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Integrating Critical Pedagogy theory and practice: classroom experiences in Argentinean EFL teacher education

La integración de la teoría y práctica de la Pedagogía Crítica: experiencias de aula en la formación del profesorado de inglés en Argentina

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Abstract

Argentinean ESL teacher education presupposes an understanding of the past and present world role of English. Thus, the curriculum of the ESL Teacher Education Program at Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata includes subjects dealing with historical, cultural, and social questions concerning English-cultures worldwide. This paper explains how some of these issues are addressed in activities carried out in the sophomore course Overall Communication. They involve critical and postcolonial analysis of the film *Slumdog millionaire* (2008) and the story "The free radio" (Rushdie, 1994). Activities aim at making student-teachers aware of their need to critically address concepts related to race, ethnicity, class, religion, education, and language to unveil the political, economic, and social issues underlying the teaching and learning of English. The choice of materials and authors also aims at listening to English-speaking voices other than those stemming from (former) imperial centers. Activities involve research and discussions of problematics such as oppression, exclusion, and illiteracy. This paper will analyze sample written productions by students working collaboratively among themselves and cooperatively with their teachers. In short, this is an experience that strives at showing how Critical Pedagogy can become a site for raising questions concerning power and EFL teaching and learning.

Resumen

La formación del profesorado de inglés en Argentina presupone la comprensión del rol pasado y presente del inglés. Así, el currículo del Profesorado de Inglés de la Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata incluye cursos sobre temas culturales, históricos y sociales de múltiples culturas de habla inglesa. Este trabajo explica la manera en que Comunicación Integral, una asignatura de segundo año, aborda estas cuestiones mediante actividades de clase. Estas comprenden el análisis crítico y postcolonial del film ¿Quién quiere ser millonario? (2008) y la historia "La radio gratis" (Rushdie, 1994). Las actividades apuntan a concientizar a los estudiantes sobre la necesidad de examinar críticamente conceptos raciales, étnicos, religiosos, económicos, lingüísticos y de clase para develar las cuestiones políticas, económicas y sociales que subyacen a la enseñanza del inglés. La elección de materiales y autores apunta a escuchar voces anglo-parlantes que no pertenecen a los (antiguos) centros imperiales. Las actividades comprenden investigación y debate sobre problemáticas tales como la opresión, la exclusión y el analfabetismo. Este trabajo analiza muestras de la producción escrita de los alumnos trabajando colaborativamente entre ellos y cooperativamente con sus profesores. En resumen, se trata de una experiencia que intenta mostrar cómo la pedagogía crítica puede tornarse un sitio para elaborar preguntas sobre las relaciones entre el poder y la enseñanza y el aprendizaje del inglés como lengua extranjera.

Keywords/Palabras clave

TEFL, teacher education; Critical Pedagogy, discourse analysis, cultural awareness. Enseñanza de inglés lengua extranjera, formación profesorado, Pedagogía Crítica, análisis del discurso, concientización cultural.

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1. Introduction

The ESL/EFL classroom-from the post-beginner level to highly advanced ones-has traditionally utilized fictional narratives and feature films to promote communicative competence in the target language (Alam, 2002; Erkaya, 2005; Paran, 2008). Occasionally, print and electronic texts likewise constitute a means of developing critical media literacy (Kellner & Share, 2007; Morgan & Ramanathan, 2005). These practices are commonly extended to many initial EFL/ESL Teacher Education Programs in different higher education institutions (Amer, 2003; Sivasubramaniam, 2006). For example, in the undergraduate English Teacher Education Program (ETEP), School of Humanities, Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata, Argentina, the four-year curriculum comprises a variety of linguistically oriented courses where instruction-aimed at obtaining near-native proficiency in English for teaching purposes-is based on the sophisticated linguistic and literary analysis of novels, short stories, and films. Some other courses focus on strictly grammatical and phonological features of the English language and the way in which they interact in discourse, enabling prospective teachers of English to be aware of how the language works at the phonological, semantic, grammatical, and pragmatic levels. Meanwhile, culturally-focused courses study the histories and literatures of a range of English-speaking peoples. Finally, pedagogic-content subjects address theoretical and practical issues connected to the fields of general education, curriculum, ELT, SLA, and ELL. The majority of the courses are taught in English, using authentic texts meant for native speakers of the language at college level. In the local context of the ETEP described, its curriculum formally promotes interdisciplinary integration, which is regretfully hard to attain, given the inevitable time constraints associated with teaching a four-year curriculum comprising thirty two courses.

The current paper summarizes the experience of a naturalistic inquiry (Bowen, 2008) carried out during the second half of the year 2010 with the sophomores of the ETEP course Overall Communication (OC). This linguistically and culturally orientated subject, wholly taught in English, initially aims at deepening students' awareness of the past imperial and present global role of the English language (Canagarajah, 2006) and of the compound multiple aspects of the cultures where it is currently spoken and written (Schneider, 2006) through the use of a variety of print and media cultural products. In this context, OC instructors have also strived to explain how OC contents are relevant to the didactic education of future English teachers (Calvete & Sarasa, 2007; Calvete & Serafini, 2005, 2010; Sarasa, 2003; Sarasa, 2007; Sarasa & Calvete, 2011; Sarasa, Calvete & Gómez, 2001; Sarasa, Calvete & Zúccoli, 2000). The authors (Calvete, 2006; Álvarez, Calvete & Sarasa, 2011) have also started to explore ways in which OC topics and materials can be linked to some of the issues raised by Critical Pedagogy (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2006), which undergraduates study in their pedagogical-content courses. Thus, OC may become a site for curriculum integration since it poses questions concerning power, ELT, and ELL (Phillipson, 2001), while fostering critical alertness about oppression, exclusion, and illiteracy at global, national, and local levels (Sakellaropoulos, 2009).

In order to investigate how these sophomores integrate notions concerning language, culture, and Critical Pedagogy and how they can educationally resignify issues present in literature and film (Barone 2007; Bruner 2002; Given 2008; Litwin 2008), the authors carried out a naturalistic (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007) classroom experiment (Cobb, Confrey, diSessa, Lehrer & Schauble, 2003). This small-scale study (Barab & Squire, 2004) involved OC instructors' collection of selected writing samples—composed in English—from the twenty students who took OC in 2010. The overall theoretical rationale for the research methodology utilized is supported by the tenets of narrative inquiry as applied to educational research (Bolívar & Domingo, 2006; Clandinin, Steeves & Chung, 2008; Eisner, 2001, 2002; Álvarez, Porta & Sarasa, 2010, 2011) which, in the field of teacher education, has become a way of knowing the phenomenon under study, and a research method itself (Clandinin, 2006). Narrative accounts of language learning have become of great interest in the field as a way to foster explicit analysis and reflection (Belcher & Connor, 2001).

2. Description of classroom practices

In order to articulate the study of the English language, cultural issues, and Critical Pedagogy OC instructors began by selecting the film *Slumdog millionaire* (Boyle, 2008) and the story "The free radio" from Salman Rushdie's classic collection *East, West* (1994) for use in a total of ten class (clock) hours taught during the second half of the year 2010.

Slumdog millionaire narrates the life of Jamal Malik, an eighteen-year old semi-literate orphan from the Mumbai slums, who wins a fortune by correctly answering all the questions in the Indian TV quiz show "Who wants to be a millionaire." On the verge of winning the jackpot, he is arrested and tortured by the local police because he is suspected of cheating. During his interrogation he proves his innocence by explaining how the street wisdom he acquired in dramatic moments of his life provided his correct answers to the questions. Loosely based on the novel *Q & A* (2005) by Indian diplomat Vikas Swarup, *Slumdog* was directed by British filmmaker Danny Boyle and shot on location in India with mostly a local cast. The film has been acclaimed for its realistic rendering of current Indian social conditions and also excoriated for its essentialist, for some pornographic, representation of poverty and crime (Calvete & Siccardi, 2010). OC students were given in advance printed copies of an extensive pre-DVD watching guide, designed and written in English by the OC lecturer, which encouraged them to undertake research concerning the process of Indian independence and her political, social, ethnic, religious, and linguistic complexity today, where the gulf between the rich and poor, the educated classes, and the masses remains (Ashcroft & Ahluwalia, 2001) and where new, global inequalities are perpetuated (Shome, 2006).

After lecturer-led discussion of the pre-watching guide and the actual class viewing of Slumdog, students worked in groups to solve a similarly printed, wide-ranging post-DVD watching guide, also created in English by the same lecturer. It related the knowledge Jamal needed to answer the questions in the show with his painful acquisition of these insights at the "University of Life." This post-watching guide stimulated OC students' further critical reflection on the roles of destinyshaped by socio-political and economic forces and Jamal's Islamic faith-together with the scope of personal choice and freedom. The guide then problematized the nature of Slumdog, situated at the crossroads between Hollywood and Bollywood-blending magic and realism, comedy and poignancy, a rags-to-riches fairy tale, and unavoidable tragedy. This guide next turned to some Critical Pedagogy principles, introducing the concept of oppression in Freire's Pedagogy of the oppressed (2006). Consecutively, students discussed in small groups the controversy raised by producers' hiring of very young non-professional child actors, who were allegedly exploited during the shooting and who returned to their lives of destitution after production, although the director and producers stated their commitment to these children's on-going education and welfare. These class groups debated who should bear social responsibility for these issues and how these communities could be helped to break their poverty cycle. Related to these controversies are directorial choices involving the use of Hindi, Hinglish, and English in tensions between national and international domains and local and global issues in worldwide contexts (Schwarz & Ray, 2005), where poverty and ignorance are criminalized while the destitute subvert the language of the Empire in order to survive. Other associated matters addressed in class concerned the emancipatory role of education and knowledge (Santos Gómez, 2011). Finally, the class as prospective teachers collaboratively reflected on the assets and shortcoming of the Argentinean education system, suggesting policy changes.

A renowned harsh critic of *Slumdog* is Salman Rusdhie, who told The Baguette in *The New York Times* on 6 January 2009 that

I have problems with the story line. I find the storyline unconvincing. It just couldn't happen. I'm not adverse to magic realism but there has to be a level of plausibility, and I felt there were three or four moments in the film where the storyline breached that rule... (w/p).

In this context, Rushdie's short story "The free radio," from his memorable original volume *East, West* (1994) was chosen in OC to accompany the viewing of *Slumdog* in order to examine how postcolonial literature rewrites Indian history and revises its relation to the West by subverting the former colonial masters' language (Boehmer, 2005). The professor of the course dealt with "The free radio," while—as stated—the lecturer worked with *Slumdog*. The former story concerns Ramani, a young rickshaw driver who falls for a widow who is ten years his senior and already has five children of her own. Ramani proposes marriage to her, but she refuses since she is unwilling to bear more offspring. To wed this unmarriageable woman—who, according to the narrator, should thank "God that widow-burning is now illegal" (Rushdie, 1994, p. 23) —, and because of the ongoing national program of family planning during the infamous State of Emergency (1977-1975), Ramani intentionally undergoes a vasectomy. In exchange for his sterilization, the National Government promises him a new transistor radio, which he never receives. The short story is narrated in the first person by Ramani's former teacher *sahib*.

There was no printed reading guide for "The free radio," but the professor encouraged the students to research the historical context of the story and to go beyond retelling the plot, focusing on the white, Western identity of the narrator-who writes on behalf of voiceless, illiterate Ramani-and resorting to Pedagogy of the oppressed (Freire, 2006) to resignify the tale. Likewise, debates concerning human rights in, especially but not exclusively, India (Walsh, 2006) were carried out first orally in class and then in a home-take essay-writing activity. Here, students wrote collaboratively in pairs about how and why (1) this fiction represents the State of Emergency since-for the author (Rushdie, 1991, p. 13) "description is itself a political act;" (2) Rushdie, a leading exponent of the "empire that writes back" (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2002), wilfully chose a Western narrator for his tale; and/or (3) how Critical Pedagogy (Alanis, 2006) can explain Ramani's ignorant powerlessness which inevitably led him to be cheated into exchanging his right to create life for a radio which never materialized. Subsequently, the students emailed their professor a number of drafts of their essayswritten in English-on (some of) these three issues. They were encouraged to reedit their pieces of writing in order to improve them conceptually and linguistically. The lecturer also asked them to collaboratively submit in written form answers to some of the questions posed in the film's postwatching guide. Edited versions of students' best essays on "The free radio" and answers to the Slumdog guide were uploaded on the OC course blog for collective sharing. (Students' selected writing could be retrieved from the September 2010 blog archives for OC online at http://hycunmdp.blogspot.com/2010_09_01_archive.html until the Megaupload shutdown early in the year 2012). The next section of this paper analyses relevant, qualitatively selected, samples from students' essays and answers-in their original English-language version-to the post-watching guide precisely with the aim of examining how these sophomores were able to assimilate notions discussed in class concerning language, culture, and Critical Pedagogy and how they educationally resignified—as future teachers of English—issues present in the literary piece and film chosen.

3. Analysis of students' production

This section presents excerpts from students' writing on Rushdie's story and their answers to the *Slumdog* post-watching DVD guide to show the evolution of their understanding of the problematics discussed in class. Instructors view materials at the opposite end of the traditional conception in which they are taken as neutral instruments to present the second language. On the contrary, they assume that materials are "discursive constructions" (Araya Araya, 2007, p. 1) that carry views of the world and attitudes towards social and political concerns across cultural boundaries. For that reason, materials' selection is important to develop critical thinking, tolerance of cultural diversity, and ideological awareness rather than "perpetuating common sense assumptions about language and society" or "using language to reinforce stereotypes, prejudices and lack of tolerance towards oneself and others" (Araya Araya, 2007, p. 4). Moreover, Critical Pedagogy-oriented materials challenge students' common sense assumptions by uncovering power relations inherent in the discourses of different cultural groups.

Student 1 (S1) describes the dominant position towards the oppressed represented by the narrator in "The free radio" in the following terms

The "teacher *sahib*", being a European, adheres to the colonial discourse of domination. He thinks that he cannot teach hopeless people like Ramani because of the old imperial notion that natives are perpetually oppressed and ignorant people to whom freedom cannot be granted....

Then, S1 calls upon *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (Freire, 2006) to reflect on domination and its enabling conditions: "poor people are left without any possibilities of change as they are not educated, and thus cannot think critically about the Government's abuses... they have no other choice but to accept oppression." S1 explains that, once India became independent, the Englisheducated native elites became their poor countrymen's new oppressors:

Pedagogy of the oppressed... suggests that it is natural for the learned oppressed, after revolution, to take on the role of oppressors. That is, the moment that the power wielded by the empire shifts into colonial hands, the newly freed are likely to maintain the same system of oppression that formerly enslaved them because they do not know any other free context. According to Freire, this situation can be reversed through education.

S1 has become aware of education's empowering role to make people masters of their own fate as this final reflection shows:

... The "teacher *sahib*," being an educated European man, considers that Ramani committed a terrible mistake at having given away his manhood in exchange for a worthless reward he would never receive. However, mister *sahib* fails to understand that the boy, being poor and illiterate, has no other choice but to accept oppression since without education the poverty-ignorance chain cannot be broken.

S2 summarizes her understanding by characterizing the teacher *sahib*'s behavior regarding Ramani's acceptance to undergo a vasectomy

When the old man criticizes Ramani for giving up the possibility of becoming a father, the former seems unable to realize that the young boy is an oppressed uneducated person... the *sahib* judges the young boy and does not intervene to help him realize that he is being oppressed... the teacher fails to 'illuminate' Ramani because he probably realizes that ignorant people like his former pupil have always been oppressed—in the past under British rule and after Independence too...

Most students understood Ramani's decision by considering his context and culture. However, when they considered the same situation in reference to their lives, the clash of cultures is felt: the good reasons they held for others are no longer good reasons for themselves, as S3 states

I thought about what I would do if I were, for example, offered a notebook in exchange for giving up my right to have babies. As I do not have any child I do not know what that experience is like. Fortunately, I have two nephews and a niece, who are extremely important to me.... I think that giving life is probably the most beautiful experience a woman can undergo... and that no gift can replace that unique experience.

Nevertheless, most students were able to interpret the situation in India during Emergency in terms of the roles of victims and victimizers, as S2 manifests below.

However, during the State of Emergency, it was the Indians in power who oppressed their weaker and poorer fellow countrymen... Thus, what happened during the State of Emergency in India could be said to be a case of formerly victimized native elites becoming the victimizers of the masses after decolonization. This may be so because the consciousness of the members of the Government had been shaped under an oppressive structure which made it inevitable for them to become sub-oppressors when their time came to be empowered.

It is worth stopping here to notice some interesting language features. First, the thematic structure chosen for the initial sentence indicates that the writer's concern was to contrast power relations before and after decolonization, as shown by the discourse marker "however." The theme is completed by what seems to be the topical element, i.e. the State of Emergency, thus locating in time the content of the communication. The choice of a "cleft" structure to put forward new information highlights the oppression exerted by Indians in power over their fellow countrymen, in this way discarding other possible interpretation of domination by external agents. Furthermore, the student chooses a "pseudo-cleft" sentence to follow, creating once again the effect of a unique interpretation: "what happened was this, not anything else." The rest of the paragraph is used to justify Indians' behavior by appealing to the oppressive environment where their consciousness was shaped.

Next, there comes a discussion of students' productions on *Slumdog*. Since language is a distinctive feature of culture, it became the focus of attention when analyzing the film. Thus, S4 concentrates on the languages spoken in the production in the following terms:

In India, English is a second language, and, as such, it is widely used in the media, education, administration, and business. In most cases, spoken and written English are learnt through formal education. While school textbooks are written in Standard English, students will also be constantly exposed to many varieties of Indian English outside the classroom.

Then, S4 discusses the decision taken by Boyle to make characters speak both English and Hindi:

This choice made by the director is quite controversial and it was opposed by many, especially by journalists of India. According to... a journalist from a newspaper in Calcutta, the protagonists of the film speak English whenever Boyle thinks his English speaking audience needs to follow the story without the distraction of subtitles...

What is questioned is whether English or Hindi, chosen in different scenes, was appropriate and realistic considering the age-groups and living conditions of the children portrayed. S4 summarizes an interview Boyle gave (subsequently edited by Boyle & Dunham, 2011).

Boyle himself explained in an interview... the reasons why he included both Hindi and English... Since the production had huge funds they could shoot sections in Hindi because children start picking up English in all kinds of places only from age seven on. Thus, by the time they are fourteen they can speak English very well. Besides, the director explained that *Slumdog* was conceived as a mainstream film, which meant they needed the actors to speak English.

Another aspect was the moral dilemma opened up by the confrontation of rich and poor, dominant and dominated, oppressors and oppressed. One involved the film industry, the huge budget spent on the film, the British director, and the luxury of the Academy Awards and the other the leading actors' miserable lives in Mumbai, the little money they were paid for their job, and the unchanged life conditions to which they returned after shooting. S4 presents the controversy:

This movie has made over 200 million dollars worldwide and has been nominated for 10 Academy Awards. However, controversy has erupted over how much two of the film's youngest stars have been paid. Ten year old Azharuddin Mohammed Ismail and Rubina Ali are two Indian children living in one of the most humble [sic] neighborhoods in Mumbai. Their lives have changed completely after being cast... Both actors were plucked from the slums of Mumbai to go to the Oscar ceremony... Nevertheless, they had to go back to their poor background in Mumbai...

The quandary becomes clear when we read Boyle's excuses against parents' complaints. As reported by S4

Danny Boyle... has been accused of exploiting and underpaying the young actors; according to the children's parents, Rubina was paid \pounds 500 for a month's work... whereas Ismail received \pounds 1,700.

Boyle stated that he had set up trust funds for these children and that he had paid for their education. Besides, Boyle tried to minimize this controversy when he said that Rubina and Ismail will get more money after they turn 18... but only if they continued with their education...

The real issues under discussion emerge in this CNN excerpt (Duke, 2009) quoted by S4:

The reason I think Boyle's being very patronizing about this is the idea that only he and the producers know what's best for these kids... Either you pay them what you pay a white, Western actor, or you don't... Don't try to back-track and say, after the fact, that there's suddenly a trust for these kids. When was the trust set up?

Nevertheless, S4 justifies Boyle's idea of paying for their education to prevent the children's parents from taking their money for their own benefit. She fails to understand the issue of control and domination, naturalizing the decision taken by a stranger to those children's lives, because this outsider holds a dominant position over the untrustworthy parents:

... Boyle's idea of paying the children with education is ethical. Otherwise, he will be fulfilling the wishes of the children's greedy parents if he had given them the whole money at once. Rubina's and Ismail's parents said that they hoped the film would be their ticket out of the slums... Recently, and in a desperate way to escape from their poor living conditions, Rubina's father offered her daughter for adoption, demanding millions of rupees... Taking

this into account, it is obvious that Rubina's father tried to take advantage of his daughter's recent fame.

Although S4 did not notice how domination was exerted over parents *and* children, this discussion opened up the debate on how to settle matters respecting cultural diversity. Education is undoubtedly the only way to resist domination but education should enforce the values of freedom and respect. We end this section by showing how a group of students finally summarized their understanding of the role of education after analyzing *Slumdog*.

...Education should awake critical consciousness in students. It should give them tools to think critically so as not to see the world as a static reality but a reality that can be changed... Educators should use their creativity in designing materials and classes to motivate students as in most cases underprivileged children do not have the possibility of buying materials. Finally, the educational system should contemplate and take into consideration the social and economic situation of each student attending to their specific needs.

4. Closing remarks

In their book *Genre relations. Mapping culture* Martin and Rose (2008, p. 16) discuss the relationship between ideology, language, and social context. They argue that "inequalities in access to the privileged genres of modern institutional fields is a concern for developing democratic pedagogies, but also more generally for understanding how symbolic control is maintained, distributed and challenged in contemporary societies." Language is indeed a privileged means of symbolic domination: control, status, authority, and prominence are all enforced by language. In this way, Martin and Rose (2008, p. 18) provide an inspiring prose for raising awareness about this power language wields.

In post-colonial societies the range of genres in a culture is further differentiated by institutions such as science, industry, and administration. As we have stated, control over these genres depends on specialised educational pathways, and access to these pathways depends largely on our position in relation to socioeconomic power (i.e. our socio economic class position). In this kind of social complex, the scope of our control over genres of power in turn conditions our status-ranking in social hierarchies, our claim to authority in institutional fields, and our prominence in public life. Within specific situations, these register variables translate into our options to dominate or defer, to assert or concede authority, and to command attention or pay attention to others.

Making students aware of the control and influence language can exert is a responsibility teacher educators and second/foreign/international language teachers must bear. One way of approaching the task is by paying special attention to the dialectical connections between language and other aspects of social life. Fairclough's *Analysing discourse. Textual analysis for social research* (2003) presents a framework for the interpretation of these relations. He is moved by the conviction that texts have social, political, cognitive, moral, and material effects and that being conscious of these consequences becomes crucial in our understanding of social phenomena.

The classroom practices we have described have attempted to put into action Freire's conception that we cannot "deposit" our ideas into other people and that we cannot "think *for* others or *without* others" (Au & Apple, 2007, p. 460). Instead, we have adhered to the premise that "producing and acting upon [our] own ideas—not consuming those of others—must constitute [the] process of education" (Au & Apple, 2007, p. 460). In other words, education is the practice of freedom, not of domination. Within this ideological framework, we have attempted to give voice to our students by engaging them in group discussions in which knowledge and understanding were cooperatively constructed. We have also fostered dialogical relations in our conviction that it is in dialogue that both teachers and students learn by constructing and sharing their own senses of the world. Under Freire's inspiration, we have implemented these teaching practices, fully aware that "liberating education consists in acts of cognition, not transferals of information" (Balagopalan, 2011, p.214).

We are confident that the implementation of Critical Pedagogy in the education of prospective teachers of English as a language of international communication will simultaneously enhance the learners' sociolinguistic competence and foster the development of their independent voices. Students who are encouraged to problematize situations and critically address social issues are

more likely to become critical users of English and its mainstream materials and textbooks. Eventually, these students might even feel more prone to become the professionals demanded by Critical Pedagogy, those who, according to Monchinski (2008, p.126), are not afraid of leaving their "comfort zones" and taking risks.

This paper has attempted to reconcile ideas and endeavors, theory and practice, thoughts and acts, trying to portray a context-specific experience while at the same time analyzing the wider milieu and structures where this teaching takes place. It is also dogmatic in the sense that it has attempted to adhere to Critical Pedagogy tenets reconciling them with postcolonial criticism. In brief, this work has strived to experience Critical Pedagogy as praxis in the classroom (Freire, 2006; Monchinski, 2008). This type of contextualization, together with the reconciliation between thinking critically and acting so, could contribute towards a much-needed reconceptualization (Reagan and Osborn, 2002) of the field of foreign language teaching in Argentina.

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Notes

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