used the question as a way to introduce students to the concept of linguistic variety and of the impossibility of knowing it all.

> Trans/script: Spect-acting strategy for "Aren't you supposed to, like, speak Spanish?" – Teachable moment
>
> Student #2 (played by Allison): Aren't you supposed to, like, speak Spanish?
>
> Teacher (now played by Holly): Well, there are many different ways that Spanish is spoken. I learned Spanish in Spain, which is a little different from *(points towards Katarina)* Spanish in GuadalaJARa *(recasts to model the pronunciation of the city in Spanish)*, Mexico.
>
> Student #1 (played by Katarina): WHAAAA?!? (*looks around like to classmates as if to say "No way!")* Spanish is Spanish!

Teacher: No, it's different all over! Just like in English, there's American English, British English. Like when you were little kids in elementary school, what did you have to do when the class was going to the bathroom?

Student #1: Line up and walk together.

Teacher: Yeah, "line up" here, but in Britain they say "form a queue" *(mimes like she's writing the phrase on the board)*

Student #2: *(surprised)* I've never seen that word in my LIFE!

Teacher: Right, because here we say "line." It's just a little different!

Holly's strategy, well-received by the group, emphasized linguistic variety related to nation-states and cued students in on the Spanish she used and was teaching them. As group members discussed Holly's intervention, they recognized that their teacherly stance on language conflicted with their "personal race" to become linguistically omniscient. Lucy explained, "we put unrealistic expectations on ourselves, like I don't need to be able to speak the Spanish of a 16 year-old Mexican boy, that will serve me NO good *(chuckling)* except when I'm interpreting for [student-parent-teacher] conferences." Lucy, like other spect-actors, resisted what she perceived as the students' expectations in this scene – and the expectations of administrators and parents in other scenes of "Insufficient funds" – that she be able to speak like anyone to anyone about anything. When faced with expectations of native speakerness that they felt they could not meet, spect-actors often moved to language teacher mode to explain linguistic variation and to position themselves as specific types of speakers (e.g., a speaker of Peninsular Spanish, academic Spanish) that in turn allowed them to explain the communication breakdown. This move helped the teachers salvage their public reputations as language users and language teachers (doubly positioned *to know* and be expert) and evade being seen by others as the non-native speaking

teachers who didn't know, had troubles, and were incomplete that they had sculpted themselves in "Image of a word."

The contradictions of loving and hating being revealed as non-native speakers, of being validated and undermined, of being feeling confident and insecure, I believe, reiterated that the participants' identities as language users and language teachers did not exist in a vacuum. At one point in the first PBFG, group members discussed what achieving their goals would look like and how they would know they had arrived at their desired destination (which indeed reflected the images they created of the native speaker in the "Image of a word" exercise). Lucy wondered, "Maybe we're already THERE, who's to say we're not?" The question was rhetorical; Lucy was suggesting they reconsider their own expectations of what it meant to be "there." Yet discussions in their individual interviews and scenes in Forum Theatre served to remind participants that their performances – and thus their second language identities – were co-produced by interlocutors who either "fail[ed] to ask" (Leary, 1999, p. 85), praised their efforts by focusing on what they could do (i.e., temporarily pass as native speakers), or rejected their attempts and concentrated on what they could not do. These revelations, then, signified the shifts between participants' first and second language identities; their ambivalent responses to the reveal were directly related to the feedback on the performance of their second language identities, of how close they came to reaching the finish line in their "constant race to perfection."

"That's Identity! We are Contradictions!": Ambivalence, Contradiction, and Cultural Drag as Pedagogy

Throughout this article, I have attempted to give a sense of how the teacher-participants shifted back and forth between: thinking language is fixed and knowable (and, thus, one can be all-knowing of language), but also thinking language is incomplete and contextually-bound;

believing that the finish line at the end of the race – that is, becoming the ideal native speaker – is possible if they only keep going, but also believing that no such line exists; and feeling confident in their role as Spanish teachers despite their lack of confidence in their personal race to native speakerness, but also feeling insecure in their role as Spanish teachers because they are subject to their own and others' expectations that they are doubly expert. The participants often recognized that in explaining how they have done cultural drag – both in the service of fulfilling their personal goals to become uncontestable, legitimate users of Spanish and as models for their students – they often contradicted themselves as they tried to reconcile the ambivalent feelings that accompanied being a part of and apart from their target communities. Ambivalence itself was initially a cause of tension since ambivalence "is not a desirable state" and "individuals generally attempt to resolve the conflicts that underlie their ambivalence" (Block, 2007, p. 22).

The palpable tensions that the teacher-participants expressed, I believe, were a result of their feeling as if they had to choose to do *either* native speakerness *or* non-native speakerness within a system that privileges an ideal. Simply stated, the teachers had chosen native speakerness, and their cultural drag reified its privilege which in turn put their perceived finish line further and further away despite advanced degrees and extensive time in Spanish-speaking communities. The result of participants collectively considering the native speaker / non-native speaker binary in the PBFGs, however, seemed to spark a change later in how they viewed themselves – Kathleen exclaimed, "That's identity! We are contradictions!" (Interview #2) – and the project of foreign language education. Specifically, they began to see the possibilities of the *both / and* of cultural drag, making ambivalence an asset rather than something to be fixed. Sierra explained in her follow-up interview that the PBFGs allowed her to see her goals, her struggles, and herself from another perspective:

> I never realized how much pressure I constantly put on myself to live up to the standards of the ideal native speaker, that imaginary person, that unattainable perfection, when it comes to speaking Spanish. I hadn't given myself credit for what I can do in Spanish or really even appreciated how what I can do in Spanish AND English!

Sierra's invocation of English here was one of the few times participants referenced their first language abilities. In fact, implicit or explicit references to bilingualism only appeared in follow-up individual interviews.

Lucy explained that, as a result of the PBFGs, she had been trying to think of a term she might use to describe herself with regards to her linguistic and cultural identities, something beyond *non-native speaker*. She said that she had never considered herself bilingual because she equated bilingualism with "double native speakerness" (Interview #2). Yet she had recently attended a community appearance by Sandra Cisneros where organizers divided the audience by language so small groups could discuss issues the well-known Latina author discussed. Lucy said that she stood in the middle of the auditorium aisle thinking about her language skills, her identifications, her identities, and thought "I'm both! Why isn't there a group here in the middle?" This notion of being *both* a speaker of English *and* Spanish, of being *a part of* and *apart from* communities in English and Spanish, was what she wanted her students to take away from her classes. She wondered, however, if she was teaching as if her students could and should become monolingual Spanish speakers rather than speakers of both English and Spanish – admittedly, with different levels of proficiency – who focused on what they could do, who they could communicate with, and seeing all cultures as equally legitimate.

Kramsch (1993) explained that "language teachers are so much teachers of culture that culture has often become invisible to them" (p. 48). This study's activities, however, allowed the teacher-participants to consider how "their discourse [is] full of invisible quotes, borrowed consciously or unconsciously" (Kramsch, 1993, p. 48) from the discourse of foreign language education that holds the ideal native speaker up as its highest standard. Indeed, foreign language education is predicated on cultural drag, on teachers and students acting like members of the target language. Some of these Spanish speakers are certainly flesh and blood, yet participants recognized that the native speaker they hoped to emulate – and become – is an imaginary figure. Cultural drag, however, need not reify the monolithic native speaker as the teacher-participants' performances often did.

Instead, language education would be more relevant in today's postmodern, transglobal world if it were based on a sort of critical cultural drag. First, this type of cultural drag is self-reflexive. That is, it is explicit about drag being the process by which foreign languages are learned and emphasizes the *both / and* of language learners' experiences and new experiences available to them in the target language. Perhaps the starting point for such self-reflection is for educators to reflect on how what they consider to be the purpose of foreign language education translates into action, particularly in the classroom. Teachers who deem the goal of language education to be that students become competent (and confident) speakers of the target language (in addition to the first language or other additional languages) rather than carbon copies of the so-called native speaker might discuss this goal with students on the first day of class and repeat it throughout the course. More specifically, foreign language educators might explain that languages are learned – and identities created – by doing, or performing, and that the foreign

language classroom provides them the opportunity to explore their identities in a new language and to create new identities through linguistic and cultural practices in Spanish.

Second, this type of cultural drag advocates for a critical distance, meaning that language educators provide students access to “both an insider’s and outsider’s perspective on the second culture” (Siskin, 2007, p. 37) rather than expecting students to slip on a Spanish identity wholesale and leave their English (or other L1) identities at the door. In practice, teachers and students might explore a topic like physical appearance from multiple perspectives, beginning with students’ consideration of how they believe their physical appearance marks them as certain types (e.g., tomboy, goth kid, preppy) to how others might “read” them. This act of considering themselves from both insider and outsider perspectives would serve as the basis for then approaching physical appearance as related to specific Spanish-speaking communities. The classroom teacher, media sources, and/or invited guests from the local community or international communities via internet chat may present what they perceive as “typical” (i.e., provide an insider’s perspective); the fundamental next step, however, is having students critically consider the informants’ perspective as situated (i.e., what is “typical” to them is related to their identities) and deconstruct what is presented as “typical” of physical appearance in Spanish-speaking communities from their own situated positions (i.e., the outsider’s perspective). In other words, critical distance allows teachers and students to view a topic from both insider and outsider perspectives, thus making linguistic and cultural practice in both English and Spanish both strange and familiar.

Third, this critical cultural drag eschews the notion of the ideal native speaker and sees the multitude of diverse bilingual and multilingual speakers in local and global communities using language in context as models for students. Rather than teachers relying so heavily on their

own personal experiences – which, as a result, focus instruction on identities specific to them and people like them at the exclusion of others – and Spanish textbooks – which often present speakers of the target language as archetypes framed in small cultural "windows" – teachers might emphasize variety. As suggested above, inviting Spanish speakers in the local community to class or collaborating on projects allows teachers and students to see the language as local and immediate rather than "foreign." Likewise, using available technology to have consistent and long-term contact with individuals or groups of Spanish speakers around the world allows teachers and students to make connections that go beyond language and nationality. That is, a student might not think of a class contact as a "native speaker" or just "Chilean," but rather as a friendly young guy who likes playing video games, his history class, and taking his dog for walks on the beach in Valparaíso. Such connections humanize speakers of Spanish for students and, thus, combat the cold, impossible promise of the ideal native speaker. Additionally, it produces students as users of the language who engage in conversation and negotiate meaning with other users of Spanish in real time. Students are indeed both English and Spanish speakers, amongst other identities in language.

In conclusion, cultural drag conceived and deployed critically reveals the performativity of speakerness and highlights the impossibility of the "constant race to perfection" because "there is no there there" (Stein, 1937, p. 239). Instead, linguistic and cultural practice should be approached from the perspective of the contextually-specific here and now and the possibilities that such shifting – and ambivalence – allows.

References

Armour, W.S. (2001). “This guy is Japanese stuck in a white man’s body”: A discussion of meaning making, identity slippage, and cross-cultural adaptation. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 22*(1), 1–18.

Banks, D. (2006). Unperforming race: Strategies for reimagining identity. In J. Cohen-Cruz & M. Schutzman (Eds.), *A Boal companion: Dialogues on theatre and cultural politics* (pp. 185-198). London; New York: Routledge.

Block, D. (2007). *Second language identities*. London: Continuum.

Boal, A. (1979). *Theatre of the oppressed* [*Teatro del oprimido y otras poéticas políticas*.]. New York: Urizen Books. (Charles A. & Miranda-Odilia Leal McBride Trans.)

Boal, A. (1995). *The rainbow of desire: The Boal method of theatre and therapy* [*Méthode Boal de théâtre et de thérapie*.]. (A. Jackson Trans.). London; New York: Routledge.

Boal, A. (2002). *Games for actors and non-actors* [*Jeux pour acteurs et non-acteurs*.] (A. Jackson Trans.). London; New York: Routledge. (Original work published 1992)

Butler, J. (1988). Performative acts and gender constitution: An essay in phenomenology and feminist theory. *Theatre Journal*, *40*(4), 519-531.

Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies that matter: On the discursive limits of “sex”*. New York: Routledge.

Butler, J. (1997). *Excitable speech: A politics of the performative*. New York: Routledge.

Butler, J. (1999). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York: Routledge. (Original work published 1990)

Butler, J. (2004). *Undoing gender*. New York: Routledge.

Cahnmann-Taylor, M., Wooten, J., Souto-Manning, M. & Dice, J. (2009). The art & science of educational inquiry: Analysis of performance-based focus groups with novice bilingual teachers. *Teachers College Record 111*(11), pp. 2535-2559.

Cook, V. (1999). Going beyond the native speaker in language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly, 33*(2), 185-209.

Cummings, W.R. (1998). Foreign language: What a drag! *Modern Language Studies, 28*(3/4), 163-172.

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Herder and Herder.

Ginsberg, E. K. (1996). *Passing and the fictions of identity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Kramsch, C. (1993). *Context and culture in language teaching*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Kramsch, C. (1998). *Language and culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lake, D., Paratore, J., & Kellison, D. (Executive Producers). (February 22, 2010). [Interview with RuPaul]. *The Bonnie Hunt show*. [Television broadcast]. Culver City, CA: Syndication.

Leary, K. (1999). Passing, posing, and "keeping it real". *Constellations: An International Journal of Critical & Democratic Theory, 6*, 86-96.

Linds, W. (2006). Metaxis: Dancing (in) the in-between. In J. Cohen-Cruz & M. Schutzman (Eds.), *A Boal companion: Dialogues on theatre and cultural politics* (pp. 114-124). London; New York: Routledge.

Medgyes, P. (1994). *The non-native teacher*. London: Macmillan Publishers.

Newton, E. (1979). *Mother camp: Female impersonators in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Paikeday, T.M. (1985). *The native speaker is dead!* Toronto; New York: Paikeday Publishing.

Pavlenko, A. (2001). “How am I to become a woman in an American vein?”: Transformations of gender performance in second language learning. In A. Pavlenko, A. Blackledge, I. Piller and M. Teutsch-Dwyer (Eds), *Multilingualism, second language learning, and gender* (pp. 133-174). Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Rampton, B. (1995). *Crossing: Language and ethnicity among adolescents*. London; New York: Longman.

Rajagopalan, K. (2005). Non-native speaker teachers of English and their anxieties: Ingredients for an experiment in action research. In E. Llurda (Ed.), *Non-native language teachers: Perceptions, challenges and contributions to the profession* (pp. 283-303). New York: Springer Science+Business Media.

Richardson, L. & St.Pierre, E. (2005). Writing: A method of inquiry. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research (Third edition)* (pp. 959-978). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Siskin, J. (2007). Call me “Madame”: Re-presenting culture in the French language classroom. *Foreign Language Annals, 40*(1), 27-42.

Stein, G. (1937). *Everybody’s autobiography*. New York: Random House.

Wooten, J.A. (2010a). Cultural drag, or Performing the native speaker in language memoirs. *Cultural drag: Theorizing the performances of non-native Spanish teachers’ linguistic and cultural identities*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Georgia, Athens.

CHAPTER FOUR

FIGHTING BACK AGAINST THE REVEAL: SPANISH TEACHERS PERFORM *NON-NATIVE SPEAKERNESS* IN VIEW OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS[4]

---

[4] Wooten, J.A. Manuscript to be submitted to *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, a journal of the International Society for Language Studies.

Abstract

In this article, I focus on tensions nine non-native teachers of Spanish in grades 6-16 in Georgia (US) public schools confronted while performing their second language identities in the presence of school administrators. In performance-based focus groups (PBFGs) influenced by Brazilian director and activist Augusto Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed, participants performed scenes based on their own experiences in which they believed their school administrators expected the teachers to "act like" native speakers, that is, to have the linguistic and cultural knowledge of the ideal native speaker. Boal's theatrical techniques allowed participants to act out alternative strategies to combat feelings of inadequacy and insecurity upon being revealed and subjected as non-native speakers. While their status as non-native speakers was viewed as oppressive, participants called on other privileged identities to reassert their authority as Spanish speakers and teachers and to safeguard their professional reputations and job security.

Not knowing, or How non-native speakers become visible

> *"How do you say that again? How does that go?" Amelia whispered in distress as she posed stretching the thumb and index finger of her right hand over her eyebrows. Shaking her head softly, only her hand and a tumble of long, dark curls visible, Amelia sighed in frustration, "I can't look at them because then they'll know I don't know that word!"*
>
> *Allison, her brown eyes peering over the edge of her frameless glasses, looked at an imaginary computer screen and spelled "wordreference.com" as she mimed striking each letter. "If there's not a definition THERE…Oh, nooooooo," she cried as she threw her hands off the keyboard. Composing herself, she poised her fingers again. "Well, maybe if I type it THIS way in quotes in Google and it comes up in a bunch of different places, then I'll know it's a REAL word."*
>
> *Holly stood with the knuckles of her right hand pressed against her flushed cheek, the thumb extending towards her ear and the pinkie grazing her lip. Speaking to a native speaking colleague, she rattled off, "Josefa, I have to interpret for this conference, but I don't know how to say that the child has to 'stand on his head' for the next five days!"*

Amelia, Allison, and Holly (all names are pseudonyms), three of nine participants in a qualitative study I conducted to explore the linguistic and cultural identities of non-native teachers of Spanish, sculpted these images with their bodies to show how they interpreted the term "non-native teacher of Spanish." Though participants created multiple images of "non-native teacher of Spanish," the versions embodied by Amelia, Allison, and Holly are representative of how participants wholly equated *non-native* with *not knowing*. Specifically, participants performed

doubt, insecurity, and embarrassment for not knowing a word in Spanish and/or the strategies they employed to remedy not knowing by consulting various text sources or native speakers of the language.

The participants' defeatist images are distressingly familiar to me as a fellow non-native teacher of Spanish; the native speaker / non-native speaker binary that serves as the foundation of second and foreign language education often causes non-native speakers like the study participants to view themselves as "deficient native speaker[s]" (Cook, 1999, p. 185). That is, while the native speaker is often perceived as linguistically and culturally omniscient, the non-native speaker is defined by who she is *not* and, by extension, what she does *not know* and *cannot do*. Over the past two decades, language scholars have vehemently critiqued the reality of the native speaker (Paikeday, 1985; Singh, 1998; Davies, 2003; Kramsch, 2003), as well as what Phillipson (1992) termed the "native speaker fallacy," or the notion that the ideal language teacher is a native speaker of the language. This academic affront to the sovereignty of the native speaker / teacher has mobilized the "nonnative speaker movement" (Braine, 2010). This movement, characterized by the recognition and empowerment of non-native teachers as legitimate language users and professionals, is often described by non-native teachers and scholars themselves (see Medgyes, 1994; Braine, 1999; Llurda, 2005).

The initial means of addressing the "problem" of the non-native speaking teacher, then, has been to make *non-native speakerness* visible. This call to visibility is contradictory to the traditional project of foreign / second language education, which calls for learners to "make themselves over and to pass as natives" (Kramsch & von Hoene, 2001, p. 285). Elsewhere, I explained that cultural drag – or how non-native learners act like native speakers of the language under study – serves as both the ends and means of this linguistic and cultural "make-over"

encouraged in the field of language education (Wooten, 2010a, 2010b). While the perceived objective of language education may be to "pass" as a native speaker, what interests me about the cultural drag show that non-natives like Amelia, Allison, and Holly engage in when they choose to adopt a second language is that there is always something that escapes, something that reveals the non-native speaker as such. In cultural drag, what I call "the reveal" involves those signs that make the non-native speaker's status visible, including language (e.g., momentary inability to express oneself, slightly noticeable accentedness, lack of idioms in speech, non-native errors in grammar or syntax), the incongruence between language and appearance (i.e., the non-native speaker doesn't look like she is from the area in terms of her physical body type, carriage, and/or style), and/or a lack of cultural knowledge or skill. Rather than viewing the revelation of *non-native speakerness* as the failure of the language learner, I believe the tension between moments of performing and even passing as a native, exposing oneself or being exposed as a non-native, and how one chooses to act when produced as a non-native speaker is the richest aspect of identity construction because "identity becomes interesting, relevant, and visible when it is contested or in crisis" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 19). This dynamism between non-native speaker and native speaker – how the performer is produced as a subject based on how she fits in (or not) and is understood in specific contexts – illustrates the *both/and* of cultural drag.

I recognize, however, that while scholars find what might be termed "identity crises" exciting spaces on which to theorize and dispute the native / non-native binary, the images sculpted by Amelia, Allison, and Holly illustrate how the native speaker standard has very real effects on teachers and how revealing one's non-native speaker status carries a negative emotional charge. Indeed, "passions run high when an issue involves questions of personal and cultural identity, vocation, status, equal rights and opportunities, jobs and salaries" (Suárez, qtd

in Murti, 2002, p. 28). In this article, I focus on tensions – or points of resistance – nine non-native teachers of Spanish in grades 6-16 in Georgia (US) public schools confronted while performing their second language identities in the presence of school administrators. In two performance-based focus groups (PBFGs) influenced by Brazilian director and activist Augusto Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed (1979, 1992/2002, 1995), participants performed scenes based on their own experiences in which school administrators – characterized as monolingual speakers with little experience in or knowledge of language learning – explicitly or implicitly expected the teachers to "act like" native speakers, that is, to have the linguistic and cultural knowledge of the ideal native speaker. Boal's theatrical techniques allowed participants to act out alternative strategies to combat feelings of inadequacy and insecurity upon being revealed and subjected as non-native speakers in scenes simulating a job interview and a parent-teacher conference in which the teacher was asked to interpret. While participants' theatrical interventions to change the scenes focused overtly on validating their linguistic, cultural, and pedagogical abilities as non-native speakers, their actions also demonstrated the complex ways nationality, race, and class (among other social categories) come to bear on the native / non-native binary in the service of participants apt to fight for "identities that are hard-won" (Fox, 1996, p. 224). That is, while their status as non-native speakers is viewed as oppressive, participants – all of whom were White, middle class women with advanced degrees in Spanish and/or language education – called on other identities to reassert their authority as Spanish speakers and teachers and to safeguard their professional reputations and job security.

Setting the Scene, or Performance as Methodology

After conducting individual interviews with the nine non-native teachers of Spanish, participants and I met in two four-hour performance-based focus groups (PBFGs) – focus groups

that employ theatrical techniques so that participants and researchers alike can investigate a topic in an embodied, experiential way – to collectively explore their linguistic and cultural identities. My use of PBFGs (see Cahnmann-Taylor & Wooten, In Press; Cahnmann-Taylor, Wooten, Souto-Manning & Dice, 2009) draws heavily on Boal's work. His theater, christened Theatre of the Oppressed (TO) in homage to his friend and "theoretical father" Paulo Freire (Flores, 2000, p. 42), aimed to "stimulate debate (in the form of action, not just words), to show alternatives, to enable people 'to become protagonists of their own lives'" (Jackson, 1992/2002, p. xxiv). Boal's emphasis on physical engagement is evident in study activities I employed in the PBFGs, including: games that warmed up participants' bodies, created a sense of community, and metaphorically explored the topic of second language identity construction; Image Theatre exercises like "Image of a word" (Boal, 1992/2002, p. 176) where participants sculpted their interpretation of a word or term with their bodies (e.g., the images Amelia, Allison, and Holly created based on "non-native teacher of Spanish"); and Forum Theatre, which involved group members sharing and selecting stories of conflict to dramatize for critique and change.

Though Forum Theatre varies by the practice of the group facilitator (or the Joker in Boalian terms), recursive steps generally include: (1) sharing and selecting a story to dramatize; (2) dividing the story into two or three scenes; (3) performing strategies to change the scenes by replacing the protagonist with other *spect-actors* (i.e., participants who are spectators as the scenes unfold and then actors to re-imagine the scenes); (4) checking for the credibility of enacted strategies; and (5) changing one's actions to affect personal and societal change (see Figure 1).

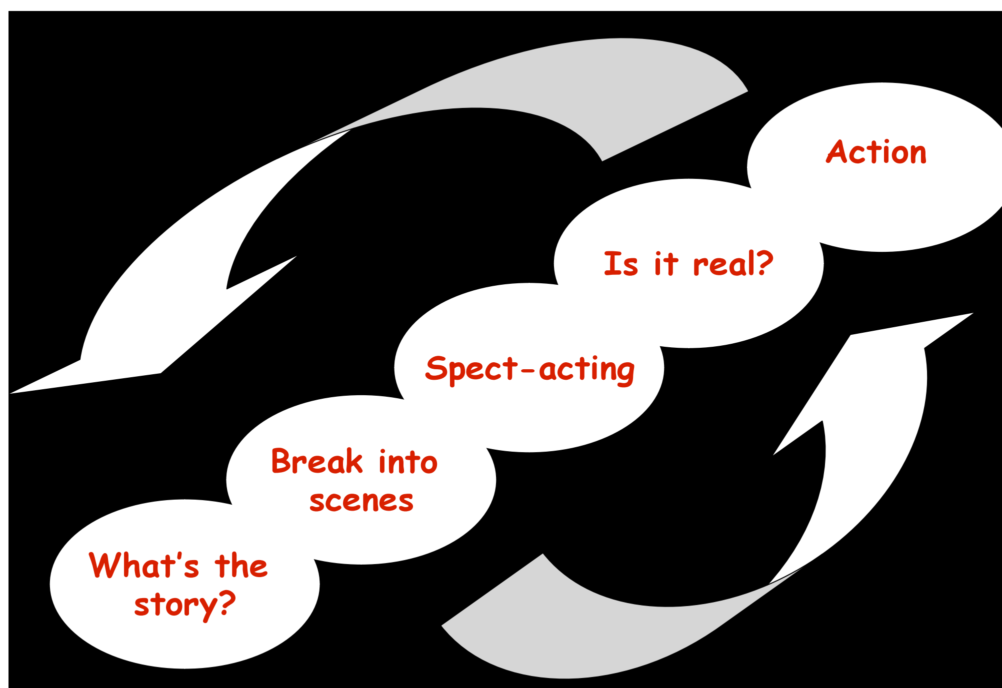

Figure 4.1. Forum Theatre model employed in PBFGs. (Cahnmann-Taylor, et. al, 2009, p. 2542)

After rounds of games and Image Theatre in the first PBFG, I asked participants to jot down on a notepad any tensions within themselves or with others they had felt as a non-native speaker of Spanish. Participants listed multiple conflicts, storying specific instances where they had felt limited in their access to desired identities in Spanish. I then asked trios to share their stories and to construct a two- or three-scene skit addressing tensions they feel in relation to their linguistic and/or cultural identities that the group would spect-act in Forum Theatre. The three groups offered scenes with diverse antagonists (see Figure 2), including: university visitors the teachers believed were judging their linguistic and cultural knowledge; students who expected them to know every word in Spanish and to be familiar with every product, practice, and perspective of Hispanic groups; administrators who either wouldn't employ them because of their non-native status or who took advantage of the teachers' skills by demanding they "deal with" Spanish-speaking parents; parents with whom they had difficulty communicating; other native speakers who discounted their Spanish abilities and would immediately try to speak to

them in English; and their own expectations to complete what Amelia termed a "constant race to perfection" (see Wooten, 2010b).

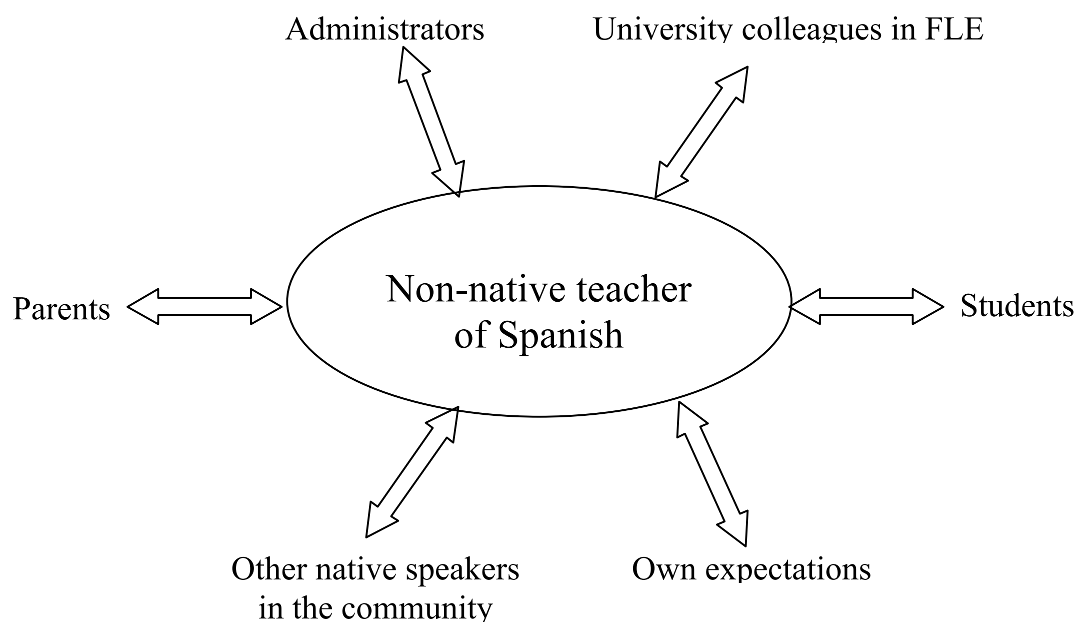

Figure 4.2. Antagonists of the teacher-protagonists. (Adapted from Cahnmann-Taylor, et. al, 2009, p. 2541)

Interactions with these antagonists, the teacher-participants explained, produced them negatively as non-native speakers. Specifically, the question "Where are you from?" was at the heart of participants' antagonistic encounters. Being asked the question "Where are you from?" by antagonists while in "Spanish mode" was the principal way the teacher-protagonists realized they had been "caught out" (Rajagopalan, 2005, p. 286). Seemingly innocuous, the question of origins fixes the non-native teachers as recognizably not being a part of the target community, and thus reveals their status as outsiders. I consider the question "Where are you from?" in this context performative in a Butlerian (1988, 1990/1999, 1993, 1997, 2004) sense because it produces – albeit implicitly – the subject that it names. That is, the question "Where are you from?" (acting as the subtle declarative "It's a non-native speaker!"), along with typical

declarations by non-native speakers that they are not originally a member of the target community (e.g., "I'm not a native speaker, but I speak Spanish") or declarations offering where they are from (e.g., "I am from Georgia"), produces them as *not* native. In the context of these specific antagonistic interactions where their origins were a point of conflict, participants reported feeling assailed, belittled, and lacking.

This was particularly true in "Insufficient funds," the skit created by Sierra, Allison, and Katarina in which school administrators figured prominently in two of the three scenes. The group voted to spect-act this case first to consider how one accepts or rejects being produced as non-native speakers within the specific contexts of scenes where *not knowing* can have significant professional and financial implications. One scene, "The interview," showed Sierra being denied a job at a private high school by an administrator who discriminated against her due to her non-native status. In another scene, "Report to the office," Sierra was called out during one of her classes to interpret between the English-speaking administrator and a Spanish-speaking parent but had great difficulty understanding the parent under the watchful gaze of the administrator. Dramatic action in "The interview" and "Report to the office" revealed not only what gave away the non-native speaker – or what prompted the "Where are you from?" question – but more importantly the strategies teacher-protagonists enacted to salvage their identities as legitimate users of Spanish. That is, Forum Theatre provided the stage for spect-acting teacher-protagonists to perform themselves differently – what Butler (1990/1999) called "subversive repetition" (p. 42) – and to imagine other possibilities for themselves rather than accept and wither when confronted with non-native speakerness as a liability.

Changing the Script in "Insufficient funds": Non-Native Teachers of Spanish Act Out

In this section, I share *trans/scripts* – compressed, stylized renderings of the original transcript data I created as a mode of data analysis and means of representation (Cahnmann-Taylor, et al., 2009) – to convey the theatricality and emotionality of the model scenes performed by Sierra, Allison, and Katarina and the interventions other spect-actors performed for the group. These trans/scripts are fictive, but not fictional; while I relied extensively on the original transcripts and video data, I crafted the trans/scripts to highlight the emotional charge the scenes carried by condensing scenes that were often several minutes long down to their marrow and adding thicker description related to staging to help the reader get a sense of the action. The trans/scripts are, as Hitchcock said of movies, "real life with the boring parts taken out" (Cahnmann-Taylor & Siegesmund, 2008, p. 151). The trans/scripts help contextualize the strategies spect-actors enacted to positively impact the scene, how such strategies were viewed as real possibilities for change, and how the teacher-protagonists' shifting to other, more prestigious identities they had access to may have solidified other binaries even while contesting the native / non-native binary.

"The interview"

Trans/script #1 – Model of "The interview"

(The teacher enters the plush office of the headmaster of a prestigious private school in large city in the US. The headmaster, identified as White and male, stands up and extends a hand in greeting. The teacher smiles and accepts the administrator's handshake and takes her seat across from an imaginary solid oak desk.)

ADMINISTRATOR (played by Allison): Welcome to Super-Elite Choosy School, Ms. Leon.

TEACHER (played by Sierra): *(smiling enthusiastically)* Thank you! I'm so glad you invited me for an interview!

ADMIN: I understand you're applying for a Spanish position.

TEACHER: Yes.

ADMIN: *(flipping through the teacher's application)* Could you tell me a little about yourself, please?

TEACHER: *(folding her hands in her lap)* I completed my Bachelor's degree in Spanish and Foreign Language Education at Major University and my Masters degree in Spanish in Madrid.

ADMIN: *(still looking at Sierra's application)* And what experience do you have teaching Spanish?

TEACHER: I've been teaching for four years, classes ranging from Spanish I to Spanish V.

ADMIN: And you said you had some educational experience in … *(squinting at the teacher's resume)* Where are you from?

TEACHER: Oh *(surprised)* I'm from Georgia, I'm from here (US).

ADMIN: And your first language is…?

TEACHER: English.

ADMIN: Well, considering we are Super-Elite Choosy School, we're looking for a native speaker of Spanish for this position *(Allison only half gets out of the chair and extends the top of her hand as if the Pope to the teacher)*, so thank you for your time.

TEACHER: Oh, okay *(stands up slowly and looks unsure at the administrator's hand)*. Thank you. *(Awkwardly takes the administrator's hand before backing towards the door)*

Based on Sierra's own experiences trying to secure employment at so-called "international schools" in large, metropolitan areas in Europe and the US, participants were initially surprised that the blatant discrimination against a qualified candidate enacted in the first scene was possible. Judith wondered how schools could "get away with that," particularly in the US, which participants perceived as having fair labor practices based on credentials and ability rather than by place of birth. Yet the problem, spect-actors recognized, was the privileged position of the native speaker in a school that markets itself as "international" and commands top dollar to have "authentic" speakers of the language on staff. The dismissal of the teacher-protagonist in the first scene pointed to the administrator's belief that native speakers are "better public relations items" (Medgyes, 1994, p. 72), if not better teachers (recalling Phillipson's "native speaker fallacy"). Non-native teachers of English as a Foreign Language have long battled such discriminatory hiring practices when they do not fit the stereotype of the desired White, American or British, middle-class speakers who know "proper" English. Yet Sierra's case represented an opportunity for group members – who, like the majority of foreign language teachers in the US, were privileged as White, American, and middle-class – to consider their identities as "contested or in crisis" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004, p. 19).

I asked spect-actors to prepare to intervene by demanding that actors "Stop!" at the point in the scene when they wanted to replace Sierra as the teacher-protagonist in order to change the scene's outcome. Allison, who played the part of the administrator, and Sierra as the prospective teacher only took one verbal turn each before Lucy stepped in to replace the teacher.

Trans/script #2: Spect-acting strategy in "The interview" – Name & claim

ADMIN (played by Allison): *(in a deep, male voice)* Welcome to Super-Elite Choosy School. *(Shaking Sierra's hand in greeting)* I understand you're applying for a position as

a Spanish teacher. Tell me about your background and education, your degrees and things of the sort.

TEACHER (initially played by Sierra): I earned my first degree at Major University, became a certified teacher in Spanish Education, and got my Masters in Spain through Well-Known US College.

Lucy: Stop!

(Sierra gets up from her chair across from the administrator. Lucy takes her place.)

Teacher (now played by Lucy): I KNOW that I'm not a native speaker of Spanish, I'm not from Spain. I grew up speaking English at home, but I DID do my degree in Madrid and got my Master's there. The officials IN Spain felt I was qualified to compete at the same level as those native speakers in Spanish.

Lucy's strategy was bolstered by Amelia's next intervention. Amelia adopted Lucy's strategies of claiming both her non-native status and her educational qualifications granted by native speakers, but also brought documentation (e.g., recommendation letters from native speaking professors in Spain, a video of her teaching in the target language) to demonstrate that she was indeed as competent as the native speaker candidates were. Amelia emphasized that her qualifications were substantial and asked that the administrator "just take a look at my teaching before you judge where I come from." Allison, in the role of the administrator, acquiesced and did not rush the non-native speaker teacher out of the door as in the model.

After these interrelated interventions, I asked the group for a reality check, or to consider how realistic the spect-acting strategies were. Other spect-actors saw the interventions as the teacher-protagonist emphasizing her qualifications in the face of discrimination. Lucy explained that she spect-acted "being aware that I was already the underdog," and that her strategy was

designed to “call them on their prejudice a little bit.” Amelia added that “if you have to deal with that prejudice then you need to exploit it for what it’s worth” by putting yourself on the level of the native speaker (documented with materials *from* native speakers). That is, these strategies of documentation, of providing proof of their educational and international experiences, work within the system (i.e., recognize the privilege of the native speaker), but also subtly subvert it by suggesting that not just native speakers can have native-like proficiency and abilities.

The intervention enacted by Judith, a graduate student pursuing a doctorate and teaching Spanish at the university, was seen as the most confrontational and could be described as calling out the administrator.

Trans/script #3 – Spect-acting strategy in “The interview” – All native speakers?

ADMIN (played by Allison): Where are you ORIGINALLY from?

TEACHER (now played by Judith): I’m originally from Georgia although, like I said, I’ve spent the last few years in Madrid, Spain.

ADMIN: And your native language is…?

TEACHER: *(nodding cheerfully)* English.

ADMIN: You do understand that we’re Super-Elite Choosy School *(puts resume down)* so you’re not exactly what we’re looking for *(begins to offer a hand for Judith to shake)*.

TEACHER: *(still comfortably seated)* I noticed you have a very large foreign language department, several different languages are offered. Are ALL of your teachers native speakers of the language they teach?

ADMIN: *(wide-eyed)* Uh….

(Allison in the role of the administrator pauses for an uncomfortably long time, while Judith smiles sweetly with her hands folded over her crossed leg.)

ADMIN: Um, sure, yeah. *(Breaking character and turning to the audience)* Whoa, I didn't know how to respond to that!

JUDITH: Yeah *(chuckling)*, it's pretty combative!

ALLISON: If I were an administrator, though, I think I WOULD have to stop and think, "Well, I don't KNOW!"

Judith's strategy in asking the administrator if all of the foreign language teachers were native speakers was to force the administrator to state if this was a firm policy (which would have been apparent had the administrator immediately answered "yes" to all FL faculty being native speakers) or one that was used as an excuse to not hire certain people. In this way, Judith's intervention more directly exposes the administrator's bias than Lucy's and Amelia's strategies and was taken by the group to be a stab at insubordination. That is, despite the gracious demeanor enacted in the scene, both Allison as the administrator and other spect-actors considered Judith's question – and her self-assured attitude – risky during interactions with a prospective employer. Sierra explained that schools will "have these little exceptions where someone slipped through because they know someone, but most people wouldn't dare ask!" Sierra's reality check, along with Katarina's that "you want to be really nice during the interview […] you'll get a lot farther being nice," suggested that such point-blank comments are not in the best interests of the job candidate. Judith said after her intervention that she was thinking about it from a legal perspective, believing that no administrator in the US would admit to the practice of not hiring certain people because of where they come from. The group read this challenge and deemed it an emotionally satisfying strategy even if it probably would have backfired and caused Judith to not be hired. Indeed, Judith amended her strategy, saying that her next step had the interview continued would have been to fall back into the mode of showing documentation to

prove her competency and her "*near*-native fluency," or how she was *almost as good as* a native speaker candidate, in order to be considered more seriously by the administrator (see Valdés, 1998; Koike & Liskin-Gasparro, 1999; Murti, 2002 for discussion on *near-nativeness* as a criteria for hiring in FLE).

Yet the strategy the group enacted more than any other and which was deemed the most realistic was to use their status as non-natives to trump the native-speaking teacher who might not have the pedagogical training they have or might not relate to second language learners. That is, participants attempted to flip the traditional native / non-native binary to privilege the non-native as a model learner of the language.

Trans/script #4: Spect-acting strategy to "The interview" – NNS / NS

TEACHER (portrayed by Lucy): I realize I'm not a native speaker, but I lived in Madrid the past three years working on my Masters. I've competed with native speakers in that program, and the professors and school officials feel I'm equally qualified to receive the same degree Spaniards do.

ADMIN: *(smiling condescendingly)* I understand that you have education in Spanish in Spain, but you did say you are from Georgia, yes?

TEACHER: *(leaning forward in her seat)* Yes, I'm originally from Georgia, but I think that gives me a unique advantage over a native speaker of Spanish because I have had the same experience as my students learning the language. (*speaking earnestly, with conviction)* I have ACHIEVED fluency, so I can provide that same type of hope for students, be a model for students. Also, because I learned Spanish as a second language, I'm better able to troubleshoot at basic levels that are difficult for native speakers to handle.

(The administrator nods slowly, as if Lucy's argument is convincing.)

TEACHER: *(Throwing hands in the air and yells in a high pitched voice)* DID I GET THE JOB?!?

The group exploded with laughter after Lucy's outburst. I suspect the laughter resulted because it was a genuinely unexpected, funny moment, but also because it highlighted the frustration of trying to convince someone who believes so firmly in the native / non-native binary that you are equally as capable (and in some ways more capable, based on Lucy's last intervention) as a native-speaking teacher. Lucy admitted during the reality check that she did not think getting the job would be the victory, no less because it seemed impossible based on the search criteria established by the school. Instead, her goal was to stand her ground, to not be summarily dismissed after the "Where are you from?" question fixed her as a non-native speaker. She wanted to make the administrator "stop and think, 'Holy crap, […] this lady might actually know what she's talking about' […] he'll go into the next interview hopefully with a different attitude."

Lucy, then, saw the interventions as teachable moments, or as opportunities for the non-native speaker teachers to educate the administrator who so casually dismissed them before. Other spect-actors followed Lucy's lead and suggested sharing mini-lessons (e.g., noun and adjective agreement, possessives) with administrators during the interview as a means to highlight their pedagogical expertise (i.e., their identities as competent Spanish teachers rather than as non-native speakers) and to teach the administrator some Spanish. As Janice commented, "if he [the administrator] knew Spanish, this [the teacher-protagonist's linguistic abilities] wouldn't be an issue. He would know that I KNOW Spanish. Since he doesn't, I can show off a little bit and leave him thinking 'She taught me something!'" Janice's characterization of the

administrator as a non-Spanish speaker – along with the pedagogical interventions – shifted the conversation from focusing explicitly on the native / non-native binary and implicitly on the administrator / teacher binary to a contextualized teacher / student relationship where these non-native teachers of Spanish felt empowered. Lucy explained, "It's like we've turned the tables on the administrator, that's the victory in this scenario even if we don't get the job!"

Produced as non-native when that subject position was perceived as disadvantageous for gaining employment, participants opted to go on the offensive and advocate for themselves as language users and educators. They invoked their educational and instructional experiences and thus privileged themselves as model learners of Spanish who could relate to and had much to offer students of Spanish. As we concluded spect-acting this scene, Sierra admitted that she never questioned the status quo when she was looking for work in private schools: "I never said anything back to them, I was like 'okay' and then I went to the next one, same thing, 'okay', next one […] I just thought 'this is how it is and I can't do anything about it.'" She seemed emboldened, however, having seen the group's responses to the scene based on her experiences, and declared that "being a teacher is not just speaking the language, and I would do it [the interview] totally different now!"

"Report to the office"

While being a foreign language teacher most certainly involves more than speaking the language, Spanish teachers are being asked more and more to use their language skills outside of the classroom. In the first round of individual interviews, all of the secondary teachers (seven of the nine participants) recounted how they are frequently asked to interpret between English-speaking administrators and Spanish-speaking children and parents. Despite their overt desires to be, in their words, a "bridge," "liaison," "link," and "connector" between these groups and an

"advocate" for Spanish-speaking families in the community, teacher-participants expressed frustration with what little consideration administrators give to the tasks of interpretation and translation. They described the administrators as having little understanding of linguistic variety (i.e., expecting Spanish teachers to "wear all hats for all countries and all dialects and all cultures" in Janice's words), linguistic register (i.e., expecting Spanish teachers to be able to spontaneously address any topic, as seen in Lucy's plea to an administrator to "give me another minute to brush up on my knife vocabulary" when asked to interpret about a fight on school grounds last year), or the affective strain interpreting puts on teachers who often must relay bad news to parents about their children (e.g., Lucy declaring "who wants to spend their day breaking somebody's mother's heart?"). In other words, teachers characterized such conditions as oppressive and opted to spect-act the third scene of "Insufficient funds," titled "Report to the office." In the scene, Sierra had found work teaching Spanish in a public high school. Katarina portrayed the administrator who asked Sierra to interpret for a Spanish-speaking parent in the office. Allison, in turn, played the role of the father who accused Sierra of belittling his son's Spanish despite the fact that it is his first language.

The complication in this scene was that the teacher had great difficulty in understanding the father as played by Allison, who is married to a Mexican national and admitted to imitating her husband's angry fast-paced and sometimes incomprehensible speech to make the scene as realistic as possible. The teacher-protagonist's inability to understand the father led him to question her linguistic capabilities – as indicated by the "Where are you from?" question - and, thus, her right to teach Spanish to anyone, much less heritage speakers of Spanish like his son.

Trans/script #5: Model of “Report to the office”

(The Spanish teacher is in the middle of her lesson when the crackle of the intercom interrupts her. An administrator asks her to report to the office, while students “ooohh” around her as if she were in trouble.)

Scene 1 – Deal with it

(The administrator meets the teacher at the door of the office, slightly blocking her way.)

ADMIN (played by Katarina): *(in a hushed voice)* We have another Hispanic parent here that doesn’t speak any English. I need you to deal with it.

TEACHER (played by Sierra): *(looking frustrated)* This is the fourth time I’ve had to interpret in the past two weeks.

ADMIN: Well, you’re the only person besides the kids that knows Spanish.

(The teacher lowers her head in submission.)

TEACHER: *(in a low, aggravated tone)* Do we even know what the issue is?

ADMIN: *(shrugging shoulders)* No idea, but he seems mad.

Scene 2 – “I’m not understanding…”

(The teacher enters the principal’s office and approaches the parent, who is now standing.)

TEACHER: *(extending her hand)* Hola, ¿cómo está Ud.? [Hello, how are you?]

PARENT (played by Allison): *(The parent’s voice is gruff, manly, loud and he speaks extremely fast as he rejects her handshake)* Bienojadocontigo. [Pretty angry with you.]

(The teacher looks concerned, but the father continues to speak quickly.)

PARENT: Sí, porque m’ijo blahablahablaha su clase, siempre dice que m’ijo blahablaha pero sí blahablahaespañol bien, Ud. no sabe blahablahabla saber decir. [Yes, because my

son xxx your class, and you always say that my son xxx but xxx well, and you're the one xxx know how to say.]

TEACHER: *(slightly shaking her head in confusion, looking to ADMIN)* Um, he's saying something about his *(pauses briefly)* his son, but I'm not getting...

TEACHER: *(now to PARENT)* ¿Ud. puede hablar más des... [Could you speak more slo…?]

PARENT: *(throws hands in the air in a told-you-so fashion)* No me comprende (.) blahablaha Ud. = [You don't understand me, xxx you…]

TEACHER: Un momento, un momento [Just a minute.]

PARENT: = sabe español, ¿no? [… speak Spanish, no?]

TEACHER: *(glancing nervously as the administrator, who is standing between her and the parent, before looking back at the father with furrowed brow and pursed lips)* ¿Ud. puede repetir lo que acaba de decir? [Could you repeat what you just said?]

PARENT: *(exasperated)* ¿De dónde es usted? [Where are you from?]

TEACHER: Uhhhh, soy … [I am…] um *(to ADMIN, in a sharp tone)* He's refusing to…

(The administrator looks at the teacher like "Why don't you understand?")

TEACHER: *(turns to the PARENT and speaks deliberately)* ¿Cuál es el problema? [What's the problem?]

PARENT: *(enunciating and overexaggerating each syllable)* Ex-pli-que-me-por-que-mi-hi-jooo-está-en-su-clase [Explain to me why my son is in your class.]

TEACHER: *(to ADMIN)* He doesn't understand why his son is in my class but I'm not getting why, I'm not understanding…

ADMIN: *(to PARENT, slowly and loudly)* SHE *(points at TEACHER)* DOESN'T

(*shaking head "no" in an exaggerated, cartoonish way)* UNDERSTAND *(points at parent)* YOU.

(Both the parent and the administrator look at the teacher disapprovingly, who looks at her shoes and visibly and slowly exhales.)

The model of "Report to the office" was much more confrontational than "The interview." Utilizing a Boalian exercise called "Rashomon" (1992/1999, p. 236), I asked Allison, Katarina, and Sierra to sculpt themselves and the other actors in the scene as their characters saw them and re-run the scene from those positions.

A. Teacher's perspective

B. Principal's perspective

C. Parent's perspective

Figure 4.3. Images of "Rashomon" technique.

In the enactment that resulted from Image C, Allison's (on the left in each image) perspective showed the father as being unsure, tentative, and tense while the administrator (Katarina, center) and the teacher (Sierra, right) were seen as being in control. The principal's superhero stance and the teacher's elevation of the textbook in her right hand conveyed the father's perception of them as authorities in the school site. From the perspective of both the administrator and the teacher in scenes related to Images A and B, however, the father was portrayed as a violent aggressor (with claw-like hands in A and a gun pointed at the teacher in B), the teacher as a victim, and the administrator as one who didn't understand the interaction between the others but lorded over the

scene. The purpose of this technique was to allow spect-actors to see how engaging characters' bodies differently changed the scene and how all the characters could be viewed as protagonists and antagonists, oppressed and oppressors, depending on the perspective from which the scene occurred.

Yet, when given the opportunity to intervene in the scene and spect-act possibilities to change it, participants took on the father as the antagonist and attempted to disarm him. Holly, a middle school teacher who is asked to interpret so often that her classroom is now located next door to the main office, volunteered to replace Sierra. Allison, still in the role of the father, continued to speak gibberish for part of the scene so that the Spanish teacher and other spect-actors couldn't understand what she was saying.

Trans/script # 6: Spect-acting strategy for "Report to the office" – Admit defeat

TEACHER (played by Holly): *(extending her hand to the father)* Buenos días, soy la Sra. Jones. *(standing very still with pursed lips)* ¿Cómo estás? [Good morning, I'm Mrs. Jones. How are you (informal "you")?]

PARENT (played by Allison): Bien enoj-blahahblahablahablaha *(the words are incomprehensible, but Allison's furrowed brow and violent shaking of her head are unmistakable)*

TEACHER: *(raises her hands to tell the Parent to stop)* Un momento, por favor *(turns to the Administrator)* I'm not exactly sure wha – I'm having a really hard time understanding. Let me try one more time. *(turns back to Parent)* ¿Puedes repetir una vez más, por favor? [Could you repeat that one more time, please?]

PARENT: *(frustrated)* ¿Habla español o QUÉ? [Do you speak Spanish or what?]

TEACHER: *(smiles through gritted teeth)* Sí, yo hablo español pero más despacio, por favor. [Yes, I speak Spanish but slow down, please]

PARENT: ¿Por qué tengo que blahablahablaha?

TEACHER: *(to the Administrator and speaking very quickly)* Okay, I'm REALLY having a hard time, and it sounds like there's a situation here. Maybe we can schedule a conference here with our county interpreter – I'd be a more comfortable because I don't understand his Spanish.

ADMINISTRATOR (portrayed by Katarina): *(looks at the Parent and then shrugs shoulders as if to say "Whatever")* Can you tell HIM that?

Though the group laughed at Katarina's request as the administrator, Holly shook as if overtaken by a chill. She explained that this situation was so real for her, so part of her everyday life, that even spect-acting she felt "nervous and off-guard." Her strategy was to "admit defeat" by asking that someone else take responsibility for interpreting. Submitting this strategy to her own reality check, however, Holly explained it wasn't viable because, as the only adult speaker of Spanish in the school, she had to be the first contact between Spanish-speaking parents and students and the English-speaking administration. Coming to Holly's defense, Judith suggested there was nothing else Holly could have done in that situation when she had no support from the mostly silent administrator.

Holly, though, was frustrated by the father's uncooperative spirit, which she considered representative of a number of parents for whom she interpreted.

> I've asked so many times "Well, where are YOU from? Has your child been teaching you English?" and a lot of times I get "NO!" and "I don't wanna learn English." That's my own personal view – if they're not willing to learn English, I

> don't feel as bad, you know, not being able to understand their Spanish. If they knew some English, we could meet in the middle.

Holly appropriated the question "Where are you from?" that had marked her and other spect-actors as non-native in Spanish, turning it around on the Spanish-speaking parent standing in the main office of a US school. This turn-around produced Holly as the native speaker in the conversation and, significantly, the native speaker of the majority language of the US. The parent, however, is subjected as the non-native, the foreigner, the outsider who is unwilling to adapt. Holly expressed strong views on immigration in both her initial and follow-up individual interviews, views which collided with the imposition of having to interpret and translate for Spanish-speaking parents who, in her estimation, often didn't speak English and "who can't even speak Spanish in their native language correctly." While other spect-actors balked at overtly classifying Spanish-speaking parents' and students' linguistic abilities as "correct" or "incorrect," they did enter the conversation of comparing the parents' and students' Spanish to their own. Janice explained to her principal the last time she was asked to interpret between the administrator and a student's father, "Well, I don't understand him. He's from El Salvador, and I don't speak the slang that he's speaking." Lucy concurred, saying that relating difficulties to linguistic variety both educates administrators on the complexity of language and allows non-native Spanish teachers to save face:

> I work in a school that has seven administrators and any one of them may or may not have an idea about my language ability. In that situation when I turn to my administrator, I would be very clear in saying, "Look, I'm having a difficult time understanding him. He's not from any of the places I studied Spanish, and he's speaking a very colloquial version of Spanish. He has a very strong accent, and

> he's using a dialect and vocabulary that's very local. That's why I'm really struggling." You don't want to admit DEFEAT completely because then you look like you don't know anything, and they're like, "Well, we're never calling that Spanish teacher again. She obviously doesn't speak Spanish, maybe we need to start looking for somebody else."

Turning to the principal as spect-actors did in other interventions and characterizing the father's speech, like Lucy above, as "very colloquial" because he is "using a dialect and vocabulary that's very local" and has "a very strong accent," may indeed help administrators learn that there's no such thing as "one-size-fits-all" Spanish. Yet the irony, of course, is that this strategy mostly illustrated the very issue the father had with the teacher in the model (Trans/script #5), that is, the teacher did not value his son's language. In not wanting to admit defeat, or in order to uphold their identities as legitimate Spanish users, participants who performed the teacher as superior to the father (purposefully or not) and/or picked up and deployed terms that produced the Spanish-speaking parent – characterized almost always as being from Mexico or Central America per local Latino populations – as using "slang," "street language," or "colloquial" Spanish in contrast to the teacher's "academic" or "educated" – and mostly peninsular – Spanish in individual interviews and PBFGs not only created their identities on the privileged side of binaries (Spain / Latin America, educated / uneducated, formal / informal, school / home, teacher / parent) but reified the binaries themselves. Confronted by language as the thing that gives them away as non-native speakers in the presence of administrators – thus threatening their livelihoods – participants showed how language can be used to reassert their privilege in the one subject position that may distinguish them from other Spanish speakers, their status as educator and thus as language authority.

Some spect-actors recognized the dual role of oppressed and oppressor that the teacher-protagonist played in scenes where she attempted to disarm the father by criticizing his language to the administrator. Protagonists originally identified the oppressive element in the scene as the imposition of interpreting by the administrator, whose expectations were that they be able to speak Spanish to anyone any time about anything. None of the spect-actors, however, took on the administrator as the oppressor in the scene. Instead, the administrator character essentially oversaw the scene and was never an active participant in the interaction (except, significantly, as the authoritative gaze, as illustrated in all of the images of the Rashomon exercise). The focal antagonist, then, became the father. With the administrator watching the scene, observing the teacher-protagonist's performance as an untouchable antagonist, participants in turn acted as oppressor against the father in "Report to the office." After doing a reality check of several interventions in which the father was clearly positioned as the teacher-protagonist's oppressor (i.e., aggressively questioning her linguistic abilities and right to teach), Lucy suggested that she and other spect-actors may have "played up" or over-exaggerated the conflict with the father. Recalling Allison's portrayal of the father in the Rashomon exercise (Image C) as unsure and tense, Lucy offered that the aggression the teacher-protagonists perceived may be the father's frustration at not being able to communicate with those that work with his child. She suggested that maybe spect-actors see the father from that perspective rather than as the gun-toting dad or the claws-ready animal (Images A & B).

Judith and Amelia, university instructors who are never charged with interpreting duties, humanized their interactions with the father. Judith, for example, greeted him with a smile, offered him a handshake, and asked him to take a seat in a soft, calm voice. Amelia, a parent to

two young children, furthered Judith's strategies by establishing common ground with the father based on the son (i.e., asking the father about his son as a person, indicating concern for the son).

Trans/script #7: Spect-acting strategy for "Report to the office" – Show that you care

Father (played by Allison): Estoy enojado porque mi hijo está en su clase y blahablahablaha. [I'm angry because mi son is in your class and …]

Teacher (portrayed by Amelia): (smiling as she nods) Un momento *(touching the Father's hand and offering him a seat)* Vamos a sentarnos *(she, the Father, and Katarina as the Administrator sit in chairs arranged in a semi-circle)* Ahora, *(leans in as if very interested)* ¿Cómo se llama su hijo? [Now, what is your son's name?]

Father: José, José Suárez, y la cosa es que…

Teacher: Bien, *(holds her index finger as if asking the Father to wait)* dejeme explicarle al director que Ud. es el padre de José Suárez. [Okay, let me explain to the principal that you're José Suárez's father.]

Teacher: *(to the Administrator)* Mr. Smith, *(motioning to the Father)* this is Mr. Suárez. *(The father and the administrator shake hands.)*

Teacher: *(to the Administrator)* Would you please get José's schedule and any other records we might need to see how he's doing?

Administrator: *(getting up from the chair and moving towards the door)* Right away.

Teacher: *(turning back to the Father)* Va a traerme el horario de su hijo y otros documentos que nos pueden ayudar. [He's going to bring me your son's schedule and other documents that might help us.] *(again leaning in towards the Father)* So, ¿Cómo está José, está bien, está contento en otras clases? [How is José, is he well, happy in his other classes?]

Father: *(noticeably calmer)* Pues…está bien menos español [Well…good except Spanish]

Teacher: *(continuing to smile and nod as she speaks)* ¿Buenas notas en las otras clases? [Good grades in the other classes?]

Father: *(with a light chuckle)* Pues, es flojo pero… [Well, he's lazy but…]

(Uproarious group laughter.)

Amelia offered multiple strategies in her intervention, but two are especially noteworthy. First, she involved the administrator. Amelia used the administrator as a linguistic speedbump (i.e., using the administrator as an excuse to slow down the teacher and father's interaction), invited the administrator into the conversation by formally introducing him to the parent, and then sent him off on an errand. Removing the administrator from the scene, spect-actors concluded, was particularly helpful because it relieved the teacher-protagonist of the pressure of the administrator's gaze. Second, Amelia related to the father as another adult who cares about the student, asking him what his son's name was (which was the first time the child or the father had been named) and showing interest in his son's academic performance and joy outside of her own class. The result of these strategies was that Amelia as the teacher and Allison as the parent built a rapport around their common interest, the student. Allison in the role of the father stated that she felt "much less combative" than during other interventions. Spect-actors also commented on how she seemed much more cooperative and began to speak more slowly and clearly in this last spect-acting scene, Lucy explaining "you would think we had given you a Valium!" Allison, a staunch advocate for heritage learners in her high school, felt that considering the father as a partner rather than an adversary was the only way a productive conversation was possible. Indeed, Amelia's intervention best reflected the participants' earlier declarations to be a

"bridge," "liaison," "link," and "connector" between English speakers and Spanish speakers in the community.

From Acting Up to Acting With: Conclusions on Non-Native Speakerness in PBFGs

When I asked participants to summarize what they were taking away from spect-acting the scenes "The job interview" and "Report to the office," the consensus was that teachers have to be confident, advocate for themselves, anticipate problems and solutions, and generally be proactive. Lucy pinpointed that "you HAVE to take care of yourself in the image that you want others to have of you." This comment, I think, points to the fact that though participants may have an ideal (i.e., the ideal of the native speaker) of who they'd like to be as Spanish speakers and Spanish teachers (subject positions that are not always congruent), their identities are not constructed wholly by their own design. Identity is not a question of "Who am I?" (i.e., reflecting some innate being) or "Who do I want to be?" (i.e., free play) but rather, "What, given the contemporary order of being, can I be?" (Butler, 2004, p. 58). That is, identity is an effect of the discursive possibilities one is able to perform in conjunction with others that support or deny them. In the PBFGs, participants showed how invested they were in their identities as legitimate users of Spanish; they were unwilling to let those identities be questioned or diminished by others without a fight.

Yet the actions they performed when revealed as non-native speakers – often by their own admission in response to the question, "Where are you from?" that seeks to fix origins and thus identity – illustrated how slippery the fight for one's image can be. In both "The job interview" and "Report to the office," spect-actors' principal strategies were to flip the script, so to speak. Whereas in the model scenes they felt oppressed by others' expectations that they be native speakers (i.e., the ideal native speaker who possesses both a birthright to and an

authoritative control of the language and culture), their strategies generally involved them shifting from undervalued non-native speaker to the privileged position of educated, middle-class, American teacher. That is, if they couldn't perform or weren't accepted as a native speaker (i.e., a legitimate user of the language), they accessed the authority of the White, middle class, educated teacher, thereby expanding their discursive options in relation to the antagonists in the scene.

Such empowerment is the aim of Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed, but I was concerned to see how some of the strategies in "Report to the office" saw spect-actors use their other privileged subject positions against the character that, from my perspective as the Joker in the PBFGs, was the most categorically oppressed in the scene, the father. The father, representing Spanish-speaking parents with whom the spect-actors had worked during parent-teacher conferences, was produced as an atypical (not a "real"?) native speaker by spect-actors. Through action and discussion, the parent figure was characterized as not speaking Spanish well; he spoke "slang" and either was unable or unwilling to access the formal or standard speech required in a parent-teacher conference in order to be comprehensible. While spect-actors later realized and re-played the scene being more considerate of the father's perspective, they did not discuss the underlying reasons why he was first subjected as an angry, uneducated man questioning what right they had to pass judgment on his son's language. I suspect that the view of the ideal native speaker – "the middle-class, ethnically dominant male citizenry of nation-states" (Kramsch, 2003, p. 255) – that serves as the foundation of language education is ultimately at the heart of the antagonism between the teacher and the father. While she may not have conformed to the standard of the ideal native speaker, neither did the father as portrayed in "Report to the office" – what, then, gave him the right to produce and reveal her as non-native?

As a teacher educator, I believe this antagonism points to the significant amount of work that could and should be done to not only critique the native / non-native binary but, more importantly, increase the chance of ethical relationships between stakeholders in foreign language education. First, we must discuss the assumptions and effects of the native / non-native binary, particularly as they relate to expectations. The spect-acting in the scenes shared here illustrate the expectations non-native teachers have of themselves as well as those placed on them by others. These expectations might be explored much more explicitly in the context of Boalian theatrical activities, writing assignments, or discussion groups in methods classes (perhaps even in collaboration with foreign language faculty). Such exploration might lead pre- or in-service language teachers to consider the expectations they have of their own students, as well as how their pedagogy serves to reify and/or subvert the perpetuation of the native / non-native dichotomy.

Second, language teachers might widen who “counts” as a speaker of the language under study. Moving away from the hegemonic centers (US/Britain, Spain, France, etc.) to consider other language users – especially in one’s local area, as Osborn (2006) suggested – exposes both teachers and students to variety and richness within communities where the language is spoken. Besides lessening the exoticism of language education (i.e., the language as “foreign,” learned to be spoken abroad), involvement with the local community may also help non-native teachers gain more confidence in working with local language users and negotiating linguistic and cultural differences as additive rather than subtractive. Such involvement would also create tighter bonds between schools and the community, both at-large and in language pockets.

Third, educating administrators – especially if they are monolingual and have no recent language learning experience – is an important step. Spect-actors in scenes with administrators

felt oppressed by what they perceived to be the administrators' expectations, so communicating to administrators the teacher's expectations in terms of rights to employment and job duties is a key step in establishing a productive relationship. Early in the school year – before parents arrive in the main office and the teacher is "put on the spot" – teachers, administrators, staff members, and parent volunteers might use Forum Theatre (see Figure 1) to dramatize conflicts they have experienced or are concerned about related to working with speakers of other languages (even using the trans/scripts in this paper as a point of departure). By collaboratively and critically considering issues and rehearsing options to create positive outcomes, educational stakeholders may be better prepared – and, thus, more confident – to communicate their expectations and needs to one another. Certainly teachers and administrators should establish what role, if any, the teacher will play in interpreting and translating for colleagues, the logistics of the teacher interpreting between school staff and non-English speaking parents and students, how linguistic variety may play a role in communication, the diverse ways the teacher might try to negotiate meaning, and procedures should the teacher be unable to do so. Indeed, Forum Theatre might be most beneficial as a tool to respond to the ongoing needs of school personnel and parents and students; the recursive and iterative possibilities of Forum Theatre offer spect-actors the chance to act out until how they are acting with others feels right.

Ultimately, questioning the native / non-native binary is a question of ethics, or how stakeholders in language education relate to one another, produce one another as subjects, and might best work together. My hope for the field of foreign language education is that we make the process of identity construction more explicit and, in turn, discuss how we can work with others ethically as we work towards creating ourselves.

References

Boal, A. (1979). *Theatre of the oppressed* [*Teatro del oprimido y otras poéticas políticas*.]. New York: Urizen Books. (Charles A. & Miranda-Odilia Leal McBride Trans.)

Boal, A. (1995). *The rainbow of desire: The Boal method of theatre and therapy* [*Méthode Boal de théâtre et de thérapie*.]. (A. Jackson Trans.). London; New York: Routledge.

Boal, A. (2002*). Games for actors and non-actors* [*Jeux pour acteurs et non-acteurs*.] (A. Jackson Trans.). London; New York: Routledge. (Original work published 1992)

Braine, G. (Ed.). (1999). *Non-native educators in English language teaching*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Braine, G. (2010). *Nonnative speaker English teachers: Research, pedagogy, and professional growth*. New York; London: Routledge.

Butler, J. (1988). Performative acts and gender constitution: An essay in phenomenology and feminist theory. *Theatre Journal*, *40*(4), 519-531.

Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies that matter: On the discursive limits of "sex"*. New York: Routledge.

Butler, J. (1997). *Excitable speech: A politics of the performative*. New York: Routledge.

Butler, J. (1999). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York: Routledge. (Original work published 1990)

Butler, J. (2004). *Undoing gender*. New York: Routledge.

Cahnmann-Taylor, M. & Siegesmund, R. (2008). Performance inquiry, ethnodrama, and ethnofiction: Real life with the boring parts taken out. In M. Cahnmann-Taylor & R. Siegesmund (Eds.), *Arts-based research in education: Foundations for practice* (pp. 151-152). New York; London: Routledge.

Cahnmann-Taylor, M., Wooten, J., Souto-Manning, M. & Dice, J. (2009). The art & science of educational inquiry: Analysis of performance-based focus groups with novice bilingual teachers. *Teachers College Record 111*(11), pp. 2535-2559.

Cahnmann-Taylor, M. & Wooten, J. (In Press). Black, white, and Rainbow [of Desire]: The color of race-talk of pre-service foreign language educators in Boalian theatre workshops. In M.S. Hanley, G. Noblit & T. Barone (Eds.), *A way out of no way: The arts as social justice in education.*

Cook, V. (1999). Going beyond the native speaker in language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly, 33*(2), 185-209.

Davies, A. (2003). *The native speaker: Myth or reality*. Clevedon; Buffalo: Multilingual Matters.

Flores, H. (2000). From Freire to Boal. *Education Links, 61/62*, p. 41.

Fox, G.E. (1996). *Hispanic nation: Culture, politics, and the constructing of identity*. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press.

Jackson, A. (1992/2002). Translator's introduction to the first edition. *Games for actors and non-actors* (pp. xxii-xxix). London; New York: Routledge.

Koike, D.A. & Liskin-Gasparro, J.E. (1999). What is a near-native speaker? Perspectives of job seekers and search committees in Spanish. *ADFL, 30*(3), pp. 54-62.

Kramsch, C. (2003). The privilege of the nonnative speaker. In *The sociolinguistics of foreign language classrooms: Contributions of the native, the near-native, and the non-native speaker* (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED481796)

Kramsch, C. & von Hoene, L. (2001). Cross-cultural excursions: Foreign language study and feminist discourses of travel. In A. Pavlenko, A. Blackledge, I. Piller and M. Teutsch-Dwyer (Eds.), *Multilingualism, second language learning, and gender* (pp. 283-306). Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Llurda, E. (2005). Looking at the perceptions, challenges, and contributions…or the importance of being a non-native teacher. In E. Llurda (Ed.), *Non-native language teachers: Perceptions, challenges and contributions to the profession* (pp. 1-9). New York: Springer Science+Business Media.

Medgyes, P. (1994). *The non-native teacher*. London: Macmillan Publishers.

Murti, K. (2002). Whose identity? The nonnative teacher as cultural mediator in the language classroom. *ADFL, 34*(1), pp. 26-29.

Osborn, T. (2006). *Teaching world languages for social justice: A sourcebook of principles and practices*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Paikeday, T.M. (1985). *The native speaker is dead!* Toronto; New York: Paikeday Publishing.

Pavlenko, A., & Blackledge, A. (2004). Introduction: New theoretical approaches to the study of negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts. In A. Pavlenko and A. Blackledge (Eds.), *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts* (pp. 1-33). Clevedon; Buffalo: Multilingual Matters.

Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rajagopalan, K. (2005). Non-native speaker teachers of English and their anxieties: Ingredients for an experiment in action research. In E. Llurda (Ed.), *Non-native language teachers: Perceptions, challenges and contributions to the profession* (pp. 283-303). New York: Springer Science+Business Media.

Singh, R. (1998). Introduction. In R. Singh (Ed.), *The native speaker: Multilingual perspectives* (pp. 26-44). New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Valdés, G. (1998). The construct of the near-native speaker in the foreign language profession: Perspectives about language. *ADFL, 29*(3), pp. 4-8.

Wooten, J.A. (2010a). Cultural drag, or Performing the native speaker in language memoirs. *Cultural drag: Theorizing the performances of non-native Spanish teachers' linguistic and cultural identities*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Georgia, Athens.

Wooten, J.A. (2010b). "A constant race to perfection": The ambivalence of non-native teachers of Spanish "acting like" the native speaker. *Cultural drag: Theorizing the performances of non-native Spanish teachers' linguistic and cultural identities*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Georgia, Athens.

CHAPTER FIVE

EXIT THE CULTURAL DRAG QUEEN, OR PRESENT CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Present Conclusions

Words like “fraud,” “faker,” and “wannabe” seeped into initial interviews and the focus groups. In her first interview, Judith leaned in closer to me and admitted in a hushed tone that she felt like a fraud teaching a course on Latino literature. Katarina suggested in the first focus group that she and her fellow non-native teachers of Spanish were “wannabes,” which was met with heads quickly shaking, a chorus of “Mmmms” that gave the impression of a subtle boo, and Janice asserting the word’s pejorative connotation meant it didn’t fit them. Yet despite the protestations, the teacher-participants positioned themselves (or perhaps better stated, were positioned through discourse) as copies of the supposedly real native speaker. “To be called a copy, to be called unreal, is thus one way one can be oppressed” (Butler, 2004, p. 218), and teachers certainly considered themselves oppressed by others’ expectations that they achieve the standard of the native speaker, as they acted out in Forum Theatre.

While the participants enacted conflicts with others, I believe those that guard the border between native and non-native most fiercely – those that most oppress thems – are the teachers themselves. As participants discussed who they considered to be the native speaker – alternating between such a figure being a figment of their imaginations and an attainable goal they hadn’t reached yet – they realized they were often the ones weighing and measuring their performances. Indeed, when participants wrote down tensions they feel in the performances of their second

language identities, self-judgment and perceived judgment by other non-native speakers appeared on several lists. In her small group, Janice explained to Amelia and Lucy that she didn't want to speak Spanish during the focus groups because she didn't know where she ranked and feared being judged by other non-native teachers. This fear of being judged by others, she furthered, was a result of her judging others in order to place herself. This discussion, along with other comments participants made throughout the PBFGs, goes back to Amelia's race metaphor. In accepting there is an endpoint, non-native speakers seem to be competing with each other to see who is the closest to the ideal.

Boal (1995) referred to these internalized standards, these forces of oppression, as "Cops in the head." The native speaker / non-native speaker binary is firmly imbedded in the minds of the participants (because, I contend, they are imbedded in the field and the general population), so much so that Amelia wondered "how we can begin to turn them around" (PBFG #1). Indeed, even cultural drag's definition employs "native" and "non-native" even though one of its possible functions is to critique them (and therein lays one facet of drag's ambivalence). I have used the terms innumerable times in this dissertation despite the fact that part of my project is to destabilize the binary and thus the terms of the binary. I can't seem to get away from the words, but what I have tried to do in my work – including this dissertation – is to consider their ideological implications, to see what they mobilize, to analyze the effects of their production, and to see what results when they are combined rather than in opposition.

This is neither neat nor stable work. As I demonstrated throughout this dissertation, contradiction and ambivalence were common in participants' responses in interviews and PBFGs. That wasn't surprising to me because I recognized that talking about or acting out *speakerness* exclusively is impossible; one's identity as a language user is inevitably tied to other

identities (e.g., learner, teacher, White, middle-class, educated) which may conflict. What I believe cultural drag offered to the participants of the study, especially in combination with Boal's theatrical techniques, was the opportunity to see themselves and each other as being multiple rather than having to fit to one standard and as having options to resist being produced in relation to what they considered an oppressive standard. They reported in follow-up interviews that they felt more relaxed with themselves as language users, more confident in being able to navigate or resist their own and others' expectations to live up to the native speaker ideal, and had a better sense of their multiple identities and loyalties related to language.

These conclusions echo those of the language memoirists in Chapter 2, who fought with their expectations to the point they realized they were based on a fiction and embraced their multiple identities rather than trying to become "Spanish" or "French." Their memoirs, following narrative conventions, were constructed to arrive at a point – that is, their destination (i.e., multiplicity) at present. At the end of their memoirs, they seem frozen in the self-assuredness of their multiplicity. Participants, too, felt more self-assured at the end of our study a year ago, yet identity – especially when you recognize its multiplicity – is complicated and messy. Study participants have continued to contact me to tell me about the conflicts they experience and the strategies they deploy to deal with them. Days before finalizing this manuscript, Amelia called to tell me that she had just had lunch with a group of women from Spain and was embarrassed she had made a linguistic mistake:

> I haven't taught in about five weeks, so I haven't spoken much Spanish since then. So we were talking, and I said "VOLVIDO" instead of "vuelto" [participle of *volver*, meaning *to return*]! VOLVIDO! That's terrible! But they just kept

> talking like they hadn't noticed, so I just thought, "Ehhh, oh well, everybody makes mistakes."

Amelia's first reaction to her error was to chastise herself (i.e., she is her own cop) but then casually tossed off the ideal of the native speaker by saying that "everybody makes mistakes" (i.e., reflecting discourse from PBFGs). I asked how that related to her "constant race to perfection." She chuckled as she repeated, "everybody makes mistakes, but I hate to make them!" In other words, conflicting identities – the *both/and* of drag – are still in play, but Amelia now seems to have a more playful – yet also more conscious and complicated – attitude about it.

Future Directions

In each of the three manuscripts that compose the body of this dissertation, I suggested specific ways that cultural drag as a concept and in practice could help shift the goal of the field of foreign language education away from the ideal native speaker to a critical multiplicity. To reiterate, I believe this shift can be made sparked in three areas, those being teacher education, relationships at the school site, and the classroom.

First, I believe the focus on practices in teacher education programs (especially in methods classes) often silences questions and issues related to learner and teacher identities. While teacher candidates often compose educational philosophies, rarely do they frankly express how they see themselves as language users and how such self-perceptions may influence their practice. A critical consideration of how they were produced as language users and how they have produced themselves is extremely important because, again, it emphasizes that identities are not inherent. That is, a "real" speaker of Spanish is not only one who is born and raised in the language. Recalling Pavlenko's (2003) study of preservice teachers in a Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) program, she found that educators who compared their

linguistic skills to those of native speakers (i.e., those born into the language) described themselves as unnatural, inauthentic, and incompetent, whereas educators who considered themselves L2 users with equal rights to English felt confident, empowered, and legitimate. The students in Pavlenko's study who identified themselves as L2 users did so in relation to texts in the field of second language acquisition and course discussions that helped them re-imagine themselves as bi- and multi-lingual speakers rather than failed native speakers. Such work, I believe, must become more common in teacher education programs, and the characteristics of cultural drag outlined in this dissertation can help educators consider: why they have invested in the target language and what it offers them (desire); how they perform their linguistic and cultural identities in the language, particularly in relation to others (action); how they shift between languages and linguistic and cultural identities and how they respond to others' judgments of this shifting (revelation); and how they ultimately see themselves as users of both their first and additional languages (proliferation). This process of self-reflection – exemplified in practice by study participants – may lead to teachers being more confident in their own abilities, being better equipped to resist the native / non-native binary, and teaching in a way that doesn't reify this binary.

The second area where the notion of cultural drag may be helpful in destabilizing the ideal of the native speaker is in relationships at school. As participants relayed in Forum Theatre scenes during the PBFGs, school administrators – especially those who are monolingual and have no recent language learning experience – expected them to perform on demand. That is, participants felt administrators expected them to speak Spanish to anyone about anything at anytime because speaking a language to them implied native speakerness. Educating school stakeholders (e.g., administrators, staff, parents) about linguistic and cultural variety in general

and in the local community in particular is an important first step in combating the widespread notion that "speaking a language" implies linguistic and cultural omniscience. Another step in establishing a productive relationship where language is considered an asset rather than a problem is communicating to administrators and other stakeholders the teacher's expectations about their job duties. Previously, I suggested that early in the school year – before parents arrive in the main office and the teacher is "put on the spot" – teachers, administrators, staff members, and parent volunteers might use Boalian theatrical techniques like those used in the study's PBFGs to dramatize conflicts they have experienced or are concerned about related to working with speakers of other languages. By collaboratively and critically considering issues and rehearsing options to create positive outcomes, educational stakeholders may be better prepared – and, thus, more confident – to communicate their expectations and needs to one another. I would also add that the language teacher might encourage English-speaking educational stakeholders to take part in events in and collaborate with members of their local Latino communities as a means to strengthen relationships between school staff and the community and to possibly enable English-speaking staff to learn some Spanish themselves. Perhaps if more stakeholders became language learners / users who are aware of the expanse of linguistic and cultural variety, they would be less likely to expect the Spanish teacher to act like the ideal native speaker in parent-teacher conferences and become embroiled in conflict when such a performance is impossible because the ideal is impossible.

Third, I believe the foreign language classroom is the site where cultural drag can shift both the field of foreign language education and eventually society at large to be more critically-minded and inclusive. As I explained previously, rather than holding up the native speaker, who is often "the middle-class, ethnically dominant male citizenry of nation-states" (Kramsch, 2003,

p. 255), as an idealized model for emulation, teachers might represent the multiple voices of those that speak the language under study to allow students to see and explore the language in its plentitude and as in constant motion. Expanding content to include more sustained discussions on the multiplicity of identities of speakers of the language from both insider and outsider perspectives has several benefits. First, understanding that speakers of the target language as well as target language learners have various linguistic and cultural experiences lessens the pressure to conform to one standard of *native speakerness*. This in turn makes language learning more positive since it does not concern losing one's self, but rather making new connections in the language and with speakers of the language (i.e., a proliferation of identities). Secondly, considering the diversity of those in the target language cultures – including ethnic, racial, socioeconomic, and gender identities – provides language students a means to discuss issues (e.g., racism, class privilege, homosexuality) in relation to the target language cultures and their own that are often discouraged in schools for being "controversial." In fact, Amelia and Allison explained during their follow-up interviews that they used Boalian techniques to critically explore race, poverty, and marginalization as related to target cultures and students' personal experiences. It is through these theatrical techniques that they are attempting to widen students' conceptions of who counts as speakers of Spanish in the foreign language classroom and beyond.

Participants' take up and use of Boalian theatrical techniques beyond the PBFGs and in their own classroom for change is one of the most intriguing outcomes of this study. Amelia, Allison, Sierra, and Katarina have all used games, Image Theatre, or Forum Theatre in their Spanish classes and are eager to "act out." Several months after the conclusion of the data collection phase, Amelia, Sierra, Katarina, and I presented an interactive session at the Annual Convention of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL).

Specifically, Amelia, Sierra, and Katarina enacted the model trans/scripts of "Aren't you supposed to, like, speak Spanish?" and "Report to the Office" to encourage session attendees to think about and act out how they respond to being positioned as non-native speakers. As the facilitator of the session, I invited session attendees to replace the teacher-protagonist to improve the scenes' outcomes. Significantly, the spect-actors who intervened in "Report to the Office" all took on the administrator as the antagonist, choosing to tell him that they couldn't translate because they were teaching, suggesting that he learn some Spanish, and telling the parent in Spanish that they could work everything out amongst themselves since the administrator apparently didn't care about working with Latino families. These interventions – some of which did not pass the "reality check" but were emotionally satisfying – were markedly different than those the participants enacted during Forum Theatre. As we collected our things at the end of the session, Katarina exclaimed, "GEEEEZ, we didn't do ANYthing with the principal! Why didn't we think of that?"

I share this anecdote to illustrate how, though the study may have officially ended, participants and I are still learning as we extend this work beyond the study. Several participants and I intend to present at local and national conferences to show how Boalian techniques can be used as a critical tool in the foreign language classroom and to share their results. I also plan to write with several study participants who have expressed interest in co-representing findings from our data. As I referenced in the methods section of Chapter 3, this study yielded an amazing amount of data. I include my plans for presenting or publishing this work over the next several years (see Figure 1):

Title (Topic) ** Projects currently in progress (at least 20% complete).*	**Conference and/or Publication Venue**
* "Confessions of a cultural drag queen" (Creative non-fiction piece based on Chapter One of this dissertation)	Conference: International Society for Language Studies (ISLS) – June 2011 Publication: Conference proceedings from ISLS 2011 (Edited volume on language and identity)
* "More than just 'play': Exploring non-native teacher identities in performance-based focus groups" (Methods piece on performance-based focus groups. Review of focus group literature and discussion of what performance and PBFGs offer qualitative researchers)	Conference: International Congress of Qualitative Inquiry – June 2011 Publication: *Qualitative Inquiry*
* "Performing the unspeakable: Using theatrical techniques to explore sensitive topics" (Discussion of theatrical techniques language educators have used as a result of PBFGs to critically explore topics like race, poverty, and marginalization as related to target cultures and their students' experiences) To be presented / written with Allison and Amelia (dissertation participants).	Conference Workshop: Foreign Language Association of Georgia (FLAG) - March 2011 Publication: *The Language Educator* (ACTFL practitioner journal)
* "A misstep, or When a non-native becomes visible" (Creative non-fiction essay based on personal experience on the revelation step in cultural drag)	Publication: *Modern Language Studies*
"'Going native': Exploring the interstices of anthropology and foreign language education" (Literature review and conceptual paper discussing cultural drag in relation to "going native" in the field of anthropology)	Conference: American Anthropological Association (AAA) – Date TBD Publication: *Anthropology and humanism*

"'Aren't you supposed to, like, speak Spanish?': Non-native teachers, language, and classroom management" (Empirical piece based on participants' theatrical interventions in class with students who stump them linguistically and disrupt the class in doing so) To be co-presented and/or written with Katarina (dissertation participant).	Conference: American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) – November 2012 Publication: *High School Journal*
"Judging others, judging oneself: The many shades of non-native teachers of Spanish" (Empirical piece showing how non-native participants used Boal's Rainbow of Desire techniques to explore non-natives as the strictest and cruelest critics of one another and guards of the border between "native" and "non-native")	Conference: International Society for Language Studies (ISLS) – June 2011 OR American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese (AATSP) – July 2012 Publication: *Foreign Language Annals*, a journal of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages
"Lucy and Lucía: A portrait of a newly self-proclaimed bilingual teacher" (Empirical piece focusing on Lucy viewed through cultural drag and Foucault's "care of the self") To be co-presented and/or written with Lucy (dissertation participant).	Conference: TBD Publication: *Modern Language Journal*
"Who has the right? A White, non-native instructor of Spanish talks about teaching Latino studies" (Empirical piece focusing especially on Judith's discomfort teaching courses focused on Latinos in the US) To be co-presented and/or written with Judith (dissertation participant).	Conference: TBD Publication: *Journal of Latinos and Education*

Figure 5.1. Table of future study-based conferences and publications.

The future activity that excites me the most, though, is returning to the Spanish classroom after a five year absence. Having studied cultural drag with my teacher-participants – sometimes vicariously living through them as they talk about their classrooms – I now imagine my own pedagogy informed by cultural drag. Since I won't be the drag diva extraordinaire who expected students to play the part of native-speaker-in-training (that *Yenifer* has left the building), I will introduce myself that first day as both *Jennifer* and *Yenifer* to emphasize my dual identities. Students will have the choice of choosing a new name in Spanish, having their given name pronounced in Spanish, or having their name pronounced in English, with the agreement that they can change it at any time. Thinking back to Bobby's class, I will do things differently than I have in past practice if greetings are on the agenda that first day. Instead of mandating that students participate as if they *were* Spanish, we will first use diverse photo or video images to deconstruct 2-3 different types of greetings by people of different races, genders, ages, Spanish-speaking countries, etc: How do different people greet one another? What are the patterns of who greets whom how? What do those patterns suggest about the culture? What similarities or differences exist between the groups studied? From there, students will participate in a meet-and-greet, but will choose how they greet their classmates. This exercise, started the first day of class and revisited and extended over the course of the semester, would allow students to critically consider something as deceptively simple as greetings, negotiate cultural differences, and use Spanish as they begin to construct new identities in the language.

I have constructed new identities over the course of my doctoral program and re-conceptualized others, especially in relation to my identities as language user, language teacher, and language teacher educator. As I explained in Chapter 1, I didn't fully understand the significance of Bobby's drag-on-drag performance of *Yenifer Wooten, Spanish teacher*. Now,

however, I see how I am a cultural drag queen, especially in relation to Spanish. When I hear myself say "¡Fenomenal!", I recognize I am echoing one of my roommates in Madrid. When I tie a scarf with an invisible knot, I feel my friend Ana's mother's hands as I look at our reflection in the mirror as she guides the fabric and my hands. When someone refers to me as "Yeni" (short for Yenifer), I laugh a little thinking about the sassy teenage character "La Yeni" from the Spanish comedy show *Los Morancos* that popularized the nickname. In other words, I recognize how I've borrowed, adapted, and been produced by others to create the multiple subject positions I occupy in Spanish. I also recognize that, like my participants, I still dislike snapping by fingers trying to motivate a word from my brain to my lips or immediately shrugging my shoulders to indicate I don't know when a little voice (or a cop) somewhere inside me says I should. The difference between me as the Yenifer Wooten who taught Bobby and as the Yenifer(s) I am today is the much shorter duration of those feelings because I now think of myself as a cultural drag queen, one who shifts and is shifted according to discursive and contextual possibilities in the moment. I claim that title and prefer it to *near-native*, *native-like*, or any other "you're almost *there*" category that imply a failed native speaker. In fact, cultural drag has so created me as I have created and elaborated it throughout this study, I can't think past it. I see it everywhere and in everything, messy and contradictory, and that now makes perfect sense to me.

> Here is how the pieces fit. Now, everywhere I look, I see the possibility of transformation. Welcome to the world. Nothing here is sure except the erosion of certainties and, every so often, the sweet aching pang of surprise. (Norbury & Richardson, 1994, p. 104)

REFERENCES

Armour, W.S. (2001). “This guy is Japanese stuck in a white man’s body”: A discussion of meaning making, identity slippage, and cross-cultural adaptation. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 22*(1), 1–18.

Armour, W.S. (2004). Becoming a Japanese language learner, user, and teacher. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education, 3*(2), 101-125.

Arroyo, J. (2002). “Mirror, mirror on the wall”: Performing racial and gender identities in Javier Cardona’s “You don't look like”. In L.A. Ramos-García (Ed.), *The state of Latino theater in the United States: Hybridity, transculturation, and identity* (pp. 152-171). New York; London: Routledge.

Banks, D. (2006). Unperforming race: Strategies for reimagining identity. In J. Cohen-Cruz & M. Schutzman (Eds.), *A Boal companion: Dialogues on theatre and cultural politics* (pp. 185-198). London; New York: Routledge.

Bell, V. (1999). Performativity and belonging: An introduction. *Theory, Culture & Society, 16*(2), 1-10.

Block, D. (2007). *Second language identities*. London: Continuum.

Boal, A. (1979). *Theatre of the oppressed* [*Teatro del oprimido y otras poéticas políticas*.]. New York: Urizen Books. (Charles A. & Miranda-Odilia Leal McBride Trans.)

Boal, A. (1995). *The rainbow of desire: The Boal method of theatre and therapy* [*Méthode Boal de théâtre et de thérapie*.]. (A. Jackson Trans.). London; New York: Routledge.

Boal, A. (2002). *Games for actors and non-actors* [*Jeux pour acteurs et non-acteurs*.] (A. Jackson Trans.). London; New York: Routledge. (Original work published 1992)

Braine, G. (Ed.). (1999). *Non-native educators in English language teaching*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Braine, G. (2010). *Nonnative speaker English teachers: Research, pedagogy, and professional growth*. New York; London: Routledge.

Butler, J. (1988). Performative acts and gender constitution: An essay in phenomenology and feminist theory. *Theatre Journal*, 40(4), 519-531.

Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies that matter: On the discursive limits of "sex"*. New York: Routledge.

Butler, J. (1997). *Excitable speech: A politics of the performative*. New York: Routledge.

Butler, J. (1999). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York: Routledge. (Original work published 1990)

Butler, J. (2004). *Undoing gender*. New York: Routledge.

Cahnmann-Taylor, M. & Siegesmund, R. (2008). Performance inquiry, ethnodrama, and ethnofiction: Real life with the boring parts taken out. In M. Cahnmann-Taylor & R. Siegesmund (Eds.), *Arts-based research in education: Foundations for practice* (pp. 151-152). New York; London: Routledge.

Cahnmann-Taylor, M., Wooten, J., Souto-Manning, M. & Dice, J. (2009). The art & science of educational inquiry: Analysis of performance-based focus groups with novice bilingual teachers. *Teachers College Record 111*(11), pp. 2535-2559.

Cahnmann-Taylor, M. & Wooten, J. (In Press). Black, white, and Rainbow [of Desire]: The color of race-talk of pre-service foreign language educators in Boalian theatre workshops. In M.S. Hanley, G. Noblit & T. Barone (Eds.), *A way out of no way: The arts as social justice in education.*

Cook, V. (1991). The poverty-of-the-stimulus argument and multi-competence. *Second Language Research, 7*, 103-117.

Cook, V. (1992). Evidence for multi-competence. *Language Learning, 42*(4), 557-591.

Cook, V. (1999). Going beyond the native speaker in language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly, 33*(2), 185-209.

Cook, V. (2002). Background to the L2 user. In V.J. Cook (Ed.), *Portraits of the L2 user* (pp. 1-28). Clevedon; Buffalo, NY: Multilingual Matters.

Cummings, W.R. (1998). Foreign language: What a drag! *Modern Language Studies, 28*(3/4), 163-172.

Davies, A. (2003). *The native speaker: Myth or reality*. Clevedon; Buffalo: Multilingual Matters.

Diamond, E. (1996). Introduction. Performance and cultural politics. In E. Diamond (Ed.), *Performance and cultural politics* (pp. 1-2). New York: Routledge.

Fachinger, P. (1996). Cross-dressing as appropriation in the short stories of Emma Lee Warrior. *Studies in American Indian Literatures*, *8*(3), Retrieved February 9, 2008, from http://oncampus.richmond.edu/faculty/ASAIL/SAIL2/83.pdf

Firth, A. & Wagner, J. (1997). On discourse, communication, and (some) fundamental concepts in SLA research. *Modern Language Journal, 81*, 286-300.

Flores, H. (2000). From Freire to Boal. *Education Links, 61/62*, p. 41.

Fox, G.E. (1996). *Hispanic nation: Culture, politics, and the constructing of identity*. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press.

Foucault, M. (1988). Truth, power, self: An interview with Michel Foucault. In L.H. Martin, H. Gutman, and P.H. Hutton (Eds.), *Technologies of the self: A seminar with Michel Foucault*, (pp. 9-15). Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Herder and Herder.

Garber, M. (1997). *Vested interests: Cross-dressing & cultural anxiety*. New York: Routledge. (Original work published 1992)

Ginsberg, E. K. (1996). *Passing and the fictions of identity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Jackson, A. (1992/2002). Translator's introduction to the first edition. *Games for actors and non-actors* (pp. xxii-xxix). London; New York: Routledge.

Kaplan, A. (1993). *French lessons: A language memoir*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kaplan, A. (1994). On language memoir. In A Bammer (Ed.), *Displacements: Cultural identities in question* (pp. 59-70). Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press.

Kinginger, C. (2004). Alice doesn't live here anymore: Foreign language learning and identity reconstruction. In A. Pavlenko, & A. Blackledge (Eds.), *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts* (pp. 219-242). Clevedon; Buffalo: Multilingual Matters.

Koike, D.A. & Liskin-Gasparro, J.E. (1999). What is a near-native speaker? Perspectives of job seekers and search committees in Spanish. *ADFL, 30*(3), pp. 54-62.

Kramsch, C. (1993). *Context and culture in language teaching*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Kramsch, C. (1998). *Language and culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kramsch, C. (2003). The privilege of the nonnative speaker. In C. Blyth (Ed.), *The sociolinguistics of foreign language classrooms: Contributions of the native, the near-native, and the non-native speaker* (pp. 251-262). Boston: Heinle.

Kramsch, C. (2005). The multilingual experience: Insights from language memoirs. *Transit, 1*(1), Retrieved July 21, 2009, from http://www.escholarship.org/uc/item/9h79g172

Kramsch, C. & von Hoene, L. (2001). Cross-cultural excursions: Foreign language study and feminist discourses of travel. In A. Pavlenko, A. Blackledge, I. Piller and M. Teutsch-Dwyer (Eds.), *Multilingualism, second language learning, and gender* (pp. 283-306). Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Kuhn, T.S. (1996). The structure of scientific revolutions. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. (Original work published 1962)

Lake, D., Paratore, J., & Kellison, D. (Executive Producers). (February 22, 2010). [Interview with RuPaul]. *The Bonnie Hunt show*. [Television broadcast]. Culver City, CA: Syndication.

Leary, K. (1999). Passing, posing, and "keeping it real". *Constellations: An International Journal of Critical & Democratic Theory, 6*, 86-96.

Li, X. (2007). Souls in exile: Identities of bilingual writers. *Journal of language, identity, and education, 6*(4), 259-275.

Linds, W. (2006). Metaxis: Dancing (in) the in-between. In J. Cohen-Cruz & M. Schutzman (Eds.), *A Boal companion: Dialogues on theatre and cultural politics* (pp. 114-124). London; New York: Routledge.

Lloyd, M. (1999). Performativity, parody, politics. *Theory, Culture & Society, 16*(2), 195-213.

Llurda, E. (2005). Looking at the perceptions, challenges, and contributions…or the importance of being a non-native teacher. In E. Llurda (Ed.), *Non-native language teachers: Perceptions, challenges and contributions to the profession* (pp. 1-9). New York: Springer Science+Business Media.

Lvovich, N. (1997). *The multilingual self: An inquiry into language learning*. Mahwah, N.J.: L. Erlbaum Associates.

Mantero, M. (2007). Toward ecological pedagogy in language education. In M. Mantero (Ed.), *Identity and second language learning: Culture, inquiry, and dialogic activity in educational contexts* (pp. 1-11). Charlotte, NC: Iap.

Marx, N. (2002). Never quite a 'native speaker': Accent and identity in the L2 and the L1. *Canadian Modern Language Review, 59*(2), 264-281.

Medgyes, P. (1994). *The non-native teacher*. London: Macmillan Publishers.

Menard-Warwick, J. (2005). Both a fiction and an existential fact: Theorizing identity in second language acquisition and literacy studies. *Linguistics and Education, 16*, 253-274.

Murti, K. (2002). Whose identity? The nonnative teacher as cultural mediator in the language classroom. *ADFL, 34*(1), pp. 26-29.

Newton, E. (1979). *Mother camp: Female impersonators in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Norbury, R., & Richardson, B. (1994). *Guy to goddess: An intimate look at drag queens*. Berkeley, CA: Ten Speed Press.

Norton Peirce, B. (1995). Social identity, investment, and language learning. *TESOL Quarterly, 29*(1), 9-31.

Norton, B. (1997). Language, identity, and the ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly, 31*(3), 409-429.

Osborn, T. (2006). *Teaching world languages for social justice: A sourcebook of principles and practices*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Paikeday, T.M. (1985). *The native speaker is dead!* Toronto; New York: Paikeday Publishing.

Pavlenko, A. & Lantolf, J. (2000). Second language learning as participation and the (re)construction of selves. In J. Lantolf (Ed.), *Sociocultural theory and second language learning* (pp. 155-177).

Pavlenko, A. (2001). "How am I to become a woman in an American vein?": Transformations of gender performance in second language learning. In A. Pavlenko, A. Blackledge, I. Piller, & M. Teutsch-Dwyer (Eds.), *Multilingualism, second language learning, and gender* (pp. 133-174). Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Pavlenko, A. (2003). "I never knew I was bilingual": Reimagining teacher identities in TESOL. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education, 2*(4), 251-268.

Pavlenko, A. (2004). "The making of an American": Negotiation of identities at the turn of the Twentieth Century. In A. Pavlenko & A. Blackledge (Eds.), *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts* (pp. 34-67).Clevedon; New York: Multilingual Matters.

Pavlenko, A. (2005). *Emotions and multilingualism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pavlenko, A., & Blackledge, A. (2004). Introduction: New theoretical approaches to the study of negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts. In A. Pavlenko and A. Blackledge (Eds.), *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts* (pp. 1-33). Clevedon; Buffalo: Multilingual Matters.

Pennycook, A. (1990). Toward a critical applied linguistics for the 1990s. *Issues in Applied Linguistics, 1*, 8-28.

Pennycook, A. (2004). Performativity and language studies. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies: An International Journal, 1*(1), 1-19.

Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Piller, I. (2002a). Passing for a native speaker: Identity and success in language learning. *Journal of sociolinguistics*, 6(2), 179-206.

Piller, I. (2002b). *Bilingual couples talk: The discursive construction of hybridity*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: J. Benjamins.

Piller, I. & Takahashi, K. (2006). A passion for English: Desire and the language market. In A. Pavlenko (Ed.), *Bilingual minds: Emotional experience, expression, and representation* (pp. 59-83).

Pratt, M.L. (1992). *Imperial eyes*. New York: Routledge.

Rajagopalan, K. (2005). Non-native speaker teachers of English and their anxieties: Ingredients for an experiment in action research. In E. Llurda (Ed.), *Non-native language teachers: Perceptions, challenges and contributions to the profession* (pp. 283-303). New York: Springer Science+Business Media.

Rajchmann, J. (1985). *Michel Foucault: The freedom of philosophy*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Rampton, B. (1995). *Crossing: Language and ethnicity among adolescents*. London; New York: Longman.

Reagan, T. & Osborn, T. (2002). *The foreign language educator in society: Toward a critical pedagogy*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Richardson, L. & St.Pierre, E. (2005). Writing: A method of inquiry. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research (Third edition)* (pp. 959-978). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Roach, J.R. (1996). *Cities of the dead: Circum-Atlantic performance*. New York: Columbia University Press.

RuPaul. (1995). *Lettin' it all hang out: An autobiography*. New York: Hyperion.

Salih, S. (2002). *Judith Butler*. London; New York: Routledge

Singh, R. (1998). Introduction. In R. Singh (Ed.), *The native speaker: Multilingual perspectives* (pp. 26-44). New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Siskin, J. (2007). Call me "Madame": Re-presenting culture in the French language classroom. *Foreign Language Annals, 40*(1), 27-42.

Starkey, H. (2007). Language education, identities and citizenship: Developing cosmopolitan perspectives. *Language and intercultural communication, 7*(1), pp. 56-71.

Stein, G. (1937). *Everybody's autobiography*. New York: Random House.

Tharps, L. (2008). *Kinky gazpacho: Life, love & Spain*. New York: Atria Books.

Tharps, L. (2010). American Meltingpot: Keeping track of where cultures collide, co-mingle and cozy up. Retrieved March 23, 2010, from http://www.myamericanmeltingpot.blogspot.com/

Valdés, G. (1998). The construct of the near-native speaker in the foreign language profession: Perspectives about language. *ADFL, 29*(3), pp. 4-8.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wooten, J.A. (2010a). Cultural drag, or Performing the native speaker in language memoirs. *Cultural drag: Theorizing the performances of non-native Spanish teachers' linguistic and cultural identities*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Georgia, Athens.

Wooten, J.A. (2010b). “A constant race to perfection”: The ambivalence of non-native teachers of Spanish “acting like” the native speaker. *Cultural drag: Theorizing the performances of non-native Spanish teachers’ linguistic and cultural identities*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Georgia, Athens.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW #1 GUIDE (SAMPLE)

Objective: In this first interview, I want to know how participants describe their cultural and linguistic identities in terms of their own language learning (background) and use (personal and/or professional).

1. Cultural drag as a metaphor for self-formation:
    a. What practices or strategies have participants used / continue to use to create themselves as Spanish language users and teachers?
    b. What are the goals of such self-formation in/through a foreign language and cultures?

Interview Guide

<u>Background</u>

1. (Review any salient points about participant's background as related to familial or cultural background, etc.)

<u>Desire / Goals</u>

2. When did you first begin learning Spanish, and what sparked your interest in it?

3. What have been your goals in terms of learning and using Spanish?

<u>Follow-through (i.e., How have you gone about achieving your goals?)</u>

4. Strategies (products, practices, perspectives)
   What specific actions have you taken to achieve your goals (e.g. living abroad, allowing yourself to be 'adopted' by native speaker family and friends, taking a native speaker as a lover, speaking/behaving like a Spanish-speaking friend, celebrating particular holidays, using "we" when referring to the community under study, writing, etc.)

5. Who have been your Spanish-speaking role models? *(Native speakers or non-native speakers? Communities of practice or Imagined communities? One community or multiple communities?)*

Mission accomplished? "Acting like" a native speaker / Passing…

6. Tell me about how you have at some point chosen to "act like" a native speaker and/or have been encouraged by others to "act like" a native speaker.

7. Tell me about instances when you have 'passed' as a native speaker. How did you know you were 'passing'?

8. How comfortable are you with your abilities to 'pass'?

Effects

9. Tell me about how learning Spanish / Hispanic cultures has affected the way you think of yourself.

10. How do you think your cultural and linguistic identities inform your teaching?

11. Is there anything else you would like me to know at this time?

APPENDIX B

PERFORMANCE-BASED FOCUS GROUP #1 AGENDA

Purpose: The purpose of this first focus group is to get participants to collectively act out / discuss what being a non-native teacher of Spanish looks and feels like, particularly when the native speaker is the gold standard in the profession. Today's focus group will look at "acting like" a native speaker in FLE (including how one performs as the Other, who is imitating or performing whom, what the binary of native / non-native allows and disallows, how non-native performances may destabilize the native / non-native binary) and tensions or conflicts in performing such IDs.

Focus group #1
Before focus group begins, participants will: meet the researcher and other members of the group; create a nametag; sign honorarium to receive payment for Interview #1; eat lunch.

20 min – (1:00 - 1:20) Get-to-know you games
5 min - Play "Good day, knot!" game as name game, get-to-know you
15 min - Play Meet Your Mate – Image

- Instructions: Jen will call out a category (below) based on information gleaned about participants in Interview #1. Participants who self-identify with the category will move to the center of the space, pause for a moment to think what that category looks like to them, and strike an image with their bodies when Jen asks what belonging to that category looks like.
    - Please move to the center / front if you (pick about 7):
        - Are a K-12 teacher (then ask them to specify if they are MS or HS)
        - Are university faculty
        - Are married
        - Have lived one year or longer in a Spanish-speaking country
        - Have traveled to or lived in Mexico or Central America
        - Speak languages besides English and Spanish
        - Have ever dated a Spanish speaker
        - Have a child or children
        - Have a Spanish name that you identify with (or identifies your Spanish-speaking identity)
        - Have traveled to a Spanish-speaking country to do missionary or other service work
- Debrief – What do we know about the group? Any surprises?

10 min – (1:20 - 1:30) Introduction

- Intro to the researcher and the study (general research questions)
- Discuss Boal and idea of *spect-actor*, plus any questions about performance-based focus groups and possible modifications for exercises
- Review Statement of Confidentiality form (turned in before start of Interview #1) – What happens in the FG stays in the FG!
- Note that participants may adapt the PBFG activities for their classrooms (using the 2 previous games as examples)

30 – 40 min – (1:30-2:10ish)

2 games (Columbian Hypnosis, Big Chief) to warm up, build community, and begin to discuss the topic of foreign language education in terms of IMITATION.

After both games, ask participants to describe how these games might act as metaphors for:

- foreign language learning
- foreign language teaching
- foreign language ID construction

45- 50 min – (2:10ish - 3:00ish)

Image Theatre exercises. Participants will use their bodies to sculpt images in response to prompts related to being non-native teachers of Spanish.

- Image of the Word –

1. 3 volunteers independently sculpt an image with their bodies to represent a word or phrase (e.g., non-native).
2. others may add an image.
3. all spect-actors represent their images simultaneously in front of the group.
4. all spect-actors represent their images in collaboration with others, adjusting their bodies as necessary.
    - Consider asking those not acting (if any) to walk around and verbalize what they see OR tap each spect-actor to provide a title or quick monologue related to their image.

- Brief debrief: How is the category portrayed / described?

5. Following up this first sequence with the participants representing the word's/phrase's opposite (e.g., native speaker). Follow steps 1-4.

6. Combining the phrases as a sort of both/and – ask participants to represent both non-native and native speaker OR asking participants to represent a non-native speaker acting like (or <u>transitioning to as in Boal's Real-Ideal Image Game) a native speaker.</u>

- Brief debrief - the native speaker as a pivotal foundation of FLE –What strategies are employed to move from non-native to native speaker?

7. Finally, ask spect-actors to re-strike the non-native to native images and then transition to non-native again by way of the "Where are you from?" question that came up so frequently in Interview #1 (i.e., the striptease).
    - Consider asking those not acting (if any) to walk around and verbalize what they see OR tap each spect-actor to provide a title or quick monologue related to their image

- Brief debrief – What is the transition piece (or the giveaway)? What does the non-native speaker look like at the end (similar to or different from first image)?

- DEBRIEF: Participants' global comments; What are the goal(s) of such *both/and* identities (Why cultivate this hybrid ID? What does it get you? Roach's notion of "quotation and invention"?); How do such *both/and* IDs destabilize the native / non-native binary?; What are the tensions? (transition to Forum to come after break)

10 - 15 min – (3:00ish – 3:15) Break

90 min – (3:15-4:45)

Forum Theatre techniques. Participants will act out any conflicts they have experienced related to their cultural identities and perform possible ways to change those scenes.

Jen will ask participants to:

1) consider and jot down notes on any conflicts / tensions they've experienced as a non-native speaker/teacher, either in a school setting (e.g., students who questioned one's authority because she isn't a native speaker; administrators who expect you to be an intermediary between the school and Spanish-speaking parents), extracurricular settings (e.g., being taken as a native speaker in the community), or even internally (e.g., feeling like a cultural traitor to your roots, feeling like a 'wannabe').
2) form groups of 3 and briefly discuss them in small groups.
3) select one issue (or a combination of issues) to represent in a group of 2-3 scenes.
4) briefly rehearse the scenes to enact for the whole group.
5) each group will present their 2-3 scenes and the whole group will decide which to work on (time permitting, we should be able to do at least 2).
6) the group selected will perform the model again while the other spect-actors watch it and consider possible ways to change the scenes.
7) spect-actors will have a chance to jot down notes before beginning the 'jump-in' process.
8) the model group will again begin to perform their scenes, but now other spect-actors can stop the action to introduce changes.

9) discussion will ensue after each intervention, beginning with the question "What is the change X introduced?", followed by "Does this seem real?"

15 min – (4:45 – 5:00)

Debriefing

- summary statements from participants
- participant questions
- info about FG #2 and its focus
    - Participants to consider how their identities as non-native teachers of Spanish (or cultural drag queens?) affect their practice, including:
        - what they choose to emphasize in their classrooms culturally [e.g., Spain over other places]
        - how they present cultural materials [e.g., using "we" to describe practices or speaking about your "familia" – community of practice --- indicators you "belong" to the culture)
        - how you emphasize language choice (using *pendientes* over *aretes* because that's the word in Spain)
        - how you expect students to relate to linguistic and cultural material you select (including how you correct their speech)
        - "repitan" → students are imitating YOU, at least to some degree
            - HOW COMFORTABLE ARE YOU WITH THIS??? What issues do you have? Any changes you would like to make for FG #2?
- End of first focus group.

APPENDIX C

PERFORMANCE-BASED FOCUS GROUP #2 AGENDA

Purpose: The purpose of the second focus group is to get participants to collectively act out / discuss the tensions or conflicts they've experienced as non-native speakers and teachers and consider ways that such tensions may be addressed. This focus group will also explore how teachers' cultural and linguistic identities affect their practice and help shape their students' cultural and linguistic identities.

End of FG #1 / Asked to consider before FG #2:
Participants might consider how their identities as non-native teachers of Spanish (or cultural drag queens?) affect their practice, including:

- your language use (% of Spanish to English)
- how you emphasize language choice (using *pendientes* over *aretes* because that's the word in Spain)
- how you expect students to relate to linguistic and cultural material you select (including how you correct their speech)
- what you choose to emphasize in their classrooms culturally [e.g., Spain over other places]
- how you present cultural materials [e.g., using "we" to describe practices or speaking about your "familia" – community of practice --- indicators you "belong" to the culture)
- giving students Spanish names / pronouncing their given English names in Spanish
- "Repitan": how comfortable are you with students imitating you, at least to some degree

Based on such practices (along with any number of others), what linguistic and cultural identities are possible for students? What is made less possible?

Focus group #2
1:00 – 1:20 Games

A. Circle of Names
B. Noisy West Side Story - The group forms a circle. A volunteer comes into the circle and performs an exaggerated gesture and sound. Everyone in the circle imitates the volunteer until s/he picks out another person in the circle to take his/her place by making eye contact and drawing near to the new person. This process begins again until the Joker tweaks the rules. Now two people are in the circle making their gesture/noise. The other spect-actors pick which gesture/sound they prefer and move over to that person. The person that 'loses' this battle must go over to the 'winning' side, as do all of the people that supported him/her. This continues until the Joker stops the action. (DEBRIEF in relation to foreign language teaching and learning)

1:20 – 1:35 Summary of FG #1 - Jen
- Quotable quotes & trends (5 min)
- Show videos of Forum clips to prepare for Forum (10 min)

1:35 – 2:45 (Break) 3:00-3:45 FORUM THEATRE

GROUP SELECTS WHICH ONE TO START WITH!

1. After the model scenes have been presented, get PAIRS to talk about: (a) what the issue is as they see it and (b) how they would change the action.
2. After a spect-actor has intervened, ask "What did this one do DIFFERENT from the model?" This gets the other spect-actors to reflect on the strategy.
3. After spect-actors share these reflections, SUMMARIZE what was done: "What I saw was … is there something you saw differently / something else?"
4. The Joker's job is to get the spect-actors to see BEYOND just the protagonist's anecdote. TO is not just working on an anecdote but more importantly getting at what ALLOWS the oppression to happen, that is, what systemic forces are at work in the local situation? Julian Boal tells the story of aliens coming down to earth to see how we live. They place surveillance equipment at a stoplight and learn: red means stop, green means go, pedestrians cross at determined moments, etc. (local). What they don't know is: who put the light there? what are the consequences of disobeying the light? who doles out the punishment for transgressors? what will that punishment be? etc. (macro). TO is to make (micro & macro) oppression visible.

GROUP 1: Busing to El Prado

Possible issues / tensions / questions:

- Scene One = Bus:
  - Being put in charge when there is a native speaker who won't take charge! (native / non-native issues)
  - Being responsible for students' health and well-being but yet being at the mercy of another person
  - Not understanding what the bus driver (or any native speaker with a "thick" accent) says (native / non-native issues)
  - Having a man with an agenda (e.g., possibly an agreement with a restaurant or rest stop up the road) not take your wishes/needs into consideration (economics; male/female issues; native / non-native issues)
- Scene Two = "Las meninas"
  - Not understanding the native speaker docent yet supposedly trying to translate for English-speaking students (native / non-native issue; feeling 'less than' as a Spanish user and teacher because couldn't meet self's and/or students' expectations)
  - Lack of cultural knowledge (if was somewhat familiar with painting could feel in linguistic gaps from what the docent was saying → EXPERIENCE)

Technique to further explore: Spect-actor interventions in Forum

GROUP 2: OMG

Pre-Forum – Status Circle game

Possible issues / tensions:

- Feeling / being judged by other non-native speakers of Spanish (who you might expect to have more empathy for you!)
- Internalizing expectations that a Spanish teacher must "know" the language and cultures and not make mistakes (expectations = 'native' proficiency; teacher as all-knowing)
- Projecting one's own insecurities on another (making oneself feel better by pointing out someone else's flaws)
- Who are the COPS of the COPS in the head? (specter of the native speaker – or the expectations that non-native teachers should have 'near-native' proficiency)
- How might it relate to the 3 scenes in "OMG"?

Techniques to further explore: Cops in the Head (others) / Rainbow of Desire (self – protagonist or antagonist) → Have spect-actors act out COPS and then a protagonist do Rainbow by reacting to COPS!

COPS IN THE HEAD – Internalized sources of oppression (the voices of others in one's head) Boal's work in Brazil, where oppression was often physical (torture, hunger, substandard living conditions), but later TO practices are derived from his time in Europe where people were anxious, frustrated, and depressed due to compliance to so many internalized notions of what it means to be a citizen. Boal says, "the cops are in our heads, but their headquarters and barracks must be on the outside" (Rainbow, p. 8).

1. First, have the Protagonist sculpt images of the COPS that are already existent in the scenes of the Forum piece (university observers, student in a university class, conference-going colleagues)
2. Next, ask spect-actors to consider and sculpt other COPS that could be pressuring the protagonist. (This is a Rainbow of sorts)
3. Each COP can identify herself (who is she?) and have a critical (oppressive) tagline or phrase
4. Ask the Protagonist to arrange the COPS: How far away from the Protagonist is each COP? What direction is the COP facing? Where are the COPS in relation to each other?
5. Joker calls attention to spacing/facing/distance and asks spect-actors to reflect on what they see in the scene now.

RAINBOW OF DESIRE – The various shades of the protagonist / antagonist / other members in the scene (e.g., What are the possible hues of what this protagonist is feeling at this moment?). May involve internal influences (psychological processes) influence the protagonist (What are some of the things the protagonist wants? What are some of the things the protagonist is afraid of?) or external influences (environmental pressures). Spect-actors should strike a pose and include a related sound or word.

6. With the COPS still in place, the Joker asks the Protagonist to sculpt her body to reflect how she feels in relation to each COP when the COP repeats her critical phrase.
7. The Protagonist, as she sculpts her body, can also verbalize what she feels in that moment.
8. (Forum) Choose one of the COPS to remain hovering over the scene. The Protagonist replays the model scene in her corresponding image. Spect-actors offer suggestions that change the scene (probably dealing with the COP first and then the antagonist) → Could do antibodies but there are probably not enough participants!
9. Debrief –
    a. Were there any surprises (in terms of who the COPS were, what the Protagonist's reactions were, strategies suggested?)
    b. How do participants feel now when they might have seen themselves as the Protagonist and the Antagonist (potentially all participants could be Protagonist or Antagonist depending on the context)?
    c. THE COPS OF THE COPS (might the native speaker – or at least the expectation of native speaker proficiency be the COP's COP?)
        i. This goes back to the native / non-native binary, so how to dislodge???

<u>GROUP 3: Insufficient Funds</u>

Possible issues / tensions:
- Scene One A & B – "The job interview"
- Perceived discrimination based on birthright (privilege of native speaker)
- Birthright/upbringing v. academic training (degree)

- Scene Two – In the classroom ("Aren't you supposed to, like, speak Spanish?")
- Official curriculum v. the taboo that students so often enjoy (how to encourage their interest in the language yet still be 'professional')
- Not knowing slang (or at least the type of slang students ask) (academic v. 'street' language; perhaps not having EXPERIENCE with the type of language students' friends know)
    - What if a student asked a teacher well-versed in Spain what the term "gilipollas" means? By saying what you do or don't know / are familiar with, are you validating (i.e., what counts or doesn't count) a certain type of Spanish, country?
- The embarrassment/annoyance of saying "I don't know"
- Losing credibility as a language teacher (a Spanish teacher is supposed to "know" the language)

Technique to further explore: HANOVER VARIATION

- Hot seat variation: Spect-actors in the audience ask questions of characters in the middle of the action and characters answer. The Joker will stop the action of the scene when several hands are raised in the audience. This helps both the spect-actors in the scene and in the audience better understand the motivation and background of the characters.

- Scene Three – Parent Conference ("Report to the office")
  - Discomfort at being intermediary between English-speaking administration and Spanish-speaking parents & students (not trained to translate; language variety – in terms of country and register [academic v. home use of Spanish]; not wanting to be the 'bad guy' that has to tell on students or defend administration)
  - Not being able to understand Spanish speakers though the expectation is "the Spanish teacher" will be able to communicate with any Spanish speaker that walks through the door

  Technique to further explore: Rashomon
    - The Joker lets the antagonist sculpt the bodies of the other participants in the scenes, including how they look, walk, speak, etc. The scenes are replayed with every participant playing the role as the antagonist has directed it.
    - The protagonist is then given the chance to sculpt the cast and re-play the scene. How do the scenes differ?

3:45 – 4:45 Image Theatre (Project Word document – FG2 Image Construction)

- Participants will have 2-3 minutes to consider / jot down notes on their practices
- In groups of 3-4, participants will discuss how their cultural and linguistic identities (tape small-group conversations) inform their practice (seen somewhat in previous work) and in turn their students' identities in relation to the Spanish language and cultures
- Groups will construct and title an image (static or moving) that showcases this relationship.
- Other spect-actors will walk around the images and verbally articulate what they see / imagine the characters thinking/feeling
- Debrief

Questions to consider:

- How does EXPERIENCE factor in?
- FG #1 – "I hate to teach things I don't know" / "I want to teach from my experiences"
  - Joan Scott's evidence of experience – Taking experience as fact rather than interrogating how such an experience is made possible and what it allows / disallows
  - Teacher as holder of knowledge or continual learner?
  - Students as multipliers

- What are they multiplying? (simulacra)
- What if students don't look like (White, middle class, female, etc.) teacher?
- Are teachers okay with their influence on students as language learners' identities?

4:45 – 4:55 Game – Chairs

4:55 – 5:00 Conclusion
- Scheduling Interview #2 (April 13 – May 9)
- Community of study scholars

Boal: ***"The show does not end when it's over; it begins when it's over"***