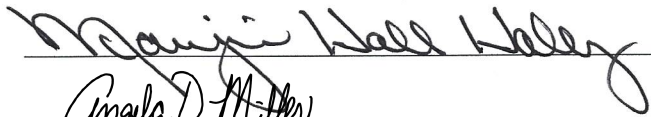# EXPLORING THE COMPLEXITY OF U.S. LANGUAGE TEACHERS' IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT THROUGH THE LENSES OF MARGINALIZATION, PRIVILEGE, EMPOWERMENT, AND IMMUNITY

by

Laura L. Tokarczyk
A Dissertation
Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty
of
George Mason University
in Partial Fulfillment of
The Requirements for the Degree
of
Doctor of Philosophy
Education

Committee:

_____ Chair

_____

_____

_____ Program Director

Date: _____7/23/2022_____ Summer Semester 2022
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA

Exploring the Complexity of U.S. Language Teachers' Identity Development Through the Lenses of Marginalization, Privilege, Empowerment, and Immunity

A Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at George Mason University

by

Laura L. Tokarczyk
Master of Arts in Teaching
University of Pittsburgh, 2006
Bachelor of Arts
University of Pittsburgh, 2004

Director: Marjorie Hall Haley, Professor
College of Education and Human Development

Summer Semester 2022
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA

Dedication

I dedicate this to my parents, Mary Ann and Ray Paff, who taught me early on that education is essential for living your best life.

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Abbreviations

ACTFL .... American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages
EFL .... English as a foreign language
ELL ....English language learner
FL ....foreign language (synonymous with world language)
FLE .... Foreign language education
HS .... heritage speaker
L2L..second-language learner
LOTE ....language other than English
LTI .... language teacher identity
NES .... native English speaker
NNES ....non-native English speaker
NNS.. non-native speaker
NS ....native speaker
TESOL .... Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
TL...target language
U.S. .... United States

Abstract

EXPLORING THE COMPLEXITY OF U.S. LANGUAGE TEACHERS' IDENTITY
DEVELOPMENT THROUGH THE LENSES OF MARGINALIZATION, PRIVILEGE,
EMPOWERMENT, AND IMMUNITY

Laura L. Tokarczyk, Ph.D.

George Mason University, 2022

Dissertation Director: Dr. Marjorie Hall Haley

This study is an exploration of who teachers of languages other than English in the United States are becoming as professionals in this historically marginalized discipline. Despite advances to support language teachers within the profession, there is a dearth of research investigating whether and how in-service language teachers sustain professional expertise, enact ideals, and legitimize their knowledge amid ubiquitous marginalizing discourses and practices. In the present study, the author draws on a transdisciplinary framework of language teacher identity; the intersectionality of marginalization, privilege, empowerment, and social identities; and the novel construct of language teacher immunity to quantitatively and qualitatively explore the factors that converge in the identity development of 167 K-12 U.S. language teachers.

Findings show that half the sample is marginalized and disempowered, but the other half is not. Respondents' perceptions of marginalization and privilege are tied to the ideological (de)valuation of language education in local social activity, indicating language teachers are constrained when they are devalued and disempowered by local stakeholders, but can thrive when valued and supported. Findings also validate social identities (linguistic identities, most especially) as factors of (dis)empowerment in teachers' identity development, but in ways that both support and refute existing literature. A cluster analysis revealed six distinct language teacher immunity archetypes that profile the positive and negative ways in which the respondents in this study orient themselves to the language-teaching profession. Productive immunities associate with higher levels of empowerment and lower levels of marginalization, while maladaptive immunities associate with lower levels of empowerment and higher levels of marginalization, underscoring the role that context plays in immunity development. However, the analyses also emphasize teachers' subjective perceptions as equally influential to their professional identity development as the environments in which their identities are being (de)constructed, (un)supported, and (dis)empowered.

Findings indicate that future language teacher identity research should increase focus on languages other than English, explore transactional factors that link individuals to context, and incorporate more quantitative and mixed-methods approaches that explore large-scale patterns and complement the primarily qualitative corpus of existing research. Implications for practice include mediating language teachers' critical language awareness and awareness of their own social positioning with the aim of nurturing

productive immunities, as well as developing stakeholders' awareness of the role they

play in marginalizing or supporting language teachers in doing their jobs.

Chapter One: Statement of the Problem

Foreign language (FL) educators in the United States are caught in a tug-of-war promoting multilingual/multicultural ideologies in a neoliberal system rife with monolingual/monocultural attitudes. Modern-day neoliberal ideologies promote education as a means of providing human capital to meet the needs of the economy (Fenwick, 2003) at an unprecedented time in history when the English language dominates the globe (Crystal, 2003; Jenkins, 2015). Thus, the teaching and learning of languages other than English (LOTEs) in the United States is prioritized in cases of national and economic security, but viewed as unnecessary in its potential to nurture critical multiculturalism in an era of globalization (Brecht & Rivers, 2000; Kubota, 2006). In this political power structure, foreign language education (FLE) is positioned as a dispensable subject that is ideologically constrained to serving utilitarian aims (Clarke & Phelan, 2015; Morgan & Clarke, 2011; Reagan & Osborn, 2002) that ultimately never come to fruition (Reagan & Osborn, 2019). Teacher educators strive to resist neoliberal assaults by empowering FL teachers to negotiate local constraints and affordances, but marginalizing practices restrict teachers' access to quality professional development that liberates their intellectual autonomy (Johnson, 2009; Kumaravadivelu, 2012a; Sleeter, 2008). Consequently, FL teachers must construct their identities (i.e., what they know,

think, and do) amid conflicting discursive practices, from marginalized positions, and with limited resources.

In practice, FL teachers are often left to do what they can with the resources they have, making it essential to find out who "language teachers are becoming as individuals and professionals in terms of their roles and work environments" (Varghese, 2017, p. 45). More specifically, there is a need to understand how "they attempt to navigate dominant ideologies, institutional constraints, and classroom possibilities" (De Costa & Norton, 2017, p. 7). Of particular importance is understanding how the macro-level (i.e., societal) marginalization of FLE impacts FL teachers' identities and the experiences they are willing to create for their students (Gayton, 2016). A growing body of identity research strongly implicates social identities (e.g., race, language, gender, national origin) as key factors of marginalization and privilege that (dis)empower teachers for better or worse on this journey, but no empirical research to date has attempted to profile how diverse groups of FL teachers nationwide perceive and respond to marginalization and privilege as it impacts their practice.

Many FL teachers in the United States orient themselves positively towards the profession despite their marginalized positioning. They are drawn to this career for their love of the language (Kissau et al., 2019), take advantage of the flexibility afforded to them while working in the margins, and embrace the role of change agent amid ideological conflict (e.g., Fogle & Moser, 2017). However, empowerment remains a primary concern for many FL teachers who are overstressed and underappreciated (Ritter, 2019), as well as the increasing demographic of minority teachers who often face

additional racial and linguistic discrimination (Bustamente & Novella, 2019; Kayi-Aydar, 2017, 2018).

In many cases, working from marginalized positions risks disaffection, leading to impoverished teaching or, worse, attrition in a time of critical teacher shortages (e.g., Gayton, 2016; Hashemi Moghadam et al., 2018; Kayi-Aydar, 2015; Ruohotie-Lhyty 2015a, 2015b; Swanson, 2011). Fortunately, feelings of disaffection can also inspire teachers to search for means of empowerment (Lamb, 2000), and empowerment reciprocally staves off disaffection via increased autonomy, self-efficacy, professional growth, status, and impact (Short & Rinehart, 1992). In other words, FL teacher identity construction can manifest across a spectrum from total disempowerment and retreat to resilience, empowerment, and positive transformation. However, there is little empirical evidence that delineates where U.S. FL teachers fall on this spectrum and what essential factors influence their positioning.

In this chapter, I introduce *language teacher identity* (LTI) as an appropriate lens for capturing the multifaceted nature of FLE and the construct of *language teacher immunity* as a tool for identifying how FL teachers orient themselves to the profession. I detail how FLE is a marginalized discipline in the United States and describe what is at risk for the FL teachers who construct their professional identities in this system. I provide examples of how marginalizing discourses and practices can marginalize and constrain teachers' identity development and describe the role that social identities play in the process. I preview some of the findings from the literature review in Chapter 2, but the main purpose of this chapter is to provide a broader context of what it is like to work

as a FL teacher in the United States with the intention of conducting research that will explore FL teachers' perceptions of this phenomenon and how it impacts their practice. First, I will briefly introduce how I arrived at this topic and why it is significant to the field of FLE.

Researcher Voice

I, too, have constructed my own professional identity as a FL teacher in the United States, which is why this topic resonates with me. Over the past 17 years, I took on a variety of roles working with students and teachers across the K-12 spectrum; in metropolitan, suburban, and urban school districts; and in traditional, FLES (Foreign Language in Elementary School), immersion, and critical-needs language programs. I witnessed firsthand the triumphs and tribulations of this job, but it was not until I became a doctoral student that I developed a critical awareness of the factors that shape what FL teachers know, think, and do.

First, critical perspectives of education heightened my awareness of teachers' systemic marginalization via neoliberal assaults on teacher education (e.g., Bernstein et al., 2017; Clarke & Moore, 2013; Clarke & Phelan, 2015; Cochran-Smith, 2005; Sleeter, 2008; Taylor Webb, 2007) and conflicting aims of bilingualism that reproduce systemic inequities (e.g., Baggett, 2016; Kubota, 2006; Lo Bianco, 2002; Osborn, 2000; Potowski, 2010; Reagan & Osborn, 2002, 2019; Watzke, 2003). This gave me a new perspective on what I had previously judged as teachers' personal shortcomings (e.g., impoverished teaching skills, lack of motivation).

Second, The Douglas Fir Group's (DFG, 2016) transdisciplinary framework for language learning (later expanded to include language teaching by De Costa & Norton, 2017) foregrounds teachers as agentive beings *within* the system rather than solely criticizing the system for acting on the teachers. Rooted in LTI theory, this framework provided a template with which I could connect critical perspectives to teacher learning to better understand classroom outcomes (e.g., impoverished teaching skills are a symptom of inadequate teacher education, and not necessarily personal shortfalls).

Third, I learned that progressive efforts in transformational professional development seek to nurture teachers' epistemological independence and agency while expanding the aims of language education (e.g., Hawkins & Norton, 2009; Johnson, 2015; Johnson & Golombek, 2011, 2016; Kubota & Austin, 2007; Kumaravadivelu, 2012a). Though notable, the problem remains that most in-service teachers lack access to such professional development and are left to their own devices as they inevitably construct their professional identities.

Having been in this exact situation, I struggled alongside my language-teaching colleagues in negotiating local constraints to be our best teacher selves. I watched some teachers nullify ineffective curriculum (see Osborn, 2000) even though it was against school policy; I listened to them question discriminatory linguistic norms; I lauded their efforts to independently seek out professional development opportunities; and I heard their frustrations with administrators not respecting them as experts. At the same time, I had colleagues who toed the line and acceded to administrators' demands, even though these demands negatively impacted the FL programs. Ideally, I would have leveraged my

status as a doctoral student to support my own colleagues in their professional development, but politics and power differentials precluded me from taking on a facilitator role. Being acutely aware of my own conflicted positioning as knowledgeable-but-powerless, I wanted to know how other language teachers drew on the resources available to them to develop their identities from marginalized positions. In other words, I wanted to interrogate the relationship between FL teachers and the system of FLE, which is itself a dichotomous marginalized-and-marginalizing discipline.

I now perceive teachers as people doing what they can with the resources they have in a system that can support or thwart their identity development (Barkhuizen, 2017; Varghese, 2017). Therefore, in this study I use LTI theory as a lens for problematizing teacher learning as a site of struggle and an ongoing negotiation of multiple, layered variables across time and space (Norton, 2000). The social constructivist and postmodern/post-structural epistemologies informing LTI theory necessarily center teachers in a complex system of power structures that give way to constraints and affordances, oppression and agency, resistance and compliance, marginalization and privilege. This perspective attends to the fact that while the system does indeed constrain FL teachers in a number of ways, teachers are active decision makers within this system; they have the potential to resist as well as conform, but their agency and autonomy are not automatic. In order to capture how teachers actually respond to their local environments, I draw on the novel construct of language teacher immunity (Hiver, 2015, 2017; Hiver & Dornyei, 2017), which is a facet of identity that emerges as a protective function against dealing with adversity.

Purpose and Significance

There is a need to understand how FL teachers sustain professional expertise, enact ideals, and legitimize their knowledge amid ubiquitous marginalizing discourses and practices in FLE (Varghese et al., 2016). In order to know this, it is essential to identify how the teachers themselves perceive constraints and affordances in their local contexts, for their perceptions directly impact the environments they are willing to create for students (Johnson, 2009; Ruohotie-Lhyty, 2015a, 2015b). In this study, I explore the extent to which in-service FL teachers actually perceive themselves to be marginalized, privileged, and (dis)empowered in their attempt to foster multilingual/multicultural values in U.S. schools. The purpose of this study is to find out who they are becoming with special attention paid to how their systems support and constrain them. In doing so, this research contributes to the field of FLE by adding nuance to our understanding of how FL programs are actualized at the local level so future professional development endeavors can be tailored to local needs.

Furthermore, inquiring into how teachers perceive their own identity development gives a voice to the disenfranchised (Ritter, 2019) and offers an insider perspective to a phenomenon that is largely critiqued by outsiders. Analyzing how teachers interpret their local environments helps identify the critical factors that allow individuals to "find satisfaction and longevity in the profession while helping to create highly efficacious and effective instructors for our children" (Swanson, 2011, p. 157). Identifying sources of empowerment can aid other teachers in need, while sources of disempowerment will support future FL teachers in anticipating the challenges ahead (Kalaja et al., 2015).

Supporting all teachers in being more successful in their practice is essential for realizing

national initiatives and advancing the profession (Glisan, 2005), as well as sustaining a

satisfied workforce in a time of critical teacher shortages (e.g., Swanson & Mason, 2018).

Key Terms

Native language – any language acquired since birth, often referred to as L1 (VanPatten

    & Benati, 2010)

Native speaker – a person who has learned to speak the language of the place where he or

    she was born as a child rather than learning it as a foreign or second language

    (Merriam-Webster, 2021b)

Heritage speaker – in U.S. context, a person raised in a home where a language other

    than English is spoken, who speaks or understands the language, and who is to

    some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language (Valdés, 2000a,

    2000b)

Heritage language learner – an individual with proficiency in and/or a cultural

    connection to the language they are studying (Kelleher, 2010)

Target language – a language other than one's native language that is being learned

    (Merriam-Webster, 2021d); i.e., the subject of a foreign language program, often

    referred to as L2

Second language education – language learning in a context where the target language is

    spoken outside the classroom (e.g., learning Spanish in Spain or English in the

    United States; VanPatten & Benati, 2010). Non-native English speakers (NNESs)

    and heritage speakers are often placed in English as a Second Language (ESL)

programs in U.S. schools rather than foreign language programs because their English proficiency is prioritized over sustaining and improving their native or heritage language (Kubota, 2006; Potowski, 2010).

Foreign/World language education – language learning in a context where the target language is not widely used in the learners' immediate social context outside the classroom (i.e., learning French in the United States) and therefore has no immediate or necessary practical application, though it may be used for future travel, cross-cultural communication, or to satisfy curriculum requirements (Saville-Troike, 2012; VanPatten & Benati, 2010).

The traditional term 'foreign language' is often replaced with the more politically correct label 'world language' in an attempt to dispel the negative connotation inherent in 'foreignness' (i.e., as 'Other', less-than, and a threat to English; Reagan & Osborn, 1998). However, I stand with Reagan and Osborn (1998, 2019) who deliberately reject the common use of 'world languages' since it merely masks, rather than resolves, the problem. For them:

> Regardless of what they are called, in U.S. schools languages other than English are in fact perceived, by both adults and students, as 'foreign'. This perception is in fact only strengthened, we believe, by encouraging the use of what is seen as a politically correct label (i.e., 'world languages'). The risk with such word games, as Michael Apple has noted, is that 'historically outmoded, and socially and politically conservative (and often educationally disastrous) practices are not only continued, but

are made to sound as if they were actually more enlightened and ethnically

responsive ways of dealing with children' (1979, p. 144). (Reagan &

Osborn, 2019, p. 100)

In these chapters, I am intentionally choosing the term *foreign language*

education (FLE) since this nomenclature is but one example of how the discipline

is marginalized at a macro-level. However, I will use the term *world language/s*

when citing works that use this term. Practically speaking, the terms are

interchangeable.

Marginalization – the treatment of a person, group, or concept as insignificant or

peripheral (Oxford Languages, 2021a). To be **marginalized** is to be relegated to

an unimportant or powerless position within a society or group (Merriam-

Webster, 2021a).

Privilege – a special right, advantage, or immunity granted or available only to a

particular person or group (Oxford Languages, 2021b). To be **privileged** is to be

given a higher value, superior position, benefit, advantage, or favor over another

(Merriam-Webster, 2021c)

Social identities – categories created by society (e.g., nationality, race, class, language,

gender, etc.) that are relational in power and status (Varghese et al., 2005)

Language teacher immunity – a construct developed in the context of Second Language

Education (Hiver, 2015, 2017; Hiver & Dornyei, 2017) that draws parallels to

biological immunity, theorizing that language teachers develop a protective

function (i.e., immunity) that can both safeguard and threaten their functioning as

they negotiate adversity over time in their careers

Conceptual Framework

In this section, I explain how the constructs of language teacher identity and

language teacher immunity are conceptually related and why this relationship can be used

to understand how FL teachers orient themselves to their jobs. I also introduce the roles

that marginalization, privilege, and social identities play in influencing immunity

development and why they need to be attended to.

Language Teacher Identity Theory

Recent work by The DFG (2016) and De Costa and Norton (2017) captures the

complexity of language teacher identity (LTI) by indexing the macro- (i.e., societal

ideological structures), meso- (i.e., institutional practices) and micro-level (i.e., local

social activity) pressures on language teaching and learning (see **Figure 1**). Teachers'

positioning at the center highlights the central role their agency plays in navigating the

complex field to construct their identities in situ. However, this holistic view also attends

to the role of power, privilege, and legitimacy in manipulating identity construction by,

for example, instigating emotional responses that influence decision making and

determining the autonomy with which teachers may or may not exercise agency.

MACRO LEVEL
OF
IDEOLOGICAL STRUCTURES

Belief Systems
Cultural Values
Political Values
Religious Values
Economic Values

MESO LEVEL
OF
SOCIOCULTURAL INSTITUTIONS
AND COMMUNITIES

Social Identities
Investment
Agency
Power

Families
Schools
Neighborhood
Places of Work
Places of Worship
Social Organizations

MICRO LEVEL
OF
SOCIAL ACTIVITY

Semiotic Resources
Linguistic
Prosodic
Interactional
Nonverbal
Graphic
Pictorial
Auditory
Artifactual

Multilingual Contexts
of
Action and Interaction
Contributing to Multilingual Repertoires

INDIVIDUALS
ENGAGING
WITH OTHERS

Regularly Recurring Contexts of Use

Neurobiological Mechanisms
and Cognitive Capacities

Note. From "A Transdisciplinary Framework for SLA in a Multilingual World," by The Douglas Fir Group, 2016, *The Modern Language Journal, 100*(S1), p. 25 (https://doi.org/10.1111/modl.12301). Copyright 2016 by The Modern Language Journal.

Figure 1

The Multifaceted Nature of Language Teaching and Learning

Ideology functions by promoting "the needs and interests of a dominant group or class at the expense of marginalized groups by means of disinformation and misrepresentation of those non-dominant groups" (Lippi-Green, 1997, p. 64). The discourses that FL teachers are exposed to, such as the traditional justifications for studying a language, are embedded within the ideologies that create the illusion of a sincere interest in developing Americans' multilingual/multicultural capacities, but that ultimately seek to sustain the hegemony of the English language and view the failure of

FLE as a success (Reagan & Osborn, 2019). By conceptualizing FL teacher identity development as deeply embedded in marginalizing ideologies and discourses, we discover a need to understand how FL teachers negotiate their identities over time in such a landscape. LTI theory aids in identifying the discourses that teachers utilize to make sense of their practice and how these discourses interact with larger societal discourse in an effort to investigate how language teaching and learning is situated in layered, interconnected, and complex levels (Hellmich, 2018).

    Marginalization, Privilege, and Social Identities in LTI. LTI theory is essential for attending to marginalization and privilege because it offers a lens for understanding how teachers' environments nurture or thwart their identities, empowerment, and resilience to negotiate local constraints and affordances to enhance classroom possibilities (De Costa & Norton, 2017; Johnson, 2009; Varghese et al., 2016). LTI theory and research has gained much momentum in the last 15 years, though primarily in the context of English language education (TESOL, EFL) worldwide, to the exclusion of programs that focus on LOTEs. Nevertheless, it is precisely by situating research on FL teacher identity in the broader cannon of LTI research (and the TESOL Empire) that we can better understand two dimensions of marginalization in FLE: (a) the societal marginalization of FLE in relation to the English language, and (b) the marginalization and privileging of particular social identities within the discipline of FLE, which are also associated with English.

    The studies I review in Chapter 2 detail the diverse experiences FL teachers have as they develop their professional identities in the marginalized discipline of FLE all over

the world. Studies specifically conducted in the United States reveal that the same discrimination occurring on a global scale in TESOL due to individual's marginalized social identities as non-White, non-native English speakers (NNESs) is occurring to minority FL teachers in the United States. Taken together, and in consideration of the fact that the majority of U.S. FL teachers are native-English speaking (NES; Brecht & Walton, 2000) and White (Haley, 2000; NCES, 2021b), these studies highlight the need to pay more explicit attention to the unexplored role of privilege in LTI (Appleby, 2016), as well as the extent to which social identities source individual's marginalization and privilege at the local level.

When considering that FLE in the United States is often touted as an essential subject, but is treated as dispensable (Glisan, 2005; Reagan & Osborn, 2019), we need to know how FL teachers – who are at the epicenter of this phenomenon – perceive their own marginalization and, by association, privilege. How do they orient themselves to their work (e.g., empowered and involved or disaffected and removed)? What are the specific factors that teachers interpret as (dis)empowering, and how do they respond to them? These guiding questions will help us better understand how some FL teachers manage to sustain professional expertise while other FL teachers do not.

Language Teacher Immunity

The construct of language teacher immunity (Hiver, 2015, 2017; Hiver & Dornyei, 2017) offers an accessible analogy to making sense of the various orientations FL teachers take as they navigate these complex environments. Immunity emerges when teachers react to repeated instances of crisis, such as negotiating adversity over time; it

14

develops protective functions that can both safeguard and threaten individual's functioning; it is integrated into teachers' complex and everchanging identities; and it is displayed in real-time classroom choices (Hiver, 2017). In line with biological immunity, language teacher immunity is necessary for "allowing teachers to bend but not break" (Hiver, 2017, p. 683) and can manifest in four ways that help or hinder identity development: productive (beneficial), maladaptive (counterproductive), immunocompromised (no coherent form of immunity), and partially immunized (half-way developed features of immunity). Moreover, immunities are mutable, meaning maladaptive immunities can evolve into productive ones and vice versa. The significance here is that productive immunities can be fostered in all teachers, but more research is needed to investigate the factors that nurture productive immunity development so that it may be used as a tool for change, growth, and reflective practice.

Immunity is an integral part of teachers' professional self-concept (i.e., their identity) and can significantly influence their cognition, self-images, persistence toward goals and aspirations, and self-efficacy. It can "color the beliefs, assumptions, and attitudes that language teachers hold about their work…[and] explain key processes in teacher development such as self-regulatory action and conceptual change" (Hiver, 2017, p. 683). For example, by reinterpreting the studies reviewed in Chapter 2 through the lens of immunity, the reader will see how Janelle (Kayi-Aydar, 2015), Marcos (Vélez-Rendón, 2010), and Taina (Ruohoti-Lhyty, 2015a, 2015b) developed maladaptive immunities to protect their conceptions of self and professional identity by engaging in conservative or defensive teaching, resisting change, and lacking commitment and

engagement in the profession. In contrast, Paloma (Kayi-Aydar, 2017) and Reetta

(Ruohotie-Lhyty, 2015a, 2015b) depict teachers with productive immunities who are

more capable of embracing change, growth, and reflective practice.

Because language teacher immunity emerges in relation to the accrued

disturbances that teachers encounter on the job, it offers a means of identifying how

working in the marginalized discipline of FLE shapes FL teachers' identities.

Conceptually, I am integrating the construct of language teacher immunity (Hiver, 2015,

2017; Hiver & Dornyei, 2017) into the identity framework offered by The DFG (2016)

that I previously situated as deeply embedded in marginalizing ideologies and discourses

to show that these two constructs inevitably evolve together (see **Figure 2**).
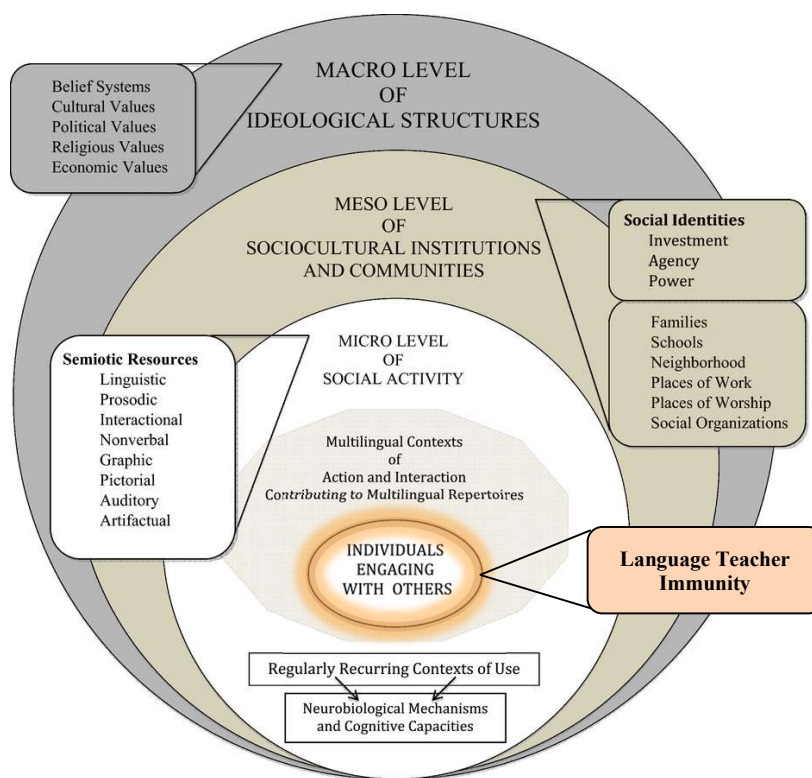
Note. Adapted from "A Transdisciplinary Framework for SLA in a Multilingual World," by The Douglas Fir Group, 2016, *The Modern Language Journal, 100*(S1), p. 25 (https://doi.org/10.1111/modl.12301). Copyright 2016 by The Modern Language Journal.

Figure 2

Conceptual Framework: The Emergence of Language Teacher Immunity as a Protective

Function to Facilitate Identity Development Amid Marginalizing Ideologies and

Discourses

Within this complex and multifaceted system, I am honing in on the role that

marginalization, privilege, empowerment, and social identities play in teachers' immunity

development as a facet of their overall identity. My theoretical framework (see **Figure 3**)

links together these essential and inter-related aspects of LTI to provide an emic perspective of FLE from the teachers' point of view. In order to better understand who FL teachers in the United States are becoming given the complex environments in which they work, I first identify who they are (i.e., their social identities) and how they perceive and experience marginalization and privilege in their local teaching contexts. Second, I identify how they orient themselves to their practice via their immunity archetype. Third, I explore the relationships between their contexts, marginalization, privilege, empowerment, social identities, and immunity.
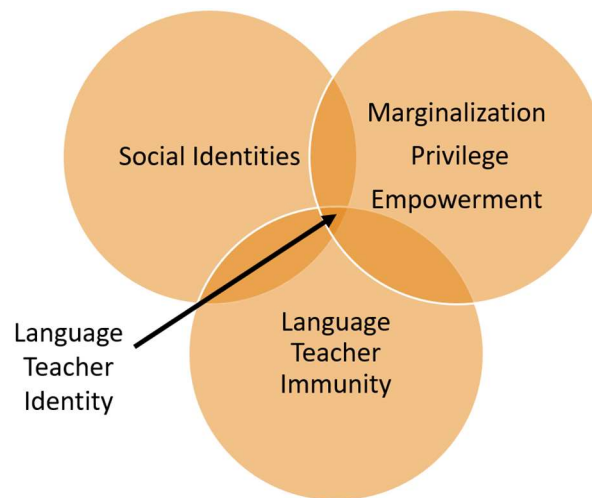
Figure 3

Theoretical Framework: The Convergence of Social Identities, Marginalization, Privilege, Empowerment, and Language Teacher Immunity in the Identity Development of Language Teachers

The data I present in the remainder of this chapter portray FLE as a marginalized discipline that inherently marginalizes its teachers, a critique shared by many before me (e.g., Kubota, 2006; Osborn, 2000; Potowski, 2010; Reagan & Osborn, 1998, 2002, 2019). While I respect Reagan and Osborn's (2019, p. 91) critique "that even the most competent foreign language teacher is faced with an almost insurmountable challenge in the U.S. context," I do not assume that all FL teachers believe this nor that their experiences are necessarily negative. Indeed, many FL teachers may not perceive themselves to be marginalized or disempowered. In fact, some may feel, and are, privileged and empowered. But I do suspect that most, if not all, FL teachers waver between moments of strife and success and disaffection and empowerment throughout their careers, and that these experiences give shape to their ongoing identity development, which ultimately manifests in practice for better or worse. It is by understanding the pathways that lead to various identity orientations that we can nurture teachers' productive immunities so they may more successfully navigate the complex system of FLE (Hiver, 2017).

In the next section, I detail the discourses and practices that marginalize FLE in the United States and view its failure as success (Reagan & Osborn, 2019) to demonstrate what is at risk for teachers who work in such a system. Then, I explicate the actual impact on teachers that is documented in the literature as a preview to Chapter 2. Finally, I justify the need for a research agenda that explores who FL teachers are becoming given their unique experiences and environments.

The Marginalization of Foreign Language Education in the United States

The Role of English in Shaping Foreign Language Education

English is the most widely spoken language worldwide (Teixeira, 2022). As the lingua franca of the global economy[1], English is so valuable that NNESs outnumber NESs three-to-one (Crystal, 2003). Though in the minority, NESs and the varieties of Standard English they speak are perceived as superior, influential, and the most widely understood (Jenkins, 2015). Idealized standard dialects of English are rooted in American and British norms, though American English likely carries the most prestige (Crystal, 2003). The international status granted to Standard American English helps to explain how the United States sustains its monolingual linguistic culture despite a lack of policy declaring English the official language (Potowski, 2010). For example, 79% of the U.S. population five years and older speak only English at home, even though census data evidence the presence of more than 350 languages nationwide (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). The fact is, the status and power that come with being a NES, especially from the United States, confers individuals with economic, social, political, and educational advantages (Reagan, 2002), most especially the monolingual privilege of not having to

---

[1] The global spread of English is not the exclusive result of global market trade. Beginning in the early 17th century, colonialism and slavery facilitated the spread of English in two diaspora, first, from Great Britain to North America, Australia, and New Zealand and, second, to Asia and Africa. The historical, social, and political context of the spread of English cannot be overlooked when understanding how English came to be the lingua franca of the global economy. However, more extensive detail is beyond the scope of this chapter (see Jenkins, 2015; Reagan & Osborn, 2019).

learn another language (Schwartz & Boovy, 2017). If this is the case, then why should students in U.S. schools study LOTEs?

Common and Conflicting Justifications for Language Study

FLE advocates in the United States promote the teaching and learning of LOTEs as a means of preparing global citizens with the linguistic and cultural competence necessary for life in the 21st century (e.g., American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages [ACTFL], n.d.d, Opening statement; U.S. Department of Education [U.S. DOE], 2012). Common narratives focus on the pragmatic, cognitive, and cultural benefits to be gained through foreign language study (Kubota & Austin, 2007), such as becoming more marketable to employers as linguistic and cultural liaisons, enhancing creative thinking skills, and helping to foster international diplomacy and positive attitudes towards target cultures (ACTFL, n.d.a, Benefits of language learning). In our era of globalization, FLE has the potential to develop new language skills for monolingual NES Americans and nurture the heritage and multilingual capacities of NNESs (Potowski, 2010), while teaching all students to more sensitively and reflexively engage with diversity (Kramsch, 2014). These compelling narratives present FLE as a necessary democratic tool for cultivating Americans' multilingual and multicultural capacities as they navigate an increasingly diverse world, though appeals rarely come to fruition.

Critics argue that the neoliberal agenda driving U.S. education efforts (and sustaining English as the most powerful language of the global economy) negates multilingual/multicultural efforts by prioritizing utilitarian aims of FLE focused on national defense, the global economy, and accountability (e.g., Bernstein et al., 2017;

Kubota, 2006; Sleeter, 2008). As "*the* voice of global capitalism" (Holborow, 2016, p. 43, emphasis in original), neoliberalism ideologically supports free-market competition, the privatization of state social services, and education as a means of providing human capital to meet the needs of the economy (Fenwick, 2003; Mullen et al., 2013). At best, the commodification of language in this system has turned FLE into a consumable product that garners institutional and cultural capital for a small portion of the population.

Failure as Success

Dominant discourses create the illusion of democratic outcomes in FLE, though in reality, actual policy and practice often reproduce, rather than remedy, social inequities and fail to produce students proficient in LOTEs (Osborn, 2000; Reagan & Osborn, 2002; Watzke, 2003). Despite the many calls for developing effective FL programs in the United States, the discipline remains unessential, marginalized, and largely ineffective, leaving Americans globally illiterate (Scott, 2005). In response to the question of why FLE fails in the United States, Reagan and Osborn (1998) explain:

> The answer is complex, including a variety of structural and institutional constraints, curricular and methodological problems, and a lack of social support. Underlying all of these factors, however, are issues related to power relationships and to the view of foreign languages as just that: foreign and, hence, alien and somewhat suspicious. In short, what we have attempted to demonstrate . . . that to a considerable extent, the real and perceived failures of foreign language education in the United States are, in fact, evidence that such programs are accomplishing specifically what the broader society implicitly

expects of them. Foreign language education, in fact, is destined to fail for the vast majority of American students because it is *expected* to fail. (p. 58, emphasis in original)

Over twenty years later, Reagan and Osborn (2019) continue their quest to critique the mirage of FLE by adding:

We would stress here that the blame for this failure is *not* foreign language classroom teachers, either in K-12 settings or in tertiary institutions. To be sure, not all foreign language educators are as fluent in the target language(s) that they teach as we might like them to be, nor are all foreign language educators as pedagogically sound as they should be. *However, we believe that even the most competent foreign language teacher is faced with an almost insurmountable challenge in the U.S. context* [emphasis added]. (p. 91)

The insurmountable challenge for Reagan and Osborn is that traditional justifications for FL study have not, and will never, motivate Americans to learn a LOTE due to ideological monolingualism that pervades U.S. culture. As evidence, they present FLE as a paradox in which we seriously talk "about global education taking place in a thoroughly monolingual setting, but that no one seems to notice how absurd this is" (Reagan & Osborn, 2019, p. 88).

FLE as a Paradox. Studying a LOTE in the United States is commonly justified as a social imperative for its cognitive benefits and national, commercial, and vocational value (Reagan & Osborn, 2019). These justifications have theoretical merit, but the benefits therein simply never come to fruition in current FL programs because of the way

programs are actualized. An analysis of language education policy, program offerings, and enrollment trends evidence this.

Watzke's (2003) historical overview of FLE demonstrates that although the teaching and learning of LOTEs have always been present in U.S. schools to varying degrees, it was never treated as an essential subject for all students. In fact, Watzke describes how FLE has occupied an historically marginalized position since the 18th century when classical language study was reserved for the college-bound elite and local language programs were rooted in the heritage languages of the community. As evidence of how unimportant FLE is on a national scale, contemporary federal education policy has dictated the aims of education since the foundational Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (United States, 1965), but FLE was not seriously incorporated into policy until the 1990's, more than two centuries after the birth of the nation.

The standards-based education reform agenda that took place in the late 1980s and early 1990s resulted in *America 2000: An Education Strategy* (U.S. DOE, 1991) that sought performative accountability in English, math, science, history, and geography (Watzke, 2003). To evidence the paradoxical nature of FLE in the United States, this agenda was driven by global competition, but it was not until 1994 that foreign language was included as a core K-12 subject eligible to receive federal funding for state and local education initiatives, as outlined in the *Goals 2000: Educate America Act* signed by President Clinton (Watzke, 2003).

It was the *Goals 2000* policy that initiated the development of teacher and student standards in FLE that have since evolved into some of the best disciplinary standards

documents that support the most effective teacher and program preparation efforts to date (Reagan & Osborn, 2019). However, pervasive linguistic bias continues to handicap progressive efforts with conflicting aims of bilingualism that position FLE as exclusive to some, but unessential to most.

Conflicting Aims of Bilingualism. Perhaps the most egregious contradiction in FLE is that it is touted as an essential democratic tool for U.S. citizens, and yet it is iniquitously accessible. This phenomenon can be explained by conflicting aims of bilingualism that influence policy and practice in language education.

The language you speak determines how you are perceived by others, and this directly impacts individual's access to membership in FLE (Reagan, 2002). Raciolinguistic ideologies that link the speaking of English to White, middle-class norms and linguistic prescriptivism that favors Standard English preserve deep-seated monolingual/monocultural attitudes in dominant U.S. culture (Flores & Rosa, 2015), such that the discipline of FLE is positioned as unessential for all, but a résumé booster for the college-bound elite who are typically White.

Dominant White speaking subjects in the United States who are natively fluent in idealized Standard English enjoy the unspoken monolingual privilege of not having to learn another language (Schwartz & Boovy, 2017). However, for NESs who do succeed in language study, their bilingualism is perceived as "an esteemed cultural accomplishment, an investment in national capability, and a resource advancing national security and enhancing employment" (Lo Bianco, 2002, p. 9). In contrast, immigrants' and poor people's bilingualism is perceived as a threat to national cohesion and a

problem to be fixed (Lo Bianco, 2002), except in matters of national security when

heritage speakers (HSs) and native speakers (NSs) are recruited as linguistic experts

(Kubota, 2006; Reagan & Osborn, 2019). These conflicting aims of bilingualism are

evident in policy, FL program offerings, and enrollment trends that give shape to the

paradox of FLE in which teachers construct their identities.

Policy, Programs, and Enrollment. In the 21st century, just under 20% of K-12

students enroll in FL coursework (American Councils for International Education

[ACIE], 2017), and approximately 40% of these enrollments are clustered in five of the

fifty states (California, Texas, New York, Florida, and Pennsylvania; ACTFL, 2011). Of

the enrolled students, almost all (92%) participate in System I programs (i.e., Spanish,

76%; French, 13%; and German, 3.4%; ACTFL, 2011), which are easier to learn as

cognate languages to English, are primarily taught by NESs, and prioritize linguistic and

cultural exposure over proficiency development (see Brecht & Walton, 2000). Only 11

states mandate FL program graduation requirements, 16 states do not, and 24 leave FL as

an option to fulfill graduation requirements (ACIE, 2017). In most institutions, two years

of FL study (i.e., seat time) will suffice high-school graduation requirements and/or

college entrance pre-requisites with no regard for proficiency attainment (Brecht &

Walton, 2000; Watzke, 2003). Moreover, NNES and heritage-language learners are often

enrolled in English as a second language (ESL) coursework in lieu of FLE, even though

FLE has the potential to support these students in their academic achievement (Kubota,

2006; Potowski, 2010). Clearly, FLE is not positioned as an essential subject. At the very

least one would expect students who do participate in FL classes to learn to speak the

target language (TL). Unfortunately, this is not the case.

In order for students to develop advanced TL proficiency, long-term study must

be articulated beginning in elementary school. However, elementary FL programs remain

scarce and unstable in the United States. From 1997 to 2008, elementary FL program

offerings fell 31% to a mere estimated 15% nationwide enrollment with rural and low

socioeconomic-status schools less likely to offer them (Pufahl & Rhodes, 2011). The

same national survey found that 25% of elementary programs reported being affected by

teacher shortages, leading to program closures and the hiring of teachers who were not

certified in any capacity (25%) or certified teachers who were not specifically certified in

FL instruction (18%). Finally, the large majority of elementary program types focused on

general exposure to language and culture (i.e., FLEX [Foreign Language Exploratory])

and novice language development (i.e., FLES) over immersion approaches, and an

astounding 50% of elementary programs reported a lack of articulation for FL instruction

moving into middle school. Providing students with long-term language study to develop

advanced levels of proficiency is not a priority in U.S. schools, and this missed

opportunity cannot be made up in later years.

FL study in the United States primarily occurs in grades 7-12, though the bulk of

these enrollments remain in low-level courses (Watzke, 2003). In the year 2000, 43.8%

of students in grades 9-12 and 14.7% in grades 7-8 enrolled in FL courses (Draper &

Hicks, 2002). Of all secondary-level enrollment, the large majority (78%) participated in

beginning level courses (I and II), while only 22% continued to advanced levels III, IV,

and IV/AP (Draper & Hicks, 2002). Only one-fifth of high school students partake in advanced-level study, but it is estimated that almost 90% of high school students earn FL credit (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2014). Sadly, these trends continue in post-secondary institutions, where a mere 7.5% of college students were enrolled in language courses in 2016, and they, too, were primarily enrolled in introductory, rather than advanced, courses (Looney & Lusin, 2019).

By the time that FL programs become an accessible option in most high schools, the majority of students are only participating for the minimum required time or opting out altogether, corroborating Reagan and Osborn's (2019) critique that common justifications for studying a language are neither true nor compelling. Most students in the United States simply do not achieve the proficiency necessary for attaining the benefits touted by discourse, such as the cognitive benefits that accompany bilingualism or the marketability that comes with speaking a LOTE in the job market. The fact is, when employers seek bilingual employees, they are far more likely to target NSs rather than FL program graduates because NSs' language skills are far superior (Kubota, 2006; Reagan & Osborn, 2019). This is particularly true when it comes to critical-needs languages that have strategic importance to national security (e.g., Russian, Chinese, Arabic, Pashto, Turkish, Farsi, etc.). These languages are complex, require double the amount of time to learn, and are difficult to staff due to the shortage of qualified teachers (Reagan & Osborn, 2019). Although Chinese programs in particular have been expanding in recent years, they still only comprise roughly 3% of FL programs (ACTFL, 2011; ACIE, 2017). To be clear, federal funding has been dedicated to sustaining programs that

teach critical-needs languages, as well as supporting second language acquisition (SLA) and linguistics research to enhance the effectiveness of FL programs (Brecht & Rivers, 2000), but these programs are very rare and do not represent the majority of what U.S. students are exposed to.

In sum, these enrollment trends clearly indicate that the majority of U.S. FL students are not intrinsically motivated to enroll in FL classes to develop their multilingual/multicultural capacities. They rather participate as a means of obtaining the institutional capital necessary for academic advancement, thus granting FLE status as a 'college gatekeeper' (Baggett, 2016). Not only do these trends give FL teachers the added responsibility of recruiting and motivating students (Gayton, 2016), they sustain FLE as an elite space for less than one-fifth of the population. What about the remaining 80% of students who do not enroll in FLE at all? For some this is a choice; for others, it is an issue of access.

Access Gap. As previously mentioned, just under 20% of the school-aged population participates in iniquitously distributed FL programs nationwide (ACTFL, 2011). Granted, FL programs were never fully accessible to all students (Watzke, 2003), but contemporary policy continues to contribute to the marginalization of FLE while exacerbating an access gap that privileges middle-class White students and marginalizes students of color, NNESs, HSs, and students from low-socioeconomic backgrounds.

The infamous No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB, 2002) ushered in an era of accountability that sought to ensure nationwide compliance to teaching essential content (Hlavacik, 2016). The national policy fundamentally modified the aims of education by

explicitly valuing certain subjects over others via compulsory accountability testing. Schools' reaction to the need to meet annual yearly progress on assessments resulted in a zero-sum game that siphoned attention and resources to the core tested subjects (i.e., math, reading), and thus marginalized non-tested liberal arts content areas, including foreign languages (Rosenbusch, 2005). Although this national policy technically labeled FLE as a core content area, it was treated as de facto non-core due to the lack of accountability testing in that subject, resulting in its depreciated value (Glisan, 2005).

Within just two years of the implementation of NCLB, liberal arts programs and FLE were already experiencing significant negative impacts. As administrators and teachers perceived FL courses as taking up valuable space that could otherwise be used to bolster students' math and reading achievement, failing schools often pulled funding from FL programs, reducing or altogether eliminating them (Bussone, 2005). In a survey conducted in the spring of 2003, members of the Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (NECTFL) reported that out of 165 school districts, 22% cut FL programs; 39% scaled back instructional time; 24% eliminated FL teaching positions in 2003-2004; and 22% eliminated one or more language programs (Rosenbusch, 2005). According to the participants' open-ended responses about the impetus for the cutbacks, 43% cited funding, 18% cited lack of administrator support, and 14% cited state testing in math and/or reading.

At the local level, NCLB implementation resulted in a narrowing of the curriculum in struggling schools populated by minority and poor students, which denied this already marginalized demographic access to a liberal arts education, including FLE.

This denial not only eliminated cognitively beneficial curriculum that could have helped to close the achievement gap that NCLB set out to remedy (e.g., Brown, 2005; Pufahl & Rhodes, 2011), it actually exacerbated an enrollment gap in FLE that silently reified FL classrooms as an elite space of privilege for collegebound White students. As a demonstration of the longstanding oppressive effects of NCLB policy, Baggett (2016) found in a purposive sample of four large local education agencies in North Carolina that majority-White schools offered more choices and levels of languages compared to majority-minority schools, and that African American and Latino male students were consistently underrepresented in FL classrooms in AY 2013-2014, 13 years after the implementation of NCLB.

The Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) replaced NCLB in 2015 to significantly reduce punitive accountability measures and restore state-level decision-making (Korte, 2015). While ESSA still prioritizes testing in reading, math, and English-language proficiency (Understood Team, n.d.), Title IV-A of the policy establishes Student Support and Academic Enrichment (SSAE) grant monies for "providing students with a well-rounded education," including "foreign languages" (ACTFL, n.d.b, Every Student Succeeds Act, para. 2). This is particularly significant for FLE since the former federally funded Foreign Language Assistance Program (FLAP) established in NCLB policy was eliminated in 2012 with no replacement (U.S. DOE, 2014).

While the SSAE grants are notable, FLE is but one of many subject areas eligible to receive funding, and a concerted effort must be made by individuals at the local level to apply and advocate for funding. For example, The ACTFL (2016) recommends that

stakeholders should host town halls, identify and participate in ESSA task forces, build coalitions with other advocates, engage the press and local community, and meet with policymakers and allies to enhance their chances of obtaining grant money to expand FL programs. The most recent census data evidence the need to support and expand FL programs as numbers continue to decline (ACTFL, 2011; ACIE, 2017; Looney & Lusin, 2019), but only time will tell if the Title IV grant monies of ESSA policy actually benefit FLE in the United States. Until then, FL programs remain homogenous, iniquitously available, and under-supported.

The Marginalization of FL Teachers in the United States

In the previous section I detailed how marginalizing discourses and practices constrain FLE in the United States and create "an almost insurmountable challenge" for "even the most competent FL teacher" (Reagan & Osborn, 2019, p. 91). In this section I will describe the factors that contribute to this challenge, while acknowledging that not all FL teachers are necessarily marginalized within the discipline.

Foreign language teachers' social identities position them in unique ways within their schools, and current literature suggests that these identities act as sources of marginalization and/or privilege in (dis)empowering ways that influence their immunity development. Social identities are categories created by society that are relational in power and status, such as nationality, race, class, language, gender, etc. (Varghese et al., 2005). As a preview to Chapter 2, in this section I describe how social identities act as capital that can empower and support or disempower and further constrain FL teachers as they develop their identities in the margins of Education.

Linguistic Capital. A FL teacher's professional identity is predicated on their ability to communicate in a LOTE. In the United States, FL teachers' linguistic identities are labeled in relation to the LOTE they teach (i.e., as a HS, NS, or second-language learners [L2L]), as well as their status as a NES, NNES, and/or English language learner (ELL). Most FL teachers in the United States are White, female, NESs who were likely first exposed to FLE in the K-12 system as students (Brecht & Walton, 2000; NCES, 2021b). However, shifts in U.S. population demographics, paired with the national teacher shortage, have resulted in an increase of international and heritage-speaking FL teachers (Bustamente & Novella, 2019; Kayi-Aydar, 2018; Kissau et al., 2011). Their unique linguistic identities shape their identity development in positive and negative ways.

In the 21st century, communicative-based teaching is the paradigm in power. Under the direction of the *Goals 2000* (1994) federal standards reform agenda, the FL teaching profession foregrounded Communication as one of its five principal tenets (Haley & Fox, 2004). The shift away from traditional grammar-translation teaching methods meant that FL teacher candidates would have to acquire a minimum of Advanced-Low (AL) proficiency in their TL to teach Group I, II, and III languages (e.g., Spanish, French, Portuguese, etc., as measured on the Foreign Service Institute [FSI] scale) and Intermediate High (IH) proficiency to teach Group IV languages (e.g., Chinese, Arabic, Japanese, as measured on the FSI scale; ACTFL, 2012). While The ACTFL's language proficiency requirement was originally intended for guiding teacher preparation programs, some states followed suit and adopted the same requirement for

teaching licensure (Chambless, 2012). Despite extensive support for this requirement and two decades of implementation, TL proficiency remains one of the biggest challenges in FL teachers' identity development.

The minimum-proficiency policy professionalized the field by holding teachers to a higher standard, but it also stifled progress since too-few teacher candidates can achieve this goal to become certified. For example, two notable studies revealed that only 55% to 60% of language teacher candidates achieve the minimum proficiency outcome on the ACTFL Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI) to obtain teaching certification (Glisan et al., 2013; Hamlyn et al., 2007). Ironically, the same system these teacher candidates want to work in as language experts failed to provide them with the requisite skills to do so.

Teacher candidates who are L2Ls of the TL are often graduates of the K-16 system described above that fails to prioritize proficiency development. Though they are privileged as NES Americans who made the extra effort to learn a LOTE (Lo Bianco, 2002) and dedicate their careers to spreading their love of the language (Kissau et al., 2019), their path into teaching is neither easy nor guaranteed. Sadly, their linguistic identities are not the only marginalized identities in FLE.

Despite being bilingual, many HS teacher candidates are positioned as less capable to their more highly educated NES/L2L and NS colleagues and have to double their efforts to catch up on content knowledge while learning pedagogy (Bustamente & Novella, 2019; Kayi-Aydar, 2018, reviewed in Chapter 2). This is because when HSs enter the U.S. school system, they are identified as ELLs and enrolled in ESL coursework in lieu of FL programs despite the benefits that FL coursework could offer in supporting

their first language (Kubota, 2006; Potowski, 2010)[2]. As ELLs and HSs, they display communicative fluency in both languages, but may lack the formal linguistic knowledge necessary for language teaching.

Native speakers, on the other hand, may employ their NS status as a privilege to gain instant access in constructing a language teacher identity (Fan & de Jong, 2019; Vélez-Rendón, 2010, reviewed in Chapter 2). NSs do not struggle to legitimize their content knowledge the way L2L and HS teachers do, though there is a risk in assuming that NS status – or having Advanced proficiency, for that matter (Burke, 2013) – equates with being an effective teacher. It is quite possible for NSs to struggle with pedagogy, even in immersion programs where proficiency development is the means and ends of instruction (e.g., Cammarata & Tedick 2012).

Burke (2013) cautioned the profession that the minimum-proficiency requirement instigated too much emotional turmoil for language-teacher candidates who could not achieve this goal, which risked the attrition of potentially effective teachers. She also noted that there were so few FL teachers who met the requirement that some states lowered their certification standard (i.e., from Advanced-low to Intermediate-high minimum), calling to question the practicality of the policy. Moreover, there are so few graduates prepared to enter the FL teaching workforce that language-teacher preparation programs are becoming increasingly responsible for developing teacher candidates' TL proficiency in addition to their pedagogical knowledge (e.g., ACTFL/CAEP, 2015),

---

[2] While some schools do offer courses geared towards heritage- and native-speaking students, these programs are rare (ACIE, 2017).

which constrains what these programs can accomplish within their time constraints. Even as recently as 2019, a survey of cooperating teachers highlighted teacher candidates' insufficient language skills and lack of confidence in using the TL to teach effectively (Moser et al., 2019). Research has shown that language teachers consider their TL proficiency to be a key factor in their ability to teach effectively (e.g., Butler, 2004; Chacón, 2005), so when this essential skill is lacking – and it obviously is for many – teachers' identities become threatened.

Insufficient TL proficiency makes it very difficult to engage in effective pedagogy (e.g., Aoki, 2013; Moeller, 2013; Tedick, 2013), even for NSs who lack formal linguistic knowledge (e.g., Vélez-Rendón, 2010). In some cases, teachers may resort to outdated teaching methods, such as traditional grammar-translation, that inhibit the profession's pedagogical shift towards communicative-based teaching. In extreme cases when teachers fail to legitimize their TL knowledge, they may choose to quit the profession altogether (e.g., Kayi-Aydar, 2015, reviewed in Chapter 2) and contribute to the teacher shortage.

Of course, this is not always the case, as many FL teachers thrive pedagogically. In Paloma's story (Kayi-Aydar, 2017, reviewed in Chapter 2), we experience the privileging of a NS Spanish teacher who leverages her NS status to become part-time university faculty, a position she further leverages to create supportive programs for her high-school Latino students. However, as a brown NNES in America, Paloma simultaneously suffers from racial and linguistic marginalization that prevents her from legitimizing her knowledge to NES colleagues. Paloma's experience is all too common

with minority teachers. In fact, much research in TESOL has revealed how linguistic biases connect to pronunciation, intelligibility, and race to oppress non-White NNES teachers (e.g., Fan & de Jong, 2019; Golombek & Jordan, 2005; Miller, 2009; Motha, 2006; Park, 2015; Pavlenko, 2003), and FL teachers are no exception. The stories in Chapter 2 will depict how linguistic identities intersect with race, nationality, and socioeconomic status to marginalize minority FL teachers, but I also make the case that more attention needs to be paid to privilege, and its relationship to marginalization, as a factor in teacher identity (Appleby, 2016).

For example, Fogle and Moser (2017) offer a refreshing account of FL teachers in rural and suburban Alabama who defy local monolinguistic norms to foster multiculturalism, but the authors fail to consider the teachers' privilege as NES insiders as potentially aiding them in this process. Making their privilege explicit is necessary for understanding the marginalization of others. All FL teachers work in a marginalized discipline, but their status as a NES, NNES, or ELL positions them uniquely in their schools and presents additional factors of (dis)empowerment. One way that these linguistic identities can be empowering is by granting all FL teachers a certain level of authority and autonomy as linguistic and cultural experts.

Cultural Capital. It is not uncommon for FL teachers to be the only speakers of a LOTE in their building[3]. As such, administrators often lack the ability to assess FL

---

[3] There are certainly exceptions in more diverse regions in the country, especially where Spanish is more commonly spoken. However, outside of immersion schools, those who speak LOTEs in the buildings are

teachers' content knowledge and pedagogy, resulting in a lack of accountability that is rarely bestowed upon teachers of other subjects, especially in a post-NCLB era. The authority granted to FL teachers for their 'expertise' in a LOTE places them in a position of power, even if their content knowledge is lacking (Reagan, 2002). Not only can FL teachers get away with poor teaching, they become the arbiters of when and how to use the TL (vs. English) in the classroom and decide what counts as correct. This becomes problematic when FL teachers who are accustomed to standard norms (e.g., L2Ls who formally learned the TL) correct HS and NS students' dialects, thereby delegitimizing their linguistic identities (Reagan, 2002). This act reproduces hegemonic ideologies because "the difference between a speaker of Spanish who uses *troca* and one who uses *camión* for 'truck' is not simply one of lexical choice; it is, rather, one of class, status, and power" (Reagan, 2002, p. 47). Notwithstanding the damage caused by this behavior, FL teachers often lack the critical language awareness that would enlighten them of this wrongdoing. They are the products of a neoliberal system that objectifies language by treating it as an apolitical commodity to be consumed. As Osborn (2000) points out, the recycling of FL students as FL teachers risks reifying the negative biases and ideologies common in U.S. FL classrooms, such as the "foreignness agenda," the teaching of liberal rather than critical multiculturalism (see Kubota, 2004), and engaging in traditional approaches to teaching that eschew critical perspectives in language education. Many FL

---

typically peripheral, non-staff members, such as custodians, bus drivers, and cafeteria workers, which further evidences the marginalized role of LOTEs in U.S. schools.

teachers remain unaware of how this system ideologically constrains their thinking and, consequently, their professional identities (Clarke & Phelan, 2015; Taylor Webb, 2007).

The main point here is that regardless of their actual content knowledge, pedagogical prowess, or critical language awareness, FL teachers possess a certain level of authority and autonomy because of their unique linguistic and cultural capital that sets them apart. Since FL teachers are often the only speakers of a LOTE in their buildings, their language proficiency is rarely, if ever, assessed by others because they are unable (Reagan, 2002). As multilingual individuals working in monolingual settings, FL teachers' linguistic and cultural capital can create an illusion of efficacy that protects their knowledge from being delegitimized, which could detrimentally prevent professional growth (e.g., Vélez-Rendón, 2010).

Despite the value that FL teachers possess in their schools, they remain outsiders to the dominant school culture as multilingual/multicultural advocates. For example, Fogle and Moser's (2017) study of FL teachers in suburban Mississippi depicts the paradoxical environments that simultaneously privilege and marginalize them. The linguistic and cultural capital that got them their jobs also isolates them from the mainstream culture and makes them feel "weird" (p. 74). Their love of the language and multicultural experiences motivates them to act as agents of change who would challenge the ideological norms of their schools, even though they view their teaching jobs as a less prestigious career choice. Testing policies and a lack of resources marginalize their language programs, but some teachers orient themselves positively to having a flexible curriculum that fall outside the accountability demands placed on core subjects.

While decreased accountability increases autonomy, FL teachers are left to do what they can with the resources they have (Varghese, 2017). Teachers may embrace their freedom to enact their ideals, but increased autonomy does not automatically enhance classroom possibilities, as Ruohotie-Lhyty's (2015a, 2015b) longitudinal studies will depict in Chapter 2. This is due in part to the fact that developing a professional identity from a marginalized position often means doing so in isolation and with restricted access to resources, most especially quality professional development.

Social Capital. The paucity of programs nationwide necessarily limits the need for FL teachers, and yet the discipline is in the throes of a critical teacher shortage due to the lack of qualified teachers (Swanson, 2011; Swanson & Mason, 2018), presenting yet another paradox in FLE. According to the National Center for Education Statistics, FL teachers accounted for just 2.5% of the K-12 teaching workforce (NCES, 2017) and 6% of teachers in grades 9 through 12 (NCES, 2021a) in AY 2015-16. The scarcity of FL teachers in schools statistically marginalizes and physically isolates them from FL colleagues. Moreover, FL teachers often lack the resources to accrue the social capital that fosters professional identity development.

After exiting teacher education programs, in-service FL teachers' professional development is largely dependent on what their school districts provide. In AY 2011-2012, 79% of public-school teachers nationwide reported their professional development occurred during time scheduled into the contract year (i.e., in-service days; Rotermund et al., 2017, p. 10). In a national study conducted by The ACTFL, FL teachers reported having access to an average of only three full-day workshops per year and that district-

level "one-shot" professional development was increasingly being determined by the school or district (Phillips & Abbott, 2011, p. 12). Employer-provided professional development experiences are often limited to top-down approaches that impose innovations on teachers and may not be specific to FLE (Johnson, 2006). Pufahl and Rhodes's (2011) national survey found that only 63% of primary schools and 73% of secondary schools reported offering language-specific professional development to FL teachers in AY 2007-2008, with participation less likely in private, rural, and smaller schools. Typical professional development experiences overlook teachers' ways of knowing, are not integrated into existing classroom practice, and are largely inapplicable (Johnson, 2006).

FL teachers certainly have a multitude of options when it comes to joining local, state, regional, and national language-based professional organizations (e.g., National Network for Early Language Learners [NNELL], American Associations of Teachers of Spanish, Portuguese, French, German, etc. [AATSP, AATF, AATG], The ACTFL, etc.). However, my own experience has taught me that when FL educators are eager to access external resources as a means of professional development, they often must provide their own means of doing so (e.g., researching which organizations to join, paying out of pocket for membership fees, seeking out support groups on social media). The Schools and Staffing Survey (SASS; Rotermund et al., 2017, p. 10) supports my anecdotal evidence, having found that when it comes to support for professional development activities, only 28% of public-school teachers received conference fee reimbursement, 21% received travel reimbursement, and a mere 9% received college tuition

reimbursement in AY 2011-2012. Having to spend personal resources, including time and money, is certain to impede many teachers from seeking professional development outside what their employers provide for them. Not to mention, teachers need to be aware that these supportive groups exist and have the motivation to participate.

Participation in supportive professional development is essential for keeping teachers abreast of professional issues and initiatives, such as the implementation of the original *Standards for Foreign Language Learning in the 21st Century* that were an outgrowth of the standards movement of the 1990's. Many scholars view the creation of student and teacher standards as one positive outcome of the accountability movement spawned by federal policy because it unified the profession by offering FL teachers a framework for what they should know and be able to do (Donato, 2009; Glisan, 2012). However, unlike the specific standards developed for math, science, and history, the FL *Standards* relied heavily on local school curriculum to specify content (Watzke, 2003), which is more time-consuming and open to interpretation. Because many FL teachers are isolated from the profession and lack specific guidance on this top-down policy, it can take decades to achieve widespread standards-based practice that is implemented with fidelity (Glisan, 2005).

For example, shortly after the release of the *Standards*, a national survey examining teachers' pedagogical beliefs found that teachers who worked in rural school districts or did not participate in language-specific professional organizations demonstrated less familiarity with the *Standards* than teachers in urban schools and members of professional organizations (Allen, 2002). That is to say, teachers who were

isolated from the profession, whether by choice or circumstance, were less familiar with and likely less invested in the direction of the profession (Glisan, 2005). Allen's (2002) survey also found that teachers working in model programs and in states that received extensive federal funding for professional development did not demonstrate any more familiarity with the *Standards* than teachers in states that had not adopted *Standards*-based frameworks, meaning access to professional development did not guarantee teachers' access to or awareness of the endeavors of the profession (Glisan, 2005). Though ironic, this point does not come as a surprise considering FL teachers' professional development is increasingly being chosen for them by others outside the discipline (e.g., district-level administration; Phillips & Abbott, 2011).

It is not unreasonable to expect new policy to take time to be effective. However, the *Standards* continue to elude FL teachers. A second survey of FL teachers' beliefs about the *Standards* a decade after their implementation found that while the *Standards* had given educators a common language for talk within the field, they were not being implemented as originally intended due to teachers' varied interpretations and levels of familiarity with them (Phillips & Abbott, 2011). Survey responses indicated that many participants did not understand the characteristics and processes of the interpretive modality of communication; teachers were not engaging in the Connections Standards or The Cultural Framework with the 3 Ps (practices, products, perspectives); and teachers believed implementing *Standards* in the classroom was difficult due to a perceived lack of time and that assessment of the *Standards* was unrealistic. Without proper guidance, FL teachers are left to interpret and implement these policies on their own, which risks

the devaluation and misconception of the original intent. For example, a common phenomenon in applying the *Standards* is for teachers and textbook writers to label existing curricula with *Standards* goals under the assumption that they're engaging in standards-based practice, when in fact they may have profound misunderstandings of the pedagogical concepts embedded in them (Donato, 2009, as cited in Glisan, 2012). It is notable that teachers are making an effort, when willing and able, to engage in the goals of the profession (and standards-based practice is but one example), but teachers are largely left to make sense of these on their own.

Beyond issues of praxis, FL teachers who work in isolation fail to be proactive in making their programs visible or react when their programs are threatened, "either because they feel powerless in the face of policies such as those resulting from the NCLB Act or because they simply do not know how to advocate on behalf of their discipline" (Glisan, 2005, p. 270). Glisan's point remains pertinent today, calling to question FL teachers' likelihood of engaging in the arduous process of applying for the aforementioned ESSA grant monies that purport to support program expansion.

Indeed, FL teachers' indifference perpetuates their marginalization and the marginalization of the discipline, as Glisan (2005) warned. But we must also acknowledge that marginalizing practices in local activity have a hegemonic hold on teachers' thoughts and behaviors (e.g., Clarke & Phelan, 2015; Kumaravadivelu, 2012a; Taylor Webb, 2007). Without proper guidance, teachers' identities will continue to be ideologically constrained by the "deep structure" of their teaching environment (Burke, 2011). Teachers' ways of knowing are directly connected to the experiences they create

for their students, but their praxis will not be positively impacted until they are deeply

embedded in communities of practice that develop their critical awareness of who is

shaping their thinking (Johnson, 2006).

To be clear, I acknowledge that FLE advocates, scholars, and teachers have made

great strides to advance the field through professional development in recent decades.

There are pockets of successful programs across the country that are developing students'

proficiency, nurturing multilingual/multicultural ideals, and enhancing teachers'

pedagogical skills. To name but a few, federally funded STARTALK programs have

expanded critical-needs language programs in K-16 schools and provided numerous

resources for teachers (e.g., startalk.umd.edu); the National Board for Professional

Teaching Standards has provided thousands of world language teachers with high-quality

professional development that elevates teaching while empowering teachers; and The

ACTFL is primarily responsible for professionalizing the field with standards and

accompanying resources for teaching and learning. Nevertheless, the very

marginalization of the discipline of FLE isolates many teachers from these communities,

which impedes their ability to enact professional ideals, underscoring the need to research

how teachers navigate the fields in which they work.

Breaking Teachers' Epistemological Dependence

The creation of the *Standards* in FLE professionalized the field, served as a guide

for effective language teaching, and raised teacher qualification expectations.

Nevertheless, critics argue that the obsession with standards-based practice instigated by

the NCLB Act ultimately silenced teachers' voices by privileging their compliance over

critique (Clarke & Moore, 2013; Connell, 2009); depreciating the role of emotion, intuition, and personal professional knowledge in teaching (Clarke & Phelan, 2015); and invoking their epistemic suicide (Taylor Webb, 2007). This perspective aids in understanding teachers' indifference to and/or compliance with practices that thwart the progress of FLE in the United States.

Despite the many calls for developing effective FL programs in the United States, the discipline remains marginalized and largely ineffective (Scott, 2005). Dominant discourses in FLE create the illusion of democratic outcomes, though in reality, actual policy and practice often reproduce, rather than remedy, social inequities and fail to produce students proficient in LOTEs (Osborn, 2000; Reagan & Osborn, 2002). In this system, FL educators may continue to reproduce the status quo because the current education system blinds them to the political and ideological dimensions delimiting the field and, subsequently, their teacher identities (Johnson, 2006).

A reformation of the social factors and power structures influencing program actualization is necessary in order to achieve truly democratic aims (Rios-Aguilar et al., 2011). Recent reform efforts rooted in identity-based professional development seek to break teachers' epistemological dependency on dominant discourses and cultivate teachers' intellectual autonomy to transform the discipline from within (e.g., Clarke, 2009; Clarke & Phelan, 2015; Johnson, 2009; Johnson & Golombek, 2016; Kumaravadivelu, 2012a; Waller et al., 2017). However, teacher educators face the major obstacle of carrying out this socially situated, inquiry-based work in a purportedly apolitical structure that prioritizes standardization, privileges empirical and theoretical

knowledge over teachers' personal and experiential knowledge, and is often constrained to top-down professional development models that fail to center teachers in learning about their own practice (Fenwick, 2003; Johnson, 2006; Kumaravadivelu, 2012a).

In sum, scholars and policymakers have professionalized FLE with the expansive adoption of national standards for teaching and learning, among other endeavors. But as Donato (2009) cautioned, "The risk of erroneously believing that the depiction of teacher expertise in standards is accurate is that it belies the process of becoming a teacher and the actual act of teaching itself" (p. 269). Identity research avoids this pitfall by offering an ontological perspective that equates learning to teach as the development of a professional identity. Investigating the subjective experiences of FL teachers provides an insightful emic perspective of the challenging contexts within which they encourage language learning and provide alternative approaches to traditional and oppressive norms (Weng, 2017). This is especially essential for in-service FL teachers, whose marginalized status often relegates them to constructing an identity in unsupportive environments without mediated guidance, underscoring the need to investigate how they develop identities with the resources available to them (Varghese, 2017).

Summary

Practices and policy that view the failure of FLE as a success sustain the discipline's marginalized status. The marginalization of the profession inherently marginalizes teachers, but teachers' social identities can serve as factors of privilege and marginalization that (dis)empower them as they navigate the complex and multifaceted field of FLE. For Reagan and Osborn (2019, p. 91), developing a professional identity in

this system is "an almost insurmountable challenge" because FLE is a paradoxical cycle of failure.

Despite dominant discourses that tout the essential place that FLE holds in Education at large, the exclusivity of the subject sustains a homogenous population of both FL teachers and students, which limits the pool of future teachers and denies a large portion of the population a beneficial curriculum that would develop their multilingual/multicultural awareness. There are insufficient qualified teacher candidates to staff FL programs because most recruits are graduates of the same system that fails to produce proficient students, never mind develop their critical language awareness (Reagan, 2004; Reagan & Osborn, 2002). Even when FL students move on to advanced study in college and attempt to become certified FL language teachers, almost half cannot meet the minimum proficiency requirements (Glisan et al., 2013; Hamlyn et al., 2007). In a similar vein, HSs who want to utilize their bilingual skill set to enter the teaching profession have an equally difficult time because they are often denied access to formally studying their heritage language in FL classrooms because their English proficiency development is prioritized in the K-12 system. Insufficient language proficiency can instigate an identity crisis for FL teachers if they fail to live up to the external expectation of being authority figures and experts on their subject matter (Reagan, 2002) or, more practically, enact the idealized communicative pedagogical practices endorsed by the profession. Though all teachers benefit from supportive professional development, FL teachers' marginalized positioning isolates them from the profession and restricts their access to resources that nurture their identity development.

Rationale for Researching Marginalization and Privilege in FLE

The literature review in Chapter 2 will demonstrate that marginalization matters because widespread marginalizing discourses, such as those that devalue FLE, manifest as marginalizing practices in schools that suppress teachers' autonomy, access to resources and in-group membership, and trigger mixed emotional responses. The emotional responses teachers experience during their identity construction shape the decisions they are willing to make for their practice (Kalaja et al., 2015; Martel & Wang, 2014; Martínez Agudo, 2018; Varghese et al., 2016; Wolff & De Costa, 2017). Working in the margins inevitably exposes FL teachers to varying degrees of adversity, and they thus orient themselves to their realities in various ways (Hiver & Dornyei, 2017). Having to negotiate adversity risks teachers' cynicism, dissatisfaction, and defeat. For example, Swanson (2011) cites multiple factors of language teacher attrition that are clearly related to marginalization and negative emotional experiences, including difficulty with classroom management, individuals' emotional/psychological state, lack of professional development and networking opportunities, not getting along with administration, legislation (e.g., NCLB), lack of control of how schools are run, low student enrollment, and negative perceptions of the profession (i.e., dead-end job with low pay). However, defeat is not inevitable.

Many FL teachers choose to stay in the profession, but with varied outcomes. In some instances, teachers choose to avoid the discomfort in their jobs by actively resisting change to the detriment of their own professional identity development (e.g., Ruohotie-Lhyty, 2015b; Vélez-Rendón, 2010). In other cases, teachers display resilience in the face

of adversity by drawing on their marginalization to empower themselves as change agents and advocates for the disenfranchised (e.g., Bustamente & Novella, 2019; Fogle & Moser, 2017; Kayi-Aydar, 2017, 2018; Quintero & Guerrero, 2018). There is yet another faction of teachers who either do not orient themselves negatively to their marginalized positioning (e.g., Fogle & Moser, 2017) or do not perceive themselves to be marginalized or disempowered at all. Their stories are largely absent in LTI literature since research efforts primarily focus on populations of relatively powerless people (Appleby, 2016).

The literature makes it clear that FL teachers face adversity, but there is a risk in assuming that all FL teachers are oppressed. Adding the voices of privileged and empowered teachers can be just as insightful for theorizing LTI since marginalization and privilege are mutually constitutive (Appleby, 2016; Garcia Bedolla, 2007). The salient focus on marginalization in LTI research is warranted, but it is equally essential to identify the privileges that influence identity development to add nuance to our understanding of the social milieu unconsciously shaping what FL teachers know, think, and do (Appleby, 2016). There is also a great need to expand LTI theory and research into disciplines other than TESOL (Martel & Wang, 2014) and diverse macro contexts across the globe (Kalaja et al., 2015). Research on FL teachers in the United States is scarce, and I have demonstrated in this chapter that it provides an ideal setting for further LTI investigations. My focus on LOTEs complements the salient focus on English language education to broaden the scope of LTI theory. More specifically, my research contributes to current efforts to theorize the intersectionality of social identities (Norton & De Costa, 2018; Varghese et al., 2016), the role of marginalization and privilege in

identity development (Appleby, 2016), and the nascent construct of language teacher

immunity (Hiver 2015, 2017; Hiver & Dornyei, 2017), which I present in more detail in

Chapter 2.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

In this chapter, I review research that evidences the deleterious impact macro-level marginalization can have on foreign language (FL) teachers' ongoing professional identity development across the globe. I then review studies specifically situated in the United States that elucidate factors of (dis)empowerment in this unique macro context. In these studies, linguistic ideologies (e.g., native speakerism) and social identities (e.g., native-speaker [NS] status) emerge as sources of marginalization and privilege that influence how individuals shape and are shaped by their teaching environments. I then draw on the novel construct of language teacher immunity (Hiver, 2015, 2017; Hiver & Dornyei, 2017) as a means of determining how FL teachers orient themselves to the profession given the multifaceted nature of language teaching and learning (De Costa & Norton, 2017; DFG, 2016). Together, the theories and research inform this research agenda that seeks to understand language teacher identity development at the intersection of marginalization, privilege, empowerment, social identities, and language teacher immunity.

Language Teacher Identity as a Theoretical Tool for Investigating Teacher Practice

Language teacher identity (LTI) research emerged at the turn of the century on the coattails of a movement to embrace sociocultural and sociopolitical dimensions of language teaching (Varghese et al., 2005). A shift from conceptualizing teachers as technicians to learners-of-teaching (e.g., Freeman & Johnson, 1998) foregrounded the ontological becoming of teachers within everchanging, sociopolitical structures. Broadly

speaking, "who teachers are and what they bring with them, individually and collectively, matters in what and how they teach" (Varghese et al., 2016). Identity thus provides a framework for understanding how teachers construct and negotiate how to be, act, and make sense of their work through local social activity (Sachs, 2005).

Epistemological Grounding

Post-positivist philosophies undergirding LTI theory view identity as dynamic, situated, and discursively constructed within highly influential power structures (Varghese et al., 2005). The postmodern perspective that equates learning-to-teach as the on-going development of a teacher identity rejects dominant neoliberal ideologies that eschew individuality and critical perspectives in favor of standardization and predetermined knowledge (Clarke & Phelan, 2015; Morgan & Clarke, 2011). However, this perspective necessarily acknowledges the strong influence that social milieu, including neoliberal practices, have on shaping what FL teachers know, think, and do.

Over the past two decades, LTI researchers have utilized both Vygotskian sociocultural learning theories to situate participants as actively engaged in forming their identities amid myriad cultural and historical variables (e.g., Penuel & Wertsch, 1995) and the foundational postmodern and poststructural philosophies of Derrida, Bakhtin, Foucault, and Bourdieu (among others) to highlight the power structures that shape the subjective, dynamic, and contradictory nature of identities as they are constructed primarily through discourse (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton & Morgan, 2012). Identity development is seen as a fundamentally social process that requires multiple theoretical approaches to capture its complexity (Varghese et al., 2005). Though there is no singular

definition for identity, Varghese et al. (2005) bifurcate definitions from the literature into *identities-in-practice* and *identities-in-discourse.*

Identities-in-practice are identities created by a set of individual experiences and material resources and evolve over time throughout one's career (Varghese, 2017). They consider the sociocultural perspectives of how teachers interpret and negotiate meanings, social roles, and positions, (e.g., how teachers perceive themselves; Beijaard et al., 2004) and how these meaning systems play out in local contexts (Pennington & Richards, 2016). In this domain, teacher agency is perceived as action-oriented and directly related to local social activity.

Identities-in-discourse draw on poststructural philosophies that embrace contradiction, reject predeterminism, and embody the (re)fashioning of identities. Social identity categories, such as race, sexual identity, gender, and social class, position individuals in empowered or marginalized positions, but this process is neither fixed nor inevitable. In this domain, agency is viewed as discursively constituted, primarily through language, within the local community (Varghese et al., 2005) and can serve to constrain or empower individuals (Morgan & Clarke, 2011).

In combining sociocultural and poststructural epistemologies, teachers' professional identity development is viewed as a negotiation of internal and external expectations (e.g., actual vs. designated identities; Sfard & Prusak, 2005) as individuals "accept, reinforce, downplay, or challenge the classifications and categories that are available or ascribed to them" (Pennington & Richards, 2016, p. 7), giving way to identity construction as a site of struggle (Norton, 2000). Gee (2000) highlights four

sources of power that shape how these multiple identities (a.k.a. subjectivities) interrelate and coexist within individuals: (a) forces in nature, (b) institutional authorities, (c) discourse of/with others, and (d) the practice of affinity groups.

In sum, three consistent themes emerge in LTI theory: (a) identity as multiple, shifting, and in conflict, (b) crucially related to social, cultural, and political contexts, (c) and constructed, maintained, and negotiated primarily through discourse (Varghese et al., 2005). As active participants in their own identity construction, individual agency is foregrounded, but systems of power and knowledge regulate social norms in ways that constrain or liberate individuals' autonomy to exercise their agency (e.g., Huang & Benson, 2013).

Language Teaching as Identity Work

De Costa and Norton (2017) extend on the work of The DFG (2016; see Chapter 1) to foreground identity work as one of ten fundamental themes of language teaching in the 21st century. Three additional themes specifically tie into the complexity of identity theory by acknowledging that, (a) agency and transformative power are means and goals for language teaching, (b) ideologies permeate all levels of language teaching, and (c) emotion and affect matter at all levels. Though they are certainly not the first to equate learning to teach with the development of a teacher identity, De Costa and Norton (2017) show that The DFG's (2016) transdisciplinary framework can be used to find out who FL teachers are becoming as they attempt to navigate the dominant ideologies, institutional constraints, and classroom possibilities that are an inevitable part of practice. In doing so, the framework extends the context of language teaching and learning "beyond narrowly

defined language skills to include the socially constructed values, beliefs, understandings and behaviors associated with language use" (Cho, 2014, pp. 181-182). I credit De Costa and Norton (2017) for their thorough inclusion of language *teaching* in The DFG's (2016) framework that originally focuses on language *learning*, but because they did not modify the framework itself (they rather just extend its applicability), I henceforth cite the framework as the work of The DFG (2016).

The DFG's (2016) framework for *The Multifaceted Nature of Language Teaching and Learning* (see **Figure 1**) portrays individuals engaging with others at the center of a series of concentric circles that represent the macro-, meso-, and micro-level influences that constitute their environment. Aligned with LTI theory, individuals in this framework are positioned as agentive beings who are not only shaped by their environments, but who also shape their environments in return. Nevertheless, this image is a powerful reminder of the encapsulating hold that macro-level ideological structures have on all of the activity that occurs within.

In Chapter 1, I detailed how ideological monolingualism and the devaluation of languages other than English (LOTEs) marginalize the discipline of FLE in the United States, supporting Lippi-Green's (1997) definition of ideology as "the promotion of the needs and interests of a dominant group or class" – in this case, dominant-culture native English-speaking (NES) Americans – "at the expense of marginalized groups" (p. 64). If we apply those phenomena discussed in Chapter 1 to **Figure 1** – filling in the template, so to speak – it becomes clear how all FL teachers (i.e., the individuals engaging with others in the center) must construct their professional identities from marginalized

positions. Moreover, as the studies reviewed in this chapter will reveal, the ideological

marginalization of FLE in the United States is not the only source of marginalization

imposed on FL teachers, making marginalization a key point of interest in LTI research.

Marginalization, Privilege, and Social Identities in LTI Research and Theory

Marginalization is naturally situated as a topic of substantive interest in LTI

research (Varghese et al., 2005). Much of the marginalization of and within second

language education (SLE) is a result of the linguistic imperialism of English that elevates

the status of English language education (i.e., TESOL, EFL) and NESs worldwide while

laying the foundation for colonial roots that have turned TESOL into an "invisibly but

powerfully racialized and inequitable project" (Varghese et al., 2016, p. 546). In fact, the

vast majority of LTI research is situated in TESOL with a prevailing focus on how

individuals' social identities lead to their discrimination and disadvantaged positioning

(Varghese et al., 2005).

Social identities are categories created by society that are relational in power and

status, such as nationality, race, class, language, and gender, and they are a salient focus

in LTI research (Varghese et al., 2005). Theoretical advances are focusing on the

intersectionality and interdependence of social identities rather than treating them as

mutually exclusive (Norton & De Costa, 2017; Varghese et al., 2016). A notable example

is Flores and Rosa's (2015) conceptualization of raciolinguistic ideologies that link the

speaking of English to White middle-class norms and linguistic prescriptivism that favor

Standard English. Much research in TESOL has revealed how linguistic biases connect to

pronunciation, intelligibility, and race to oppress non-White, non-native English speaking

teachers (NNESTs; e.g., Fan & de Jong, 2019; Golombek & Jordan, 2005; Miller, 2009; Motha, 2006; Park, 2015; Pavlenko, 2003).

When shifting the focus from the teaching of English to teaching LOTEs, we must consider how these raciolinguistic biases give shape to the entire enterprise of FLE and impact the very identities of FL teachers, as introduced in Chapter 1. Not only is the same discrimination that occurs to non-White, NNES teachers in the TESOL context occurring in FLE, but the studies I review below will reveal the unexplored role of privilege, and its relationship to marginalization, as a factor in teacher identity, which is also a budding topic in LTI research (Appleby, 2016).

Park's (2015) exemplar investigation of the coexistence of marginalization and privilege in the identities of two East Asian women demonstrates how the shifting valuation of social identities in diverse contexts contributes to individuals' empowerment and disaffection. For example, one participant's ability to speak English in her native country of China was an asset that empowered her with pride and confidence; in the United States, however, racial and linguistic biases against Asian NNESs positioned her as an outsider and labeled her English as a deficit. Consequently, she was unable to realize her true potential. Fan and de Jong's (2019) similar investigation (presented in more detail below) demonstrates how this phenomenon impacts FLE in the United States by positioning NNESTs as more suitable for working in this less essential context since their English is imperfect, but their linguistic capital in a LOTE far surpasses that of most U.S.-born FL teachers.

Park (2015) argues that "the racial privilege prevalent in the lives of white NESTs may become crucial in understanding the intersection of privilege and marginalization and the extent to which privilege for one group may contribute to marginalization for another" (p. 111), and I use this argument at the end of the chapter to surface the unexplored role of privilege in the identity development of FL teachers in the United States. In doing so, I will make explicit the roles of both marginalization and privilege (a) as they are mutually constituted between individuals (e.g., Park, 2015; Varghese et al., 2016), and (b) as they interact along various dimensions within each individual's identity construction (Appleby, 2016; Garcia Bedolla, 2007).

A small pocket of scholars in TESOL have made efforts to highlight how their privilege, typically marked by Whiteness, masculinity, heterosexualty, NS status, and/or Anglo-American origin, influences their own and others' identities (e.g., Appleby, 2010; Hammond, 2006; Haque & Morgan, 2009; Kelly, 2008; Morgan, 2004; Vandrick, 2009). My research will extend this perspective into the context of FLE in the United States, where the majority of FL teachers are White (Haley, 2000; NCES, 2021b) NESs (Brecht & Walton, 2000), to better understand their own perceptions of privilege and marginalization and how this influences their practice. Although all FL teachers arguably work from marginalized positions, the privilege of being an insider to the dominant culture as a White NES could very well explain how many FL teachers manage to succeed despite institutional constraints.

Despite the dearth of LTI research outside the discipline of English language education (Martel & Wang, 2014; Norton & De Costa, 2018; Varghese, 2017), the small

but growing body of research on FL teacher identity that I review in this chapter offers theoretical contributions to understanding the intersectionality of social identities, privilege, and marginalization in LTI. More specifically, the studies demonstrate that although identity development is necessarily individual, enough trends are present in extant research to suggest that social identities act as sources of marginalization and, by association, privilege in ways that elicit emotional responses and influence individuals to orient themselves in particular ways to their practice.

History of the Research

The almost-exclusive focus on English language education in LTI research – to the exclusion of foreign language, immersion, and bilingual education contexts – is significant in light of the fundamental differences between these unique systems (Martel, 2015). And yet, much of the theory developed in the TESOL context carries over into these disciplines because of their mutually constitutive relationship. That is to say, the very marginalization of FLE is borne out of its relation to the TESOL Empire because of the global privileging of English and subsequent societal marginalization of LOTEs. When considering the extent to which marginalization exists within the privileged discipline TESOL, there is a great need to understand how this status impacts FL teachers' professional identity development.

Thus, I began my literature review to better understand how FL teachers navigate this highly complex system amid power differentials that make the process evermore challenging. Because the vast majority of LTI research focuses on the teaching and learning of English, I first identified studies that specifically explored the identity

development of FL teachers as marginalized professionals. I chose to review four of these studies for their ability to delineate the impact that working in a marginalized discipline can have on FL teachers' identities (Gayton, 2016; Hashemi Moghadam et al., 2019; Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2015a, 2015b), and they all happen to be situated in international contexts. Because I want to conduct my research in the United States, I identified five studies that specifically investigate FL teacher identity development from marginalized positions in this region. I supplemented these five studies with literature that does not explicitly draw on identity theory, but that can be interpreted through the lens of identity, to offer a more robust perspective on the phenomenon since it is such a nascent topic.

The findings of the international studies were not surprising, but they did offer empirical evidence of the negative impact that working in a socially devalued discipline has on teachers. However, I was surprised to discover the critical role that English plays in privileging and marginalizing FL teachers in the United States.

The Impact of the Marginalization of FLE on FL Teachers

The macro-level (i.e., societal) marginalization of FLE as a discipline inherently marginalizes FL teachers. Working in a discipline that is socially devalued can foment feelings of underappreciation, stress, and disempowerment that instigate in-service FL teachers to question the possibilities of their practice (Hashemi Moghadam et al., 2019; Ruohotie-Lhyty, 2015a, 2015b), the viability of their careers (Ritter, 2019), and the value of FLE altogether (Gayton, 2016). Marginalizing discourses manifest into marginalizing practices at the institutional level that result in teachers' suppressed autonomy and restricted access to supportive professional development. Teachers' retreat to

impoverished practice is at risk in such a system, which ultimately thwarts the profession's progressive efforts to develop students' proficiency and intercultural competence.

Gayton (2016) interviewed 11 FL teachers in Europe to gather empirical evidence of the impact of dominant linguistic ideologies on their professional identities. The societal devaluation of learning LOTEs manifested in schools via lower enrollment numbers and less-motivated students in FL classes. As a result, the FL teachers in this study felt unsupported, undervalued, and increasingly responsible for promoting their subject and motivating students. The FL teachers positioned themselves as inferior to English language (ESL) teachers in their environments since students were intrinsically motivated to learn English for its cultural capital, making ESL teachers' jobs easier. Additionally, macro- and meso-level discourses positioning FL classes as non-core diminished FL teachers' identities by association, and the teachers themselves began to question the value of their subject area. Although language policy labeled FL coursework as essential in an attempt to legitimize the subject and its teachers, Gayton's participants felt that it merely paid lip service to valuing LOTEs without tangible improvement.

To further explore how the values and status that others (i.e., pupils, parents, colleagues, and wider society) placed on the target language (TL) impacted teachers' professional identities, Gayton (2016) conducted a second round of interviews with two teachers who had experience as both FL and ESL teachers. The findings evidenced that as these two teachers shifted from one community of practice (i.e., teaching EFL in France) to another (i.e., teaching French as a FL in Scotland), they, too, experienced the

devaluation of their 'competence' (Wenger, 1998) as teachers because of the shifting values that society placed on the language they taught.

While the privileging of English in Europe bestowed teachers of English with superior social status over teachers of LOTEs (Gayton, 2016), Hashemi Moghadam et al. (2019) illustrate how anti-English sentiments in Iran negatively impact English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teachers' identity development. The linguistic values shift drastically between Europe (pro-English) and Iran (anti-English), but in both contexts the teachers of the inferior languages are ipso facto subjugated to inferior social status. Hashemi Moghadam and colleagues maintain that when FL teachers negotiate their professional identities from marginalized positions, they are functioning in an uneven social field that restricts their accumulation of symbolic (e.g., social recognition), social (e.g., group membership), economic (e.g., higher income), and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 1990). The devaluation of teachers' capital constrains both their professional identity development and the environments they are willing and able to create for their students.

Interview data in this study revealed that the Iranian field of education functioned with very little autonomy in determining rules, norms, and values. Dominant anti-Western political ideologies permeated the field from the top-down, resulting in reduced instructional time for English courses (vs. Arabic), the prohibition of authentic English-language resources for fear of propagating Western culture, and the inability of English teachers to be promoted to administrative positions. The EFL teachers had no input on the hiring of administrators who evaluated them, were paid lower wages and received

inadequate health insurance, and their pedagogical expertise was largely ignored. The teachers perceived this lack of recognition by those in power as a devaluation of their cultural capital (i.e., teaching expertise, published articles, TOEFL certificates). The teachers' habitus directly conflicted with ideological expectations, and they did not feel like legitimate agents in the field. Their self-esteem withered, their motivation to improve waned, and they were unable to construct a positive imagined future self. Despite wanting to create effective instructional experiences in accordance with professional consensus, the social field in which these teachers worked thwarted their ability and motivation to do so. Though their capital was valued in TESOL, it was not in their local contexts, rendering it useless. The EFL teachers in this study were clearly disaffected and in need of empowerment, but the extremely asymmetric power relations call to question the viability of empowering approaches in powerless situations (e.g., Morgan, 2009).

Gayton's (2016) and Hashemi Moghadam et al.'s (2019) findings do not come as a surprise, but they do add credence to what FL professionals have known for quite some time. Great strides have been made to professionalize the field of FLE through the expansive adoption of the national standards (e.g., Glisan, 2012; Phillips & Abbott, 2011), appraising teachers' beliefs of effective practice (e.g., Allen, 2002; Bell, 2005; Kissau et al., 2013), and extensively debating what it means to be a highly qualified FL teacher (e.g., Byrnes, 2009; Ennser-Kananen, 2016; Glisan & Donato, 2017). Despite these advances, as marginalized professionals, FL teachers need to defy dominant discourses that devalue their subject area in order to achieve the "global competence"

promoted by the FLE profession (e.g., National Standards Collaborative Board, 2015, p. 2) and do so with restricted access to supportive resources (Pufahl & Rhodes, 2011).

Ruohotie-Lhyty's (2015a, 2015b) rare longitudinal research does not explicitly position FL teachers as societally marginalized professionals, but her work is worth mentioning for its demonstration of the *(im)potentiality* (Clarke & Phelan, 2015) of teachers' practice in the face of perceived marginalization, even when working in an autonomous environment. Ruohotie-Lhyty (2015a) followed 11 of her former graduates into their first three to four years of FL teaching in Finland to see how they put their beliefs about good teaching into practice. Analysis of annual interview and reflective essay data revealed that the participants positioned themselves as either dependent or independent on their environments, which directly influenced their perceived autonomy to exercise their agency as they saw fit.

The dependent teachers granted external forces the authority to dictate what was possible to achieve in practice, such as giving in to students' preference for learning from the textbook rather than communicative activities. On the other hand, the independent teachers accepted responsibility for pedagogical decisions, for example, by pushing students past their comfort zone to engage in alternative language learning practices. In fact, the independent teachers often constructed their identities as positive authority figures who prepared their students for adulthood rather than merely teaching them to speak another language. They were adept at identifying and taking advantage of opportunities to develop professionally and teach innovatively. Although both the

dependent and independent teachers had the opportunity to enact their ideal beliefs, not all of them tapped into this potential.

Ruohotie-Lyhty's (2015a) findings exemplify the critical link between the perceived affordances for potential action in a particular environment (i.e., autonomy) and the capacity to exercise choice in everyday practice (i.e., agency) in teachers' ongoing identity construction (Huang & Benson, 2013). However, "one may take actions consciously for a certain purpose (the exercise of agency), but there is no guarantee that one is in control of the process (autonomy), although self-conscious and personally relevant actions may often enhance one's controlling capacity (autonomy)" (Huang & Benson, 2013, p. 16).

The more successful the independent teachers were in exercising their agency, the better able they became at taking advantage of affordances in their environments. They experienced empowerment via an increased sense of ownership and purpose, which in turn justified their belief system and fortified their resolve to resist assimilation to conflicting identities. In contrast, the dependent teachers' primary focus on constraints, rather than affordances, caused them to construct their environments as restrictive and incompatible with their initial ideals for language teaching. Even though they were agentive beings, their perceived powerlessness to effect change prevented them from exercising their agency. Their disappointment in their inability to construct an ideal professional identity fundamentally changed their beliefs about what was appropriate and possible to achieve in the classroom. They grew disaffected in perceiving their ideals as impossible to achieve, which spurred their retreat to traditional approaches in their

66

practice. Clarke and Phelan (2015) would argue that because their subjectivity was denied to them early on in their careers, so was their potentiality to think differently, highlighting the potentially long-term detrimental effects that marginalizing practices can have on FL teachers.

Ruohotie-Lhyty (2015b) followed-up with five of the 11 participants in their ninth and tenth years of teaching. Participant interviews revealed that all five actively managed their professional identities, but with varied purpose. Over time, three of the teachers changed as they developed relationships with their students and gained new perspectives that influenced them to reconsider their teaching roles. With their new roles came new purpose, and so they modified their practice to achieve new, more holistic, aims of FLE. Their developing meta-awareness served as a source of empowerment that increased their confidence and self-reliance. The remaining two participants managed their professional identity development not by modifying their perspectives on teaching, but rather by distancing themselves from the discomfort brought on by their work environment. Taina, for example, resolved her classroom management frustrations by seeking out a new teaching context (i.e., working with adults) that allowed her to enact her original conception of teaching with fewer disciplinary distractions. The teachers who failed to embrace new ways of thinking continued to approach FL teaching in a technical manner rather than metamorphosing into educators of the whole child, as in the case of the independent teachers (Ruohotie-Lhyty, 2015a) and the teachers whose identities changed (Ruohotie-Lhyty, 2015b).

Ruohotie-Lhyty's (2015b) stories of change and continuity exemplify identity as a site of struggle across time and space (Norton, 2000) and demonstrate the difficulty of constructing an empowered identity even in the relatively privileged context of Finland. Participants' early-career narratives cited emotional states of hatred, fear, irritation, guilt, betrayal, stress, loneliness, alienation, and having felt rejected by colleagues and unsupported by the community. The author did not reveal the source of these emotional states, but Gayton's (2016) and Hashemi Moghadam et al.'s (2019) aforementioned analyses offer insight into the vulnerability FL teachers face when working in socially devalued disciplines. The Finnish teachers' stories evidence the symbolic violence incurred on teachers' identities when working in a (perceived) marginalizing and unsupportive system, the sources of empowerment individuals draw on in such a system, and with what purpose.

This collection of international cases evidences the global phenomenon of the marginalization of FLE and the challenges of developing a professional identity amid conflicting ideologies from socially devalued, and sometimes powerless, positions. Gayton (2016) and Hashemi Moghadam et al. (2019) clearly delineate the devastating effect dominant discourses favoring dominant languages have on FL teachers' identity development. Ruohotie-Lhyty's (2015b) stories of continuity forewarn what is at risk when working from even perceived marginalized positions, but the stories of change remind us of the transformational potential inherent in all teachers despite the inevitable challenges they face. Given the historically marginalized status of FLE in the United States and its similarity to the European context of Gayton's (2016) study, more research

must be conducted in the United States in order to broaden our understanding of LTI development in diverse contexts (Kalaja et al., 2015).

Foreign Language Teacher Identity in the United States

A small and growing body of research has recently explored how FL teachers in the United States exercise their agency to negotiate marginalized teacher identities. These studies illuminate how becoming a FL teacher in the United States can be an act of resistance against ideological norms that requires mediating cultural, ideological, and racial differences and nurturing students' interest to study LOTEs. In doing so, the studies corroborate Kramsch's (2014) position that FL teachers' identities will play a significant role in navigating the effects of globalization as monolingual/monocultural norms continue to be challenged. However, a cross-comparison of the studies reveals that the teachers' own social identities (i.e., language, race, gender, class) are subjected to the same ideological conflicts and serve to (dis)empower them on this quest. Whether conscious or not, FL teachers draw on their disaffection and empowerment to construct their professional identities at the intersection of marginalization and privilege, and we are only beginning to understand this process. The following studies intimate a need to further explore the insidious role of racialized linguistic ideologies in shaping the experiences and decisions of FL teachers in the United States.

Fogle and Moser (2017) set out to examine how four FL and five ESL teachers in rural and suburban Mississippi defied dominant ideologies and perceived themselves as agents of change in an increasingly globalizing community. In the rural South, Native American and migrant languages coexist with English, but dominant monolingual

discourses perpetuate an invisibly multilingual environment. The participants in this study described their historical trajectories as teachers, perceived roles in schools, and perceived constraints on and affordances for language teaching in this ideologically challenging environment. The findings demonstrate the mutually constitutive relationship between identity and place: the teachers' historical trajectories largely influenced their personal, professional, and policy orientations in their jobs, but the application of their beliefs were direct responses to the distinct structural and contextual aspects of their jobs.

The FL teachers constructed their teaching positions as simultaneously marginalizing and empowering. On the one hand, the diversification of the rural South signaled an appreciation of the teachers' linguistic and cultural capital. Having high-demand skills in this monolingual environment made becoming a FL teacher a practical and secure means of employment that accommodated their growing families at home. It also positioned them in their schools as an authority on interculturality and language acquisition. On the other hand, their interest for "the other" isolated them from the mainstream culture in their schools, highlighting how being a FL teacher in certain contexts "is in and of itself an act of opposition against language ideological norms" (p. 76). This could be one reason many of the participants characterized their career as accidental (e.g., being pressured by an administrator) or marginalized in comparison to prior life accomplishments (e.g., having had a more prestigious job with an international company). As Fogle and Moser (2017) interpreted, "'falling into' teaching was shorthand for saying that one could have done something more important with their valued language skills but did not, usually because of family responsibilities" (p. 71). The FL

teachers' highly valued capital empowered them with the opportunity to choose this practical job, but the limitations inherent in FL teaching required them to make a personal sacrifice. Furthermore, just because the job was practical does not mean it was easy. Once in their jobs, the women had to construct their identities as FL teachers amid conflicting systemic (i.e., monolingual/monocultural) and personal (i.e., multilingual/multicultural) ideologies that brought their personalities, morality, and professionalism under question.

The FL teachers in this study were actively aware of the racialization and marginalization surrounding their practice, which expanded their purview of the possible aims of FLE. Because of their sociocultural context, they often had to deal with discriminatory stereotypes in the classroom (e.g., all Spanish speakers are Mexican; all immigrants are illegal), but their own multicultural experiences and knowledge intrinsically motivated them to dispel myths and advocate for minority students. For example, Emma's time spent in California exposed her to diversity and Hispanic culture that not only influenced her to become a Spanish teacher, but also gave her the added perspective of what types of culture were possible to achieve in the rural South. Although the Southern community where she worked largely lacked a multilingual/multicultural perspective, her personal convictions motivated her to address racism and racialization in the classroom.

Fogle and Moser's (2017) study illustrates how teachers' historical biographies largely influence how they construct their practice, a common theme in LTI research (Martel & Wang, 2014). Prevalent monolinguist attitudes and racism made the FL

71

teachers' jobs difficult, but having to navigate conditions that conflicted with their own personal ideals inspired them to act as agents of change and teach more than just language. This finding intimates a cautious reminder that teachers will not adopt the role of change agent if they do not perceive a need for change (Pennycook, 1999). The participants had distinctive multicultural experiences and exposure to diversity that gave them a critical lens through which to assess their practice. Without a critical lens, they may have failed to identify the social injustices taking place in their schools and rather reinforced hegemonic ideologies, which is an unfortunate circumstance afflicting many FL programs in the United States (Osborn, 2000; Reagan & Osborn, 2002).

Appleby (2016) poignantly notes that the large majority of social research focuses on populations of relatively powerless people while very little explicit attention is given to "privilege – and its means of reproduction – as a factor in teacher identity" (p. 755). Fogle and Moser (2017) positioned their participants as marginalized second language teachers in a monolingual context, but the study implicitly revealed the role of privilege in the participants' ongoing identity development. The teachers in this study were all female, U.S.-born, and raised in monolingual English-speaking homes, representing the majority demographic of teachers in the United States (e.g., Brecht & Walton, 2000; NCES, 2021b). Most of the participants had lived in the South for most of their lives, and several were teaching in the same school they attended as students. In short, their social identities gained them ingroup membership (McNamara, 1997). And even though the FL teachers' interest in the other set them apart from their local dominant culture, their privileged membership in that dominant culture likely empowered them with the voice

that enabled them to challenge ideological norms in the first place. These teachers'

motivation to embrace the role of change agent was contingent upon their awareness of

critical issues, but their opportunity to take action was predicated on the autonomy

afforded to them by their social positions – a stark contrast to the Iranian school system

discussed above (Hashemi Moghadam et al., 2019). In fact, two of the FL teachers

oriented positively towards their marginalization because they valued the flexibility (i.e.,

autonomy) afforded to them in the curriculum that was not subjected to annual high-

stakes testing, evidencing another privilege afforded to FL teachers in the United States

that is typically viewed in a negative light (e.g., Glisan, 2005).

Fogle and Moser's (2017) study is rare in that it analyzes the experiences of

dominant-culture, rather than minority, FL teachers in the United States. Aside from

Kayi-Aydar (2015, reviewed below), the remainder of studies in this corpus prioritize the

experiences of societally marginalized individuals: non-White NNESs. Fogle and

Moser's (2017) study is critical in understanding these remaining studies because it

introduces (albeit implicitly) the factors of privilege against which the FL teachers

described below are marginalized (i.e., NES status, White, level and quality of

education). By comparing these cases, we can make explicit the roles of both

marginalization and privilege as they are mutually constituted between individuals (e.g.,

Park, 2015; Varghese et al., 2016), and as they interact along various dimensions within

each individual's identity construction (Appleby, 2016).

The Marginalization of Minority FL Teachers in the United States. Just as

globalization continues to diversify the rural South (Fogle & Moser, 2017), it, too, is

diversifying the population of FL teachers in the United States who experience their own unique marginalization. As it becomes more and more difficult to fill FL positions with highly qualified teachers, international teachers who are NSs of the TL and heritage Spanish speakers are increasingly being recruited to become FL teachers (Bustamente & Novella, 2019; Kayi-Aydar, 2018; Kissau et al., 2011).

Many international teachers experience the immediate effects of marginalization due to the inferior status granted to FL teachers in the United States compared to their native countries. For example, one immersion Chinese teacher from Taiwan felt like a "high level blue collar worker" in the United States compared to being a respected symbol of knowledge in China (Kissau et al., 2011, p. 32). In addition to the perceived demotion, the international teachers often experienced classroom management problems that they felt were a symptom of the prevalent lack of respect for teachers in U.S. culture. In another instance, Wan, a teacher from China, failed to construct a professional identity as an ESL teacher in the United States due to her NNES status, which she perceived as inadequate in comparison to her NES colleagues (Fan & de Jong, 2019). However, she found her Chinese-English bilingual skillset to be highly valued at a charter school in Washington, D.C., and so she reconstituted her professional identity as a multicompetent language user and bilingual teacher. The supportive school environment played a critical role in empowering Wan to exercise her agency, develop a LTI, and connect theory to practice. Unfortunately, Wan's new dream to obtain a more stable job as a Chinese teacher in the public school system was stifled by her lack of U.S. certification.

Like Gayton's (2016) participants who experienced a shifting valuation of their competence when transitioning from ESL to FL teachers in Europe, international teachers in the United States must re-negotiate their identities from marginalized positions with capital that may have once held value in their native countries, but that is rendered useless in the United States due to linguistic, racial, and class bias (e.g., Park, 2015). Their stories also serve as a reminder that FL programs sustain a marginalized status in the U.S. school system, wherein the teachers often "fall into" the profession as a concession to not being able to do something more valuable, as Fogle and Moser's (2017, p. 71) participants unknowingly confessed in their narratives.

Notwithstanding the struggle of all international FL teachers, a more common focus in LTI research is on the growing population of Hispanic teachers who play an essential role in representing the nation's diversifying population. In AY 2015-16, the expanding Hispanic student population hit a high of 26% (NCES, 2019), but the Hispanic teaching workforce was only one-third of that (8.8%; NCES, 2017). In an effort to support these minority teachers in becoming FL teachers, Kayi-Aydar (2017, 2018), Bustamente and Novella (2019), and Vélez-Rendón (2010) investigated how diverse groups of Hispanic FL teachers exercised their agency to negotiate their marginalized, and sometimes privileged, identities. Language, race, and socioeconomic status are common themes in their stories, which evidence the powerful influence that social identities play in teachers' professional identity development.

The following studies reveal how language teachers' identities are complicated by their own and/or others' perceptions of their NS/NNS status, which is a salient theme in

LTI research (Martel & Wang, 2014). In the TESOL context, NES status is prioritized and often conflated with race (i.e., White) and place (i.e., inner-circle nations like the United States; Flores & Rosa, 2015; Motha, 2006). What is unique to the FL setting, however, is that NS ideologies are applied to both English and the TL. In the United States, heritage and native Spanish-speaking teachers are valued for their language proficiency in LOTE, but their status as NNES/English language learners (ELLs) marginalizes them in comparison to their NES peers who represent the majority demographic of FL teachers in the United States (Brecht & Wilson, 2000; NCES, 2021b).

Paloma's story depicts the long-term struggle of an experienced bilingual Mexican teacher of Spanish at the intersection of marginalization and privilege (Kayi-Aydar, 2017). Paloma entered the U.S. school system when she was 13 years old as a privileged Mexican citizen to develop a bilingual/bicultural skillset that would advance her status as an adult back home. However, the linguistic discrimination and bullying she experienced as an immigrant ELL made this a lonely and miserable time in her life. Instead of returning to Mexico, Paloma ultimately decided to become a Spanish teacher in the United States. She drew on her negative experience as an ELL to empower herself as an advocate for high-school Latino students like her. At the same time, Paloma's native Spanish-speaker status gained her access to a postsecondary faculty position, which she leveraged to create programs to support her struggling high-school students. Despite her empowered positioning as a teacher for Latino students in the secondary context, her lack of capital in the post-secondary setting prevented her from becoming a

legitimate participant and fully constructing the professional identity she envisioned for herself.

Paloma felt discriminated, marginalized, and oppressed by her faculty colleagues. She saw her imperfect English (i.e., speaking with a foreign accent), "different color" (p. 6), and lack of doctoral degree as obstacles that prevented her from legitimizing her knowledge and abilities to others. Her colleagues' continuous requests for clarification, addressing her as "honey" (p. 7), and taking credit for her work was demeaning and patronizing and filled her with anger and frustration. At that time, Paloma's limited English proficiency rendered her incapable of negotiating her marginalized position. She was unable to persuade others of her point of view or garner the support and resources to work on a PhD Paloma knew that she "could have done excellent," but "was afraid of the challenge" because her self-esteem was affected and she was afraid of failure (p. 8). Like Taina in Finland (Ruohotie-Lhyty, 2015b), Paloma exercised her agency not to fight back, but to retreat to a safer environment; she quit and moved back to Mexico.

After five years, however, Paloma returned to the United States to begin a PhD in Comparative Literature, which triggered an identity transformation. The knowledge she gained from doctoral coursework helped her to critically reflect on past experiences and better understand her own racial and linguistic marginalization. Her new worldview, paired with confidence gained as an older student, empowered her with the motivation to resist and negotiate rather than give up and walk away. Now when someone displayed cultural ignorance (e.g., "Do you have malls in Mexico…?" p. 11), she educated them instead of feeling offended. Her empowered sense of self reinvigorated her passion for

teaching. Like Fogle and Moser's (2017) participants, embracing the role of change agent was contingent on Paloma's newfound critical awareness that allowed her to understand, rather than just remember, the historical negative experiences that influenced her practice. Like Ruohotie-Lhyty's (2015b) stories of change, time and experience nurtured her transformational potential with increased confidence and new priorities, which is why it is essential to conduct more identity research with experienced in-service teachers.

Marcos's story (Vélez-Rendón, 2010), on the other hand, warns what is at risk when a lack of critical awareness permits privileged social identities (i.e., NS status, gender) to perpetuate and legitimize marginalizing discourses and impoverished practice. As a 30-year-old South American native-Spanish speaking teacher candidate, Marcos entered the teaching profession as a minority, but his privileged status as a NS gained him immediate access to the FL teaching community. Being a NS elevated his social status with his cooperating teacher, who prioritized a social and affective relationship rather than guiding him on his professional development (e.g., going out to lunch instead of reviewing lesson plans). Marcos also conflated his NS status with pedagogical and subject-matter knowledge, when in fact he was ill-prepared to teach (e.g., he failed to provide grammatical explanations and was corrected by students). Nevertheless, he leveraged his male authority to construct an empowered identity as a capable teacher rather than critically examining his shortcomings. He also missed the opportunity to challenge racist discrimination when Hispanic students approached him for advice and he suggested ignoring the problem. It is possible that Marcos lacked a critical lens due to

being a privileged male who did not experience discrimination as a Latino growing up in the United States like his students or Paloma (Kayi-Aydar, 2017).

By prioritizing the role of privilege rather than marginalization in this pre-service teachers' budding identity development, Vélez-Rendón (2010) highlighted "the extent to which privilege for one group may contribute to marginalization for another" (Park, 2015, p. 111). Marcos and his cooperating teacher reproduced hegemonic ideologies positioning NSs as more capable than L2L FL teachers, even though Marcos's impoverished teaching proved this assumption to be inaccurate. Nevertheless, native speakerism as it relates to the target language is increasingly challenging L2L FL teachers' identities.

Kayi-Aydar (2015) demonstrated how inadequate TL proficiency can result in the failure to construct a LTI, evidencing Burke's (2013) caution to the profession that incited a rigorous proficiency debate among scholars (e.g., Aoki, 2013; Moeller, 2013; Tedick, 2013). Similar to Fogle and Moser's (2017) NES participants in the Southern US, Janelle's (Kayi-Aydar, 2015) nascent interest in learning Spanish was "in and of itself an act of opposition against language ideological norms" (Fogle & Moser, 2017, p. 76). Despite constraints such as having a bad Spanish teacher, not having access to advanced-level coursework or like-minded peers, and prevalent monolinguist attitudes devaluing FLE, Janelle exercised her agency to learn Spanish anyway. She constructed a Spanish-English bilingual identity by legitimizing her knowledge as an able Spanish speaker in that context. Her bilingual identity ultimately waned, however, when her Spanish proficiency was challenged by NSs in college. She was embarrassed when corrected or

laughed at by professors and classmates, devastated to learn she only scored intermediate on her oral proficiency interview, and shocked to be called out on her race when non-American peers referred to her as *güera*. Up until that point, her whiteness was unmarked and therefore invisible (Schwartz & Boovy, 2017). It was not until others positioned her as different that her identity was challenged. Janelle ultimately exercised her agency to quit the FL teaching profession and switch to ESL, where she felt much more competent as a NES.

In contrast to Janelle, Marcos's (Vélez-Rendón, 2010) and Paloma's (Kayi-Aydar, 2017) NS status in Spanish allowed them to easily construct their LTI in the secondary setting. Although Janelle failed to construct hers, it is essential to note that her NES status afforded her the privilege to choose a more compatible teaching context, like Taina in Finland (Ruohotie-Lhyty, 2015b). In these cases, NS status in both English and the TL served as a privilege. The remaining two studies demonstrate how a lack of NS status in either language marginalizes heritage-speaking (HS) Spanish teachers in the United States. Although they grow up bilingual, heritage speakers must legitimize their linguistic knowledge in both English and the TL they wish to teach. As heritage Spanish speakers, ELLs, and immigrants or children of immigrants, they often lack the formal linguistic knowledge, social status, and institutional capital that set the NES peers apart as more capable FL teacher candidates.

Both Kayi-Aydar (2018) and Bustamente and Novella (2019) interviewed pre-service Latina FL teachers to interrogate how their family backgrounds and experiences as ELLs informed their nascent professional identity construction. Three of the

participants in Bustamente and Novella's (2019) study were U.S.-born, five immigrated

to the United States at various ages, and one was a DACA recipient. Two of the three

participants in Kayi-Aydar's (2018) study were U.S.-born. Combined, all 12 participants

spoke Spanish at home growing up and were identified as ELLs in the K-12 system; all

but one were first-generation college students. Throughout their lives, these women had

to negotiate conflicting ethnic and linguistic subject positions, wherein the label

"Hispanic" could carry positive or negative associations and language use was often

connected to race (i.e., speaking English with the White kids at school vs. Spanish at

home with their Hispanic families). Upon entering their MAT programs, their identities

were further challenged as they were positioned as marginalized in relation to their

privileged NES/L2L classmates.

Language proficiency was a salient theme in the Latina teachers' stories. For

these women, their imperfect Spanish and English abilities, marked by a lack of formal

linguistic knowledge, positioned them as less-able in the eyes of others, and eventually

themselves. Bustamente and Novella's (2019) participants, for example, entered their

MAT programs as self-identified native-Spanish speakers. However, as they gained more

sociolinguistic knowledge in their coursework, they learned they were actually heritage

Spanish speakers. This awareness influenced them to downgrade their linguistic capital to

slang status, and they were encumbered with the added responsibility of honing their

Spanish skillset in order teach more effectively (e.g., become more cognizant of their

language use and improve their grammatical knowledge). As ELLs, their formal English

knowledge lagged behind NESs, and they felt some professors did not hold high expectations for them.

The Latina teachers' marginalization was implicitly marked in relation to their positioning against the NES/L2L teachers of Spanish. While we cannot speculate the NES/L2L teachers' Spanish proficiency, they still possessed formal linguistic knowledge in English and Spanish because of their academic history in learning both languages, positioning them as more capable students of teaching. The HSs informally learned and used Spanish and did not gain access to formal instruction until participating in their MAT programs. Their use of Anglicized "Spanglish" and informal register when teaching was often criticized by the L2L cooperating teachers who were only familiar with standard register and normative language use (Bustamente & Novella, 2019, p. 190). The HS teacher candidates had to negotiate whether their linguistic capital disadvantaged them by limiting their teaching ability or if it privileged them by affording them the empathy to better meet the unique needs of future HS students.

Similar to Paloma (Kayi-Aydar, 2017), negative childhood experiences as non-White Hispanic ELLs led to feelings of inadequacy related to English and isolation from the dominant culture. However, the participants in Kayi-Aydar's (2017, 2018) and Bustamente and Novella's (2019) studies drew on these experiences to recursively position themselves as empowered bilingual teachers and teachers of Hispanic students who could offer the support they did not have as students. On the one hand, their critical awareness of the discrimination that Hispanic students face in U.S. schools allowed them to embrace the role of change agent in their schools. On the other hand, their lifelong

82

marginalization influenced them to position their non-Hispanic White classmates as contributors to the problem. Kayi-Aydar's (2018) participants often used the membership categories of "they" (White) and "we" (Hispanic) in their narratives, claiming that "they" did not understand, nor were truly interested in understanding, the bilingual experience. Although these pre-service Latina teachers sought social justice for their students, their assumptions produced and reinforced stereotypes about their colleagues, similar to how Marcos's assumptions positioned NSs as more capable than NNSs (Vélez-Rendón, 2010). Left unchecked, these assumptions will carry into their future practice as in-service teachers until they critically reflect on their own identity development like Paloma did in her PhD program (Kayi-Aydar, 2017). How would they gain membership into the culture of teaching and develop professional identities as minority teachers who felt empowered to support minority students, but failed to see their own biases?

An Empirically Based Justification for Researching LTI Development at the Intersection of Marginalization and Privilege

Gayton (2016), Hashemi Moghadam et al. (2019), and Ruohotie-Lhyty (2015a, 2015b) clearly depict what is at risk when working in the socially devalued, and therefore marginalized, discipline of FLE. Their findings demonstrate that when teachers' capital is valued in their social fields, they are more likely to develop a positive professional identity, corroborating Mason and Poyatos Matas's (2016) theory that social capital (i.e., being valued, supported, having positive relationships with colleagues) is a vital ingredient for FL teacher retention. These studies also provide much-needed empirical

evidence that the privileging of TESOL sustains the marginalization of FLE in Anglophone nations.

For the NNES and HS FL teachers in these studies (Bustamente & Novella, 2019; Fan & de Jong, 2019; Kayi-Aydar, 2017, 2018), "experiencing (self-perceived) marginalization may" have occurred "as a result of possible normative attitudes and behaviors around [the] global presence of English language equated with 'American' and 'whiteness' identities" (Park, 2015, p. 110). Although Park (2015) is referencing NNES teachers of English, the studies presented here reveal the same conflict in FLE in the United States that deserves more attention in LTI research considering the majority of U.S. FL teachers are White (Haley, 2000; NCES, 2021b) NESs (Brecht & Walton, 2000) who employ the most privilege as insiders to the dominant culture. To better understand LTI development from marginalized positions, we must also consider the privilege that creates it (Appleby, 2016).

For NESs, becoming a FL teacher can be an act of resistance against ideological norms, but their NES and insider status garners them the autonomy to exercise their agency in this process. Fogle and Moser's (2017) U.S.-born NES participants' privilege was marked by their linguistic capital as speakers of LOTE in a monolingual English context, and not their NES status or race[4]. Data analysis focused on how they leveraged their positions to advocate for the other, but there was no discussion about how their privileged membership in the dominant culture gave them the autonomy to do so. Perhaps

---

[4] Participants' race was not identified in the study

as NES insiders, these teachers' ability to articulate their thoughts in the "right" English substantiated their message even though they were challenging ideological norms. As insiders, they may have readily established trusting relationships with others, making their voices more respected. The fact that they did not express a struggle to legitimize their knowledge the way the heritage and NNES teachers did (Bustamente & Novella, 2019; Kayi-Aydar, 2017, 2018) is representative of an unspoken and unexplored privilege that nurtured their agency. Even though Janelle (Kayi-Aydar, 2015) was also privileged as a U.S.-born NES, this capital did not carry value in the field in which she attempted to construct a foreign language teacher identity. She was rather marginalized by the native Spanish speakers in her local context, which will continue to happen as globalization increasingly diversifies the U.S. population with native and heritage speakers of LOTEs. Though she felt illegitimate by comparison, she avoided the discomfort by leveraging her NES status to transition to ESL, a privilege that NNESs and HSs lack due to the superior status granted to NESTs in TESOL.

Fogle and Moser's (2017) participants were NESs like Janelle (Kayi-Aydar, 2015), but their linguistic capital in LOTEs was highly valued in the rapidly globalizing South to the point where they were actually recruited into FL teaching. While issues of language proficiency abound in these studies, it is interesting to note that Fogle and Moser's (2017) participants did not express TL proficiency as a strain on their identities. Perhaps their TL proficiency was sufficient in allowing them to navigate the linguistic aspects of teaching with ease, and so they did not perceive proficiency as a strain on their identities. Or perhaps their emphasis on mediating negative stereotypes and attitudes in

the classroom downgraded their prioritization of language acquisition, alleviating the pressure for advanced TL proficiency. Though it seems counterintuitive to not prioritize language acquisition in a language class, there are scholars who promote such alternative aims of FLE (e.g., Osborn, 2006; Reagan & Osborn, 2019). A third explanation that considers their status as hard-to-find linguistic and cultural liaisons in the monolingual South is that their TL proficiency was never challenged by more-knowledgeable others the way Janelle's bilingual identity was challenged by NSs in college (Kayi-Aydar, 2015) or the HSs' identities were challenged in their teacher education program (Bustamente & Novella, 2019). In other words, there was a lack of accountability in their local contexts regarding their TL proficiency, even though teachers' TL proficiency is often touted by the profession as an indispensable prerequisite for effective teaching (e.g., Aoki, 2013; Moeller, 2013; Tedick, 2013).

Lack of accountability represents yet another privilege for FL teachers that should be accounted for in understanding how and why they embrace certain identities over others. The flexibility that comes with no high-stakes testing and stakeholders' (e.g., administrators, parents) inability to effectively assess FL teachers' content and pedagogical knowledge could have varied results. For Fogle and Moser's (2017) participants, their multicultural exposure and personal ideals motivated them to become agents of change and challenge discriminatory discourse and monolinguist attitudes. However, Marcos's (Vélez-Rendón, 2010) story reminds us that teachers may leverage others' assumptions (i.e., he must be a good teacher because he is a native speaker) as a privilege to not have to change if the process is too discomforting.

In contrast to NES/L2L FL teachers, HSs' and NNESs' imperfect English and outsider status often position them as less capable in the eyes of others. They struggle to legitimize their knowledge to those in power (e.g., NES colleagues, professors), but they draw on their historical experiences as marginalized outsiders (e.g., as immigrants and ELLs) to empower themselves to disrupt normative discourse and advocate for minority students. However, without a critical lens, they may sustain unchecked assumptions that reproduce discriminatory stereotypes that only further the marginalization of others (e.g., NES teachers do not have the capacity to support heritage-speaking students). On the surface, their native or near-native proficiency in the TL alludes to their ability to teach the language, but a lack of formal linguistic knowledge will severely impede this from being carried out in the classroom.

Though all FL teachers are theoretically subjected to the same professional expectations (e.g., ACTFL/CAEP, 2015), they must navigate their jobs on "shifting continua" of marginalization and privilege (Varghese et al., 2016, p. 556). All FL teachers must have advanced TL proficiency to be effective and confident teachers, but the value of their proficiency is dependent on the proficiency awareness of local stakeholders. Monolingual NES stakeholders lack the capacity to evaluate any FL teachers' TL proficiency, and so deficiencies may go unnoticed, in turn permitting impoverished teaching. This lack of accountability could privilege NSs who lack formal linguistic knowledge and L2L teachers who lack advanced proficiency.

All FL teachers are also expected to nurture multilingual/multicultural aims of education (ACTFL, n.d.c, Guiding Principles), but their capacity to do so varies greatly.

Fogle and Moser (2017), Kayi-Aydar (2017, 2018), and Bustamente and Novella's (2019) findings demonstrate that proficiency is not an essential factor in determining FL teachers' willingness to advocate for change or embrace multicultural aims, but their *histories-in-person* are (see Donato & Davin, 2017). Had these teachers not been exposed to diverse lifestyles outside the rural South or personal linguistic and racial discrimination, they may not have seen any reason to challenge ideological norms, as in the case of Marcos (Vélez-Rendón, 2010). This is an essential point to consider if future FL teachers continue to be recruited from extant FL programs (e.g., Swanson & Mason, 2018) taught by teachers who cycle through the same system, from FL students to FL teachers, without branching outside of their local communities (e.g., studying abroad) or making visible the invisible multilingualism in their local communities (Reagan & Osborn, 2002). The increasing demographic of immigrant and HS teachers are bringing diverse perspectives and experiences with them, but these perspectives may include unchecked assumptions that reproduce, rather than eliminate, discrimination. The marginalization of the discipline of FLE restricts all FL teachers' access to quality professional development that nurtures their ability to critically self-reflect on themselves and their practice, which can severely limit the possibilities of their practice.

Significance of This Research to the Field

Ironically, the massive corpus of LTI research has addressed numerous critical issues in SLE, including an extensive coverage of the injustices experienced by NNESTs, but the myopic focus on the teaching of English has reified the inferior status of the teaching and learning of LOTEs. A research agenda aimed at understanding how in-

service teachers' identities are negotiated, perpetuated, and resisted in FLE in the United States would fill a colossal gap in LTI research by bridging the lessons learned in TESOL to the teaching and learning of LOTEs. Following Gayton (2016), Ruohotie-Lhyty (2015a, 2015b), and Hashemi Moghadam et al. (2019), this agenda also provides much-needed empirical evidence of the impact of marginalization on FL teachers' identities and practice in diverse contexts.

We can answer Ritter's (2019) call to empower FL teachers not by assuming there is inherent empowering potential in prescribed methods (e.g., mentoring), but by better understanding the role of disaffection and empowerment in influencing FL teachers' agency and why some teachers resist change while others embrace it. Examining teachers' perspectives of this phenomenon helps pre-service teachers anticipate the challenges of in-service teaching and gives in-service teachers an opportunity to reconsider their own identities in practice (Kalaja et al., 2015).

In Chapter 1, I made the case that the marginalization of FLE in the United States has created "an almost insurmountable challenge" for even the most competent FL teacher (Reagan & Osborn, 2019, p. 91). In this Chapter, I reviewed literature that documents how FL teachers' identities are impacted when working in a system rife with monolingual attitudes and racial and linguistic discrimination. Despite the struggle, many teachers source empowerment to overcome their local challenges, and yet others do not seem to perceive their jobs as a struggle at all. When taken together, these stories beg the question of the extent to which FL teachers in the United States perceive themselves to be marginalized, if at all, and the role that privilege plays in this perception. These

perceptions matter because they influence the environments teachers are willing to create for their students, making it essential to also find out who U.S. language teachers are becoming in terms of their professional identity development.

Methods Rationale

While the majority of LTI research utilizes small-scale qualitative methods to capture detailed facets of individual's or small groups' identities, my research sought to capture a broad-strokes profile of U.S. FL teachers' identity development. In order to do this, I employed survey methodology to collect a robust set of quantitative and qualitative data about participants' marginalization, privilege, empowerment, immunity, demographic characteristics, and contextual factors. I quantitatively explored relationships among these factor and drew on qualitative data to support the quantitative findings.

In terms of methodology, quantitative analyses of identity are rare, but they advance qualitative methods by broadening the scale of participants and allowing for statistical generalizability of the empirically based theories that have emerged from qualitative studies. Understanding the shared experiences of like-group individuals (e.g., minority FL teachers) is essential for drawing attention to the discrimination projected towards particular social identities in U.S. society and schools. But it is equally as beneficial to identify intra-group diversity so as not to further marginalize individuals who diverge from the majority of their group (Maxwell & Chmiel, 2014). For example, Bustamente and Novella (2019) and Kayi-Aydar (2018) share findings that transfer across their studies of HS teachers, but Kayi-Aydar (2017) and Vélez-Rendón (2010)

describe divergent experiences of NS FL teachers that remind us of the individualized and situated nature of identity development. Quantitative analyses that explore a multitude of experiences can identify convergence as well as divergence between and among diverse groups. For example, by surveying a large sampling of FL teachers, I was able to analyze how common social identities manifest in similar or divergent ways to corroborate or challenge current theory. I was also able to explore patterns of identity development from a more holistic perspective using language teacher immunity theory (described below) to guage whether my sample of teachers productively or maladaptively oriented themselves to this historically marginalized profession.

To ensure that my exploratory quantitative approach captured the complexity of identity development rather than reduce it to isolated relationships, I systematically explored relationships in the data from various perspectives using both quantitative and qualitative data. For example, in order to know whether respondents perceive themselves to be marginalized and privileged, I directly asked them to self-identify as marginalized (or not) and privileged (or not). However, I also asked them to describe the experiences that inform these perceptions to better understand their conceptualization of what it means to be marginalized and privileged. I also measured respondents' experienced marginalization in their schools (e.g., whether language education is valued by others) using a previously validated marginalization scale (adapted from Gaudreault et al., 2017) to supplement their dichotomous (yes/no) perceptions and qualitative descriptions of their experiences. These complementary measures of marginalization offered a means of triangulating the data and conducting a more in-depth analysis.

At the time of this study, there was no similar scale of privilege that I could use to triangulate respondents' perceptions of privilege. However, I was able to measure facets of respondents' empowerment using four sub-scales from the School Participant Empowerment (SPES) Survey: decision making, professional growth, status, and autonomy (Short & Rhinehart, 1992). Empowerment is a salient feature of identity development that can fluctuate in relation to both individual and context (DFG, 2016), as evidenced by the stories featured in this chapter (e.g., Park 2015). Thus, having a quantitative measure of empowerment allowed me to explore emergent patterns in how these four facets of empowerment relate to marginalization, privilege, social identities, work environments, and immunity.

In order to know how respondents' marginalization, privilege, and empowerment manifest in practice, I drew on the construct of language teacher immunity (Hiver, 2015, 2017; Hiver & Dornyei, 2017) because it provided a lens through which to identify how language teachers orient themselves to their jobs given the highly complex, political, and marginalized positions in which they work. Immunity emerges as a protective function against the complex conditions common to many language teaching environments through a four-stage sequence of triggering, linking, realignment, and stabilization (Hiver, 2017). Destabilizing events (e.g., the threat of violent students, students' long-term lack of cooperation, negative perceptions of teachers) trigger individuals to reconfigure and adapt themselves to their environment. In the linking phase, teachers choose coping mechanisms to restabilize and screen out undesirable and disturbing stimuli, but these methods range from constructive adaptation to skewed defensiveness,

revealing the double-edged nature of immunity that can either help or hinder the host's development (Hiver & Dornyei, 2017). For better or worse, teachers realign themselves to their contexts with newfound understandings so they may continue to work despite uncertainty and adversity. Immunities stabilize when they are "narrated into being through an iterative process of consciously recognizing and legitimizing experiences" (Hiver, 2017, p. 682), but they are also mutable over time. Drawing parallels to biological immunity, teacher immunity can manifest in four ways: productive (beneficial), maladaptive (counterproductive), immunocompromised (no coherent form of immunity), and partially immunized (half-way developed features of immunity; Hiver, 2015).

In his validation study of the language teacher immunity survey (detailed in Chapter 3), Hiver (2017) found that 293 teachers of English in Korea developed one of six immunity archetypes: The Spark Plug, The Visionary, The Fossilized, The Defeated, The Sell-out, and The Overcompensator. This finding indicates teachers do orient themselves to the profession in similar ways despite the individual nature of identity development. For example, productive Visionary archetypes reconfigure through self-actualization, tenacity, and fulfillment, and adopt hero narratives in their identity descriptions (Hiver, 2017). Maladaptive Sell-outs, on the other hand, resign to self-serving apathy, complacency, and indifference, and do the minimum to get by.

The stories reviewed in this chapter can easily be reinterpreted through the lens of immunity to further demonstrate that immunity is an appropriate construct for exploring teachers' orientations to the profession. For example, immunity theory would explain Marcos's (Vélez-Rendón, 2010), Janelle's (Kayi-Aydar, 2015), and Taina's (Ruohotie-

Lhyty, 2015a, 2015b) defensive teaching and resistance to change as a maladaptive form of immunity that served to preserve their conceptions of self. On the productive end of the spectrum, however, we find Paloma (Kayi-Aydar, 2017) and Reetta (Ruohotie-Lhyty, 2015a, 2015b), who are more capable of embracing change, growth, and reflective practice, as well as the HS teacher candidates (Bustamente & Novella, 2019; Kayi-Aydar, 2018) who source empowerment from their painful pasts to be the teacher they needed, but never had.

To know which archetypes emerged in this sample of teachers, I collected quantitative data on my participants' immunity attributes using the language teacher immunity survey (Hiver, 2017). These quantitative measures were sufficient to identify emergent immunity archetypes through a cluster analysis. However, I also asked participants to briefly describe their practice and guiding expectations for it to understand their idealized notions of language teaching, whether they achieve these ideals, and why. These narratives served as representations of their manifested immunities that I used to support the quantitative data and construct more acurate immunity profiles.

What remains to be understood about language teacher immunity is how individuals' pathways result in particular types of immunity (Hiver, 2017). The literature review from this chapter illustrates how marginalizing discourses and practices create instances of adversity that FL teachers must negotiate, and that they do so by drawing on their privilege to empower themselves in the process, for better or worse. Therefore, I believe that teachers' marginalization, privilege, and empowerment influence their

immunity development, and I was able to explore this hypothesis with the myriad data I collected from participants.

In Chapter 3, I detail the research design that guided my exploration of U.S. language teachers' identity development at the intersection of marginalization, privilege, empowerment, social identities, and language teacher immunity.

Chapter Three: Methods

The purpose of this study was to understand how teachers of languages other than English (LOTEs) in the United States perceive and experience marginalization and privilege in their jobs; find out who they are becoming in relation to their roles and work environments; and to explore the intersectionality of social identities, marginalization, privilege, empowerment, and immunity in their ongoing professional identity development. In this chapter, I detail the methods I employed to conduct this research.

Research Questions

The research questions in this study were:

1. To what extent do these language teachers perceive themselves to be marginalized, privileged, and empowered, and how are these related?

    a. In what ways have they experienced marginalization and privilege in their practice, and how have these experiences impacted practice?

    b. What are the relationships between demographic and contextual factors and these experiences?

2. What typologies of language teacher immunity emerge in teachers of LOTE in the U.S.?

    a. What are the relationships between demographic and contextual factors and their immunity development?

3. What relationships exist between marginalization, privilege, empowerment, and immunity archetypes?

Research Design

       I employed survey methodology to conduct an exploratory quantitative investigation into the professional identity development of teachers of LOTEs in the United States. **Table 1** provides an overview of the data sources and analytic approaches I used to answer each of my research questions. The sections that follow detail the methods and procedures I used to carry out this plan, including participant selection and recruitment; data instrumentation, collection, and cleaning; and the data analysis plan.

Table 1

Research Design Matrix with Research Questions, Data Sources, and Analysis Plan

Research Question	Data Sources	Analyses
RQ1. To what extent do these teachers perceive themselves to be marginalized, privileged, and empowered?	• Yes/No Perceptions of Marginalization and Privilege • Scaled measures of marginalization (PE-MAIS; Gaudreault et al., 2017) and empowerment (SPES; Short & Rinehart, 1992)	Exploratory quantitative (e.g., correlations, t-tests, ANOVAs)
1a) How have they experienced marginalization and privilege, and how has this impacted practice?	• Open-ended responses to researcher-created prompts	Qualitative thematic analysis
1b) What are the relationships between demographic and contextual factors and these experiences?	• Demographic and contextual variables • Dichotomous and continuous variables for marginalization, privilege, and empowerment	Exploratory quantitative
RQ2. What types of language teacher immunity emerge in this sample?	• Scaled measures of language teacher immunity (Hiver, 2017)	Quantitative (Hierarchical cluster analysis with quantitative and qualitative validation)
2a) What are the relationships between demographic and contextual factors and immunity development?	• Immunity archetype (cluster membership variable) • Demographic and contextual variables • Open-ended responses to researcher-created prompts	Exploratory quantitative and qualitative thematic analysis
RQ3. What relationships exist between marginalization, privilege, empowerment, and immunity?	• Immunity archetype, dichotomous measures of marginalization and privilege, scaled measures of marginalization and empowerment, demographic and contextual variables	Exploratory quantitative

Participants

The purpose of this study was to capture a broad profile of U.S. language teachers' identities, and so I needed to target a large and near-representative sample of in-service K-12 teachers of LOTEs working in the United States. My goal was to obtain a sample of teachers with diverse social identities who work in various geographic regions across the nation, teach across the K-12 spectrum, have a wide range of experience, and represent as many LOTEs as possible. I rooted this study in the context of foreign/world language education, but I expanded my participant pool to include teachers of LOTEs from all program types (e.g., bilingual, immersion, heritage) since these programs are also under-represented and would contribute to this research. In the instrumentation section, I detail the specific demographic and contextual factors I targeted. In the participant recruitment and data collection section, I detail how I used these factors to strategically recruit participants, as well as present a demographic overview of the final sample I achieved. In preparation for recruitment and data collection, I first established an appropriate sample size that would allow me to conduct the analyses I had planned.

Most of the quantitative analyses I used (i.e., cluster analysis, chi-square tests, and analyses of variance) are sensitive to sample size in terms of statistical precision and/or sampling error (Dattalo, 2018), and so I drew on guidelines for each analysis to determine the minimum number of respondents needed for this study.

First, while there is no rule for indicating the optimal sample size for running cluster analyses (Siddiqui, 2013), Formann (1984) suggests to scale the sample size with the number of variables of analysis (2^m, where m is number of variables). For my cluster

analysis of language teacher immunity that is measured with five sub-scales, $2^5 = 32$ minimum participants. Second, chi-square analyses are most reliable with sample sizes ranging between 100-200 (Siddiqui, 2013). Third, I ran an a priori power analysis using G*Power 3 (Faul et al., 2007) to establish that a minimum sample size of 128 is needed for mean-comparison analyses (e.g., ANOVAs) to achieve Power at .80, assuming an alpha level of .05 and Cohen's f effect size of .25. Based on these criteria, I set the goal of obtaining at least 150 completed, legitimate surveys.

Instrumentation

I collected both quantitative and qualitative data using survey methods in this study. The dataset included (a) demographic characteristics that capture facets of the respondents' social identities and teaching contexts, (b) scaled responses to measures of marginalization, empowerment, and immunity, and (c) open-ended descriptions of respondents' perceptions of and experiences with marginalization, privilege, and their role in profession.

The quantitative data in this study comprised of one set of demographic measures and 12 scales sourced from three previously validated surveys, including the Physical Education Marginalization and Isolation Survey (PE-MAIS; Gaudreault et al., 2017), the School Participant Empowerment Survey (SPES; Short & Rhinehart, 1992), and the Language Teacher Immunity survey (Hiver, 2017). Together, there were 33 demographic items, 12 scales with 69 items, 2 dichotomous questions, and 3 attention-check items (see **Appendix A** for a copy of the survey).

Demographic Information. The research I presented in Chapters 1 and 2 evidenced the various environmental and sociodemographic variables that influence marginalization, privilege, and professional identity development in language teaching. It is from these findings that I identified the characteristics to be represented in the data for me to accurately explore how language teachers experience and perceive marginalization and privilege and how these factors potentially influence their immunity development. These data points also helped me to monitor my recruitment efforts to ensure the sample was diverse and somewhat representative of the population.

Appendix A details the 33 demographic data points I collected about respondents' social identities (i.e., gender, race/ethnicity, native-language status, target-language proficiency, English-language-learner status, U.S.-born status, and educational background) and teaching context (i.e., target-language taught, level taught, school type, school context, geographic location, teaching time, prep load, prep time, students per class, years of teaching experience, access to professional development, usefulness of district-provided language-specific professional development, and professional-organization membership).

Measures. I used 12 previously validated scales to measure respondents' marginalization, empowerment, and language teacher immunity that I sourced from three separate surveys.

Marginalization. Gaudreault et al. (2017) drew on extensive qualitative research conducted with occupational socialization theory to create the Physical Education Marginalization and Isolation Survey (PE-MAIS) to measure physical-education (PE)

teachers' perceived marginalization and isolation, but only the marginalization scale was applicable to this study.

The PE-MAIS marginalization scale uses five items measured on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*) to measure the extent to which the discipline of PE is valued in schools (e.g., Physical education is just as important as other subjects at my school) and how these values are projected onto PE teachers (e.g., As a physical education teacher, my opinions are valued in my school).

Gaudreault and colleagues (2017) used EFA procedures to identify a stable factor structure that they then confirmed using CFA. The model fit was good, $\chi^2(34) = 71.12$, $p < .001$, NNFI = .91, CFI = .94, SRMR = .05, RMSEA = .07 (90% CI [.052, .093], $p = .03$). Internal consistency was adequate for marginalization (Cronbach's $\alpha = .79$). The authors also conducted a series of invariance analyses (i.e., configural, metric, scalar, and invariance of the error variances) to determine that the model was equivalent across elementary and secondary teacher groups. The marginalization scale logically correlated positively with burnout and negatively with perceived mattering, confirming the predicted theoretical relationship. I modified the wording of the original items to reflect the new context (e.g., ~~Physical~~ Language education is just as important as other subjects at my school).

School Participant Empowerment. The School Participant Empowerment Scale (SPES; Short and Rhinehart, 1992) was initially generated in a study with 79 teacher leaders and a four-member panel of school-empowerment experts. It measures six dimensions of teacher empowerment (decision-making, professional growth, status, self-

efficacy, autonomy, and impact) using 38 items measured on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*). However, due to redundant measures of self-efficacy and impact between the SPES and language teacher immunity surveys (Hiver, 2017, described below), I only utilized the SPES sub-scales of decision-making, professional growth, status, and autonomy for my data collection to measure the extent to which my respondents felt empowered in their schools.

The decision-making sub-scale has ten items with high reliability (α = .89) that measure the extent of decision-making responsibilities afforded to respondents in their school contexts (e.g., I can plan my own schedule; I make decisions about the implementation of new programs in the school).

The professional growth sub-scale has six items with high reliability (α = .83) that measure respondents' opportunities to learn (e.g., I am given the opportunity for continued learning) and self-perceptions as a professional (e.g., I am treated as a professional).

The status sub-scale has six items with high reliability (α = .86) that measure respondents' self-perceived status in relation to their colleagues (e.g., I have the support and respect of my colleagues) and teaching ability (e.g., I have a strong knowledge base in the areas in which I teach).

Finally, the autonomy sub-scale has four items with high reliability (α = .81) that measure respondents' perceived self-governance in the classroom (e.g., I have the freedom to make decisions on what is taught).

Language Teacher Immunity. The Language Teacher Immunity survey (Hiver, 2017) survey gauges how language teachers orient themselves to the profession given the marginalized nature of their jobs.

To generate the immunity survey, Hiver (2017) and colleagues first conducted three focus groups with 44 K-12 language teachers and teacher educators in South Korea who were prompted to describe the personas of particular language teachers with four global immunity archetypes (Hiver, 2017). For example, one prompt asked participants to describe the thoughts, feelings, beliefs, actions, and desires of language teachers they knew who seemed to resist difficulties and function effectively without becoming vulnerable (i.e., with productive immunity). Seven salient themes emerged in all three focus groups: teaching self-efficacy, burnout, resilience, attitudes towards teaching, openness to change, classroom affectivity, and coping. Hiver (2017) used these themes to construct the immunity questionnaire by adapting previously validated measures of each of these seven constructs into what finally became a 39-item measure with a 6-point response scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 6 = *strongly agree*).

The teaching self-efficacy sub-scale has seven items (adapted from Tschannen–Moran & Woolfolk Hoy, 2001) with high reliability (α = .89) that measure respondents' perceived effectiveness as an educator (e.g., When all factors are considered, I am a powerful influence on my students' success in the classroom).

The burnout scale has five items (adapted from Maslach & Jackson, 1981) with high reliability (α = .80) that measure teachers' buildup of chronic stress (e.g., At school I feel burned out from my work) and the accompanying emotional manifestations (e.g., I

am emotionally drained by teaching).

The resilience scale has five items (adapted from Connor & Davidson, 2003) with high reliability ($\alpha = .82$) that capture teachers' capacity to adapt and thrive despite experiencing adversity (e.g., Failures double my motivation to succeed as a teacher; It is hard for me to recover when something bad happens).

The attitudes toward teaching scale has five items (adapted from Gagné et al., 2010) with high reliability ($\alpha = .85$) that measure teachers' general dispositional associations for teaching (e.g., Teaching is my life and I cannot imagine giving it up; If I could choose an occupation today, I would not choose to be a teacher).

The openness to change scale has six items (adapted from McCrae, 1996) with good reliability ($\alpha = .74$) that measure teachers' receptivity toward change and novelty in their practice (e.g., In my teaching, I find it hard to give up on something that has worked for me in the past, even if it is no longer successful).

The classroom affectivity scale has six items (adapted from Watson et al., 1988) with high reliability ($\alpha = .81$) that measure the positive emotionality teachers experience in the classroom (e.g., I regularly feel inspired at school or in the classroom; While teaching I regularly feel depressed).

Finally, the coping scale has five items (adapted from Carver et al., 1989) with good reliability ($\alpha = .78$) measures teachers' ability to manage conflict and deal with difficulties (e.g., When problems arise at work, I accept what has happened and learn to deal with it; When things get really stressful, I try to come up with a strategy about what to do).

Perceptions of Marginalization and Privilege. I collected two final quantitative dichotomous data points by asking respondents, (a) Do you perceive yourself to be marginalized as a language teacher? and (b) Do you perceive yourself to be privileged as a language teacher?

Qualitative Data. I collected qualitative data in an open-ended format to allow respondents to describe their experiences in their own words. These data points served to supplement the quantitative data with more subjective detail.

Descriptions of Marginalization and Privilege. When respondents replied "yes" to the dichotomous questions "Do you perceive yourself to be marginalized as a language teacher?" and "Do you perceive yourself to be privileged as a language teacher?," two optional follow-up prompts were displayed each time: (a) Please describe the ways in which you are marginalized (privileged), and (b) Please describe how these (marginalizing/privileging) experiences impact your practice and student learning. If respondents replied "no" to either dichotomous question, they were prompted with "Please explain why you do not perceive yourself to be marginalized (privileged)."

Because the concepts of marginalization and privilege can be interpreted in many ways and teachers do not necessarily readily consider aspects of marginalization and privilege in their jobs, I offered definitions and general examples of marginalization and privilege prior to each prompt. The examples (i.e., "Teachers may feel marginalized/privileged due to their teaching environments, because of the subject matter they teach, or because of differences between themselves and other individuals.") were general enough to elicit some reflection about how marginalization and privilege may

impact their practice, but were not so specific as to lead them into any one particular answer.

Profession-Related Prompts. The next three prompts displayed to respondents asked (a) Why did you become a language teacher?, (b) Do you teach the way you think you should? (When answering, please briefly describe what you think is expected of you and from whom, as well as why you do or do not teach to these expectations), and (c) What motivates you to stay in language teaching?

The final wording of these prompts was achieved through several iterations of piloting that I conducted with my network of language-teaching colleagues. I first invited a small group of them to answer and provide feedback on similar prompts on a Google Form. I made edits based on their feedback and then piloted the revised prompts with a new group. After three iterations of piloting and analysis, I felt the questions were clear and yielded sufficient data that would answer my research questions.

Procedures

Timeline. The George Mason University Institutional Review Board (GMU IRB) approved this study in early April 2021 (see Appendix B), and I spent the remaining spring and summer semesters recruiting participants and collecting and screening data. When I achieved a sufficient sample in September 2021, I cleaned the data and began data analysis. Shortly thereafter, I discovered a skip-logic error in my survey that resulted in a sub-group of respondents ($n = 70$, 42%) not seeing three open-ended prompts in their surveys (i.e., Why did you become a language teacher? Do you teach the way you think you should? What motivates you to stay in language teaching?).

To minimize the potential bias that resulted from only half the sample answering these prompts, I created a new short survey with the three prompts to send to 47 respondents who did not have an opportunity to answer the prompts but consented to being contacted for future research. I e-mailed the survey link to these respondents after receiving an IRB amendment approval. I sent three follow-up reminders over a period of four weeks, and ultimately received 30 responses (64% response rate). I finally closed data collection in early November 2021, completed the random drawing for Amazon gift cards in December 2021, and continued data analysis.

Table 2 lists a brief overview of six types of error present in survey methodology (Groves et al., 2009), the level of risk for each error in this study, and my attempts at mitigating each type. In the following sections, I will describe how my study procedures minimized error and maximized validity and reliability.

Table 2

Error Risk and Mitigation Efforts by Design

Error Type	Risk	Mitigation
Coverage error	Moderate	Recruit broadly; multiple sampling techniques (i.e., network, snowball)
Sampling error	Moderate	Monitor incoming responses; follow-up frequently with all potential respondents; target missing demographics; offer incentive for completion
Nonresponse error	Moderate	Promote interest in survey; offer incentive for completion; limit survey items; explicitly address respondent demographics in analysis
Measurement error	Low	Establish face validity
Postsurvey error	Low	Be diligent and transparent with data processing and analysis; triangulate various data sources; cross-check interpretive analyses with critical friend
Mode effects	Low	Limited to web-based mode, but it is most practical option

Survey Implementation. I created a web-based survey using Qualtrics Survey Software (Qualtrics, 2020). A general overview of the research and consent form displayed on the landing page of the survey; the only way to begin the survey was for respondents to consent to participating in the research. After consenting, survey questions were displayed to respondents as follows: (a) demographic information presented in a fixed order, (b) scaled-response items with attention checks presented in a randomized order, (c) open-ended prompts in a fixed order, (d) a prompt that asked respondents if

they answered the questions honestly, (e) a prompt that invited respondents to opt-in to a

potential follow-up interview, and (f) a prompt that invited respondents to enter

themselves into a raffle for gift card as a thank you for participating in the research. With

the exception of a few demographic questions, I required that all quantitative prompts be

answered in order to advance the survey. I left the open-ended responses optional, so as

not to deter anyone from abandoning the survey partway through due to fatigue or a lack

of interest in completing these more time-consuming prompts. Finally, respondents were

prompted to submit their responses (See **Appendix A** for a copy of the complete survey).

Prior to distributing the survey, I established its face validity by asking four

friends and three colleagues to review the survey and provide feedback on its clarity and

ease of navigation using both phones and computers. This is also how I established that it

took approximately 30 minutes to complete. After finalizing the survey, I embedded a

link to it in my call for participants and recruitment letters.

Participant Recruitment and Data Collection. Because the link to my survey was

embedded in my call for participants and I needed to monitor incoming data to inform

subsequent recruitment efforts, the participant-recruitment, data-collection, and data-

screening phases happened in tandem.

I began to recruit participants in mid-April 2021 using network and snowball

sampling. My goal was to obtain at least 150 completed surveys from a diverse sampling

of K-12 in-service teachers of LOTEs in the United States. Because there are unknown

probabilities of this population, I had to approximate my sample in an attempt to achieve

one that represents the target population (Till & Matei, 2016). Moreover, survey response

rates in general have decreased significantly in recent decades (Lyberg & Weisberg, 2016), typically falling between 20% and 30% (Qualtrics, 2021), meaning I had to recruit hundreds, if not thousands, of teachers to reach my goal. Following the recommendations of Vehovar and colleagues (2016), I used three strategies to approximate a sufficient probability sample: (a) spread the sample as broadly as possible through the use of various recruitment channels, (b) shape the sample to reflect the structure of the target population to the extent possible (e.g., based on socio-demographic controls), and (c) intensify recruitment for underrepresented demographics.

I offered an incentive for teachers to participate by raffling off five $100 and twenty $50 Amazon gift cards as a way to increase response rates (Sthli & Joye, 2017). Participation in the raffle was optional, and respondents could only enter the raffle at the end of the survey by providing an e-mail address where the winnings could be sent. (This e-mail address was separated from survey responses during data analysis to keep their data non-identifiable.) Finally, due to the length of the survey, I provided progress updates throughout the survey to motivate respondents to complete it in its entirety.

Recruitment Materials. I structured an e-mail invitation and call for participants following the GMU IRB template, in which I briefly introduced myself, the research topic, described the benefits (including gift card incentive) and risks (of which there were none) of participating in this research project, and provided a link to the survey. I also included a statement that recipients could forward this research opportunity to others (**Appendix B**).

Recruitment Channels. To recruit broadly, I sent the call for participants in recruitment e-mails to each of the five regional professional organizations for language teaching in the United States (i.e., Northeast [NECTFL], Southern [SCOLT], Pacific Northwest [PNCFL], Southwest [SWCOLT], and Central [CSCTFL]); the chair of the bi/multilingual TESOL SIG; the program coordinators of more than 90 2021 STARTALK programs to recruit teachers of less commonly taught languages; and to my own personal network of language-teaching colleagues. One representative from a regional organization regretfully denied to post my call for participants due an internal policy. I did not hear back from two regional contacts or most of the STARTALK programs despite sending follow-up requests, but the remainder of contacts agreed to post my call for participants to their members and/or share the link with their colleagues.

In addition to e-mail, I posted my call for participants on the nationwide ACTFL Teacher Development SIG discussion board, my own personal Facebook page, and several Facebook groups dedicated to language education (i.e., the World Language Teacher Lounge with almost 7,000 members; the AERA Second Language Research group with just over 4,000 members; the French & Spanish Teachers in the U.S. – Off Topic group with just over 4,000 members; and the iFLT / NTPRS / CI Teaching group with over 12,000 members).

I sent follow-up emails and messages to each channel from May through August, as needed, until I achieved a sufficient sample, which I determined by continuously screening the data.

Data Screening. Throughout the participant recruitment and data collection

phases, I monitored the incoming data to see how many teachers participated and what

kind of demographic range they covered as a way of reducing coverage and sampling

error (Dillman et al., 2014; Lyberg & Weisberg, 2016; Till & Matei, 2017). I used a

combination of Qualtrics XM, Excel, and IBM SPSS Statistics 28 software to ensure that

each submitted case was legitimate and useful for analysis.

Approximately three weeks into data collection, I had already received 1,000

survey responses, which surpassed my goal of 150. However, when I screened the survey

metadata (e.g., duration, IP address, GeoIP estimation) and demographic data (e.g.,

program type, grades taught, e-mail address), I discovered numerous fraudulent responses

that contained a combination of questionable data points. For example, I discovered

hundreds of entries that were completed from repeat IP addresses and GeoIP estimations,

GeoIP estimations that were international or incongruent with the county or ZIP code

where the respondent claimed to teach, and/or cases with questionable (e.g., nonsensical

strings of numbers and letters), unconventional (e.g., @zoho.com), or repeat e-mail

addresses. These red flags were further substantiated as fraudulent when accompanied by

short duration times (e.g., completing a 30-minute survey in only 6 minutes), missing

attention-check items, and incongruent demographic data (e.g., someone claiming to

teach a FLES program to 9th graders; teaching on-line, but pushing into to others'

classrooms). I suspect these responses were completed by scammers who pretended to be

teachers in order to participate in the raffle for the gift-card incentive. Nevertheless, I

maintained detailed notes about each case in an Excel spreadsheet. I deleted obvious

fraudulent cases and retained questionable ones. Questionable cases were those that had one or two questionable aspects (e.g., only teaches to one grade level; claims to teach in FLES and immersion programs), but that otherwise seemed legitimate (e.g., their open-ended responses were sensible). After discussing questionable cases with my methodologist, I ultimately retained 11 of them in my dataset since I did not have sufficient evidence to delete them.

At the end June, I had determined there to be 137 legitimate cases out of a total of 1,041 completed surveys. Since I still had not met my goal of 150, I continued recruitment efforts by sending personalized reminder e-mails to my professional network. I chose not to re-publish my call for participants in any public forums so as not to invite any more scams into the data set. By the end of August, I had screened a total of 1,429 surveys (some of which were abandoned responses-in-progress), and determined that 168 of the cases were legitimate, complete, and eligible to be retained in the final data set (one of these was later deleted as an extreme outlier). I created a case number for each case and removed personally identifiable information (i.e., e-mail addresses) from the data set, but maintained a separate reference sheet that would allow me to link the data back to the person if needed.

Sample Demographics

There was a total of 167 participants in this study who taught in 39 states plus the District of Columbia. Racially, 80% of the sample identified as White, 10% as Hispanic/Latino, 3% as Black, 2% as Asian, 1% as Native American/Alaskan, 1% as mixed race, and 2% as other. Four-fifths of the sample identified as female, and 19%

male.

Educational Background. The teachers in this study are highly educated. Three-fifths (59%) hold a bachelor's degree in languages and literatures, 21% in education/teaching, and 8% in a discipline other than languages or education. Ten percent of the teachers hold multiple bachelor's degrees, either in both language and education (4%) or language and a discipline other than education (e.g., business, international studies, journalism; 7%).

An impressive 80% of these teachers also possess graduate degrees. Most (54%) have a master's degree in an education-related field (e.g., language teaching, curriculum and instruction, elementary education, reading instruction, technology), 18% have one in languages and literatures, 4% hold multiple master's degrees (e.g., one in language and one in education), and three respondents mention having a PhD or EdD. (I did not explicitly ask about doctorate degrees).

Teaching Experience. Respondents' teaching experience covers the entire career spectrum, from as little as one year of experience to having re-joined the profession after retirement. Their experience is fairly evenly distributed across the sample, wherein 19% are in their first five years of teaching; 29% are in years 6-10; 20% in years 11-15; 14% in years 16-19; and 18% had 20 or more years of teaching experience (see **Figure 4**).
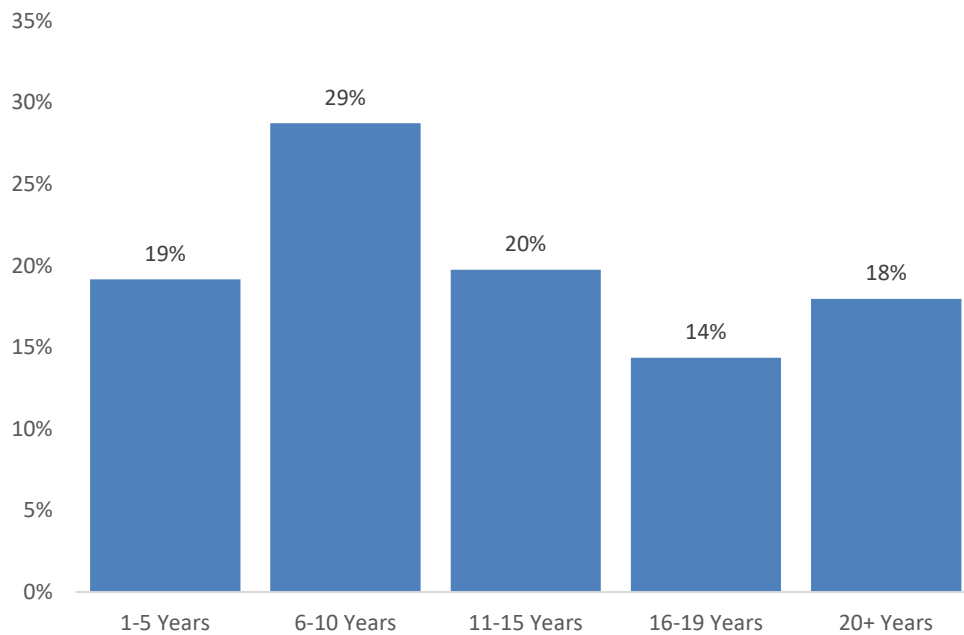
Figure 4

Years of Teaching Experience (Whole Sample, N *= 167)*

Linguistic Identities. Overall, 11 languages are represented in this study. More than two-thirds (70%) of the respondents taught only one LOTE at the time of this study, while 17% taught two or three LOTEs, and 13% taught a LOTE and English. The sample is largely represented by teachers of Spanish ($n = 111$), followed by French ($n = 51$), German ($n = 21$), Chinese ($n = 5$), Arabic ($n = 4$), Latin ($n = 6$), Italian ($n = 4$), Japanese ($n = 1$), Portuguese ($n = 1$), and American Sign Language ($n = 1$).

Native-Language Status. Most (86%) of the language teachers in this sample were born in the United States. The majority (81%) are native English speakers (NESs); 10% are native speakers (NSs) of Chinese, French, German, or Spanish; and 9% were raised bi/multilingual (B/ML), primarily in English and another language or languages

(including Spanish, Portuguese, Yiddish, ASL, German, Plattdeutsch, Greek, and French), and one person was raised bilingual in Arabic and French. Twelve participants (7%) were identified as English language learners (ELLs) in the U.S. school system as a student. In line with the respondents' NS status, 80% of the language teachers in this study are second-language learners (L2Ls) of the target language (TL) they teach, while 13% are NSs, and 8% are heritage speakers (HSs).

Target-Language Status. I asked respondents to rate their TL proficiency based on the official ACTFL proficiency scale (i.e., Superior/Distinguished, Advanced-High, Advanced-Mid, Advanced-Low, Intermediate-High, or Intermediate-Low; ACTFL, 2012) since this is currently the most widely used measure in the profession. The reader should note that responses were self-assessed and not necessarily based on an official Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI) rating since not all language teachers are required to take this evaluation. Additionally, not all language teachers are necessarily familiar with this rating scale. Therefore, some respondents may have approximated their proficiency level based on their own interpretation of what it means to be a Superior, Advanced, or Intermediate speaker of a language. A final consideration is to know that because language proficiency can change over time, the actual proficiency level of respondents who did report an OPI score may differ from their official rating.

In consideration of these caveats, 19% of the respondents rate their oral proficiency in the TL they teach as Superior/Distinguished; 75% as Advanced, and 7% as Intermediate (see **Figure 5**). While I cannot guarantee the precision of these ratings, they are logical given the linguistic statistics presented above. For example, 20% of

117

respondents are native or heritage speakers, which aligns to the 19% Superior rating. Moreover, the most recent ACTFL/CAEP (2015) guidelines promote Advanced-Low (French, German, Hebrew, Italian, Portuguese, Russian, and Spanish) or Intermediate-High (Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, and Korean) as the minimum proficiency required for certification, so it makes sense that most teachers report proficiency in the Advanced range (some states set minimum proficiency at Intermediate-High for all languages). The only person to rate themselves an Intermediate-Mid speaker was a teacher of Latin who pointed out that there is no oral proficiency requirement for Latin since it is not a spoken language; therefore, I do not interpret this low rating as an any sort of deficiency, but rather an arbitrary estimation.
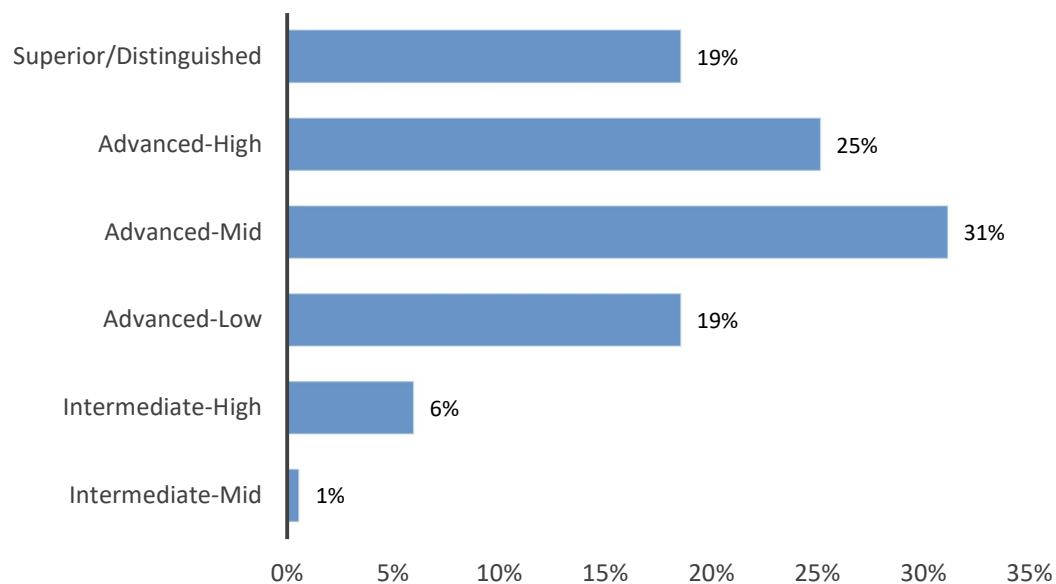
Figure 5

Self-Reported Target-Language Proficiency (Whole Sample, N = *167)*

Teaching Context. Approximately half (56%) the respondents worked in suburban contexts, 29% in urban, and 15% in rural at the time of this study. Three-quarters worked in public schools, 11% in private schools, including one university lab school, 7% in religious-affiliated institutions, 5% in charter schools, and 1% in magnet schools.

The large majority of this sample (75%) taught in a traditional foreign/world language program. Of this majority, 6% split their time additionally teaching in FLES (elementary) or FLEX (exploratory) programs, and 2% in bilingual/immersion programs. The remaining quarter of the sample taught in FLES and/or FLEX programs (13%), bilingual/immersion program (8%), and on-line programs (4%). Of all 167 teachers, 7% had heritage speakers in their classrooms, and 4% taught enrichment (e.g., after-school, summer) language programs.

Three-quarters of the teachers worked in one level of education: 47% at the high school level, 14% at middle school, and 14% at elementary. The remaining quarter split their time between levels: 13% taught in both middle and high schools, 6% in both middle and elementary schools, 1% split their time between high school and elementary schools, and 4% taught across the K-12 spectrum.

Data Cleaning

I cleaned the final data set using IBM SPSS Statistics 28, attending to missing data points, data entry errors, outliers or extreme values, scale composites, and assumption testing. I followed the steps below suggested by Meyers et al. (2006).

Illegitimate Values and Missing Data. First, I visually screened the data to determine that all quantitative values in the dataset were present, logical, and within range. Because I mandated that respondents answer all scaled-response items and most demographic questions, these data fields were complete. However, there were four missing counts of the dichotomous variable for perceptions of privilege because those respondents did not complete the survey in its entirety. I omitted these cases for analyses using the dichotomous variable for privilege, but there were no missing data otherwise. Because I screened each case with caution during the data screening phase, I also became familiar with the qualitative data, for those who chose to answer, and had determined those data to be legitimate.

Reverse Coding. Before I could assess scale reliability, there were 17 items that needed to be reverse-coded so that their values accurately reflected the construct they measured (see **Appendix C**). To do this, I re-coded each of the variables that corresponded to these items into new variables by replacing their values accordingly: values of "6" were replaced with "1," "5" with "2," "4" with 3," "3" with "4," "2" with "5," and "1" with "6."

Scale Reliability and Continuous Variable Computation. In order to evaluate if the 69 items in my survey reliably measured the 12 constructs represented by each scale, I computed reliability statistics for each of the scales with the goal of retaining at least three items per scale and a Cronbach's alpha of .70 or greater.

When grouping each variable into its corresponding scale, I discovered that item 6 from the original Status scale ("I believe that I am good at what I do"; Short & Rhinehart,

1992) was inadvertently left out of the survey. Despite this missing item, the Status scale achieved an acceptable reliability score (α =.703) with only five of the original six items having been measured.

I also discovered that item 4 from the Burnout scale ("I am emotionally drained by teaching"; Maslach & Jackson, 1981) was duplicated in the survey. So as not to include two measures of the same item in the Burnout scale, I ran descriptive statistics of each occurrence of the duplicate variable. While the means were similar (3.79, 3.67), the frequency of responses for the second occurrence of the question were more evenly distributed across the 6-point Likert scale. For this reason, I used the second occurrence of the variable in subsequent analyses.

Nine scales achieved the minimum Cronbach's alpha ($\alpha \geq .70$) while retaining at least three items: marginalization (α = .826, n = 5); decision making (α =.803, n = 10); professional growth (α =.805, n = 6); status (α =.703, n = 5); teaching self-efficacy (α =.756, n = 7); burnout (α =.796, n = 4); resilience (α =.783, n = 3); attitudes towards teaching (α =.822, n = 5); and classroom affectivity (α =.787, n = 6). Three scales did not meet the initial requirements, but came close: autonomy (α = .694, n = 3); coping (α = .677, n = 3), and openness to change (α = .666; n = 2). I ultimately retained 59 of the original 69 scaled survey items (see Appendix C) and used them to compute a continuous variable for each construct. To prepare for data analysis, I evaluated these continuous variables for outliers and normality.

Outliers. To identify any outliers in the continuous variable data, I first visually screened the numbers to ensure they were logical and within range (i.e., 1.00 – 6.00

following the 6-point Likert scale). I then visually scanned histograms and box-and-whisker plots for each of the 12 continuous variables. I identified seven outliers with scores +/- 2.5 standard deviations beyond the mean across four variables (i.e., professional growth, status, autonomy, coping). Despite their large z-scores, I retained six of the seven cases since these respondents logically represented legitimate language teachers whose scores could very well be accurate. For example, given the marginalized status of the language teaching profession, I was not surprised that all seven outliers lied below the mean, meaning each of these respondents perceived either very little opportunity for professional growth, low status, little autonomy, or low coping skills in their jobs.

I deleted the most extreme outlier ($z = -4.89$) since I had previously identified this as a questionable case due to dubious demographic information (i.e., teaching Arabic to a singular grade level in a public school district that did not advertise any language programs on its web site), and I now had evidence that this case was suspect enough to warrant deletion.

After deleting the extreme outlier, I repeated the cleaning process above with the new dataset ($N = 167$). I identified eight outliers that lied +/- 2.5 standard deviations beyond the mean, but chose to retain them for the same reason cited above; they may have been extreme, but they were not necessarily illogical or inaccurate.

Assumption Testing. By design, all cases in this study were independent of one another, meaning the assumption of independence was met for all analyses requiring independence. To test for normality, I visually screened histograms with normal curves of

each of the continuous variables. Not only did each variable appear normal, but skewness and kurtosis values in the +/- 2.0 range confirmed that each variable met the assumption of normality (**Table 3**). Finally, I tested for linearity by screening scatterplots to see if they followed a linear pattern.

Table 3

Mean, Standard Deviation, Skewness and Kurtosis Values for Continuous Variables Computed from Scaled Data

Variable	*M*	*SD*	Skewness	Kurtosis
Marginalization	3.17	1.11	.03	-.60
Decision Making	3.28	.89	.07	-.09
Professional Growth	4.64	.78	-.77	1.56
Status	4.95	.59	-.32	-.22
Autonomy	4.62	.94	-.64	.42
Self-efficacy	4.61	.67	-.17	-.51
Burnout	3.69	1.12	-.17	-.36
Resilience	4.27	.94	-.37	-.07
Attitudes Towards Teaching	4.37	1.07	-.36	-.55
Openness to Change	3.39	.99	.39	.11
Classroom Affectivity	4.58	.77	-.56	-.23
Coping	4.66	.82	-.52	.31

Data Analysis Plan

First, I calculated the descriptive statistics of the demographic, contextual, and quantitative variables to describe the respondents and present the results for each variable for the sample as a whole.

Second, I answered RQ1 about respondents' empowerment as school participants

and their perceptions of marginalization and privilege by running descriptive analyses of the continuous variables for marginalization, autonomy, professional growth, status, and decision making and the dichotomous variables for marginalization and privilege. I ran a series of exploratory quantitative analyses (i.e., chi-square tests of association, independent samples t-tests, ANOVAs) between these variables to explore the potential relationships between respondents' marginalization, privilege, and empowerment. I answered RQ1a by conducting a thematic qualitative analysis (Saldaña, 2017) of respondents' open-ended descriptions about their experiences with marginalization and privilege and how these experiences impact their practice. To answer RQ1b, I ran a series of exploratory quantitative analyses using demographic, contextual, marginalization, privilege, and empowerment variables to explore any potential relationships between them and connect the quantitative and qualitative analyses where appropriate.

Third, following Hiver's (2017) procedures from his original validation study of the language teacher immunity survey, I conducted a hierarchical cluster analysis to answer RQ2 about the typologies of language teacher immunity that emerge in this sample. The purpose of a cluster analysis is to group individuals based on their similar responses to five of the immunity variables (attitudes towards teaching, resilience, openness to change, classroom affectivity, and teaching self-efficacy). Resultant clusters theoretically represent emergent immunity profiles that I interpreted. This analysis was useful in that it indicated how my sample of language teachers orient themselves to this marginalized profession while contributing to the theoretical construct of language teacher immunity.

A hierarchical cluster analysis is the most appropriate option for this dataset given the sample size (N=167) and the fact that I was to explore all logical outcomes rather than analyze a predetermined number of clusters (Garson, 2014). A hierarchical cluster analysis does not require randomization of cases and follows three steps: (1) calculating the distances between the cases, (2) linking the clusters, and (3) selecting the final number of clusters that explain the greatest amount of variance in the data (Garson, 2014). After settling on a solution, I constructed a tentative archetype for each cluster based on its immunity mean profile and then quantitatively validated the solution by running ANOVAs between the cluster solution and the dependent variables of burnout and coping, following Hiver's (2017) validation procedures. The solution is validated if there are logical and statistically significant differences of burnout and coping between the clusters since these variables are theoretically linked to language teacher immunity. I further validated the cluster interpretations by grouping the qualitative data by cluster and qualitatively analyzing each group's narratives about teaching (i.e., Why did you become a language teacher? Do you think you teach the way you should? What motivates you stay in language teaching?), looking for evidence of each immunity archetype that I constructed based on the immunity mean profile. I also drew on descriptive demographic and contextual data (e.g., frequency of teaching-related behaviors, access to professional development, years of experience) to further validate and refine each immunity archetype.

Fourth, I explored the potential relationships between each immunity archetype and marginalization, privilege, and empowerment by running a series of quantitative

analyses between the variables for these three phenomena and respondents' cluster

membership. I also qualitatively analyzed respondents' open-ended responses about

marginalization and privilege grouped by immunity archetype to see if any unique themes

arose within each group.

I present the results of these analyses in Chapter 4.

Chapter Four: Results

In this chapter, I present the results of this study. First, I present descriptive statistics, including data about the sample's professional contexts and behaviors that supplement the demographic characteristics presented in Chapter 3, followed by the sample's marginalization, privilege, empowerment, and immunity statistics. Then I present the results of each research question in turn.

Descriptive Statistics

Professional Contexts and Behaviors

COVID-19 Context. The space in which these teachers worked before and during the COVID-19 pandemic remained relatively stable, with the unsurprising exception of a 10% increase in remote teaching either in full or in part for AY 2020-2021. Approximately half the sample had their own classroom both prior to (56%) and during (54%) the COVID-19 pandemic; 28% shared a classroom with other teachers before the pandemic, while 22% shared during, especially for teachers who travelled between buildings; and there was a minor increase of teachers pushing-in to others' classrooms pre- and intra-pandemic (7% to 8%), with push-in teaching occurring mainly at the elementary level.

Professional Development. Less than half (38%) the sample reports having access to language-specific professional development in their schools. Of those with access, a mere 8% rate their professional development as extremely useful, 27% find it very useful, 48% moderately useful, and 17% only slightly useful. Many (86%) of these

teachers have participated in professional organizations at some point in their career; 13% have participated for up to a quarter of their career; 28% participated between a quarter and a half of their career; 14% participated between a half and three-quarters of their career; and an impressive 45% remained members between three-quarters and the entire career (see **Figure 6**). Those who were not members of a professional organization at the time of the survey cited financial cost ($n = 22$) and lack of time ($n = 13$) as the primary reasons for not participating.
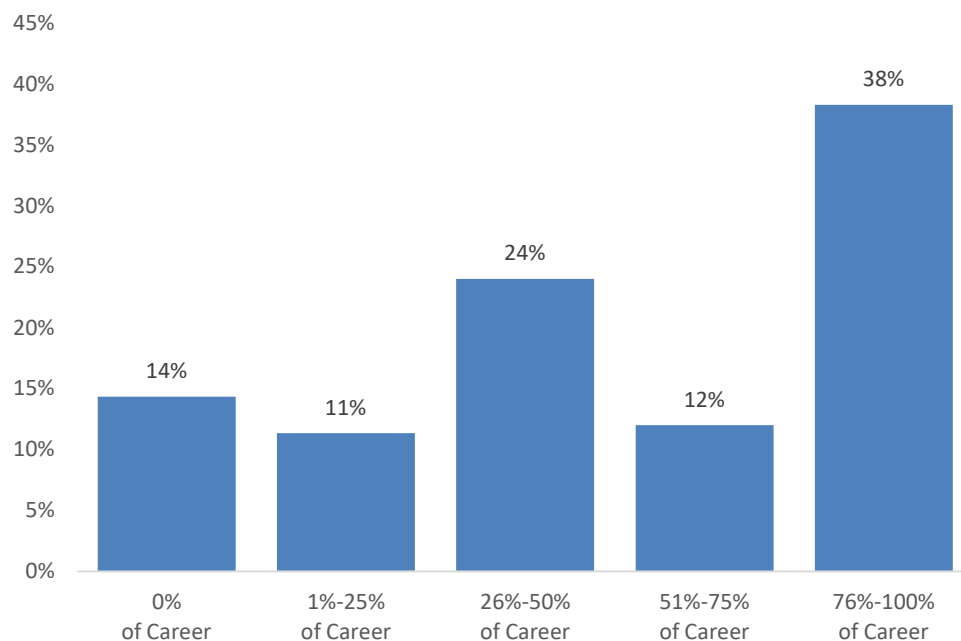
Figure 6

Rate of Participation in Professional Organizations Throughout Career (Whole Sample,

N = *167)*

Professional Behaviors. The language teachers in this study utilize the Internet to inform their practice with much greater frequency than reading books or scholarly literature related to language teaching (see **Figure 7**). The behavior most frequently engaged in is to search for teaching ideas on the Internet; 99% claim to do so to some extent, and 78% do so frequently or always. Far fewer teachers purchase resources (including lesson plans) on the Web with great frequency (only 27% frequently or always do), but 94% still do it to some extent. Over 90% of the sample also follows and participates in social media related to language teaching to some extent, and approximately half frequently or always do. Approximately 90% of teachers also claim to read scholarly literature related to language teaching to some extent, but fewer than 30% do so frequently or always. Clearly, language teachers in the United States heavily rely on the Internet as a source of professional information, inspiration, resources, and social support.
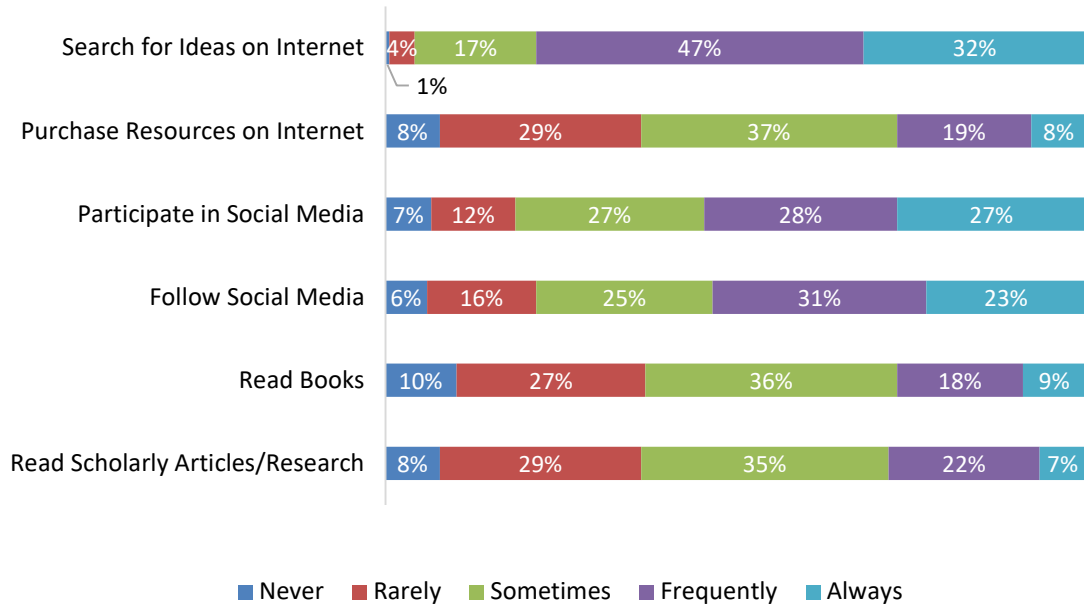
Figure 7

Frequency of Professional Behaviors (Whole Sample, N *= 167)*

Marginalization, Privilege, Empowerment, and Immunity Statistics

Respondents' perceptions of marginalization and privilege are represented by three categorical variables. There is one dichotomous (yes/no) variable each for marginalization and privilege computed from the prompts "Do you perceive yourself to be marginalized (privileged) as a language teacher?" I also computed a third categorical variable that grouped each individual into one of four possible combinations: those who perceived themselves to be (a) both marginalized and privileged, (b) marginalized, but not privileged, (c) privileged, but not marginalized, and (d) neither marginalized nor privileged.

Half the teachers in this study perceive themselves to be marginalized, while slightly less than half perceive themselves to be privileged (**Table 4**). The sample is almost equally divided on their combined perceptions: 19% feel both marginalized and privileged; 28% feel marginalized, but not privileged; 23% feel privileged, but not marginalized; and 28% feel neither marginalized nor privileged (**Table 4**).

Table 4

Observed Frequencies and Percentages for Perceptions of Marginalization (N = 167) and Privilege (N = 163)

Perception	n	%*
Marginalized	81	49
Privileged	70	43
Marginalized and privileged	31	19
Marginalized, but not privileged	46	28
Privileged, but not marginalized	39	23
Neither marginalized nor privileged	47	28

Note. *There are 4 missing counts of perceptions of privilege ($N = 163$), therefore there are also 4 missing counts for the combined marginalization-privilege frequencies. The percentage of each frequency is the actual percentage of the full sample ($N = 167$).

Table 4 displays the means, standard deviations, and correlation coefficients for the continuous variables representing respondents' marginalization, empowerment, and immunity. All continuous variables in this study were measured on a 6-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 6 = *strongly agree*). Increasing values of each variable represent respondents' increasing experiences with that construct. Scores ranging from 1.0 – 2.9 indicate very low to low levels of the variable; 3.0 – 3.9 moderate levels; and 4.0 – 6.0 high to very high levels.

The language teachers in this study experience moderate levels of marginalization on average, but these experiences widely vary from low to high (**Table 5**). In terms of empowerment, they have low to moderate decision-making capabilities in their schools. Nevertheless, this sample is empowered with high to very high professional growth, status, and autonomy. In terms of language teacher immunity, the sample's teaching self-efficacy and classroom affectivity portray a group of language teachers who feel they are good to very good at their jobs and experience moderate to very high satisfaction from it. They have generally positive attitudes about the profession that range from moderate to very high, and similar levels of resilience and coping that exhibit teachers who persevere with varied levels of success. These measures correspond to this group's highly varied burnout that ranges from low to high. In fact, there is a logical inverse relationship between coping and burnout (i.e., higher coping skills correspond to lower burnout), that is statistically significant for the entire sample, $r(165) = -.276$, $p < .001$. This relationship is meaningful because coping and burnout serve as the criterion variables to validate the language teacher immunity cluster analysis (RQ2). Finally, these teachers are not consistently open to change. In fact, the 50th percentile score for openness to change is 3.5, indicating half the sample is more likely to be open to change, while the other half is less likely.

When it comes to marginalization and empowerment, there is a statistically significant inverse relationship between each empowerment variable and marginalization, where increased marginalization indicates decreased levels of decision-making, $r(165) = -.461$, $p < .01$, professional growth, $r(165) = -.576$, $p < .01$, status $r(165) = -.437$, $p < .01$,

and autonomy, $r(165) = -.170, p < .05$ (**Table 5**).

When it comes to marginalization and immunity, there are statistically significant inverse relationships between respondents' increased marginalization and decreased teaching self-efficacy, $r(165) = -.172, p < .05$; attitudes towards teaching $r(165) = -.339, p < .01$); and classroom affectivity $r(165) = -.277, p < .01$. There is also a significant relationship between increased marginalization and increased burnout, $r(165) = .392, p < .01$ (**Table 5**).

There are many significant relationships between the empowerment and immunity variables (**Table 5**). Autonomy is the empowerment variable least likely to be significantly related to the immunity variables; and openness to change and coping are the two immunity variables least likely to be related to empowerment.

Table 5

Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlation Coefficients for all Continuous Variables

	Variable	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1.	Marginalization	3.17	1.11											
2.	Decision Making	3.28	.89	-.461**										
3.	Professional Growth	4.64	.78	-.576**	.432**									
4.	Status	4.95	.59	-.437**	.228**	.570**								
5.	Autonomy	4.62	.94	-.170*	.129	.142	.284**							
6.	Self-efficacy	4.61	.67	-.172*	.197*	.311**	.573**	.208**						
7.	Burnout	3.69	1.12	.392**	-.344**	-.302**	-.297**	.014	-.290**					
8.	Resilience	4.27	.94	-.129	.177*	.264**	.372**	.091	.507**	-.442**				
9.	Attitudes Towards Teaching	4.37	1.07	-.339**	.258**	.425**	.455**	.035	.480**	-.491**	.441**			
10.	Openness to Change	3.39	.99	.033	.042	-.043	.166*	-.088	.218**	-.127	.322**	-.053		
11.	Classroom Affectivity	4.58	.77	-.277**	.187*	.426**	.593**	-.181*	.602**	-.510**	.619**	.702**	.101	
12.	Coping	4.66	.82	-.045	-.002	.218**	.429**	.007	.517**	-.276**	.643**	.303**	.366**	.516**

Note. *p < .05. **p < .01

134

RQ1: Perceptions of Marginalization, Privilege, and Empowerment

I used a combination of quantitative and qualitative data to answer the first set of research questions: To what extent do these language teachers perceive themselves to be marginalized, privileged, and empowered, and how are these related? In what ways have they experienced marginalization and privilege, and how do these experiences impact practice? What are the relationships between teachers' demographic factors and these experiences?

Quantitatively, I computed a series of ANOVAs, t-tests, and chi-square tests of association with numerous categorical and continuous variables to examine the relationships between respondents' experiences and perceptions of marginalization, privilege, and empowerment, as well as if and how these phenomena relate to their demographic factors.

To analyze teachers' perceptions of their own marginalization and privilege, I used the dichotomous (yes/no) variables for marginalization and privilege and the categorical variable for their combined perceptions (i.e., marginalized and privileged; marginalized, but not privileged, etc.). To measure respondents' scaled marginalization, I used the continuous variable for marginalization that I computed from the PE-MAIS marginalization-scale responses (Gaudreault et al., 2017). To measure their empowerment, I used the four continuous variables of decision making, professional growth, autonomy, and status that I computed from the SPES survey responses (Short & Rinehart, 1992). Increasing values represent respondents' increasing perceptions of experiencing each construct. Finally, I considered all of the available demographic

variables for analysis (e.g., race, gender, access to professional development, school context, years of teaching experience; see **Appendix A** for full list), but only used those that met minimum assumptions necessary for each statistical analysis. In several cases, I needed to combine the categories for these variables in order to achieve sufficient sample sizes to meet assumptions. For example, because the frequency of respondents in five of the six categories for race/ethnicity were so small (i.e., Native American/Alaskan, Asian, Black, Hispanic/Latino, Other), I combined them into a singular category, resulting in a race variable with two categories (White and Person of Color). For each analysis presented below, I explicitly state what the categories are for each demographic variable.

For the qualitative analysis, I compiled a dataset from six open-ended survey prompts that were displayed to respondents in a branched manner depending on how they answered the dichotomous questions about their perceived marginalization and privilege. If respondents indicated they perceived themselves to be marginalized or privileged, they were prompted to optionally answer the following: (a) Please describe the ways in which you are marginalized (privileged) as a language teacher, and (b) Please provide specific examples of how your marginalization (privilege) impacts your practice and student learning. If respondents indicated they did not perceive themselves to be marginalized or privileged, they were prompted with (c) Please explain why you do not perceive yourself to be marginalized (privileged) as a language teacher. I thematically analyzed these prompts both as a whole sample and divided into the four subgroups that represent combined perceptions of marginalization and privilege. I used The DFG (2016) framework for *The Multifaceted Nature of Language Learning and Teaching* (see **Figure**

1) as an a priori guide to situate the themes in the data into the macro-, meso-, and micro-levels in which teacher identity development take place.

Relationships Between Marginalization, Privilege, and Empowerment

This sample is evenly divided on their combined perceptions of marginalization and privilege (**Table 4**), suggesting that feeling marginalized does not necessarily indicate a lack of privilege, and feeling privileged does not indicate lack of marginalization. A chi-square test of association confirmed there is no significant association between individuals' perceptions of marginalization and privilege, $\chi^2(2) =$ .429, $p = .512$. This is logically explained by intersectionality theory that acknowledges individuals can be marginalized along one dimension while simultaneously being privileged along another (Garcia Bedolla, 2007).

Since I measured both respondents' perceptions of marginalization with a dichotomous variable (i.e., yes, I am marginalized; no, I am not marginalized) and their experiences with marginalization in their schools with a continuous variable (computed from the PE-MAIS scale), I explored the extent to which these two variables relate to each other, as well as to the dichotomous variable for perceptions of privilege.

Half the sample perceives themselves to be marginalized (**Table 4**), but the sample only experiences low to moderate marginalization on average (**Table 5**). I ran t-tests between the categorical and continuous variables for marginalization to better explore how teachers' experiences relate to their perceptions. The teachers who perceive themselves to be marginalized experience significantly higher levels of marginalization than those who do not with a large effect (**Table 6**), meaning teachers who experience

low levels of marginalization understandably do not feel marginalized, and those who experience moderate to high levels of marginalization feel marginalized. The large standard deviations indicate the experience-perception connection varies widely among individuals. For some, exposure to even moderate marginalizing practices makes them feel marginalized, while for others it does not. It could also be interpreted that individuals who perceive themselves to be marginalized are more likely to think they are exposed to marginalizing practices in the schools. The data are at least clear in showing there is a meaningful relationship between teachers' experiences and perceptions of marginalization.

A second t-test between respondents' dichotomous perceptions of privilege and the continuous variable for marginalization revealed no significant difference in the experienced marginalization of teachers who perceive themselves to be privileged or not (**Table 6**).

Table 6

t-test Results Comparing Levels of Empowerment and Marginalization to Perceptions of Marginalization and Privilege

	Marginalized		Not Marginalized			Cohen's	Privileged		Not privileged			Cohen's
	M	SD	M	SD	t(165)	d	M	SD	M	SD	t(165)	d
Marginalization	3.79	.84	2.57	1.02	8.45***	.93	3.05	1.12	3.21	1.06	-.895	1.09
Decision making	3.02	.82	3.52	.89	-3.70***	.86	3.26	.82	3.29	.94	-2.33	.89
Professional growth	4.34	.77	4.93	.68	-5.22***	.72	4.73	.84	4.61	.69	.967	.76
Status	4.81	.56	5.08	.60	-3.02***	.58	5.06	.56	4.87	.62	2.03*	.59
Autonomy	4.53	1.01	4.71	.87	-1.25	.94	4.61	.94	4.66	.87	-.292	.90

*p < .05, *** p < .001

Together, these analyses indicate that experiencing low levels of marginalization is related to individuals feeling *not* marginalized, but is not related to them feeling privileged. Likewise, experiencing high levels of marginalization is linked to individuals perceiving themselves as marginalized, but not as *not* privileged. It can also be interpreted that perceiving oneself as marginalized may contribute to experienced marginalization, but perceiving oneself as privileged does nothing to ameliorate experienced marginalization. These analyses indicate that these teachers do not equate marginalization with a lack of privilege, nor privilege with a lack of marginalization.

Next, I explored the relationships between marginalization and empowerment, and privilege and empowerment, to reveal additional factors potentially related to teachers' identity development. In the Descriptive Statistics section, I discussed the significant inverse relationship between respondents' experienced (i.e., scaled) marginalization and each empowerment variable (**Table 5**). For these analyses, I ran independent sample t-tests between the dichotomous variables for marginalization and privilege and the continuous variables for decision making, professional growth, status, and autonomy.

Teachers who perceive themselves to be marginalized have significantly less decision-making capabilities, professional growth, and status than those who do not with medium to large effects (**Table 6**). There is no difference in the autonomy of those who perceive themselves to be marginalized and those who do not.

Teachers who perceive themselves to be privileged have significantly higher status with a medium effect than those who do not, but both means indicate each group

sustains a respectable level of status in their schools (**Table 6**). There are no significant differences between teachers' perceptions of privilege and their professional growth, decision making, or autonomy.

Taken together, these analyses indicate that teachers' empowerment is more strongly related to their marginalization than privilege. Reduced empowerment is linked to teachers feeling marginalized, and enhanced empowerment is linked to not feeling marginalized. However, empowerment is not an indicator of privilege, and vice versa. Although autonomy is a facet of empowerment that significantly negatively correlates with teachers' experienced marginalized (i.e., the continuous variable for marginalization; **Table 5**), it is not linked to perceptions of marginalization or privilege. Status is the only variable significantly related to perceptions of both marginalization and privilege with a medium effect, but the average status level for each group ranges from high to very high, calling to question how meaningful these differences really are.

Thus far, the quantitative data indicate that these respondents experience marginalization and privilege along different dimensions, leading to independent perceptions of marginalization and privilege. Empowerment (specifically in the forms of decision making, professional growth, and status) plays a bigger role in teachers' marginalization than their privilege. Status is also linked to privilege, but to do a lesser degree. To further evaluate how these relationships manifest in teachers' practice in their local contexts, I continued to quantitatively explore these phenomena in relation to demographic and contextual variables and incorporated the findings into a thematic qualitative analysis of respondents' written descriptions of marginalization and privilege.

Conceptualizations of Marginalization and Privilege

Analyzing the intersection of marginalization and privilege is complex. Not only are marginalization and privilege mutually constitutive constructs (e.g., male privilege begets the marginalization of females; White privilege begets the marginalization of people of color), but they also co-exist within individuals along various dimensions, as the previous analyses depicted (Garcia Bedolla, 2007; Varghese et al., 2016). I attend to both phenomena in this analysis. First, I present how respondents conceptualize marginalization and privilege in their open-ended responses, and then I present the overarching themes of marginalization and privilege as experienced and interpreted by these language teachers. Finally, I present the themes that arise from an analysis of teachers' combined perceptions of marginalization and privilege.

In general, respondents derive their marginalization and privilege by comparing their situations to other possibilities, either in relation to other actors in their context or previous experiences they themselves have lived. Their conceptualizations corroborate the notion of marginalization and privilege as mutually constitutive and inextricably tied to context. For example, Case 93's students value language education, and Case 57 works in a wealthy district with resources; both perceive their environments as privileged because they know these situations are qualitatively better than what they experienced in the past:

> I feel that language education is valued in [the West] because many of my
> students plan to use the language for proselytizing or for travel. I also do not feel
> marginalized, because I know what it is like to feel that way. At the school where

I worked last year in [the South], I definitely felt undervalued and unimportant as a language teacher. I think language teachers are more undervalued in environments where much of the focus is on testing and the funding from state testing, of which languages and other elective courses do not play a role. (Case 93)

I am privileged because I teach in an affluent district, where we have technology and materials, where the environment is physically safe and is beautiful, and where teachers are highly qualified and experienced. Our students have relatively few home problems (compared to schools where students are hungry, have home instability, housing insecurity, etc.). I used to teach in a different place and it WAS emotionally draining to deal with the many, many "social work" problems that came in to the classroom. Also, students here have educated parents who can help them with school and provide other forms of academic support, and prioritize education. I do not believe that my job now is a "typical" teacher experience in the U.S. (Case 57)

Personally experiencing *having* and *not having* is not a prerequisite for recognizing one's marginalization and/or privilege, though it does seem to spur individuals' awareness of privilege in many cases. Rather than draw on their personal histories, many respondents compare their positioning to others in their local contexts. For example, many respondents feel privileged for being "free from responsibilities that classroom teachers have, such as conferences and standardized testing" (Case 3); having "more flexibility in [teaching] curriculum than someone in say, English" (Case 131); and

143

having social identities like "race, sexual identity, years in the profession, and status" that place them "in a privileged position, especially when compared to…colleagues of color" (Case 54). Respondents' marginalization is often borne in relation to teachers of more important subjects, such as math and science, though who or what is not always made explicit: "World Language teachers teach more preps, deal with shifting schedules, programmatical changes, losing their teaching space, not running classes with small numbers…" (Case 127). Additionally, respondents' descriptions of marginalization and privilege include both ideological (e.g., "I feel that teaching is a not a respected profession [and] that parents view us as lazy and incompetent" [Case 57]) and tangible examples (e.g., "Students are regularly pulled from my classes for other subjects, therapies, rehearsals, tutoring, by adults who would never dream of pulling kids from reading or math," and we are "sometimes left out of teacher appreciation and celebration efforts" [Case 3]).

Just as the quantitative analyses laid bare, respondents' combined perceptions of marginalization and privilege are almost equally divided, where some feel both marginalized and privileged, some feel neither, and some feel one or the other. As such, combined sets of comments help to elucidate how marginalization and privilege relate on an individual level. For example, Case 120 is marginalized as the sole Latin teacher in their high school, but is privileged to socially fit in among colleagues as a heterosexual White female. This teacher thus develops her professional identity in a power structure that is unique to her multiple identities, as does every respondent in this study.

Moreover, individuals' subjective values influence their perceptions of

marginalization and privilege, so two different people can have vastly different experiences in similar environments. For example, Case 110 attaches their privilege to their identity as the IB Spanish teacher, and this association is derived in relation to being considered special in comparison to language-teaching colleagues who do not have what they have:

> I teach the IB curriculum. I do not have to travel to other classrooms (I have my own, which I do share with someone who does have to travel). I am given time to plan or collaborate during the school year with other IB teachers. I am given a substitute on days when I have to give oral exams. But this is not the case with others in my department.

It would not be unreasonable for Case 110's colleagues to feel marginalized by comparison since they do not receive the same support and resources, but it is also possible that they might actually feel privileged for not having to deal with the pressure of IB coursework, like Case 158:

> I feel privileged because I love what I do! I also feel privileged because most students perceive my class as the "FUN" class. Furthermore, I do not have the [state tests] hanging over my head every year! When I taught IB classes in [the South], I did feel the pressure of getting the students ready for their IB exams. I do not have this pressure in middle school and I feel privileged because of it. I see how the core teachers around [state testing] time are super stressed, and I feel for them.

Clearly, each respondent's interpretation of marginalization and privilege is

unique and subjective, but there are salient patterns in the data that indicate

marginalization and privilege are experienced in similar ways. Overall, respondents

frame their marginalization and privilege in the context of the definitions I provided in

the prompt (detailed in Chapter 3), so their perceptions of marginalization can

thematically be summarized as being "less than," and their privilege as "better than."

Following the same logic, there is a subset of respondents who explain they are not

marginalized and/or not privileged due to equality (i.e., they are neither better than nor

less than anyone). As Case 33 explains, "We are all treated equal in my district." The

majority of these comments come from teachers who feel neither marginalized nor

privileged. However, more often than not, respondents tend to equate not being

privileged with marginalization, and not being marginalized with privilege, rather than

equality (e.g., "I guess for the same reasons I feel marginalized, I do not feel privileged"

[Case 11]). Moreover, these constructs are often conflated across the sets of prompts,

resulting in themes that overlap between (lack of) marginalization and (lack of) privilege.

For example, teaching from a cart makes Case 63 feel marginalized and Case 55 feel not

privileged. Case 149 does not feel privileged because they "do not teach a core subject,"

but teaching Spanish as a "core subject" does not make Case 55 feel privileged; it only

makes them feel not marginalized. And even though Case 149 is not privileged because

their subject is not labeled "core," they do not feel marginalized since they "teach upper-

level Spanish and dual-credit courses" that their "school really values." This teacher

could have logically felt marginalized (rather than not privileged) for not teaching a core

subject and privileged (rather than not marginalized) for teaching valued courses.

In order to present this complex dataset in an accessible way, I grouped the prompts conceptually. When analyzing how teachers experience marginalization and its impact on practice, I included responses to the prompt for why respondents do not feel privileged if the answers conceptually aligned to marginalization (i.e., I am not privileged because I am treated as less-than). Similarly, when analyzing teachers' privilege, I included answers to the prompt for why respondents do not feel marginalized if they conceptually aligned to privilege (i.e., I am not marginalized because I have something special that others do not).

Table 7 displays the themes of marginalization and privilege in the qualitative dataset. For every theme that arose as a factor of marginalization (and/or lack of privilege), there is an opposing theme that teachers use to explain their privilege (and/or lack of marginalization), which, once again, evidences the mutually constitutive nature of these phenomena. The themes of marginalization generally have a negative overtone and represent restriction and oppression, while the themes of privilege are positive and empowering (e.g., powerless-powerful, exclusion-inclusion, discouraged-encouraged).

Table 7

Themes of Marginalization and Privilege From Qualitative Analysis of Open-ended

Prompts

Marginalization	Privilege
Administration controls us	Administration gives me power
Alone = bad	Alone = good
Devalued	Valued
Discourage	Encourage
Disrespect	Respect
Elective	Required
Elective = bad	Elective = good
Exclusion	Inclusion
Exhausted	Energized
Fun = bad	Fun = good
Frustrated	Relaxed
High stress/pressure	Low stress/pressure
I can't be the best teacher I can be	I can be the best teacher I can be
Job insecurity	Job security
Language teachers are not real teachers	Everyone is a language teacher
Low enrollment	High enrollment
Low self-worth	High self-worth
Low/no status	High status
My needs are not met	My needs are met
No collaboration	Collaboration
No validation, recognition	Validation, recognition
No voice	Voice
Non-core	Core
Not a priority	Priority
Not creative	Creative, innovative
Not an expert	Expert
Not important	Important
Powerless	Powerful
Restrained	Flexible, Free
Teaching to others' expectations	Teaching to own expectations
Every person for themself	Shared philosophy, common goals
Unpopular	Popular
Unsupportive	Supportive
Useless	Useful

A few themes emerge in the context of both marginalization and privilege, but with opposing values. For example, the adjective "fun" is marginalizing when it devalues language education for not being a serious subject, like when Case 65's "colleagues in the math, science, and humanities department regularly crack jokes about world languages just being all fun and games." The term fun also positions language teaching as an easier, and therefore devalued, job since, "Some teachers see [language] activities (skits, listening to songs or videos, or cultural discussions and events) as 'easy' activities that don't require teacher involvement and just let kids 'play'" (Case 67). On the contrary, Case 166 explains, "I feel privileged because my students have chosen my language over others and want to be in class for the most part. We *get* [emphasis added] to play games in class, sing songs, and do other fun activities that other classes don't get to do." For some respondents, like Case 36, being fun is beneficial, when, for example, "Administrators walk in and see how engaged and happy…students generally are."

In order to know how respondents arrived at these conflicting valuations, it is necessary to analyze their experiences in context. Therefore, in the sections that follow, I present these themes of marginalization and privilege as they emerge amid the "mutually dependent influence" (DFG, 2016, p. 24) of macro-level ideological structures, meso-level institutional practices, and micro-level social activity and shape these language teachers' professional identities (see **Figure 1**).

Marginalization. Figure 8 displays the themes of marginalization I coded from the 75 comments about how teachers are marginalized, 74 comments about how marginalization impacts practice, and 73 comments about why respondents do not feel

privileged. The three concentric circles in **Figure 8** emulate The DFG's (2016) framework. The outer circle represents the macro-level ideological structures that expose how language education is valued by others in these teachers' worlds. Respondents primarily describe the ideologies present in their local communities (i.e., district and individual schools), but several also discuss national- and state-level ideologies that inevitably suffuse into their environments. The middle circle represents the tangible forms of marginalization these teachers experience as a result of the ideological values encompassing and influencing their communities. Social identities, investment, power, and agency are key aspects of the meso level that directly impact teachers' identity development. The inner circle represents the impact that the ideological and tangible forms of marginalization have on teachers as they engage with others in local social activity. Each circle is filled with a word cloud that I created from the themes that emerged in the qualitative analysis. Some phrases are verbatim quotes from individual respondents, but most words and phrases represent ubiquitous themes. The larger the font, the more common the theme is across all respondents.
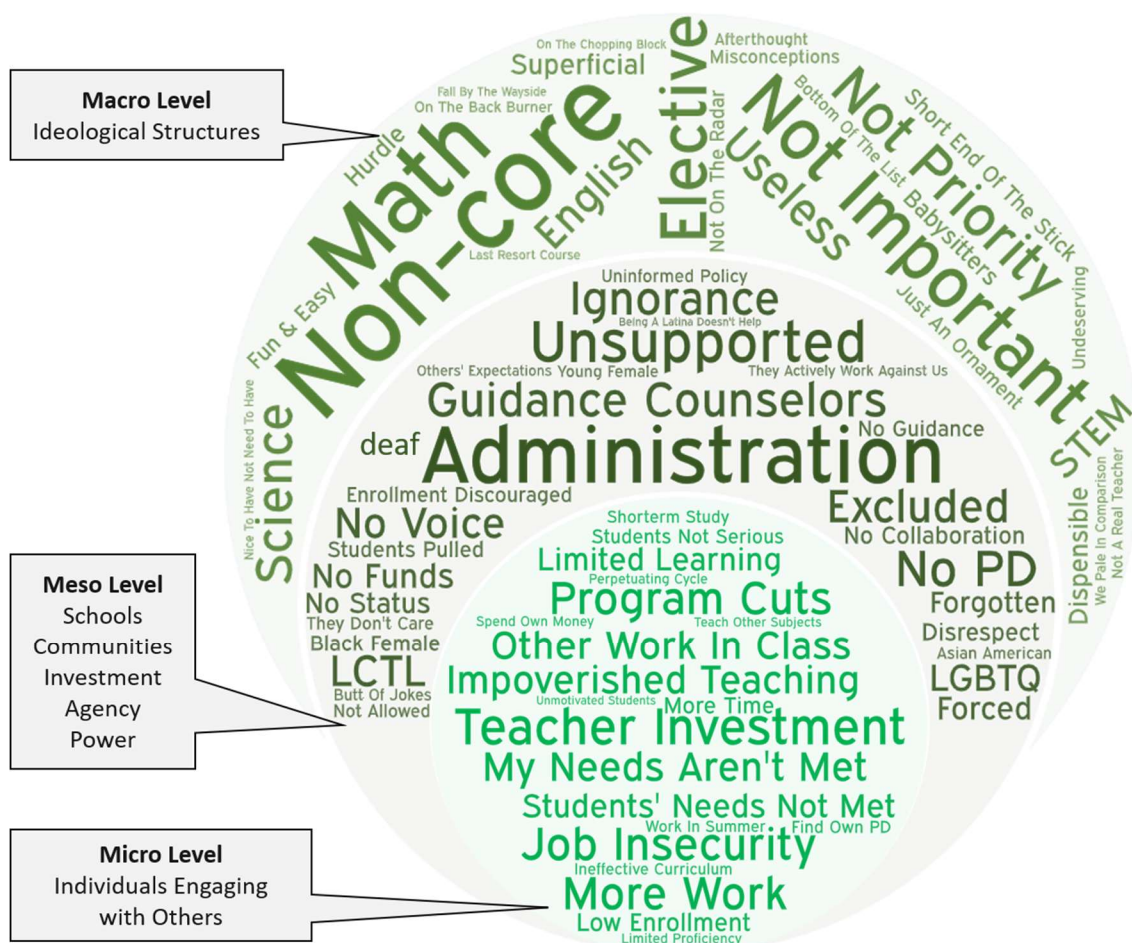
Figure 8

Themes of Marginalization Organized Into Macro, Meso, and Micro Levels, Following

The DFG's (2016) Framework for The Multifaceted Nature of Language Learning and

Teaching

   Macro Level: Ideological Marginalization. The most common reason teachers

feel marginalized in this study is because language education is not valued by others.

Respondents commonly describe language education as inferior to math and science (or

STEM), not a priority, and simply not important. Many teachers cite policy that classifies language education as an elective and/or non-core class as a primary reason for their local marginalization. They claim that language education is viewed as dispensable, useless, and is often only superficially valued. For example, Case 57 describes it as "a 'nice to have,' not a 'need to have,'" and Case 13 says that, "Spanish classes are just an ornament so the school can say they have them to attract more progressive families who can pay." Case 114 explains how their bilingual program is actually being fueled by monolingual, rather than multilingual, ideals:

> … since my school is the K-8 "newcomer" school for the district, so many students already speak Spanish. The school focus is technically bilingual education, but really just preparing students to know enough English for high school. My class might as well be a "specials" class like gym or art.

Respondents figuratively describe language education as "[falling] by the wayside" (Case 11), "on the back burner" (Case 145), "a 'last-resort' course" (Case 48), "a 'hurdle' that admin and counselors work to get students over" (Case 104), "at the bottom of the list" (Case 44), "on the chopping block" (Case 143), and "pale in comparison to core subjects" (Case 134).

Because the subject matter is devalued, the language teachers are devalued by association. Language teachers feel others perceive them as "quirky" (Case 5), undeserving (Case 100), babysitters (Cases 67 and 162), "never taken into consideration as being Subject Matter Experts" (Case 137), and as "the red-headed stepchild" (Cases 89 and 73). Case 73 describes how these valuations intersect with macro-level ideologies:

The joke in [my state] is that all world language teachers are the red-headed

stepchildren of the curriculum family. Some factors include the following:

- Our state has a lower number of those who value a college/university
  degree

- Our "whiteness" doesn't make a strong case for needing a world language
  to work

- Standardized testing over the years has placed an artificial importance on
  science, math and reading

- Too many in our state think everyone should speak "murican"

Case 72 offers an example of how disparaging macro-level ideologies suffuse into

schools and become perpetuated:

The administration (including counselors) get so involved in raising standardized

test scores & graduation rates that they say things to students like: "You need to

concentrate on your English/math/science," which becomes, "[language class is]

only an elective" and, "you don't need that to graduate." Students hear that as,

"electives are not important, go ahead and goof off/cut class." The elementary

teachers refer to us by names other than teacher, so the children often say, "You're

not a real teacher."

The ideological devaluation of language education and language teachers leads to

marginalizing practices at the institutional level.

Meso Level: Marginalizing Practices. Because language education is not

prioritized or omnipresent in U.S. schools, many stakeholders (e.g., administration,

colleagues) do not know what it means to be a language teacher, what language teachers need to be effective, or what the inherent value of language education is. Stakeholders' ignorance leads to their inability and/or disinterest in supporting language programs and language teachers. As Case 76 explains, "I don't believe that our other colleagues from other content areas see the value in what we do. That is largely due to their ignorance of the power of languages and that we are versatile." Respondents cite administration and guidance counselors as most frequently engaging in marginalizing practices, but they also mention teaching colleagues, students, and parents.

Case 131 is but one teacher who explains how administrators' ignorance leads to restricted access to professional development, poor evaluations, and inefficient course scheduling that makes their job more difficult:

In our district, we rarely, if ever, receive professional development that is relevant and applicable to language teaching. What professional development [PD] is offered is often recommendations for state education department run PD or PD offered by local universities. There often is a lack of understanding of the complexity of language teaching and what we do in our classrooms. In the past, administration have evaluated language teachers poorly on teacher evaluations for a lack of understanding how language teaching is a higher-order thinking skill, so it is always a concern when it is time for evaluations. They have also combined different levels of language learners (i.e., French 3 and French 4) into one class period, making it hard to differentiate instruction based on their unique needs and language abilities.

154

Case 41 is in a similar situation. In addition to receiving "no professional development geared towards language teaching,…Guidance and administration actively work against [them] when trying to build the program and will not let [the language teachers] have smaller upper-level courses and build to an AP program." Case 74 similarly describes how ignorance and devaluation place the onus for program development on the language teachers rather than administration:

> Administrators and other teachers do not know what we do. They have misconceptions about our content and practices. There is a hierarchy about content subjects in schools. World languages are not considered as prestigious as other subjects. Spanish classes for heritage learners do not have the resources they need to help students with low literacy or interrupted education...As teachers, we are supposed to make up for the lack of resources by putting in extra time and our own funds to get what we need to teach these classes.

Several teachers of less commonly taught languages (LCTLs) feel marginalized as the result of teaching a marginalized language. The issues they face on-the-job are rooted in others' ignorance of the language itself:

> I think my feelings of marginalization come from being a German teacher. Although it is one of the main 3 languages people think of when thinking of languages taught in a school, it is still a lesser-known language. In my teacher preparation, I heard that I wouldn't find a job or was asked why I chose that subject. I feel as though parents and teachers may try to steer students away from learning German, as it is perceived as not helpful or useful. I think students need

to be more aware of the numerous opportunities that come with learning German specifically. (Case 167)

Nevertheless, Case 167 is agentive in pushing back: "I work harder to show my students how German can be practical in their own lives and in their futures. I give examples of how it can be used and how it can help them in different situations."

Case 120 details the difficulty of developing a professional identity as the sole Latin teacher in their school. Their story exemplifies the complexity of intersecting ideologies, practices, agency, and emotion in their marginalization:

Language in general is a very small department at my school and is [often] ignored by administration. We're not considered a core class, but we're "too intellectual" to be a true elective.

There are a lot of assumptions about what my classroom and content is. It's often seen as elitist or something only a gifted student can comprehend. So, counselors don't recommend my course. Every year I get extreme anxiety around course request and numbers because I don't know if any of my classes will make it. Depending on the year, admin may decide not to form a class, which affects student enrollment more (Why start a language that might not offer the next/highest level?). So, while I have tried to grow my program, I feel like I get cut off at the knees by recommendations and numbers decisions.

For many respondents in this study, colleagues' ignorance also leads to the Othering and distancing of language teachers in their schools, like Case 5 being "considered quirky because of some of the methods [they] use to teach," even though

their "methods are excellent and effective towards student learning." This is particularly problematic when principals are in charge of teacher evaluation. Unlike aforementioned Case 131 who has received poor evaluations, many language teachers simply are not properly evaluated at all, such as when Case 6 "[pours themself] into a lesson but…can't really invite admin in to view it because…they don't understand what is being taught. They see the engagement and that is all they can comment on." Case 46's "principals smile and nod then move along to the next class" because they "do not understand what [Case 46 does] in [their] language classes" as the only French teacher in the district. However, the principals reveal their bias when they "often observe [Case 46] at length [when teaching] Oral [Communication] classes."

Language teachers are often excluded because administrators do not know how to include them and/or are not supportive of their development, perhaps because they do not see the value in it:

> As a language teacher, we are never taken into consideration as being Subject Matter Experts of teachers as [a] whole. We aren't asked to speak at staff/parent meetings, invited to be colloquium speakers at our school, or highlighted for our attributes and contributions because we aren't as 'important' as the other subjects. (Case 137)

> People think FL is just another elective and that all levels can be taught together. No admin in my school speak any other languages and they do not care to know more about what we do. I was denied a paid sabbatical to go to France even though it is in our contract. No reasons were given. When I came back from a

157

year in France, I was denied a salary step. My schedule is made last, after math

and English. I don't have a PLC [professional learning community] that makes

sense as the only French teacher. (Case 1)

Language teachers are lumped in with the generic electives category. When it

comes to scheduling and decision-making, the core content teachers are the ones

that matter…I worked at a school three years ago that was launching a major PBL

[problem-based learning] initiative but the language teachers were excluded. I

wasn't any invited to attend a grade-level team meeting! (Case 14)

The qualitative data clearly demonstrate that these respondents lack access to

appropriate professional development, and quantitative analyses substantiate their claims.

A chi-square test of association between the dichotomous (yes/no) variables for access to

language-specific professional development and perceptions of marginalization confirm

that those who do not have access to professional development are significantly more

likely to perceive themselves to be marginalized, $\chi^2(1) = 26.201$, $p < .001$. Of the 103

participants without access to professional development, 64% reported feeling

marginalized, while only 23% of teachers with access feel marginalized.

A series of t-tests also revealed significant differences with a large effect between

respondents' experienced levels of marginalization and empowerment based on their

access to local professional development. Specifically, teachers who lack access

experience significantly more marginalization and have significantly fewer decision-

making capabilities and professional growth in their schools than those with access

(**Table 8**).

Table 8

t-test Results Comparing Levels of Marginalization and Empowerment to Access to

Language-Specific Professional Development

	Access to Language-Specific Professional Development		No Access to Language-Specific Professional Development			
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*t*(161)	Cohen's *d*
Marginalization	2.69	1.10	3.46	1.01	26.20***	1.05
Decision making	3.58	.93	3.09	.82	3.57***	.86
Professional growth	4.91	.67	4.48	.80	3.58***	.75
Status	5.06	.59	4.88	.59	1.91	.59
Autonomy	4.59	.84	4.64	1.01	-.334	.95

*p < .05, *** p < .001

To better understand who might be impacted by access to professional

development, I conducted numerous analyses with demographic and contextual variables.

A significant chi-square test of association revealed a relationship between teachers'

school context and their access , $\chi^2(2) = 9.896$, $p <.01$, wherein teachers in urban contexts

report having the most (53%), followed by teachers in suburban contexts (37%), and

teachers in rural contexts (16%). These results corroborate prior research (Pufahl &

Rhodes, 2011) and are meaningful since they imply that rural teachers are at higher risk

of marginalization and may experience less decisions making and professional growth in

their schools. However, there is no association between school context and teachers'

perceptions of marginalization, $\chi^2(1) = 4.40$, $p = .111$. Moreover, a series of ANOVAs revealed no significant effect of school context on teachers' professional growth, but it did on their decision making capabilities with a medium effect, $F(2, 164) = 4.889$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .056$. A Tukey HSD post-hoc shows that both urban ($M = 3.52$, $SD = .97$) and rural teachers ($M = 3.49$, $SD = .84$) actually have significantly more decision-making capabilities in their schools than suburban teachers ($M = 3.09$, $SD = .82$). Being empowered with decision-making capabilities could ameliorate rural teachers' lack of access to professional development and dissuade them from feeling marginalized.

Because language education, and language teachers by association, are not viewed as important, they are often "questioned," "not accepted," and "scrutinized" (Case 105), and "overworked and underpaid, largely unthanked, and misunderstood" (Case 13). Beyond professional development, administrators are negligent in providing sufficient planning time, space (e.g., classrooms), resources (including funding, technology, textbooks), or opportunities for language teachers to collaborate with other teachers.

Guidance counselors often pull students from language classes and discourage enrollment. Parents sometimes discourage long-term enrollment since many students meet their college-entry and/or graduation requirements after two years of study. In some schools, this can be achieved as early as middle school. The behaviors of these adults influence student perceptions and behaviors, thus perpetuating the problem. For example, students often complete homework from other subjects during language class because they value the other subject more and/or because other teachers encourage them to do so. Case 138 points out that this is not an illusion: "Students do not take my course as

seriously as others nor do they put in the necessary time to do well. They often admit this to me, so this is not simply my perception."

These marginalizing practices occur because those who embrace marginalizing ideologies yield the most power (administrators and guidance counselors are cited most often in these cases). Marginalized language teachers therefore feel powerless. Case 81 is "*not allowed* [emphasis added] to talk to middle school students to convince them to take world language like other programs are"; Case 12 is "*not allowed* [emphasis added] to organize [their] classroom as [they] please, while others are"; Case 73's "principal *forced* [emphasis added] [them] out of the room to install cabinets for a class that doesn't exist yet," and had to "move everything out of [their] old classroom and into the new one"; and Case 89 is "*forced* [emphasis added] to follow a very regimented curriculum [from] which [they] cannot deviate." Case 71 is one example of a language teacher with no power and no voice:

> We as teachers have no control over when we are to report and leave. We are told what to teach and given our schedules. For example, we were told we had a vote on whether or not we would offer a CHS [College in High School] Spanish 4 class next year. Then the vote was taken away and we were told we´re teaching the class.

Being powerless (whether real or perceived) impacts teachers' agency since they cannot enact their ideals in a restrictive environment. Before presenting how teachers are impacted at the micro level, I discuss the important role of social identities in influencing teachers' experiences at the institutional (meso) level.

Social Identities. Only six teachers highlight their social identities in relation to race/ethnicity, ability, language, sexuality, gender, age, religion, and education as contributing factors to marginalization, and they commonly separate their personal marginalization from their professional marginalization.

One common attribute to several of these comments is a succinct, matter-of-fact tone: Case 137 says, "being a Latina in a mostly white school doesn't help," but does not explain how. Case 156 explains, "I am Asian, I didn't grow up in the U.S., and I am teaching a less commonly taught language. I don't think I need to say more," as if the implications of having said identities in the United States are well-known. Ironically, Case 156 claims this marginalization does not impact their practice (they write, "n/a"). Case 144 writes, "I am deaf, do not speak, but sign ASL*,*" which leads to, "not being seen as a professional, but a disabled/handicapped person." They offer no specific examples of how this impacts practice. Nevertheless, several teachers' stories demonstrate that social and professional identities can and do intersect, and this relationship should not be dismissed.

For example, Case 105 does not feel privileged due that fact she is "a Black female teacher," and openly explains how her social identity is at the core of her professional identity. She teaches in a way that "is not all that accepted or expected by administration and parents" in the "predominately white, affluent and conservative community" where she works. When explaining how she is marginalized, she reveals her actions are not without consequences:

As a Black female language teacher, I have been questioned on my

implementation of *Afro-Latindad* in the FL classroom and the aspects of culture and teaching numerically. I have been questioned several times and have had parental concerns regarding why I teach *Afro-Latindad* in the classroom. As a member of the world language department, we are asked to find ways to make learning "fun" and creative, however we are given little guidance, and the feedback on the ideas we present as a department are not accepted and are scrutinized.

As a result, she is "reevaluating how the practice of Spanish language learning can be done with limited cultural exposure and purely grammatical and vocabulary lessons."

T-tests revealed no significant differences between the marginalization, professional growth, decision-making, or status of Teachers of Color ($n = 29$) and White teachers ($n = 134$; **Table 9**). However, White teachers report significantly higher rates of autonomy in their schools than Teachers of Color with a large effect (**Table 9**). The data are insufficient to conclude if this difference is meaningful, especially since the group sizes are so disparate, but it is curious that this is the only instance in which autonomy emerged as signifianctly different between groups.

Table 9

t-test Results Comparing Levels of Marginalization and Empowerment to Race

| | Person of Color | | White | | | |
	M	SD	M	SD	t(161)	Cohen's d
Marginalization	2.93	.96	3.21	1.14	1.25	.256
Professional growth	4.74	.81	4.62	.78	-.72	.146
Decision making	3.54	1.04	3.32	.84	1.78	.364
Status	4.89	.75	4.97	.56	-.57	.130
Autonomy	4.25	.97	4.73	.90	2.55*	.92

*p < .05

Case 153 cites race/ethnicity and sexuality as marginalizing social identities, but explains how these identities actually positively imbue their professional identity with enhanced awareness and empathy:

I am a non-white teacher, especially Asian American. Teaching is largely white and female, as is the group of German teachers specifically. I am also a part of the LGBTQ+ community.

My AA identity makes me very cognizant of the materials and the faces/stories I include in my lessons, e.g., in an activity about describing clothing, ensuring the people I'm including are German, but also hold a variety of identities. I'm also able to better support my BIPOC students socially/emotionally as a person of color; same thing for my LGBTQ+ students. Example is being a sounding board/support for emotions they're feeling related to current events or

personal situations.

Case 153's story is reminiscent of the growing population of Hispanic heritage-speaking teachers who draw on their experiences as ELLs in U.S. schools to support their heritage-speaking students (e.g., Bustamente & Novella, 2019, reviewed in Chapter 2). However, no HS or NNES teachers in this study mention their linguistic identities as contributing to their marginalization, as the research from Chapter 2 suggested they may. Follow-up quantitative analyses revealed no statistically significant differences between the marginalization or empowerment of teachers based on their status in relation to English (i.e., as NES, NNES, or B/ML speakers), but there were when considering teachers' linguistic identities in relation to the TL.

ANOVAs between respondents' status as a native speaker (NS), heritage speaker (HS), or second-langauge learner (L2L) of the TL and the continuous variables for marginalization and empowerment revealed a significant effect for marginalization and decision-making with a medium effect (**Table 10**). Tukey HSD post-hoc comparisons showed that L2Ls of the TL (who are also NESs) actually experience significantly more marginalization than NS teachers and have significantly less decision-making capabilities in their schools than HS teachers. There are no differences between the empowerment or marginalization of NS and HS teachers.

Table 10

One-Way Analysis of Variance Summary Table for the Effects of Target-Language Status on Marginalization and Empowerment Variables

	Native Speaker		Heritage Speaker		Second-language learner			
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*F*(2, 164)	η^2
Marginalization	2.51[b]	1.01	3.09[ab]	1.17	3.28[a]	1.09	4.46*	.052
Decision making	3.51[ab]	1.04	3.89[a]	1.02	3.18[b]	.82	4.85**	.056
Professional growth	4.90	.81	4.71	.69	4.60	.78	1.46	.017
Status	5.98	.61	4.89	.75	4.94	.58	.56	.007
Autonomy	4.41	.82	4.67	.87	4.65	.797	.60	.007

*p < .05, **p < .01
Note. Pairs not sharing a superscript are significantly different at *p* < .05

There was also a near-significant chi-square test of association between TL status and respondents' perceptions of marginalization, $\chi^2(2) = 5.88$, $p = .053$, wherein half of both HS (54%) and L2L teachers (52%) perceive themselves to be marginalized, but only 24% of NSs do.

There were no additional statistically significant relationships or differences found between respondents' social identities (including race, gender, ELL status, U.S.-born status, and level of education) and their marginalization, which could explain why there were so few comments in the qualitative dataset related to social identities. Social identities are inextricably part of respondents' professional identities, but respondents' do

not perceive them as playing a primary role in their marginalization. In fact, two final cases support this conclusion.

Case 65 cites gender, education, and age as personally marginalizing in her work environment, but singles out her status as a language teacher as the unique contributing factor to her professional marginalization:

As a young, female language teacher who only has a B.A. working in a predominantly male-run private school in the Midwest, I do feel marginalized. I see my superiors and my colleagues take the curricular ideas and departmental concerns of my male counterpart (also young, also with just a B.A.) more seriously than they take mine.

I work very hard to cultivate transparent, trusting, and supportive relationships with my students so I do not think my own personal marginalization (because of my gender, less advanced degree, age) impacts their experiences in my classroom. I believe they do respect me as a professional. However, the belief that world languages are "not as important" is rampant at school and I do see students regularly opt to skip their language homework (or sometimes even the whole class) if they are feeling overwhelmed with their "important" classes – a.k.a., math, science, humanities.

Overall, I see myself as a person with tremendous privilege (socioeconomic, race, sexuality, educational), but considering my status as a language teacher in this particular school context, I do not think I have a lot of privilege. My subject is not viewed with prestige and so therefore my

professional/academic areas of interest are often ignored, dismissed, or

minimized. I am constantly advocating in faculty meetings on behalf of the world

language department because it is not a department that is otherwise considered.

Despite being respected by students, Case 65's students still skip language class

and homework due to the ideological devaluation of language education in her school.

And though she claims her gender is not an issue with students, the discrimination she

experiences as a female among superiors and colleagues should not be dismissed.

Females comprise the large majority of this sample ($n = 136$, 81%), but a t-test revealed

that male respondents report significantly more decision-making capabilities in their

schools ($M = 3.60$, $SD = .89$) in comparison to females ($M = 3.21$, $SD = .88$) with a large

effect, $t(165) = 2.23$, $p < .05$, $d = .88$. This finding adds yet another factor to Vélez-

Rendón's (2010) interrogation of male privilege in LTI development that could be

incorporated in future LTI research.

Micro Level: Impact on Local Social Activity. That which most influences U.S.

language teachers' marginalization is the ideological devaluation of the discipline

because it foments ignorance and lack of support. When analyzing how language teachers

engage in local social activity surrounded by these marginalizing ideologies and

practices, Case 63 succinctly explains, "the marginalization that I've experienced has not

provided many of the basic needs that a teacher requires in order to be successful on a

daily basis." In other words, marginalized language teachers' needs are not being met,

and they therefore cannot be their best selves.

The innermost circle of **Figure 8** represents how respondents describe

marginalization as impacting their environments. Because these language teachers are not supported in their professional development and they face more obstacles than teachers from other disciplines (e.g., more preps, less collaboration, disinterested students, students being pulled from class, little to no funding, outdated technology, etc.), they must invest more time and money into making up for these deficits. Many have to find their own professional development, spend their own money on classroom resources, and work harder to recruit students and promote interest in studying a LOTE. Moreover, because these teachers are largely left on their own to do what they can with the resources they have, student learning suffers. Insufficient or poorly articulated program offerings reduce students' access to long-term enrollment, which thwarts their potential proficiency development. Ineffective curriculum, lack of guidance and feedback, and a general lack of access to professional development lead to impoverished teaching, which leads to impoverished learning. Students being pulled from class and being disinterested in the subject only further exacerbate the problem since students are getting less seat time and not fulfilling their potential. Low enrollment numbers also foment job insecurity since they may lead to language programs being cut.

Figure 9 displays the themes that arose in the qualitative data about how the language teachers themselves are detrimentally impacted by marginalization. They feel stress and anxiety, are exhausted, demotivated, emotionally drained, depressed, and burned out.
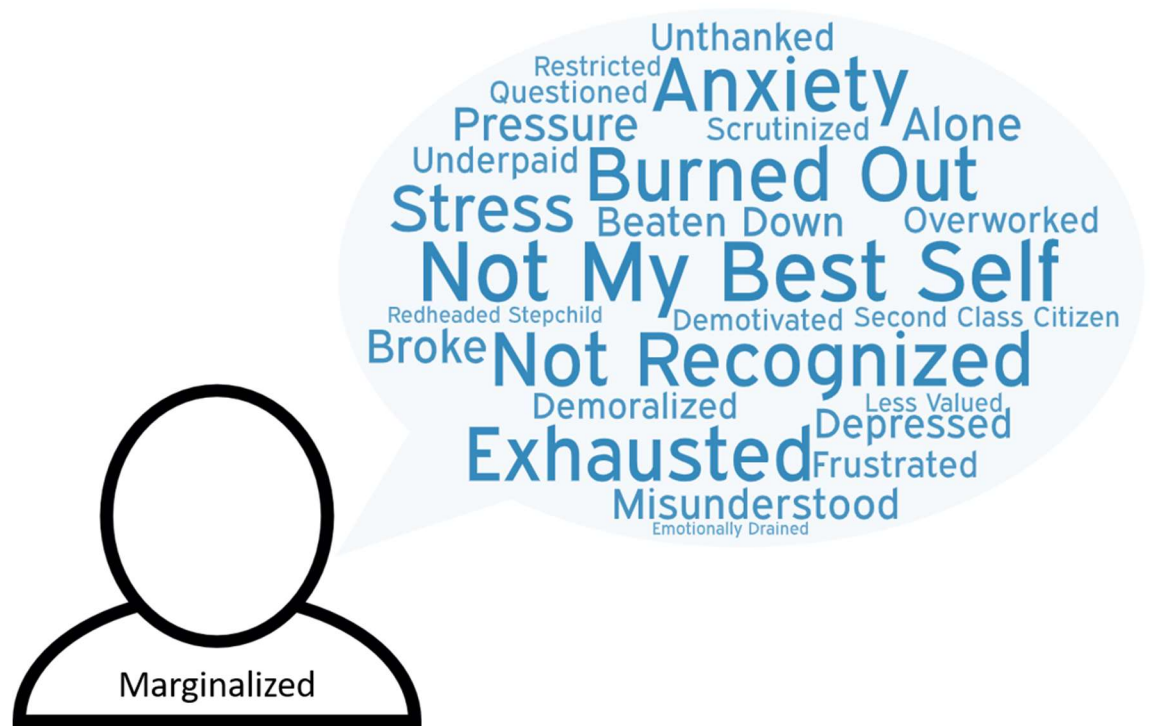
Figure 9

Impact of Marginalization on Language Teachers

Case 120, the aforementioned high school Latin teacher, goes on to explain how their daily practice is impacted by the beliefs and actions of others, making it easier to understand why these teachers feel this way:

> For me, I am the only teacher at my school who teaches what I teach. This affects many parts of my day. I have no one to plan with and must prepare all classes by myself. I also teach all the levels of my program, from 1-5, AP, and Post-AP, so I typically have 5-7 preps per year. Since I teach Latin, my standards are focused on interpretive reading more than speaking and listening, so for PD I get grouped

with the modern languages and it's mostly not applicable to my classroom.

By having more preps, I have to spend more time than allotted for in-school planning to prepare and grade/give feedback. I often don't get to leave the feedback that I would like for my students. During the ebb and flow of the larger school calendar, I can feel the burnout frequently.

By participating in PD that is largely not applicable to my classroom, I have to seek out research and PD outside of contract hours to make up for it. Since I am the only teacher at my school (and the other district teachers are in the same situation as me) we don't collaborate or coordinate with each other often because we're all just trying to keep our head above water. I often feel like an island and a little stagnant. I often have to use my best judgement to determine if what I'm doing is working. As a result, I think I'm a bit inconsistent because I'll keep trying to tweak and change and try something different. If I had the opportunity to talk to colleagues or an admin who understood what was going on in my classroom, I might be able to see the bigger picture and be more focused in what I need to change to be more effective.

Case 13 similarly reflects on how they are impacted by the devaluation of language education, ignorance, and lack of support:

The challenges for teaching languages to young children in a culture (the US) that simply does not value multilingualism at all, regardless of whatever lip service is paid to the importance of language learning, has just beaten me down. I'm so depressed and burned out by working so hard in an environment where really no

one understands what I have to do every day. I am the only language teacher at my school, so there is no one who understands me except the music teacher (I think learning music has many similarities to learning a new language, but is actually easier, too). I feel marginalized because no one truly understands how much it takes to teach a language in an immersive fashion, with little time for teaching or prepping. So, I really don't get the support I need, or the pay to reflect my effort. My room is like a revolving door for students all day – 1/2-hour classes, in and out. I am exhausted by planning and teaching. It is so hard to see any advance when students are only in language class one hour a week, and that's discouraging. I just feel my daily challenges are not understood at all. At least my colleagues are kind and caring, even if they don't get it.

Independent samples t-tests confirm that teachers who perceive themselves to be marginalized experience significantly higher levels of burnout ($M = 3.89$, $SD = 1.07$) than those who do not ($M = 3.50$, $SD = 1.14$), $t(165) = 2.25$, $p < .05$, $d = .348$, and significantly worse attitudes towards the profession ($M = 4.20$, $SD = 1.19$) than those who do not ($M = 4.53$, $SD = .91$), $t(165) = -2.00$, $p < .05$, $d = .310$, both with a small to medium effect. Nevertheless, marginalized teachers' average burnout is still only moderate, and their attitudes are still relatively positive. The qualitative data illuminate that this may be because they perceive marginalization as part and parcel of language teaching, such that it cannot be avoided. Since they expect it to happen, they "just roll with it," like Case 8:

I don't think I am marginalized on purpose. However, due to the nature of state

testing and a focus on math and science, my class is not considered a "core" class. So, students are constantly pulled from my class for counseling, make-up tests, etc.

I am used to the marginalization, so I just roll with it. It does not impact my practice, and I try to make everything accessible to students in every possible way so that it does not impact their learning, either. However, sometimes they just flat miss a cool learning opportunity in class because they are pulled.

Case 8's low burnout score (3.75) substantiates their claim to not be impacted by marginalization, and their very strong coping (6.00) and resilience (6.00) likely help them withstand "the nature" of their job.

Case 1 is similar to Case 8 and suppresses their burnout by not allowing their feelings to impact their professional identity:

I want to quit the profession and I know my students can sense this. I wish I could collaborate more with the English curriculum. I'm always having to guess at what else my students are learning. But overall, I am too much of a professional to really let this impact students and so I carry it all inside me. I am so burnt out.

Case 1 expresses extreme burnout, and yet only scores a 4.00 on the burnout scale, calling to question if burnout is the real issue. Santoro (2019) argues that "'burnout' tells the wrong story about the kinds of pain educators are experiencing because it suggests that the problem lies within individual teachers themselves," suggesting instead that "teachers become dissatisfied not because they're exhausted and worn down but because they care deeply about students and the profession and they

173

realize that school policies and conditions make it impossible for them to do what is good, right, and just" (para. 5-6). As these teachers face moral and ethical challenges, they become demoralized, not burned out. The language teachers in this study substantiate this claim in their narratives:

> I am not privileged because there is no status in teaching languages. I am overworked and underpaid, largely unthanked, and misunderstood. In general, in the US, there is no understanding of what it means to learn and teach a language, no real caring about what intercultural competence and multilingualism could bring to us, our communities, our country.
>
> I am privileged to a certain extent in this school only because I have my own classroom, can determine my own syllabi, lesson plans, and receive courtesy and respect from other teachers. But this should be a basic thing, not something unusually good. And yet it is an unusually good situation. So, *my complaint is more with society* [emphasis added] than with my school. (Case 13)

Case 13, along with most respondents, understands that their marginalization is rooted in deep-seated ideologies that devalue language education (i.e., "society"). Ideological devaluation leads to marginalizing practices that disempower language teachers by restricting their decision making, professional growth, and status in their schools. Marginalized teachers ultimately become demoralized since they cannot fulfill their potential.

By shifting the focus towards privilege, we begin to see the possibility of fulfilling, rather than thwarting, language teachers' potential and respond to Case 73's

174

inquiry: "Can you imagine what our society would look like if we gave equal emphasis to classes that promote global competence, multiperspectivalism and critical thinking?"

Privilege. Figure 10 displays the themes of privilege that emerge in 61 comments about how respondents are privileged as language teachers, 59 comments about how privilege impacts practice, and 78 comments about why respondents do not perceive themselves to be marginalized. As with the prior analysis, the three concentric circles represent how these themes play out at the macro level (i.e., ideologically), meso level (i.e., tangible practices), and the micro level of local social activity.
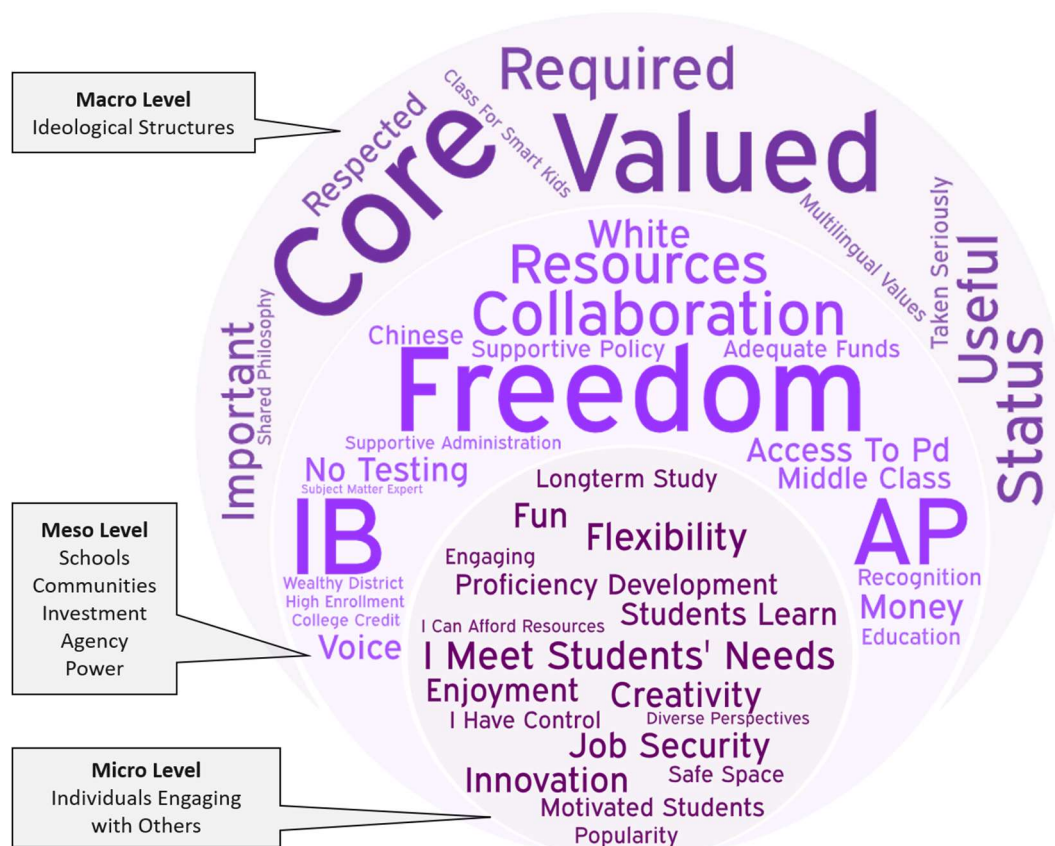
Figure 10

Themes of Privilege Organized Into Macro, Meso, and Micro Levels Based on The DFG's (2016) Framework for The Multifaceted Nature of Language Learning and Teaching

Macro Level: Ideological Privilege. Privileged respondents describe their privilege in direct opposition to how marginalized teachers describe their marginalization. At the macro-level, both language education and language teachers are valued and viewed as important and useful. Many privileged and non-marginalized

teachers write comments like Case 50: "I feel respected and valued. I feel my subject matter is respected and valued by students, teachers and administration." Stakeholders (language teachers, administration, colleagues from other disciplines, parents) often have a shared vision for nurturing multilingualism in their schools. For example, Case 135's "school's mission is global education and world language acquisition," and "It is the educational philosophy at [Case 102's] immersion school that ALL teachers are language teachers, even those who are monolingual English speakers. Everyone is supposed to play a role in the target language acquisition."

In privileged teachers' environments, policy often promotes language education as a required "core" course, which helps to perpetuate the idea that language education is important:

> I teach at an International Baccalaureate [IB] middle years program school. World languages classes are required for all students in the building. My class has the benefit of being just as important as all the others. Plus, my course bears high school credit. My principal and admin staff treat it as just as important. (Case 107)

> All students at my school are required to take 3 years of the same language. This helps my subject matter to feel just as valued as another "core" class. If this were not the case and students could just choose to take a language class, then I would feel marginalized I imagine. (Case 166)

Case 161 also acknowledges the power of teaching in a program that is required, rigorous, and taken seriously. They candidly admit that teaching high-level courses with invested students sets them apart as privileged by granting them status. It also motivates

them to teach better:

> If I am only teaching regular Chinese in other high schools, then marginalized is the right term to describe language teachers. But I am an IB Chinese teacher; taking language is a requirement in the program. And all the students who finished the IB language program [are] required to take the listening, speaking, reading, and writing exams. Those students mastered the language and [are] being placed at high-level classes in college. Students' achievements and success stories not only motivated me to teach better but also make me stand out in the IB program. Therefore, being marginalized or not really depends on the individual and the school.

Several teachers similarly acknowledge that the school matters when it comes to privilege. They cite school status (e.g., private, college-prep), diversity, multilingual values, and institutional wealth as environmental factors that contribute to their privilege. Case 50 feels "fortunate to work at an international private school with students from all over the world and of many languages and cultures. Most of the school staff, administration and colleagues value learning languages." Case 6 teaches "at a college-prep charter school, so the parents do value WL more than at some other schools," which leads to Case 6 having "higher numbers in [their] upper-level WL classes because of [their] environment." Case 23 works "in a wealthy private school, with small class sizes and highly motivated kids. Most of the classroom teachers are appreciative of [their] work and the other specials teachers all support one another."

Notwithstanding the power of policy that enforces language coursework as

essential and required, some language teachers still perceive themselves as privileged even if language education is considered "non-core" in their schools. This middle school Spanish teacher with 18 years of experience explains that being labeled non-core is not necessarily synonymous with unimportant:

> [My school district] values world language classes. Parents and educators (principals) in the community are very strong advocates of world language classes. I am a valued member at my school, and my principal and [Assistant Principals] often ask me for my opinion with regard to various situations with students and/or programs. I am very aware that I am NOT a core teacher, and therefore I back off during [state] testing. I feel it is my responsibility to work with other teachers (outside of my department) for the good of ALL of our students! (Case 158)

The ideological valuation of language education and language teachers is what most contributes to language teachers feeling privileged, and their comments illuminate why privileged teachers report significantly higher status than non-privileged teachers (**Table 6**). Privilege is directly tied to each teachers' context since it is in accommodating environments that these teachers can thrive and successfully develop their professional identities.

Meso Level: Privileged Practice. The middle circle of **Figure 10** represents how the ideological valuation of language education influences institutional practices. Once again, respondents' descriptions of their privileged practice stand in stark contrast to how

179

marginalized teachers describe the marginalizing practices of their environments. The most salient themes in the qualitative data are support and freedom.

Case 98 explains how the valuation of language education is positively perpetuated in environments where language teachers have a voice and are included in institutional practices outside the language classroom:

> We have a strong World Languages department and we have had several vocal and supportive department heads that make sure that our department's concerns and contributions are heard. Our school is very diverse, which I think helps other teachers to understand the importance of language. When they ask us for help communicating with students and parents, they see the value of language education.

Because language education is valued, language teachers are given the resources they need to be successful, including their own space, funding, access to professional development, and opportunities to collaborate with others. As Case 96 summarizes, "I have what I need to teach students well." And even if the schools do not provide adequate resources, several of these teachers feel privileged because they can afford to purchase materials for their classroom on their own since they are paid respectable salaries, which is a reflection of the socioeconomic status of the schools in which they work. In fact, several teachers attribute their privilege to working in wealthy districts that can and want to provide. Though rare, some teachers even receive additional monetary benefits, like Case 45 whose "master's was completely paid for by [their] district and all of [their] PD is, too, for the most part. Even [their] credits beyond [their] master's required very few

out of pocket monies to be spent." And in Case 102's urban immersion school, "Teachers who speak German receive a stipend each school year for their expertise in the language, which also encourages monolingual teachers to want to learn German for the sake of the students' learning."

Interestingly, stakeholders' ignorance is almost as prevalent in these privileged environments as it is in the marginalized environments described above. However, because language education is valued, others' ignorance has the positive impact of giving language teachers curricular freedom, like Case 135 who "can teach about anything and everything as long as it's in the TL, in [their] own way." For some teachers, freedom is rooted in trust:

> I believe that I am a privileged language teacher because the administration has given the "reins" to me and the other language teacher. This allows us to make decisions in the direction that the language program in the school district will go. This is a privilege based on trust. (Case 140)

However, several teachers point out that trust and pervasive support are not necessary to yield the same freedom. Some teachers view being misunderstood, ignored, and forgotten as good and necessary:

> Our school mostly treats language as a "core" class and students are required to complete three years of world language classes. We meet as often as other "core" classes meet. That said, we are not given a special period for exams the way other "core" classes are. Parents don't necessarily see the value in learning another language. And I don't think most administrators understand the complexities of

teaching/learning another language. I think the curricular freedom I'm given is more a reflection of their ignorance of what I do than their trust in what I do. (Case 38)

Because I am on my own little island and ignored by administration, I can pretty much do what I want, which allows me a TON of freedom in my methods and content that I teach. I appreciate and need that freedom and flexibility that being forgotten affords me. (Case 23)

Freedom is often granted to language teachers since there is no state testing, which privileges language teachers with low-stress expectations, but also means that some of these teachers, "do not get monitored as closely as core teachers" (Case 126). Whereas marginalized teachers perceive their lack of administrative guidance and feedback as detrimental to their growth, privileged teachers find it liberating. This could be because many privileged teachers portray self-worth and confidence; when paired with a supportive environment, these teachers can function well without formal guidance. For example, Case 84 is "very smart and fun" and respected by colleagues who work as "a team," which allows this middle-school Spanish teacher to "relax, have fun, and be a great teacher." Case 53 is "confident in [their] ability and [has] the support of the administration," and is "also well respected by most of [their] colleagues." They work "in a district that for the most part values second language acquisition and learning," and has access to "the best resources and [is] free to reinvent and innovate." When it comes to working in an historically marginalized discipline, Case 53 does not "worry about perception. [They] just do what [they] do to meet students' needs." And, finally, Case

140 is not fazed by teaching an "elective" course because they "recognize the value that [their] perspective brings to the table." It is a value that "has been cultivated from various professional development programs, degree plans, and obtained certificates as well as professional experience in the classroom." In addition, Case 140 believes "that [their] involvement in community organizations and with stakeholders has solidified [their] reputation as a person, leader, and an educator." These cases demonstrate that autonomous and supportive environments help to nurture language teachers' agency in a way that enhances their teaching self-efficacy.

Freedom also means power, which helps to explain why so many teachers equate their freedom with privilege. Case 98 exclaims, "I get to teach what I want! Of course, I'm teaching my language, but I have so much more power to decide what happens in my class from a curriculum and day-to-day standpoint than other teachers do." The qualitative data clearly indicate that privileged teachers are empowered with autonomy and status, but status is the only statistically significant empowerment variable related to privilege (**Table 6**).

Because stakeholders support language program development and encourage language learning, student interest, motivation, and learning flourish. For example, because Case 122 "has a good leader" and together they "showcase how important language learning is,…students take languages as a norm and are used to using the target language in the classroom." Because "language is considered a core class" in Case 127's school, "students are not pulled from language for remediation," so they have more seat time to learn. When Case 166 wanted to transfer to another school, their supervisor

intervened and re-arranged their schedule to make their "job much easier and effective, [which] made a big difference in students' learning." The IB Chinese program grew from 4 to 60 students because the program was so strong, and "most of [the students] are fluent when they graduate from high school."

In general, high student interest and motivation mean higher enrollment, which increases students' rate of long-term study. This both increases students' proficiency levels and gives language teachers more opportunities to teach honors and upper-level courses, not to mention job security. Upper-level courses are rewarding because teachers "get to know…students so much better having them 2 or 3 years in a row" (Case 98), and have "few discipline or classroom management issues" and students who "are generally fun-loving and have reliable work ethic" (Case 46). Teachers' jobs are thus easier and more rewarding:

> All students at my school are required to take 3 years of the same language…I feel privileged because my students have chosen my language over others and want to be in class for the most part. We get to play games in class, sing songs, and do other fun activities that other classes don't get to do. I get to teach students how to communicate. Unlike other classes where students come in with base knowledge, 99% of my students know nothing. Therefore, everything they can say or do is something that I have taught them. It is a very rewarding feeling to have conversations with them in French or see what they can write, read, or listen to using language that I have taught them. (Case 166)

> Just as marginalizing ideologies and practices perpetuate the devaluation and

stalled development of language programs and teachers, privileging ideologies and practices perpetuate the valuation and nurtured development of programs and teachers. Before describing how these practices influence local social activity, I discuss the role of social identities in privileging these teachers in their communities and schools.

Social Identities. Of the 61 comments describing respondents' privilege, 13 teachers wrote about their social identities. They most commonly cite race (i.e., being White) as a privileged identity, but they also include socioeconomic status, sexuality, nationality, gender, language, culture, education, access, mental health, and physical appearance. Respondents combine these various identities (in addition to their language-teacher identities) into narratives that depict themselves as teachers who easily fit in to their schools, are free from prejudice, and ultimately benefit from their situation because it makes their job and/or life easier:

> I'm white, cisgender, het-passing. So, visually, I fit in with my teaching colleagues, which can make the day-to-day exchanges and assumptions easier. I'm married in a hetero-normative pairing, which lends me the privilege of fitting into societal expectations…I am very fortunate to live in the area of where I teach. Granted, I live in a multi-generational home so that I can afford to live in the area, but it means I have stable income, my basic needs are met, and I can pay my expenses from month to month. I'm in a high-risk category and have the privilege of working at home. I have the means to work from home successfully.

> People associate my content [Latin] with gifted students and so admin likes to say that it's a full program at my school. This gives me some privilege

because I sometimes have smaller classes [and a certain sub-set of students]. With my appearance and the assumptions about by content, I am often left alone. This means I don't worry all the time about observations or pacing, or a student's performance by a certain date or test. Sometimes I have smaller classes, which means I can focus more on each student and their growth. (Case 120)

Case 38 feels "privileged to have been hired as a non-native speaker," which likely was an opportunity afforded to them via their privileged "education and experience living in other places," as well as for being "LUCKY [to] have an ear for language and [growing] up in a home that valued language study." Case 38's social identities not only free them from prejudice, but confer them with authority and power:

I speak with authority on most of the topics I teach and students listen to me… My own education and experience make me articulate and meticulous about technical aspects of the language. I also project a confidence born of my privilege as a white, educated, upper middle-class woman in this society…. I've noticed that because I am tall and relatively slender and can afford to buy cute clothes, I have some sort of power in the room in terms of the attention they pay.

Case 111 also fits in, but only because he has the novel privilege of controlling how others perceive him. Case 111 is "a straight, white male" who feels privileged for not suffering "constant sleights, microaggressions, etc., that LGBT, non-white, and/or female people face." He further explains, "Overall, [I do not perceive myself to be marginalized] because there's perceived respect for me and what I teach, but also in part because an area where I might be discriminated against is something I'm not open about

at work (my religious views). In two previous teaching jobs, I was discriminated against because my unpopular religious views became known." Though he does not explicitly say it, his ability to hide an identity that "would certainly be discriminated against" is a privilege in and of itself. Though "he can't think of any" impact his privilege has on practice, he implicitly tells the reader he has the power to control how others perceive him, which undoubtedly impacts his ongoing professional identity development (i.e., it is not unreasonable to assume past discrimination caused discomfort in daily interactions with colleagues, which is why he now hides it). In any case, Case 111's story points out that some social identities can be hidden from public view, which directly impacts their role in the marginalization and privileging of individuals.

Several respondents also comment on the privileged social identities of their students and the communities and schools in which they work, which has implications for everyone's health, safety, and ability to focus on teaching and learning:

I am White. I went to all-White schools in all-White town in an all-white area of [the Northeast]. I never knew hunger or any sort of strife, and even in college at my mostly White campus I didn't [really] struggle ever. As a teacher I work in a mostly White community with an all-White staff and no people of minority to be role models for the very few minority students we have. I also don't worry about active shooter drills because we don't do them. Our kids are mostly mentally well and there is almost no poverty in my school, so I do not deal with much of the trauma and struggle that others do, so I feel completely privileged… I use my

privilege to help students always feel welcome and that class is a safe space to enjoy. (Case 49)

My class sizes are smaller than any other classes. My students are disproportionately White and wealthy as compared to the whole-school student body. Most of my students have support at home and strong parent involvement. Students who are not doing well in French class are placed into other electives, either by their parents, the counselors, or the students themselves. (Case 93)

Not all privileged respondents work in privileged communities, however. In fact, several respondents highlight the marginalized status of their students and communities to discuss their own privilege as someone who does not share their burden. They draw on their awareness of this difference to make a difference in the classroom:

I feel the privilege when I teach my students. I am White while most of my students are not. I'm a native-born U.S. citizen while most of my students might not be. I own a home and I have a higher income than many of their families. I have health insurance and many of my students leave that part blank on their field trip forms because they don't have health insurance. I feel very aware of my privilege and try to keep it in mind when planning my lessons.

When I plan a novel to read with students or novels for students to choose from, I am looking for characters and plots that are relevant to my students. For example, I look for characters of color, characters who are LGBTQ, characters whose families are immigrants but not poor. I prefer to highlight the French speaking world that is not France: Senegal, Morocco, etc. where students might

have family from. I am careful about teaching the family giving students a wide

variety of family terms. (Case 107)

My race, sexual identity, years in the profession, and status all place me in a

privileged position, especially when compared to my colleagues of color. I have

committed to working toward cultural humility, not only recognizing but

celebrating underrepresented experiences in my course materials, literary choices,

musical selections, and more. My emphasis on recognizing and calling out power

structures that disproportionately benefit some groups is a core element of my

praxis and has been central in my students' experiences in my classes. (Case 54)

Case 106 offers additional insight into how the COVID-19 pandemic has

exacerbated the access gap for students of color in disadvantaged neighborhoods:

 I am privileged because I am White, and I am safe in my home in [the Midwest],

whereas my students and my classroom coach are Black and some are in person

[teaching and learning], where they are putting themselves at risk due to COVID.

The school is also in a disadvantaged neighborhood, and many students who are

working from home are experiencing connectivity issues… I try to provide

multiple pathways to success, knowing that my students have a variety of

obstacles to overcome. (Case 106)

Case 154's awareness of privilege is rooted in their own personal experience of

not always having been privileged, which allows them to support students in similar

situations:

I am a White (and currently) upper-class female. …While I currently live in a situation where I am upper-middle class, I was raised in an environment where money was very tight. I put myself through college and grad school. I try to be aware of the economic differences between my students. This can be challenging when trying to get conversations going as the question "What did you do over Winter Break" can elicit responses about some students traveling to far-flung locations while other students have never left our state. (Case 154)

Case 101 is the only respondent to draw on social identities other than race to describe their privilege: "I'm privileged to teach in a foreign country in my native language and combine foreign teachers' education with the U.S. school system." Their perspective stands in contrast to research evidencing international teachers' struggle to adjust to the teaching culture of the United States (Kissau et al., 2011) and the discrimination NNESs often face in the United States (e.g., Kayi-Aydar, 2017), but this makes sense since their teaching context is also one of privilege. Case 101 works in a highly respected and supported German immersion program in the Midwest. They do not feel marginalized because "language comes first and is included in teaching any other academics" in their school. Case 101's experience tells us, once again, that ideological valuation of language education has a powerful influence on teachers' professional experience, and this may be due to empowerment.

An independent samples t-test revealed that the 23 non-U.S. born language teachers in this study actually have significantly higher status in their schools than the 144 U.S.-born teachers with a medium effect (**Table 11**). However, there were no

significant differences between teachers' U.S.-born status and their professional growth, decision making, autonomy, or marginalization (**Table 11**). There was also no significant association between U.S.-born status and their perceptions of privilege, χ^2 (1) = 2.02, p = .156. Non-U.S. born teachers' increased status could be due their linguistic identities as NSs of the TL they teach. Recall that NSs experience significantly less marginalization than L2L teachers (**Table 10**). Their NS status could garner them "more [credit] with the parents" (Case 13), but there is no association between teachers' TL status and their perceptions of privilege, χ^2(1) = .985, p = .611.

Table 11

t-test Results Comparing Levels of Marginalization and Empowerment to U.S.-born Status

	U.S.-born		Non-U.S. born			
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*t*(165)	Cohen's *d*
Marginalization	3.23	1.10	2.77	1.14	1.83	.411
Professional growth	4.63	.73	4.77	1.07	-.82	.184
Decision making	3.28	.86	3.23	1.04	.27	.061
Status	4.92	.58	5.18	.61	-2.02*	.455
Autonomy	4.63	.95	4.57	.91	.325	.073

*p < .05

There were no other statistically significant relationships found between respondents' demographic (i.e., race, gender, education,) and contextual variables (i.e.,

language taught, level taught, access to professional development, years of experience, school context,) and their perceptions of privilege. Nevertheless, the qualitative analysis evidences that privilege positively impacts teachers in their ongoing professional identity development as they engage in local social activity.

Micro Level: Impact on Local Social Activity. The innermost circle of **Figure 10** contains the themes about how privileged language teachers function at the micro level in their schools. In direct opposition to marginalized teachers, privileged teachers overwhelmingly report that the support they receive allows them to meet their students' needs. They have the flexibility to be creative, innovative, and adapt their teaching to students' interests and needs, which keeps them engaged and learning. Language classes are fun, students want to engage in long-term study, and they get to develop useful levels of proficiency. Teachers' jobs are easier, allowing them to flourish and be their best selves.

Figure 11 displays the common themes that emerged in privileged teachers' descriptions of how they are personally impacted by their teaching contexts. They feel cared for and validated; they have power, status, and resources; they can do their job effectively; and they have gratitude and awareness.
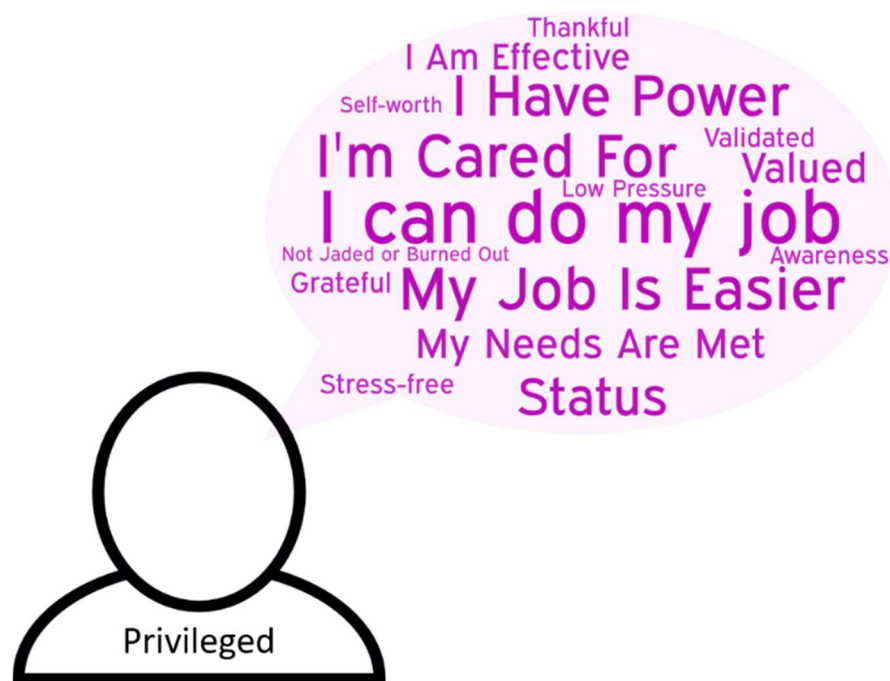
Figure 11

Impact of Privilege on Language Teachers

Case 30 highlights the power of supportive human interaction in fostering stewardship at the micro level:

Even though it's an imperfect human institution, my school supports and cares for me… I am also grateful and thankful for what I have received. I have been given privilege. I do not feel shame for this, but rather, I am excited to practice good stewardship with what has been given unto me.

Because of the training and support I receive in my practice, I am able to respond with kindness and maturity to my students in the classroom. Many come from trauma backgrounds. I treat them well because of how well I have been, and

am, treated.

I am provided with access to bright minds and good education training resources. I use this formation and these resources to give me ideas for creating good lesson plans tailored to students' context, need, and progress. In short, I've been given high quality educational opportunities, and so I am able to reflect and provide a similar environment for my students.

In addition to being able to provide social-emotional support to students in these nurturing environments, these teachers are able to provide more enriching learning experiences that are enjoyable, stress-free, and self-sustaining:

I know that my job as a teacher is much more enjoyable because I teach a language!... I am free to try new things because we aren't bound by a test that my students have to take. I am free to learn with my students and to conduct my class as I see fit, giving breaks and exploring things that might not be 'in the curriculum'. I can plan events like the one we are having this Friday with my students and not worry about 'lost instructional time' and I'm not afraid of being fired if my students don't do well in my class. I think students learn in my class because they chose to take the class, and they want to do what they are interested in, of course! (Case 98)

Being privileged probably makes me more enthusiastic as a teacher which in turn creates a more engaging experience for my students. They can tell that I'm excited so they are more inclined to be excited or interested. It also makes me want to do better and create more engaging lessons. (Case 166)

Case 1 points out that privileged teaching is personally rewarding: "My life is so much more interesting. I have the opportunity to be in touch with the rest of the world. I don't live in an insular repetitive pedagogy bubble." Case 163 feels the same: "I have the awesome opportunity to explore other cultures, make new, rewarding life-long relationships. This is truly a privilege." Rewarding environments benefit the profession because they retain effective teachers:

> My privilege keeps me from becoming jaded or burned out by low student performance on standardized tests, or feeling pressured or restricted in what I teach. This allows me to tailor my instruction to my students' interests and needs, and engage them more readily.

The data clearly evidence that valuing and supporting language teachers positively impacts them and the profession. It should be noted that several respondents candidly admit to not knowing how their privilege impacts practice. For example, one person writes that their privilege is "N/A" [not applicable] to their practice, even though they directly link their privilege to the professional relationships they have developed over the years:

> Personally, I have met a lot of great teachers in the U.S. that I can learn from. Moreover, I feel very honored to have some of them my mentors, and I am very proud to call some of them my good friends. Also, I am privileged to have great support from my colleagues and supervisors since day one when I started teaching. (Case 156)

It is reasonable to assume that these relationships have indeed positively impacted

Case 156's practice based on the evidence presented above. This teacher also writes that their marginalization as a non-U.S. born Asian teacher is "N/A" to their practice, but this is likely not the case. Similar to this curious response, there were a few comments related to privilege that allude to teachers' misconceptions of privilege. For example, Case 15 writes, "I don't need special privileges any more than any other teacher"; Case 37 thinks, "we should all be the same, everyone is equal"; and Case 80 inquires, "I'm going to be marginalized and privileged?" These comments suggest privilege is something that is needed or chosen and that cannot co-exist with marginalization, which the data (and well-established literature) refute.

Overview of Marginalization and Privilege. This analysis evidences discernable patterns in the way these language teachers conceive of and process marginalization and privilege as unique phenomena. Unsupportive environments that devalue language education and language teachers foment marginalizing practices that restrict teachers' freedom, status, access to resources, decision making, and professional growth. As a result, teacher development, student learning, and language programs suffer. Supportive environments that value language education and confer language teachers with status nurture productive practices that provide teachers with the resources they need to be successful. As a result, they, their students, and programs flourish.

The large-scale patterns of marginalization and privilege that emerged in this analysis are helpful in understanding the experiences of marginalization and privilege separately, but what happens when teachers experience them in tandem?

Combined Perceptions of Marginalization and Privilege. I analyzed the

quantitative data by running ANOVAs between the combined perceptions of

marginalization and privilege (IVs) and the scaled variables for marginalization and

empowerment (DVs). Recall that there is no significant association between teachers'

perceptions of marginalization and privilege in this study. So, although the series of

ANOVAs did reveal statistically significant differences between the groups'

marginalization and empowerment, the same relationships emerged as previously

presented. That is to say, teachers who feel marginalized (regardless of their privilege

status) still experience less professional growth, decision making, and status in their

schools than those who do not feel marginalized (regardless of privilege; **Table 12**). The

marginalized groups' measures are also statistically similar on all five variables, which

makes sense since these variables are more strongly linked to perceptions of

marginalization than privilege (see **Table 6**). Analyzing teachers' empowerment and

marginalization by subgroup primarily served to substantiate previous findings, but two

curious profile comparisons serve as a reminder that the relationships discovered in this

study do not occur in isolation.

Table 12

Means and Standard Deviations of Marginalization and Empowerment Variables for Combined Marginalized-Privileged

Subgroups

	Marginalized and Privileged $n = 31$		Marginalized, not Privileged $n = 46$		Privileged, not Marginalized $n = 39$		Neither Marginalized nor Privileged $n = 47$		$F(3, 159)$	χ^2
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD		
Marginalization	3.72[a]	.88	3.81[a]	.73	2.52[b]	1.02	2.62[b]	1.01	23.51***	.308
Decision Making	3.26[ab]	.82	2.84[b]	.78	3.26[b]	.82	3.72[a]	.89	8.88***	.143
Professional Growth	4.37[b]	.84	4.37[b]	.67	5.02[a]	.73	4.85[a]	.63	8.73***	.141
Status	4.96[ab]	.50	4.70[b]	.59	5.14[a]	.60	5.04[a]	.61	4.69**	.081
Autonomy	4.59	.91	4.53	.95	4.63	.97	4.78	.78	.642	.012

$**p < .01, ***p < .001$
Note. Pairs not sharing a superscript are significantly different at $p < .05$, computed with Tukey HSD post-hoc comparisons

There are two subgroups with the exact same moderate score on decision making (a variable significantly related to perceptions of marginalization), but one group feels marginalized (Marginalized and Privileged) and the other does not (Privileged, but not Marginalized). Similarly, there are two groups with statistically similar high levels of status (the only variable significantly related to perceptions of privilege), but one group feels privileged (Privileged, not Marginalized) and the other does not (Neither Privileged nor Marginalized). This is because these variables (decision making and status, respectively) do not singularly influence teachers' perceptions. Each group's combined profile must be taken into consideration. For example, the Privileged-only group may not associate their low to moderate decision-making with marginalization because they simultaneously experience low levels of marginalization, high autonomy, and very high professional and status. Taken together, these teachers view their positions as privileged, but not marginalized.

As for the two groups with high status, but conflicting perceptions of privilege, a qualitative analysis of each subgroup's explanations of their perceptions helps elucidate this curious finding. Recall that respondents' conceptualizations of privilege are more varied than their conceptualizations of marginalization. What one person perceives as a privilege, another may view as a basic right, and several respondents misinterpret privilege altogether. No respondents misinterpreted marginalization. These perceptions are subjective because they are relational to individuals' unique lived experiences. By grouping the qualitative data into combined perceptions of marginalization and privilege, it became clearer how the mutually constitutive nature of these two phenomena shape

teachers' conceptualizations of each. The more nurturing and respectful the environment, the more likely teachers are to perceive themselves as equals, and thus their perceptions of privilege narrow (i.e., the positive aspects of their jobs are normal, and not special). In this sense, not being privileged is a good thing. However, the more restrictive and oppressive the environment, the more likely teachers will perceive any benefit that ameliorates their marginalization as a privilege because they are rare and special.

Marginalized, but not Privileged. Just over a quarter of the sample ($n = 46$, 28%) perceives themselves to be marginalized, but not privileged. This group experiences the most marginalization and has the least decision-making, status, and autonomy of all four subgroups (**Table 12**). They share the lowest access to professional growth with teachers who are marginalized and privileged. Both the quantitative and qualitative data suggest this is the most oppressed and restricted group of the sample.

These teachers' open-ended responses closely resemble the analysis above about how teachers experience marginalization at macro, meso, and micro levels (i.e., devaluation and lack of support thwart development). These teachers do not perceive themselves to be privileged because of their overt marginalization. As such, this group most commonly frames their lack of privilege in terms of marginalization. Of the 43 comments, 40 of them mention marginalizing ideologies and practices as reasons they are not privileged (the remaining 2 are related to equality, and 1 is a misconception). This group's qualitative data is peppered with negative affect, including themes of depression, demoralization, and lack of energy, motivation, strength, excitement, support, and value. The marginalizing practices are so prevalent in these environments, that even the most

empowered teachers find it difficult to thrive, like Case 73, who is highly respected, educated, and experienced, and yet marginalized nonetheless:

As a professional, I'm respected due to my longevity in the profession, my EdD, National Board Certification and willingness to speak up. But my school is focused almost solely on STEM subjects. I've been at this school for 10 years; my Spanish IV dual-credit class is routinely raided to support boost enrollment in AP Physics, Calc, etc. I'm retiring from public school in June (personal decision made in Fall 2019 - nothing to do with COVID or attacks from the public and [state] legislators on teachers), but will still teach as an adjunct professor. My room will become a science lab next years, but 2 weeks ago the principal forced us out of the room to install cabinets for a class that doesn't exist yet. He wouldn't even ask maintenance to remove our big screen TV to our new room. The academic achievement of current Spanish students took a back seat to what the science department wanted…Upon my retirement, the dual credit Spanish IV and V classes will be eliminated.

The marginalized-only subgroup's overarching theme is, "My environment prevents me from being my best self."

Marginalized and Privileged. One-fifth of the sample ($n = 31$, 19%) perceives themselves to be both marginalized and privileged. They have low to moderate decision making and experience moderate to high levels of marginalization, but have high to very high professional growth, status, and autonomy in their schools (**Table 12**). Their mean profile is similar to the subgroup of teachers who feel marginalized, but not privileged.

These teachers describe their marginalization very similarly to the other marginalized subgroup because they often work in schools where language education is an elective or "specials" course that is often forgotten about and not respected. However, this group of teachers feels privileged primarily for their freedom to teach how they want (e.g., Case 23 "[appreciates] and [needs] that freedom and flexibility that being forgotten affords" them). Several teachers also link their privilege to working in high-status schools that provide support (e.g., Case 42 has their "own classroom!" and Case 57 works "in an affluent district" with "technology and materials.") and are more personally rewarding (e.g., "My pay in this district also means I can afford to invest my own money into materials" [Case 142]; "I have very motivated students at the AP level, so I am motivated to plan and teach my heart out" [Case 138]; "I feel less stress and anxiety in my day due to the freedom I have…" [Case 126]). Aside from the socioeconomic status of their schools, this group is the least likely to highlight their social identities as privileging (of the 30 comments, only 3 people mention identities such as gender, race, sexuality, and education). These teachers rather feel privileged for the tangible resources and support they receive that make their jobs easier. While their environments are not ideal or perfect due to marginalization, these privileges make their environments more tolerable.

This group's overarching theme is "Things could be better, but I can't complain because things could be worse, too." Case 127 is an exemplar marginalized-privileged teacher who is simultaneously (un)supported and (de)valued along different dimensions:

I am lucky to teach in a school where language is considered a core class. Students are not pulled from language for remediation. I have a budget to buy

books and supplies. My students have what they need. I have access to PD and
supplies which allows me to be the best teacher I can be for them.

Despite having access to resources in a "school where language education is
valued…, there are daily reminders that school admin, other teachers, and parents don't
see it as important as other classes." Although Case 127 is supported at the classroom
level, decisions are made at the institutional level that make their job more difficult, such
as, "World Language teachers teach more preps, deal with shifting schedules,
programmatical changes, losing their teaching space, [and] not running classes with small
numbers." As a result, Case 127's "biggest frustrations stem from not being able to meet
student's needs," for example, because "classes [are] too large to reach all students."

Privileged, but not Marginalized. Just under one-quarter of the sample ($n = 39$,
23%) perceives themselves to be privileged, but not marginalized. They experience very
low to moderate levels of marginalization, have moderate decision-making capabilities
and autonomy, and high to very high status and professional growth in their schools
(**Table 12**).

This group of language teachers primarily describes their privilege as presented in
Figure 10; they are valued and supported in their schools because others view language
education as important and essential. They are locally supported, and thus able to be their
best teacher selves to meet the needs of students, which is personally rewarding and
motivating. The overarching theme for this group is "I can meet my students needs
because my needs are met."

This group does not perceive themselves to be marginalized because they do not

experience marginalizing practices in their jobs, and they are overwhelmingly supported by others. Several respondents acknowledge that language education is a marginalized discipline, but that it simply does not impact them, like Case 24 who admits, "I'm just not that worried about [marginalization]. It's more of an advantage to not be subject to state tests [and] to have students who chose to take the class." Similarly, Case 53 doesn't "worry about perception." They "just do what [they] do to meet [their] students' needs," but this is predicated on the fact that they "have the best resources and are free to reinvent and innovate."

These teachers feel privileged because they have support, freedom, and access to professional growth and rewarding relationships. This group is also the most likely to highlight their social identities as privileging. Of 37 comments, 10 people cite race, gender, sexuality, nationality, language, socioeconomic status, and education as privileging identities. Though not all respondents can articulate how their privileged identities impact their practice, several explain that their awareness of societal privilege and marginalization motivate them to create a more diverse and social-justice oriented practice.

As a whole, their stories indicate that as long as teachers are locally valued and supported, they can succeed as language teachers, challenging Reagan and Osborn's (2019) belief that, "even the most competent foreign language teacher is faced with an almost insurmountable challenge in the U.S. context" (p. 91). Moreover, they evidence the benefit of cultivating teachers' critical self-awareness in their ongoing professional development.

Neither Marginalized nor Privileged. Just over a quarter of the sample ($n = 47$, 28%) perceives themselves to be neither marginalized nor privileged. Similar to the privileged-only group, they experience very low to moderate levels of marginalization and have high to very high autonomy, status, and professional growth in their schools (**Table 12**). However, these teachers have moderate to high decision-making capabilities that are significantly greater than those of the privileged-only group.

The teachers in this group do not feel marginalized for many of the same reasons respondents describe privilege: they are valued and supported, they have a voice and are included. Several respondents are exposed to marginalizing practices in their schools, but they credit their administrators (particularly principals) for supporting them in these difficult environments, suggesting that *who* is doing the marginalizing matters:

> My principal regularly tries to check-in with us, get a sense of what World Language needs. For this reason, at least from him, I feel that we're cared about. The problems for our programs arise because generally the district, some of my colleagues, and almost all other administrators, don't have the same respect. It's an uphill battle for resources, time, support, etc. (Case 58)

> I think [I am not marginalized because I am] a part of decisions with our administrators. I do feel that although maybe in general language teachers are marginalized at times or feel like they aren't important within the school. I have never been in a situation where my administrators have made me feel this way. (Case 78)

> About half the teachers in this group do not feel privileged because they

experience marginalization, even though they do not perceive themselves to be marginalized. Their descriptions of not being privileged are similar to those of the marginalized-only subgroup. For example, Case 78 does not feel privileged since "sometimes languages may be pushed down in importance." Case 165 explains that, "language teachers…are given more students and less time to plan in general than core classes." Case 121 is the only person from this group to cite a social identity as a source of marginalization, even though they frame it as a lack of privilege: "Since I am not native speaking, I feel like I am constantly trying to prove myself."

The other half of this subgroup frames their lack of privilege and marginalization in terms of equality, which is what distinguishes them the most from the other subgroups. Of 46 sets of comments, 21 teachers write explanations like, "we are treated as equals and all collaborate well. No one subject is favored over another" (Case 112); "I am not treated differently than any other teachers in my school or district for the subject that I teach. We are all respected and valued equally" (Case 90); and simply, "I don't receive special treatment" (Case 103).

This subgroup also has the highest occurrence of comments ($n = 5$) that allude to misconceptions about privilege, such as "I don't need special privileges" (Case 16) and "A teacher is supposed to teach, not have privileges" (Case 148).

Despite the varied and sometimes conflated interpretations of what it means to be privileged (or not) and marginalized (or not), these teachers display an overall positive affect for the profession and their jobs. And despite not feeling privileged, this group has stronger empowerment scores than the privileged-only group, particularly when it comes

to decision-making. This group was not prompted on the survey to describe how they felt their positioning impacts their practice, but I surmise their responses would be positive and similar to the privileged-only teachers who flourish because their needs are being met. Marginalization and privilege are present in these teachers' professional lives, but the overall theme of this group is "marginalization and privilege do not impact me."

Having thoroughly analyzed respondents' marginalization, privilege, and empowerment, I then explored how these teachers orient themselves to the profession via their language teacher immunity.

RQ2: Language Teacher Immunity

The second set of research questions I answered were "What typologies of language teacher immunity emerge in teachers of LOTE in the U.S.?" and "What are the relationships between demographic and contextual factors and their immunity development?" First, I used R Statistical Software (R Core Team, 2020) to run a hierarchical cluster analysis using Ward's method and Euclidian distance as the measure of five immunity variables (teaching self-efficacy, resilience, attitudes towards teaching, openness to change, and classroom affectivity) to explore what immunity archetypes emerged in this sample. After settling on a solution, I ran descriptive statistics of the demographic and contextual data, grouped by cluster membership, to describe and refine each cluster profile.

For the cluster analysis, I first visually screened the dendrogram plot (**Figure 12**) to determine that a minimum of four clusters somewhat evenly differentiated the cases, and that any solution beyond six clusters would likely yield groups that were too similar

to one another given the short vertical distance between some of the groups.

Ward clustering

IMMcluster
Agglomerative Coefficient = 0.96
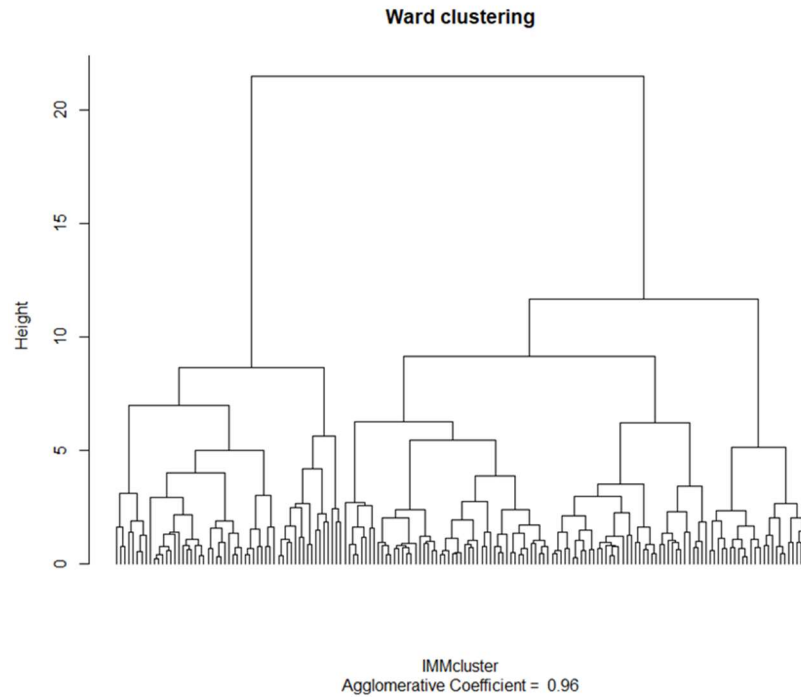
Figure 12

Dendrogram of Hierarchical Cluster Analysis

Next, I evaluated the scree plot (see **Figure 13**) to confirm that no fewer than four clusters would maximize the sum of squares between clusters while minimizing the sum of squares within. I considered five clusters as a potentially optimal model given how both plotted lines begin to level out after five clusters, but wanted to explore if the slight increases in explained variance from one model to the next (i.e., from 5 to 6 to 7 clusters) were actually meaningful despite their small value.
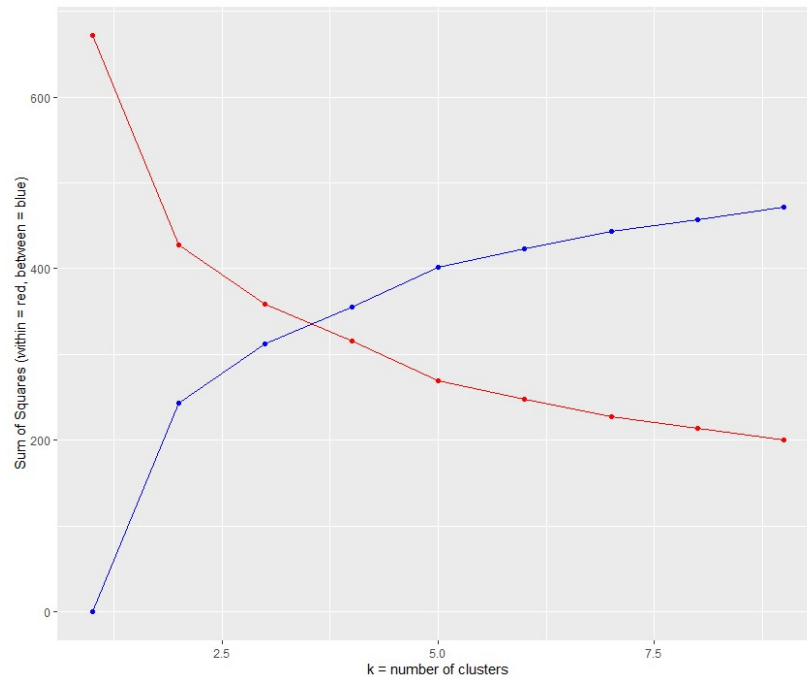
Figure 13

Scree Plot of Hierarchical Cluster Analysis

I ran K-means analyses for models with four to seven clusters and analyzed

cluster plots and descriptive data for each model. A side-by-side comparison of the

cluster plots (see **Figure 14**) confirmed that a 5-cluster model was superior to a 4-cluster

model since it clearly distinguished an additional group with little to no overlap of

clusters. In order to determine if the 6- and 7-cluster models offered additional

meaningful groups, I compared the standardized cluster means of the central clusters

from the 5-, 6-, and 7-cluster models. The addition of cluster 4 in the 6-cluster model

produced a group with a distinct profile that had higher resilience than clusters 1 and 2.

However, the addition of cluster 1 in the 7-cluster model produced a group with a very

similar profile to cluster 2. This pattern of evolving central cluster profiles evidenced that the 6-cluster model indeed produced a meaningful additional cluster, whereas the 7-cluster model did not. I therefore concluded that the 6-cluster model offered the optimal solution for determining how many immunity archetypes emerged in the dataset.
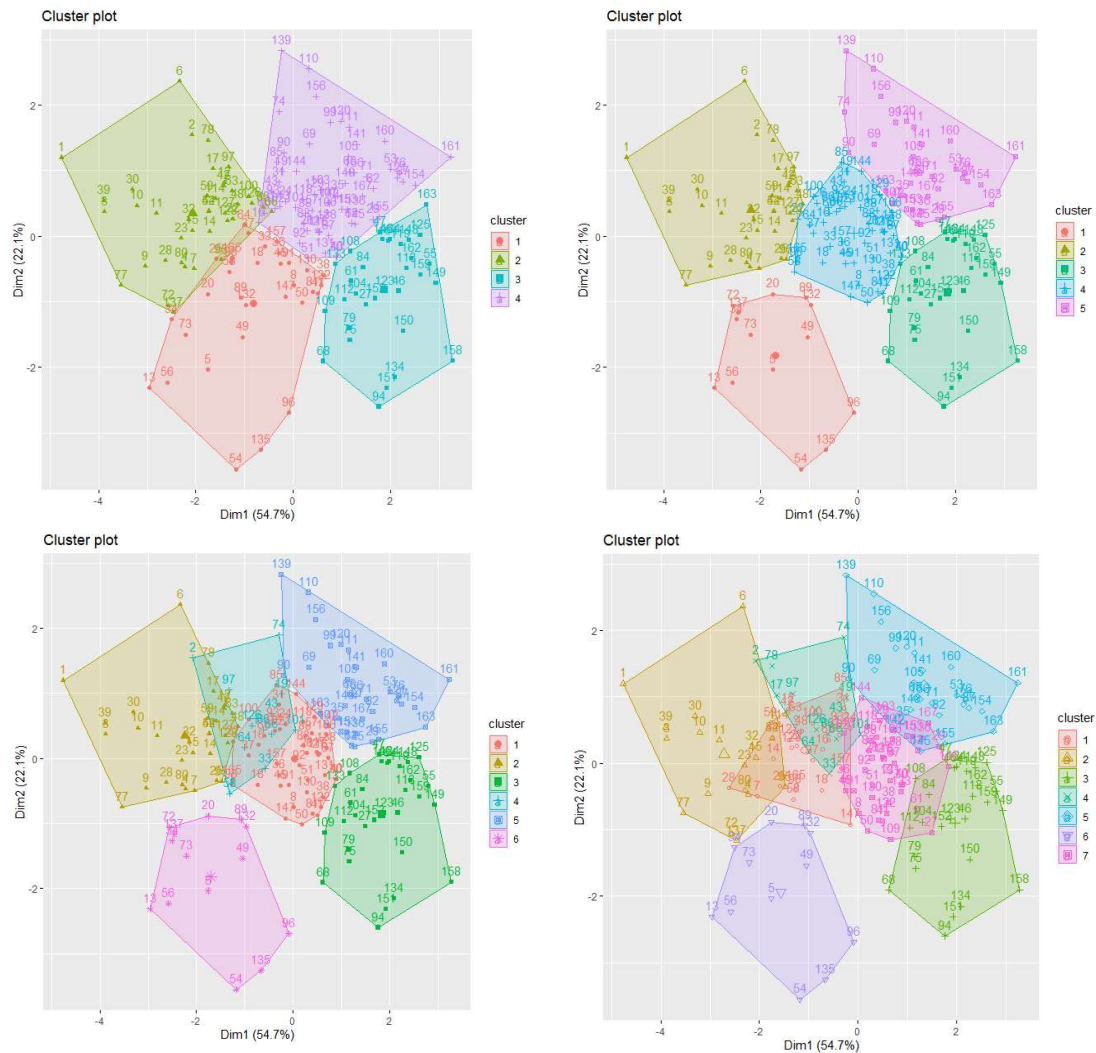
Figure 14

Side-by-Side Comparison of Cluster Plots From Models With 4, 5, 6, and 7 Clusters

6-Cluster Model Results

      Table 13 displays the immunity mean profiles of each cluster and the total

sample. I ran a series of ANOVAs between the 6-cluster solution (IV) and each immunity

variable (DV) to explore the relationships between them. Statistically significant

differences with a moderate effect on all five variables revealed that each immunity

variable contributes to distinguishing cluster membership (**Table 13**).

Table 13

Cluster Means and Standard Deviations for Whole Sample and by Cluster With One-Way Analyses of Variance Results

	Cluster 1		Cluster 2		Cluster 3		Cluster 4		Cluster 5		Cluster 6		Total Sample			
	$n = 45$		$n = 31$		$n = 31$		$n = 12$		$n = 34$		$n = 14$		$N = 167$			
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	$F(5, 161)$	η^2
Teaching Self-efficacy	4.59^b	0.46	3.97^c	0.44	5.17^a	0.44	4.14^{bc}	0.64	5.02^a	0.49	4.29^{bc}	0.82	4.61	0.67	25.14***	.438
Resilience	4.22^{cd}	0.54	3.14^e	0.65	5.17^a	0.50	4.53^{bc}	0.50	4.71^{ab}	0.79	3.64^{de}	1.04	4.27	0.94	35.47***	.524
Attitudes towards Teaching	4.47^c	0.48	3.42^b	0.60	5.09^a	0.68	3.63^b	0.59	5.46^a	0.49	2.56^d	0.59	4.37	1.07	86.94***	.730
Openness to Change	3.46^c	0.47	2.73^b	0.60	4.55^a	0.65	2.33^b	0.65	2.71^b	0.54	4.68^a	0.67	3.39	0.99	64.97***	.669
Classroom Affectivity	4.59^b	0.40	3.62^c	0.57	5.24^a	0.39	4.50^b	0.51	5.19^a	0.40	3.76^c	0.61	4.58	0.77	60.01***	.651

***$p < .001$

Note. Pairs not sharing a superscript are significantly different at $p < .05$

I conducted Tukey post-hoc comparisons to determine which pairs of clusters had significantly different measures of efficacy, attitudes, openness to change, and affectivity at $p < .05$. I ran a Games-Howell post-hoc for resilience because it violated Levene's test of homogeneity of variance at $p < .05$. The post-hoc comparisons revealed numerous differences between clusters on these measures, indicating that these profiles are unique from one another (**Table 13**). Some salient differences to point out are that clusters 3 and 5 consistently have the highest scores on four of the five variables that are statistically similar, suggesting these groups have similar productive immunities. Clusters 3 and 5 only differ on their openness to change. Clusters 2 and 6 have statistically similar scores on three of the five variables that are consistently among the lowest of the sample, suggesting the presence of two similar and potentially maladaptive immunities. Cluster 2 is only distinguished from cluster 6 by having significantly better attitudes about teaching (which are mediocre, at best), but are significantly less open to change. Finally, cluster 1 has the highest occurrence of significantly different measures from the other clusters on all five variables. It shares a few similarities to clusters 4 (efficacy, resilience, attitudes) and 6 (resilience and attitudes), but otherwise stands out as a distinct group that is consistently situated between the higher and lower scoring profiles.

Before I present the results of individual profiles, it should be noted that the openness to change variable played a unique role in this analysis. First, the original scale had to be reduced from six to two items in order to achieve the highest possible reliability, which was still weak ($\alpha = .666$; described in Chapter 3). Therefore, the openness to change variable in this study conceptually represents respondents' level of

(dis)comfort with the unknown, rather than more broadly capturing their willingness to innovate in the classroom, as originally intended in Hiver's (2017) survey. Second, this study was conducted in AY 2020-2021, during the COVID-19 pandemic when schools functioned in an unprecedented context. It is reasonable to assume that all teachers in this study had to deal with some level of unfamiliarity in their jobs that most likely influenced their measure on the openness to change variable. In sum, the openness to change variable means something different in this study than it did in Hiver's (2017), and this meaningful distinction influenced the interpretation and validation of the immunity archetypes that emerged in this study. I discuss the implications of this in more detail below and in Chapter 5.

      Cluster 1: Complacent. Cluster 1 is the largest group, representing 27% of the sample with 45 members. Despite its size, cluster 1 has a the most consistent profile of the entire sample that is neither overly positive nor negative. Cluster 1 members display generally positive attitudes towards the profession, think they are efficacious teachers, and derive satisfaction from their jobs. They have sufficient resilience to defend against minor adversity and are somewhat open to change (**Table 13**). Taken together, this profile signifies comfort and stability, and so I named the cluster *Complacent*.

      It is possible that cluster 1 teachers are experienced, work in accommodating environments, and have stabilized into a state of sufficiency (i.e., they know what they are doing, and it is good enough). These teachers are likely to sustain a long-term professional identity as long as their context permits, but their contentment with the status quo and moderate openness to change put them at risk of fossilization, making this

archetype at once productive and maladaptive.

Demographically, this group identifies as 84% female, 16% male, 93% White, 2% Black, 2% Asian, and 2% Other race/ethnicity. The large majority are U.S.-born (87%) and NESs (82%), 11% are NNESs, and 7% were raised bi/multilingual. They teach eight languages across all grade levels. The majority (81%) teach one LOTE only (33% Spanish, 22% French, 18% German, 2% Chinese, 2% Japanese, and 2% Latin), while 13% teach multiple LOTEs (e.g., French and Spanish, Latin and Italian), and 6% teach both a LOTE and English as a Second Language (ESL). Most teach in high schools (40%), followed by 22% in elementary schools, 18% in middle schools; 15% split their time between middle and high schools, 4% between elementary and middle schools. Most teach in traditional foreign language programs (82%), including FLES and FLEX (13%), while 13% teach in bilingual/immersion programs, and 4% teach in on-line language programs. They have a mean, median, and mode of 10 years of teaching experience ($M = 10.2$, $SD = 5.7$; see **Figure 15**).
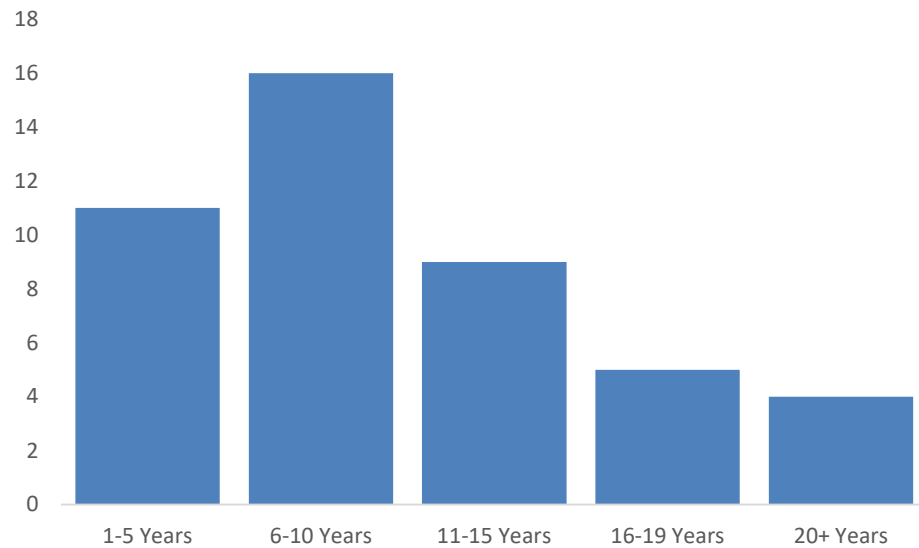
Figure 15

Cluster 1 Members' Years of Teaching Experience

Cluster 2: Defeated. Cluster 2 is comprised of 31 members and represents 19% of the sample. Cluster 2 members share a consistently tepid profile with low to moderate scores on all variables, indicating a maladaptive immunity archetype (**Table 13**). These teachers have moderate to high teaching self-efficacy, apathetic classroom affectivity and attitudes towards teaching, low to moderate resilience, and are less likely to be open to change.

The cluster 2 immunity mean profile very closely corresponds to Hiver's (2017) Defeated archetype, wherein a comparison of each sample's cluster mean profiles shows a difference of no more than ± 0.21 points across all five variables (**Table 14**). Due to the extreme similarity of these profiles, I tentatively named this group *Defeated*.

216

Table 14

Immunity Mean Profile Comparison Between Hiver's (2017) Defeated Archetype and

Cluster 2 of the Current Sample

	Self-efficacy	Resilience	Attitudes to Teaching	Openness to Change	Classroom Affectivity
			Immunity Variables		
Hiver's (2017) Defeated Cluster (*n* = 43, 15%;)	**3.98**	**3.26**	**3.21**	**2.67**	**3.53**
Cluster 2 (*n* = 31, 19%)	3.97	3.14	3.42	2.73	3.62
Difference in means	*-0.01*	*-0.12*	*+0.21*	*+0.06*	*+0.09*

According to Hiver (2017), the Defeated teacher is a halfway archetype that is

vulnerable and pessimistic. Defeated teachers cope through withdrawal and self-

handicapping; reconfigure around powerlessness, resignation, callousness, and cynicism;

adopt inevitability/victimization narratives; and suffer from the teaching equivalent of

learned helplessness. Hiver hypothesizes that Defeated teachers may eventually adapt a

new archetype or leave the profession altogether.

Demographically, Cluster 2 has the highest percentage of males (33%) among the

entire sample and racially identifies as White (81%), Hispanic/Latino (13%), and Black

(7%). The large majority are U.S.-born (97%) and NESs (90%), while 7% are NNESs,

and 3% were raised bi/multilingual. Half the teachers in this cluster teach at the high-

school level (48%), 23% in elementary, and 3% in middle schools. A quarter of the

cluster splits their time between levels, either in middle and elementary schools (10%),

middle and high schools (10%), or K-12 (7%). Most (71%) teach one LOTE only (32% French, 20% Spanish, 13% German, 6% Italian), and 29% teach ESL and one or more LOTEs (10% Arabic and ESL, 9% Spanish and ESL; 3% French and ESL; 3% German, French, and ESL; 3% Spanish, French, and ESL). All but one (97%) teach in a traditional foreign language program, including FLES and FLEX (28%); one person (3%) teaches on-line. There are no bilingual/immersion teachers in this cluster. On average, they have 11 years of teaching experience ($M = 10.8$, $SD = 6$) and a mode of 20+ years ($n = 6$). However, when grouped in five-year increments, they highest frequency of teachers are those with six to ten years of experience (see **Figure 16**).
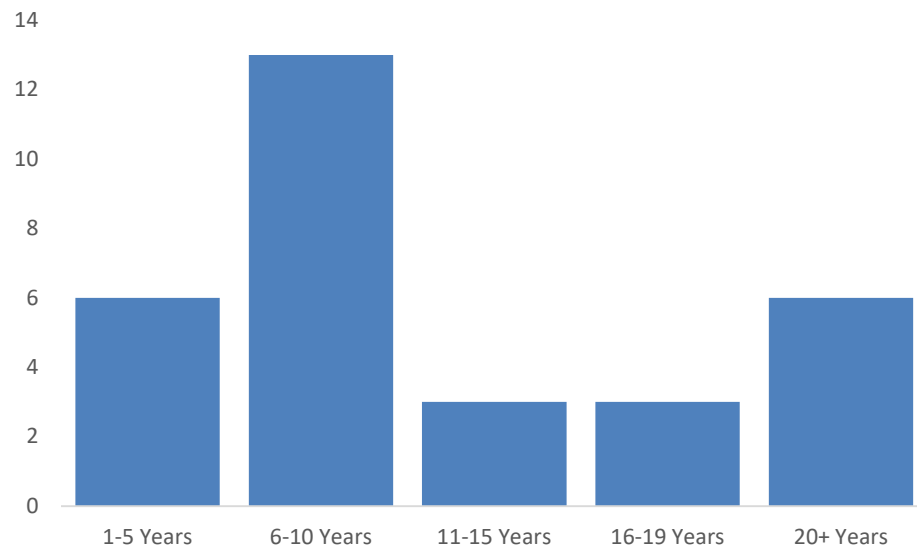
Figure 16

Cluster 2 Members' Years of Teaching Experience

Cluster 3: Visionary. Cluster 3 also has 31 members and accounts for 19% of the sample. The profile consists of high scores on all five immunity variables, indicating a robust, productive immunity. Cluster 3 members are highly resilient and efficacious teachers who are open to change and portray very high classroom affectivity and attitudes towards the profession (**Table 13**). This ideal archetype boasts teachers who are happy, effective, and continuously developing their professional identities.

This immunity profile corresponds to Hiver's (2017) Visionary cluster, but with a slightly different magnitude. Cluster 3 has slightly lower measures of self-efficacy (-0.66 points), resilience (-0.37 points), openness to change (-0.53 points), and classroom affectivity (-0.30), and slightly stronger attitudes towards teaching (+0.42 points; **Table 15**) than Hiver's sample. Nevertheless, both clusters represent the most holistically positive group of teachers from each sample, and I believe them to be similar. It is very plausible that the difference in mean scores between the samples is a reflection of cultural differences or the fact that this study was conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic when schools functioned in an unprecedented context that tested all facets of teachers' immunities (hence the lower scores on four variables). Moreover, the cluster 3 immunity scores are high enough to logically correspond to the Visionary archetype, comprised of innovative dreamers who cope by channeling frustration and anger into a grand search; reconfigure around mechanisms of tenacity, self-actualization, and fulfillment; and adopt a *hero* narrative (Hiver, 2017). For these reasons, I tentatively named cluster 3 *Visionary*.

Table 15

Immunity Mean Profile Comparison Between Hiver's (2017) Visionary Archetype and Cluster 3 of the Current Sample

	Immunity Variables				
	Self-efficacy	Resilience	Attitudes to Teaching	Openness to Change	Classroom Affectivity
Hiver's (2017) Visionary Cluster (*n* = 24, 12%)	**5.83**	**5.54**	**4.67**	**5.08**	**5.54**
Cluster 3 (*n* = 31, 19%)	5.17	5.17	5.09	4.55	5.24
Difference in means	*-0.66*	*-0.37*	*+0.42*	*-0.53*	*-0.30*

Demographically, three-quarters (74%) of this group racially identifies as White, 23% as Latino/Hispanic, and 3% as Other. Three-quarters identify as female, one-quarter male. This group also has the lowest occurrence of U.S.-born members among the sample (77%). Correspondingly, 74% of Visionary teachers are NESs, 13% NNESs, and 14% were raised bi/multilingual. Almost half (45%) teach at the high-school level, 26% at middle school, and 16% split their time between levels. No teacher in this group solely teaches at the elementary level. The large majority (81%) teach in traditional foreign language programs, including FLES and FLEX (15%), while 13% teach bilingual/immersion programs, and 6% teach on-line. Most teach Spanish (58%), 7% French, 3% German, 3% Latin, 6% teach two or more LOTEs (e.g., Arabic and French), and 16% teach a LOTE and ESL. They have an average of 13 years of teaching experience (*M* = 12.6, *SD* = 6.1), but the mode of experience is 20+ years (*n* = 6). Taken

together, the teaching experience of this cluster is evenly distributed across the entire

career spectrum from novice to experienced (see **Figure 17**).
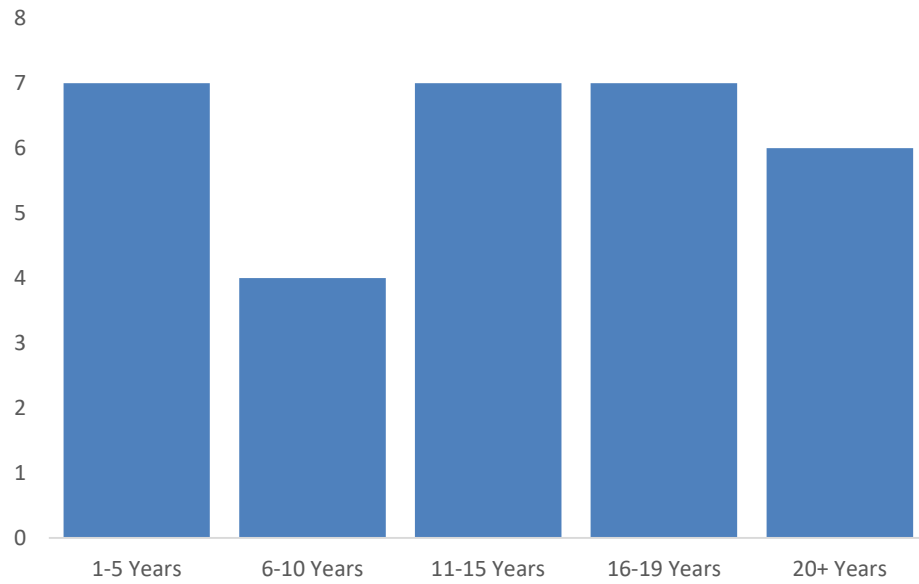
Figure 17

Cluster 3 Members' Years of Teaching Experience

Cluster 4: At-risk. Cluster 4 emerged in the 6-cluster model as a small ($n = 12$),

but unique group that represents 7% of the sample. This profile's strongest attributes are

high resilience and classroom affectivity, followed by moderate to high teaching self-

efficacy and attitudes towards teaching. These teachers are the least open to change

among the sample.

Cluster 4 overlaps with clusters 1 (Complacent) and 2 (Defeated; see **Figure 14**),

and its profile can be best understood when interpreted in relation to both. Post-hoc

comparisons show that cluster 4 teachers have significantly worse attitudes and are less open to change than cluster 1 (Complacent) teachers, but have significantly higher resilience and classroom affectivity than cluster 2 (Defeated) teachers, indicating that cluster 4 teachers are not as content as Complacent teachers, but that they are not yet Defeated, perhaps because of their strong resilience. The fact that cluster 4 teachers display apathetic attitudes towards the teaching profession, but high affect for their classroom, suggests that they find satisfaction in their jobs despite lacking passion for the profession. Perhaps they reconfigure around positive local social activity, such as working in a supportive environment or having strong connections to students and colleagues.

This group's strong resilience evidences a productive immunity quality that likely bestows them with equally strong coping skills. However, their low willingness to change and indifferent attitudes call to question these teachers' commitment to developing their professional identities. They are satisfied in their day-to-day work, and their resilience allows them to overcome the fact that they are not highly efficacious and teaching is not their ideal profession. Without their high resilience and classroom affect, the cluster 4 profile would look like cluster 2 (Defeated), and so I believe this group to be at-risk of becoming Defeated should their resilience wane or they fail to find satisfaction in the classroom. And even if cluster 4 individuals do not succumb to defeat, they are still unlikely to further develop themselves, which puts them at-risk of fossilizing into this conflicted state. For these reasons, I named cluster 4 *At-risk*.

Demographically, cluster 4 members identify as 76% female, 24% male, 83%

White, 8% Hispanic/Latino, and 8% Native American/Alaskan. All were born in the United States, 92% are NESs, and 8% were raised bi/multilingual. Four languages are taught by this group: 75% teach Spanish, 8% French, 8% Spanish and Latin, and 8% Spanish and ESL. Most of these teachers teach at the high-school level (42%), followed by 25% in elementary schools, 17% in elementary and middle schools, 8% middle school, and 8% middle and high school. There are no bilingual/immersion teachers in this group. All but one (92%) teach in traditional foreign language programs, including FLES and FLEX (33%); one person (8%) teaches language on-line. They are mid-career teachers with a mode and mean of 12 years of experience ($M = 12.3$, $SD = 5.3$; see **Figure 18**).
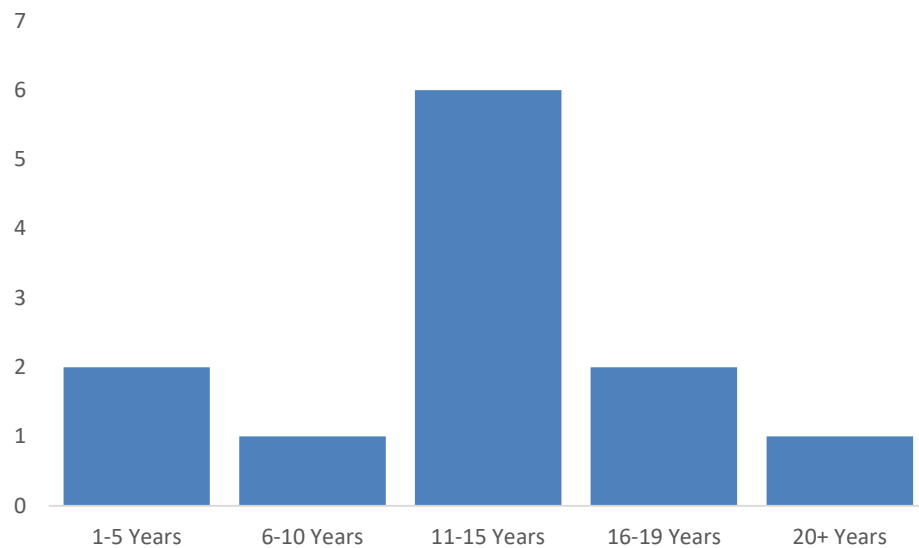
Figure 18

Cluster 4 Members' Years of Teaching Experience

Cluster 5: Protective. Cluster 5 is the second largest cluster with 34 members and accounts for 20% of the sample. This high-score profile evidences the presence of a second productive immunity archetype alongside cluster 3. Cluster 5 teachers have commendable resilience, very high levels of teaching self-efficacy and classroom affectivity, and outstanding attitudes towards teaching (the highest among the sample; **Table 13**). One distinguishing feature of cluster 5 teachers is their curiously low openness to change. In fact, post-hoc comparisons show that cluster 5 is significantly less open to change than clusters 1 (Complacent), 3 (Visionary), and 6 (Jaded), while being just as unlikely to be open to change as maladaptive clusters 2 (Defeated) and 4 (At-risk). It seems contradictory for a highly positive group to not be open to change, but I considered how this particular trait might actually be productive, rather than maladaptive.

Cluster 5's low openness to change is situated within an otherwise very productive immunity profile. In fact, this profile closely aligns to Hiver's (2017) productive Spark Plug archetype, except for having substantially stronger attitudes while being much less open to change (**Table 16**). A Spark Plug is "an optimistic enthusiast" (Hiver, 2017, p. 678) who reconfigures around increased agency that builds self-efficacy and adopts generativity narratives. Hiver interprets the Spark Plug's high openness to change as an openness to pedagogical innovation, but as I explained above, the openness to change variable did not measure this disposition in this study; it only measures respondents' comfort with the unknown. Therefore, I interpreted cluster 5's low score on this variable as more of a cautious stance than an unwillingness to develop practice. After all, this group's very positive attitudes indicate these teachers are involved in the

profession and will strive to live up to their ideals. Their strong efficacy indicates these teachers believe they are teaching in ways that are effective, and so perhaps they do not see a need for change. These language teachers could be highly experienced and know that if they change their practice, they will not be as effective. Because they care so much about their jobs, they would rather continue engaging in what works than try something new that potentially does not. Rather than be optimistic enthusiasts, like Spark Plugs, they are more cautiously optimistic. Rather than embrace conflict head-on, like Spark Plugs, these teachers may actually be trying to protect their practice by not taking risks, in which case their low openness to change would be a productive trait. It is also essential to consider that this low score may be a symptom of working during the COVID-19 pandemic, when teachers were forced to work in unfamiliar contexts that disrupted their productive practice. In any case, I tentatively named cluster 5 *Protective* because I believe these teachers use their immunity skill set to protect their successful practice.

Table 16

Immunity Mean Profile Comparison Between Hiver's (2017) Visionary Archetype and Cluster 3 of the Current Sample

	Immunity Variables				
	Self-efficacy	Resilience	Attitudes to Teaching	Openness to Change	Classroom Affectivity
Hiver's (2017) Spark Plug Cluster (*n* = 75, 26%)	**4.60**	**4.96**	**4.83**	**4.00**	**4.99**
Cluster 5 (*n* = 34, 20%)	5.02	4.71	5.56	2.71	5.19
Difference in means	*+0.42*	*-0.25*	*+0.73*	*-1.29*	*+0.20*

Demographically, cluster 5 members identify as 88% female, 12% male, 65% White, 12% Hispanic/Latino, 9% Asian, 9% Other race/ethnicity, 3% Native-American/Alaskan, and 3% Black. Four-fifths were born in the United States (80%), 68% are NESs, 18% NNESs, and 15% were raised bi/multilingual. The majority teach in high school (62%), 12% in middle school, 3% in elementary, and the remainder split their time between levels (15% in middle and high school, 3% elementary and middle, 3% elementary and high school, 3% K-12). Spanish is the most commonly taught language among these teachers (40%), followed by French (27%), German (12%), Chinese (9%), Spanish and ESL (6%), American Sign Language (3%), and Spanish and French (3%). Almost all teach in a traditional foreign language program (94%), including FLES and FLEX (9%), 3% teach in bilingual/immersion programs, and 3% teach on-line. Cluster 5 teachers have an average of 12 years of experience (*M* = 12.1, *SD* = 6.4), but a mode of

20+ years (*n* = 8, 24%). However, when grouped in 5-year increments, the highest

frequency of teachers are those with 6-10 years of experience (see **Figure 19**).
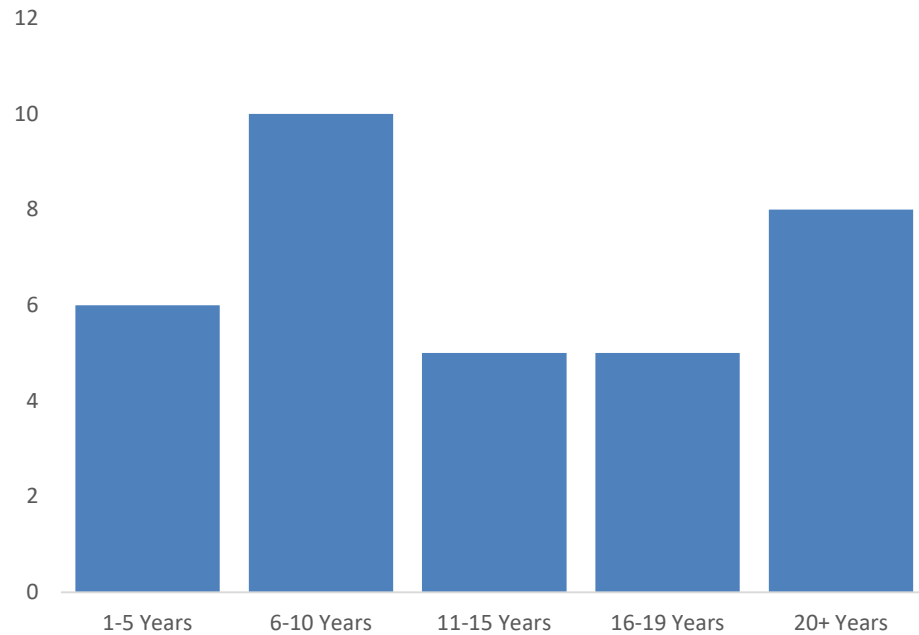
Figure 19

Cluster 5 Members' Years of Teaching Experience

Cluster 6: Jaded. Cluster 6 is the second smallest cluster with only 14 members

accounting for 8% of the sample. This group has a mixed immunity profile of low to high

mean scores. Cluster 6 teachers have the lowest attitudes towards teaching among the

sample and only display moderate affectivity and resilience. However, they are

efficacious and highly open to change. Taken together, this profile portrays teachers with

a distaste for the profession even though they think they are good language teachers.

Their bad attitudes and apathy could be symptoms of having worked for an extended

amount of time in a difficult environment. This group's intriguingly high score on openness to change could be an indicator that they are comfortable with the unfamiliar because the familiar is so uncomfortable, and they are ready for change. These teachers are not resilient, so extended exposure to adversity could have devolved their once-positive attitudes into what they are now. This profile sounds extreme, but the small group size indicates it is an extreme and rare immunity. Overall, this unique combination of qualities points to experienced teachers who, for one reason or another, have become jaded in the profession. To be jaded is to feel or show "a lack of interest and excitement caused by having done or experienced too much of something" (Merriam-Webster, 2022). I tentatively named cluster 6 *Jaded* since this term seems to succinctly capture this profile.

Demographically, cluster 6 members identify as White (86%), Black (7%), Hispanic/Latino (7%), and female (100%). Most of them teach at the high-school level (43%), 14% in middle school, 14% in elementary schools, and the remainder split their time between levels (21% in middle and high school, 7% in middle and elementary schools). About one-third teach Spanish (36%), 28% French, 7% German, 7% Latin, 7% French and Spanish, and 14% teach Spanish and ESL. Almost all of these teachers were born in the United States (86%) and are NESs (93%); 7% were raised bi/multilingual. They have an average of 15 years of teaching experience ($M = 15.4$, $SD = 5.0$), with the mode of 20+ years ($n = 5$, 36%; see **Figure 20**). There are no novice teachers in this cluster (the least experienced teacher has 7 years of experience).
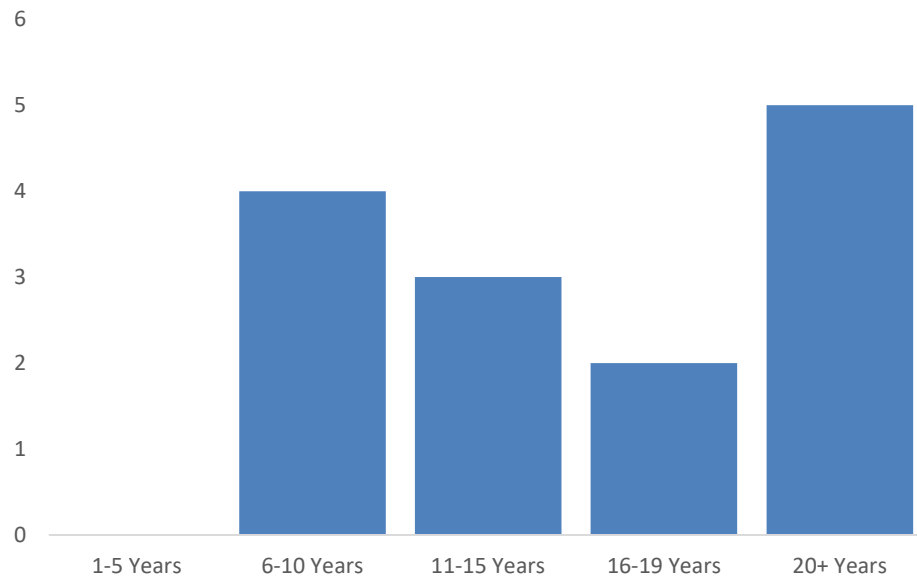
Figure 20

Cluster 6 Members' Years of Teaching Experience

Cluster Validation

I used both quantitative and qualitative data to validate the 6-cluster solution and immunity profile interpretations.

Following Hiver's (2017) procedures, I quantitatively validated the solution by running ANOVAs between the 6-cluster solution (IV) and coping and burnout (DVs), which were the two immunity variables not included in the initial cluster analysis. Supplemental qualitative data further validated each cluster's corresponding levels of coping and burnout.

I validated my immunity archetype interpretations with a variety of quantitative and qualitative data. I ran chi-square tests of association to quantitatively explore any

potential significant relationships between cluster membership and demographic (e.g., race, gender, linguistic identities) and contextual variables (e.g., access to professional development, school context, language taught), though most of these analyses were invalid due to insufficient cell sizes. I also utilized demographic and contextual descriptive statistics to inform and refine each archetype (e.g., does the group's teaching experience correspond with their archetype?).

Figure 21 is one source of contextual data I used to explore patterns in each cluster's professional behaviors compared to the whole sample, including how frequently they utilize the Internet to search for ideas and purchase resources (e.g., books, lesson plans), follow and participate in social media, and read books and scholarly research related to language teaching.

Frequency of Searching for Ideas on the Internet

Cluster	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently	Always
Total Sample (N=167)	1%	4%	17%	47%	32%
Cluster 1: Complacent (n=45)		2%	24%	42%	31%
Cluster 2: Defeated (n=31)		6%	23%	52%	19%
Cluster 3: Visionary (n=31)	3%	6%	26%	45%	19%
Cluster 4: At-risk (n=12)				58%	42%
Cluster 5: Protective (n=34)		3%	9%	53%	35%
Cluster 6: Jaded (n=14)				29%	71%

Legend: ■ Never ■ Rarely ■ Sometimes ■ Frequently ■ Always
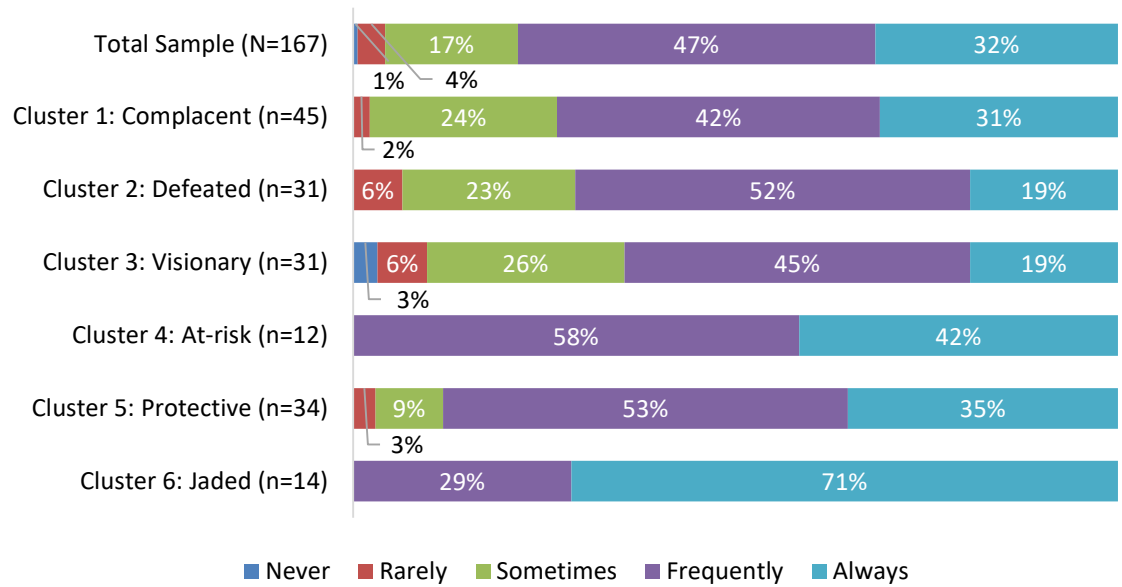
Frequency of Purchasing Resources on the Internet

Cluster	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently	Always
Total Sample (N=167)	8%	29%	37%	19%	8%
Cluster 1: Complacent (n=45)	7%	29%	49%	11%	4%
Cluster 2: Defeated (n=31)	6%	19%	35%	32%	6%
Cluster 3: Visionary (n=31)	10%	48%	29%	13%	
Cluster 4: At-risk (n=12)		8%	25%	42%	25%
Cluster 5: Protective (n=34)	15%	29%	38%	12%	6%
Cluster 6: Jaded (n=14)		21%	21%	29%	29%

Legend: ■ Never ■ Rarely ■ Sometimes ■ Frequently ■ Always
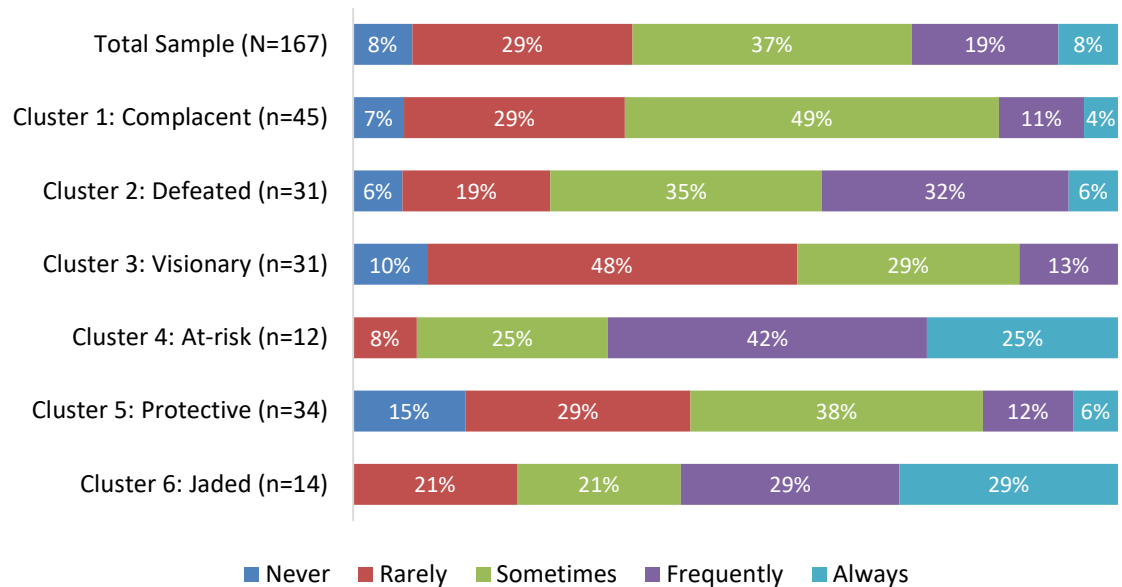
Frequency of Following Social Media

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently	Always
Total Sample (N=167)	6%	16%	25%	31%	23%
Cluster 1: Complacent (n=45)	7%	22%	27%	22%	22%
Cluster 2: Defeated (n=31)	10%	16%	39%	19%	16%
Cluster 3: Visionary (n=31)	6%	6%	13%	58%	16%
Cluster 4: At-risk (n=12)		8%	33%	33%	25%
Cluster 5: Protective (n=34)	3%	18%	24%	26%	29%
Cluster 6: Jaded (n=14)	7%	14%	14%	29%	36%

■ Never ■ Rarely ■ Sometimes ■ Frequently ■ Always
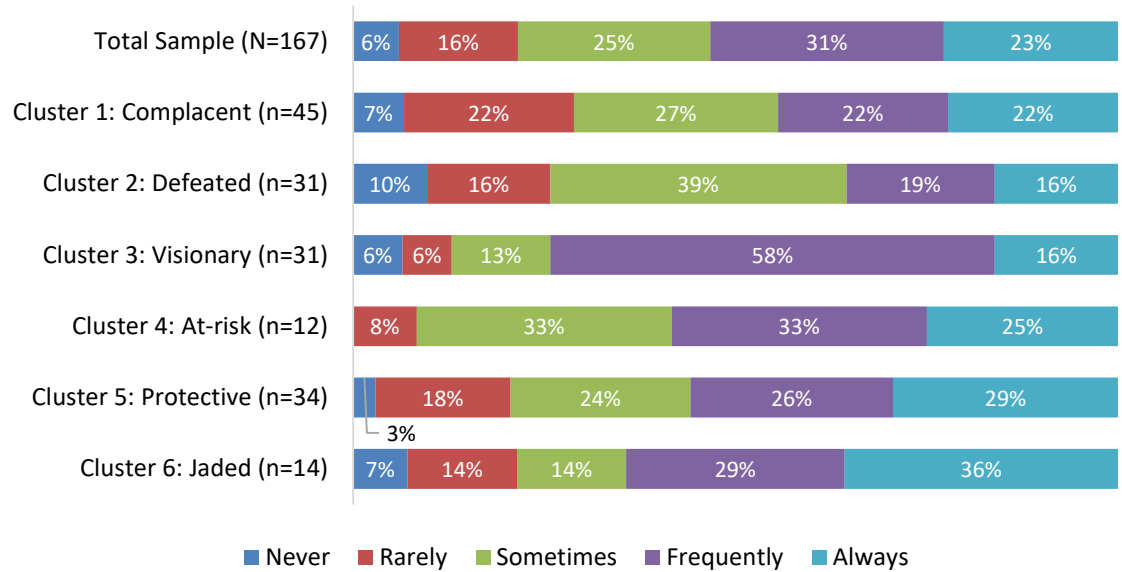
Frequency of Participating in Social Media

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently	Always
Total Sample (N=167)	7%	12%	27%	28%	27%
Cluster 1: Complacent (n=45)	7%	20%	27%	22%	24%
Cluster 2: Defeated (n=31)	13%	16%	32%	23%	16%
Cluster 3: Visionary (n=31)	6%	6%	26%	32%	29%
Cluster 4: At-risk (n=12)		8%	25%	42%	25%
Cluster 5: Protective (n=34)	3%	9%	26%	32%	29%
Cluster 6: Jaded (n=14)	7%		21%	21%	50%

■ Never ■ Rarely ■ Sometimes ■ Frequently ■ Always

232
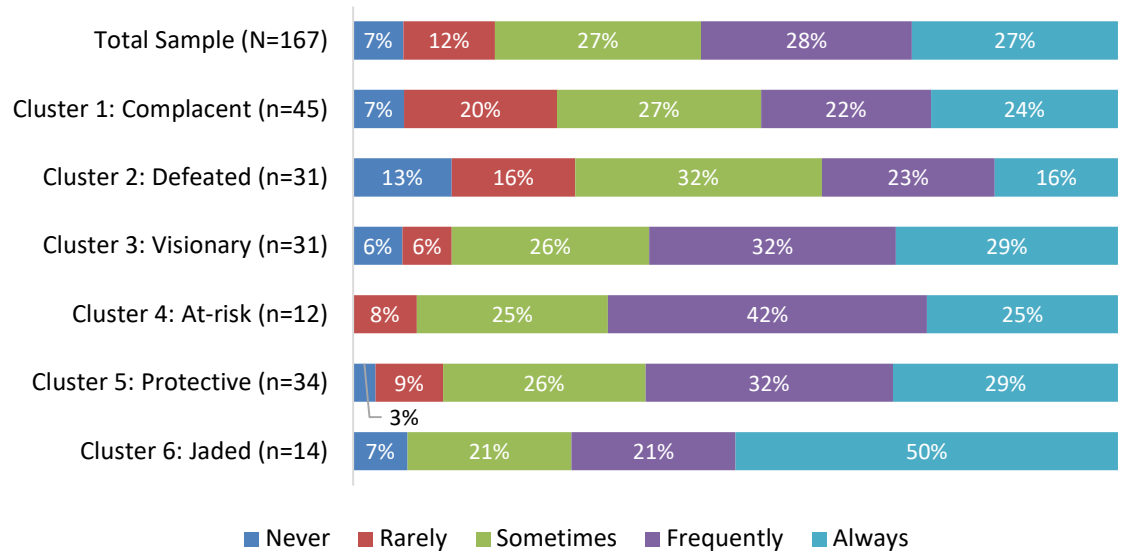
Frequency of Reading Books Related to Language Teaching

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently	Always
Total Sample (N=167)	10%	27%	36%	18%	9%
Cluster 1: Complacent (n=45)	9%	22%	44%	20%	4%
Cluster 2: Defeated (n=31)	6%	32%	32%	23%	6%
Cluster 3: Visionary (n=31)	3%	19%	42%	23%	13%
Cluster 4: At-risk (n=12)	17%	25%	25%	17%	17%
Cluster 5: Protective (n=34)	12%	35%	29%	12%	12%
Cluster 6: Jaded (n=14)	29%	29%	29%	7%	7%

■ Never ■ Rarely ■ Sometimes ■ Frequently ■ Always
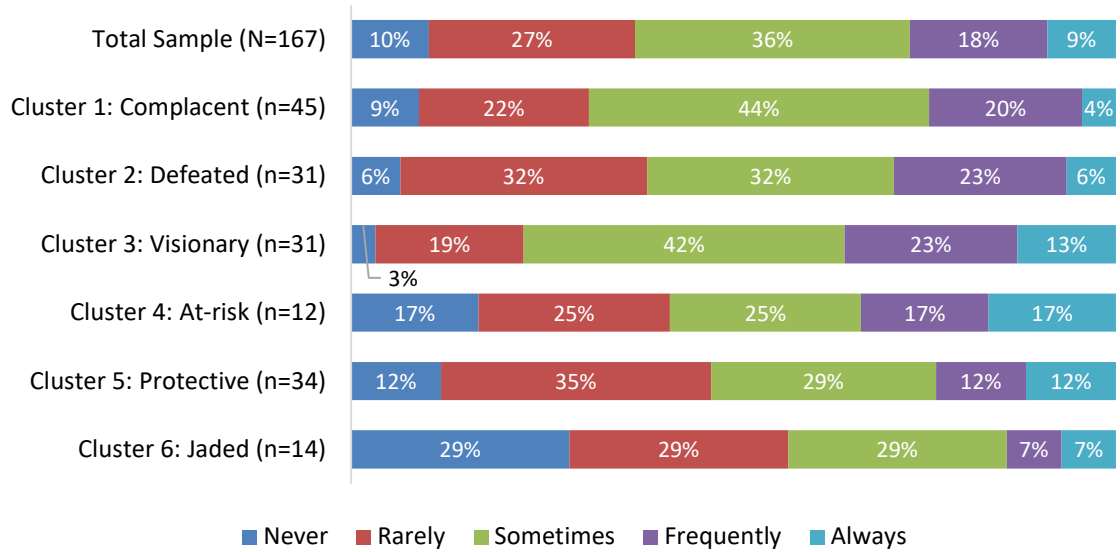
Frequency of Reading Scholarly Articles or Research Related to Language Teaching

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently	Always
Total Sample (N=167)	8%	29%	35%	22%	7%
Cluster 1: Complacent (n=45)	11%	22%	40%	22%	4%
Cluster 2: Defeated (n=31)	6%	45%	16%	26%	6%
Cluster 3: Visionary (n=31)	3%	19%	42%	26%	10%
Cluster 4: At-risk (n=12)	8%	25%	50%	17%	
Cluster 5: Protective (n=34)	6%	38%	29%	21%	6%
Cluster 6: Jaded (n=14)	14%	14%	50%	7%	14%

■ Never ■ Rarely ■ Sometimes ■ Frequently ■ Always
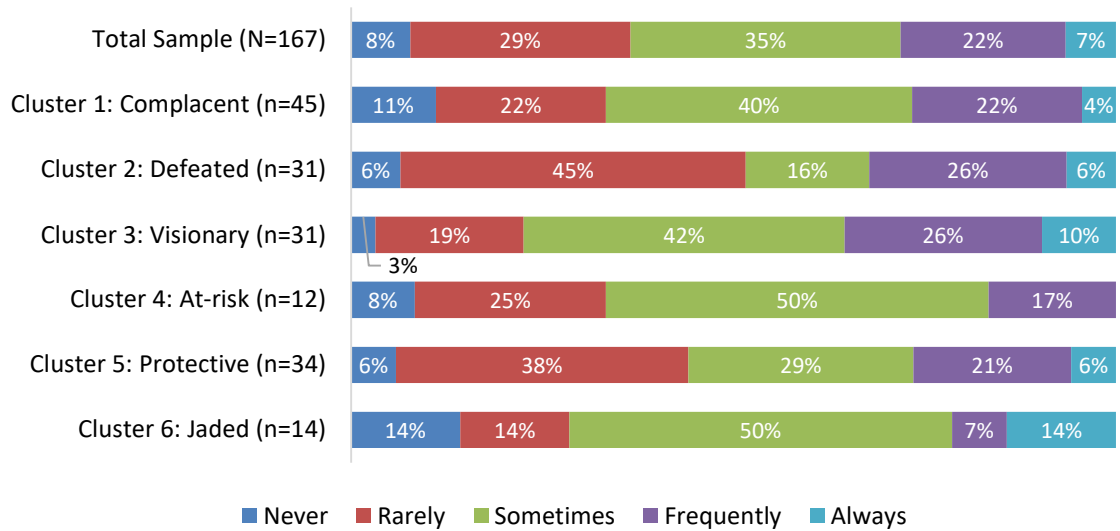
Figure 21

Frequency of Sample's and Individual Clusters' Teaching Behaviors

233

Figure 22 is a second source of behavioral data that displays the extent to which the teachers in each cluster have participated in professional organizations throughout their career compared to the whole sample.
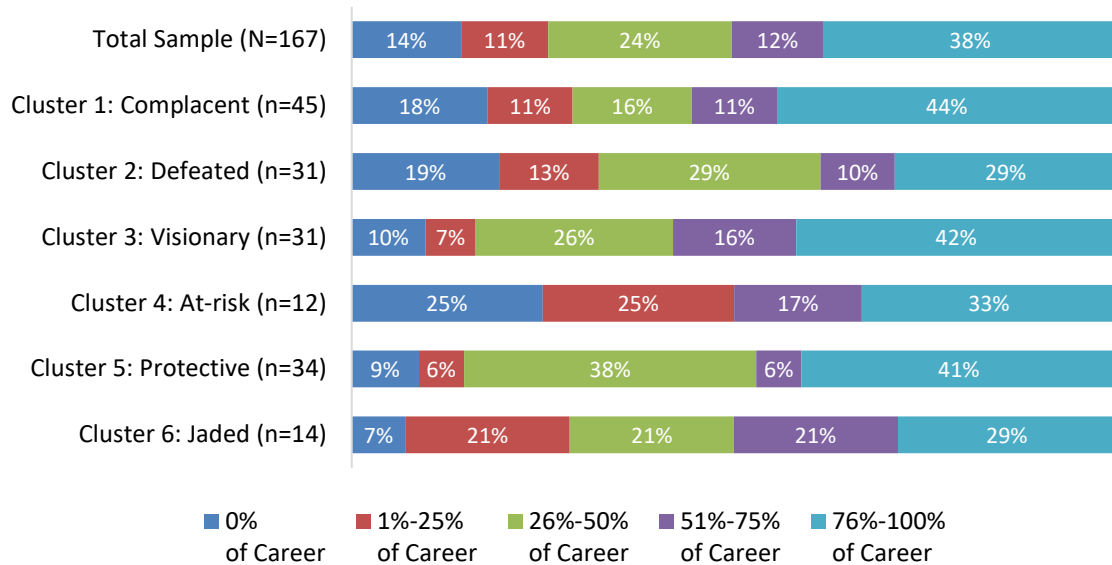
Figure 22

Frequency of Sample's and Individual Clusters' Participation in Professional Organizations

Finally, I used a variety of coding approaches (e.g., eclectic, thematic, magnitude, a priori; Saldaña, 2017) to qualitatively analyze respondents' open-ended responses to three prompts that I grouped by cluster to evaluate how respondents' immunities manifested in their narratives about teaching. The prompts were: (a) Why did you become a language teacher?, (b) Do you teach the way you think you should? (When

answering, please briefly describe what you think is expected of you and from whom, as well as why you do or do not teach to these expectations), and (c) What motivates you to stay in language teaching? The open-ended prompts were optional to answer on the survey, so I only had access to the perspectives of those who chose to respond; however, the demographic, contextual, and behavioral data represent the entire sample. For the cluster profiles that correspond to Hiver's (2017) archetypes (e.g., cluster 3, Visionary), I used Hiver's (2017) *Signature Dynamics of Language Teacher Immunity* framework (p. 678) as an a priori guide for evidencing his archetype qualities in this dataset (e.g., do cluster 3 members adopt *hero* narratives?). I remained reflexive to the data and explored these datasets in tandem to evidence my initial immunity mean profile interpretation and provide a more nuanced and holistic interpretation of each immunity archetype.

Validation Results

ANOVAs between the cluster solution (IV) and coping and burnout (DV) revealed a significant effect of immunity archetype on both variables with a large effect; 36% of the variance in teachers' coping, $F(5,161) = 18.29$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .36$, and 24% of the variance in their burnout, $F(5,161) = 10.24$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .24$, can be explained by their immunity archetype. Levene's test for homogeneity of variance was violated at $p < .01$ for both coping and burnout, so I ran Games-Howell post-hoc comparisons to reveal which clusters' scores differed significantly at $p < .05$ for each variable (**Table 17**).

Table 17

Means and Standard Deviations of Burnout and Coping for Sample and by Cluster

	Cluster 1 Complacent $n = 45$		Cluster 2 Defeated $n = 31$		Cluster 3 Visionary $n = 31$		Cluster 4 At-risk $n = 12$		Cluster 5 Protective $n = 34$		Cluster 6 Jaded $n = 14$		Total $N = 167$	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Coping	4.57^{b}	0.54	3.82^{c}	0.79	5.39^{a}	0.49	$4.75^{a,b}$	0.64	$4.87^{b,d}$	0.72	$4.57^{b,c}$	0.89	4.66	0.82
Burnout	3.79^{b}	0.90	$4.40^{a,b}$	1.06	$2.98^{c,d}$	1.26	$3.81^{a,b,c}$	0.75	$3.17^{c,d}$	0.94	$4.52^{c,d}$	0.70	3.69	1.12

Note. Pairs not sharing a superscript are significantly different at $p < .05$

There are seven pairs of clusters with statistically significantly different scores on coping that logically correspond to their immunity profiles. Cluster 3 (Visionary) teachers have the best coping skills that are significantly higher than clusters 1 (Complacent), 2 (Defeated), 5 (Protective), and 6 (Jaded). Not only are their coping skills strong, but they are also productive, which aligns to the Visionary archetype as the most productive immunity. Hiver (2017) explains that Visionaries cope by "channeling frustration and anger into a grand search" (p. 678) rather than utilize negative strategies (e.g., avoidance). Case 78 is a Visionary who substantiates this theory:

> I think that I make it work given the constraints of time. I "grew up" in a program for teaching in an immersion style classroom. I feel like each year this gets harder to maintain. To establish the routines needed for the classroom to thrive you need to really take time. Sometimes it feels like this time doesn't exist and there is pressure to keep moving, moving, moving. I need to find a way to do this efficiently.

Cluster 5 (Protective) is also a productive immunity, but their coping is significantly lower than cluster 3 (Visionary) and only significantly higher than cluster 2 (Defeated). The Protective archetype is not as productive as the Visionary archetype, and this is likely due to Protective teachers' need to stabilize around effective practice. They have a difficult time developing their practice because they are uncomfortable with the unknown. When it comes to adopting contemporary, but unfamiliar, approaches in the classroom, several Protective teachers proactively cope by avoiding stress-inducing situations, like Case 139:

I do not believe I teach the way that is expected (expected by other major influencers in the language teaching world). I know I should be using more comprehensible input but I don't feel like I understand all the concepts of this method as well I should in order to implement it better.

Protective teachers are open to innovation, but they will avoid it until they feel prepared to use it. The fact that only 27% of Protective teachers have access to language-specific professional development in their schools explains why these teachers tend to blame their schools for their insufficient pedagogical knowledge (e.g., "[I do] Not completely [teach the way I think I should] since I do not receive current and relevant profession development" [Case 155]). While avoidance and blame are maladaptive for restraining their professional development, Protective teachers do actively cope by seeking out their own professional development (92% have participated in professional organizations for an average of 8 years [$M = 8.23$, $SD = 6.39$], and 45% have participated for the entirety of their career) and finding satisfaction in the social-emotional connections they foster with students and colleagues.

Clusters 5 (Protective), 1 (Complacent), 4 (At-risk), and 6 (Jaded) have statistically similarly strong coping skills despite representing both productive and maladaptive immunities, but this is because each cluster utilizes productive and maladaptive coping strategies in accordance with their archetype.

Cluster 4 (At-risk) teachers strong coping staves off their defeat, but it also thwarts their professional development. In their written prompts, five At-risk teachers candidly admit that they do not teach how they should, but cope by offering excuses to

avoid change, such as Case 85 "[drawing] the line at sacrificing family time for school prep," even though they are overwhelmed by teaching five preps and could do more to teach effectively. Case 123 similarly "doesn't always reach…expectations due to family demands and time constraints," but they claim they cannot because they are "exhausted" in their "32nd year of teaching."

Cluster 1 (Complacent) teachers use their strong coping skills to achieve stability. If they are uncomplacent with their teaching (and thus unstable), they actively work on solving their problem, typically by reaching out for guidance from colleagues or professional organizations. For example, Case 114 does not know if they are doing what they are "supposed to be doing" since this is "only [their] second year" and they get "minimal guidance." However, they "do [their] best to teach the way [their content supervisor] suggests because [they] trust her and found that what she suggests works." Even with 15 years of experience, Case 125 is "constantly trying to learn how to better implement practices promoted by language teaching organizations." They are "not successful at teaching to these expectations because it is hard," but they are "taking steps."

Once Complacent teachers find stability, they proactively cope by balancing their own teaching ideals with the expectations of others to avoid potential problems, even if it means sacrificing some of their ideals. For example, Case 93 "does well on observations" and "still [meets administrators'] expectations" despite having "different priorities for teaching." Case 93 has to endure "non-specific…or useless PD that takes away time [they] could be spending to become a better teacher," but they cope by accepting this

reality. Similarly, Case 110 realigns their practice to administrators' expectations to sustain their approval (and thus avoid disapproval):

> For the most part I do teach the way that I should for the level that I teach. I'm expected by administration to prepare students for the IB test, and I have to make sure they are proficient orally. When I have been observed, I've received praise for the way that I teach, and I continue to teach in that manner.

Complacent teachers' coping is productive in that it helps them to stabilize as satisfied teachers, but it is maladaptive for stalling their continued development once stabilized.

Cluster 2 (Defeated) teachers have the lowest coping skills among the sample that are significantly worse than clusters 3 (Visionary), 5 (Protective), 1 (Complacent), and 4 (At-risk). Cluster 2's moderate coping and corresponding resilience explain why Defeated teachers would adopt victimization narratives and suffer from learned helplessness. These teachers tend to cope through avoidance and rationalization. For example, they often embrace generic platitudes instead of objective standards to evidence their efficacy (e.g., Case 16 is a good teacher because they "don't give boring lectures on things in the textbook," and Case 15 doesn't put "too much pressure on…students"). They also offer excuses for not teaching the way that they should (e.g., "I definitely should use more target language in the classroom but there is pushback from students and admin about total immersion in the classroom" [Case 41]). Cluster 2 teachers also cope with their apathetic attitudes and affectivity by justifying that this job is something they need (e.g., "To be honest, I don't have a choice [to remain in teaching]. I need my job

240

and my pension" [Case 35]). Their moderate coping skills and maladaptive strategies hold them back.

Cluster 6 (Jaded) is the only group to have statistically similar levels of coping as cluster 2 (Defeated), but their coping is also similar to clusters 1 (Complacent), 4 (At-risk), and 5 (Protective); Jaded teachers' coping strategies overlap with these archetypes. A few Jaded teachers align their practice to others' expectations like many Complacent teachers (e.g., "I follow the curriculum and teach what is required" [Case 4]; "I am given no guidance by administration, so I look to professional organizations for standards" [Case 12]). A few rationalize their inability to teach to their ideals like At-risk teachers (e.g., "I don't teach well enough by my standards, but the conditions limit me" [Case 13]). And many Jaded teachers justify their need, rather than desire, to stay in the profession like Defeated teachers (e.g., "retirement" [Case 6]; "my paycheck and healthcare" [Case 4]). What sets Jaded teachers apart is their exhaustion from having had to cope for too long. They are confident and efficacious (e.g., "I'm a fantastic teacher with total freedom to teach as I wish" [Case 1]), but when no one else recognizes their value after years of effort, a few ultimately cope by leaving the profession altogether. Despite being a "fantastic teacher," Case 1 "quit in June!" Case 3 also quit, and Case 13 plans to. Jaded teachers' strong coping skills logically aid them in staying in the profession at-length, but only as long as they can redress their burnout.

There are seven pairs of clusters with statistically significantly different scores on burnout (**Table 17**). Unsurprisingly, cluster 6 (Jaded) teachers experience the highest levels of burnout that are significantly greater than clusters 1 (Complacent), 5

241

(Protective), and 3 (Visionary). Jaded teachers' burnout is caused by work conditions that are limiting (e.g., "I would like to do more projects…[but] that won't happen because I'm not given the time" [Case 13]), exhausting (e.g., "I am tired of trying to get [students] to do stuff when they don't want to do anything" [Case 8]), stressful (e.g., "Many times I feel the pressure of administrators who want to see data in the form of assessments" [Case 10]), and lonely (e.g., "I personally would like to incorporate more comprehensible input/stories in the classroom. However, when the rest of my department does not do this…it is really hard to be the only one" [Case 7]). High burnout likely contributes to Jaded teachers' eroding attitudes, resilience, and affect (e.g., "I have definitely lost my passion for teaching…It's exhausting and I give up" [Case 8]).

Clusters 2 (Defeated) and 4 (At-risk) have statistically similar levels of burnout to cluster 6 (Jaded), indicating their professional identities are also at-risk of deteriorating over time. However, there is no indication in the qualitative data that their burnout has manifested in deleterious ways like it has for Jaded teachers. At worst, several Defeated and At-risk teachers admit they only remain in teaching for practical, rather than passionate, reasons (e.g., "It is probably my best option for employment at this point." [Case 30, Defeated]), but many still find satisfaction in the job (e.g., "I can't think of anything else someone would hire me to do, [but] I am finally getting to a point where I am at the top of the pay scale, and I really enjoy the relationships I have with my students" [Case 123, At-risk]) or have hope their circumstances will change (e.g., "I still need to work. Part of me feels like I want to retire due to burnout, but I can't afford to yet. I think Covid-19 has exacerbated this feeling. I think next year will see some

improvement" [Case 40, Defeated]).

Cluster 1 (Complacent) teachers experience moderate burnout that is significantly lower than cluster 6 (Jaded), but similar to clusters 2 (Defeated) and 4 (At-risk). Like Defeated and At-risk teachers, Complacent teachers' burnout is not prevalent in their narratives, so any burnout they do experience does not seem to be detrimental. In fact, of the six Complacent teachers with very high levels of burnout (ranging from 5.0 – 5.5), not one writes negatively about their practice. Some even display passion, like Case 90:

I love connecting with my students and seeing the spark in their eyes as they explore a world outside of their community. I love guiding them through the process of becoming global citizens and having a more open mind about different communities and cultures.

Clusters 3 (Visionary) and 5 (Protective) experience significantly less burnout than the other clusters, which is logical given their strong resilience and coping, high teaching efficacy, and positive attitudes and affectivity. Visionaries' tendency to cope through a "grand search" and "reconfigure around self-actualization" (Hiver, 2017, p. 678) logically stave off their burnout by solving problems that would cause stress and anxiety for teachers with maladaptive immunities. Case 63 shows how Visionaries avoid burnout by remaining reflexive to their contexts, rather than allowing their contexts to completely dictate their practice:

I think that there is a compromise. Due to the constraints of our curriculum, department members and administrators who do not fully understand how language acquisition occurs, I often have to sacrifice the way I think I should

243

teach so that curriculum standards and goals are met. With that being said, I try as best as I can to teach the way that I think I should teach within the confines of my day-to-day responsibilities.

And though Protective teachers tend to feel more constrained by their teaching contexts (i.e., by not receiving sufficient professional development), this limitation does not contribute to burnout. For example, despite Case 139's inability to use more comprehensible input due to a lack of understanding (quoted above), this teacher knows they are "still doing a good job teaching students the material, relating to the students and building relationships, and above all – providing them opportunities to see the world through a travel program [they are] in charge of." These teachers are not burned out because they manage to find enough satisfaction in their jobs even though their contexts are not ideal.

The quantitative and qualitative data on burnout and coping logically and meaningfully substantiate the initial immunity mean profiles that emerged in the cluster analysis. I conducted numerous chi-square tests of association between the 6-cluster solution and demographic, contextual, and behavioral variables, and all but one were either non-significant or did not meet testing assumptions, and are therefore not useful. The only significant relationship to surface was between teachers' cluster membership and their access to language-specific professional development in their schools, $\chi^2(5) =$ 12.981, $p < .05$. Cluster 3 (Visionary) teachers have the highest rate, with 58% of cluster members claiming access to local professional development, followed by 49% of cluster 1 (Complacent) teachers, 29% of cluster 2 (Defeated) teachers, 27% of cluster 5

(Protective) teachers, 25% of cluster 4 (At-risk) teachers, and 21% of cluster 6 (Jaded) teachers. Of the 64 (38%) respondents in this study who have access to local professional development, 22 (34%) of them are members of cluster 1 (Complacent), 18 (28%) are members of cluster 3 (Visionary), 9 (14%) in cluster 2 (Defeated), 9 (14%) in cluster 5 (Protective), 3 (5%) in cluster 4 (At-risk), and 3 (5%) in cluster 6 (Jaded).

In this final validation section, I integrate these findings and the various datasets to further refine each immunity archetype.

Cluster 1: Complacent. The qualitative, demographic, and contextual data support my initial interpretation of cluster 1 members as teachers who stabilize around finding complacency (i.e., comfort, contentment) in their jobs. The data also support this archetype as productive for producing content and efficacious teachers, but maladaptive for impeding their ongoing development throughout their career. Complacent teachers are at risk of fossilizing as long as they can maintain their satisfaction; should their stability be disrupted, they will make an effort to restabilize. Most of the teachers in this group find complacency in highly autonomous and accommodating work environments that allow them to guide their own practice. However, they eventually settle into a state of sufficiency that allows them to "typically" meet expectations (Case 114), teach to their ideals "for the most part" (Cases 83 and 110), and "have fun doing it (most of the time)" (Case 128).

Half of Complacent teachers (49%) have access to language-specific professional development in their schools (the second highest rate in the sample), which logically contributes to their complacency (i.e., they have more local support to stabilize their

practice by learning how to teach). Most Complacent teachers frequently or always search for teaching ideas on the Internet (73%), but do so with less slightly frequency than the entire sample (79%), and they are among the least likely to purchase resources on the Internet (only 15% frequently or always do; see **Figure 21**). Despite their positive attitudes, affectivity, and commitment to developing an efficacious identity, Complacent teachers are among the least likely to frequently or always follow (44%) or participate (46%) in social media related to language teaching, and only a quarter frequently or always read books (24%) and scholarly literature (26%), which is slightly less than the sample as a whole (27% and 29%, respectively). Cluster 1 teachers have the highest rate of long-term participation in professional organizations, but also the third highest rate of teachers who have either never participated or did not participate for more than a quarter of their career (see **Figure 22**). These behaviors substantiate the conclusion that once Complacent teachers stabilize, they no longer feel the need to further develop their identities, and so they are less active in the profession.

The qualitative data add nuance to this analysis by revealing the processes by which these teachers seek stability. All of these teachers enter the profession motivated to develop their identities in order to find complacency in their jobs, but the extent to which the productive or maladaptive qualities of this archetype are nurtured or fomented is directly linked to their autonomy and agency in their teaching contexts. Most teachers are able to passively achieve stability by working in accommodating environments that facilitate their identity development; I named this subgroup *Complacent-Passive*. A small group of teachers are content, but have yet to settle, and continue to agentively enact their

ideals; I named this subgroup *Complacent-Active*. And yet others have yet to stabilize, either due to inexperience or restrictive work environments, and are understandably dissatisfied; I named this subgroup *Uncomplacent-Restricted*. A review of each group illuminates how the Complacent immunity develops.

    Complacent-Passive Teachers. The Complacent-Passive subgroup consists of 16 teachers (47% of respondents who answered the prompts, 35% of the entire cluster) whose contexts afford them high autonomy to teach how they prefer and low accountability in teaching to specific standards. They are satisfied in their teaching jobs and comply with local expectations for a variety of reasons (i.e., expectations are very low, expectations are self-imposed, or the expectations serve as much-needed guidance). For example, Case 82 is confident that they teach how they should, but concedes they "don't think the expectations are very high (unfortunately)." Case 98 also does not "have a lot of expectations as a language teacher," other than "administration expects engaging lessons that are student-centered."

    These teachers maintain stability by settling for sufficiency. They balance meeting external expectations to please others (e.g., administration) with internal expectations to please themselves (e.g., choosing teaching styles that keep them in their comfort zone). For example, Case 83 thinks they teach the way they should "for the most part" because "The expectation of [their] administration is simply that [they're] teaching the language without a lot of structure." They "have been able to implement more and more [Comprehensible Input] approaches while still maintaining some traditional grammar teaching." They are confident in their practice because they receive "a positive

response from the community [and from] students overall." Similarly, Case 84 does and does not teach how they should: "Yes and no. I follow our curriculum and commit to the standards of the school. I also have the freedom to educate students in a way that I PERSONALLY believe will help society."

Complacent-Passive teachers' immunity is productive for motivating them to become efficacious and happy, but maladaptive for limiting their potential. They *could, should,* and *would like to* teach certain ways, but they do not because they do not have to or they do not want to deal with the challenge (or both). Cluster 1 is only moderately open to change, after all. For example, Case 121 admits, "I know I should teach grammar in context, however I often teach it out of context. I would like to teach according to the 3 modes of communication." Case 113 "would love to differentiate more and have more change," but is "otherwise…doing fine." These teachers are aware of the paradigm shift towards communicative teaching and have the autonomy to adapt their teaching style, but they settle into complacency with the status quo.

Finally, when describing what motivates them to stay in teaching, Complacent-Passive teachers tend to prioritize their own personal fulfillment, further evidencing their desire to achieve comfort and contentment in their jobs. They believe in the power of language education (e.g., Case 82 thinks "it empowers students to know a different language and culture"), but they ultimately stay because they personally benefit from the job. They "enjoy it and…continue to learn" from it (Case 97), are able to "teach in [their] first language in another country" (Case 101), and it suits their "lifestyle" (Case 110). Case 83 maintained long-term stability as a Complacent teacher for having worked in a

rewarding environment for more than 20 years:

> I am in a school district where I am paid fairly well. The cost of living in my district is also high, but I've been able to work and raise my children in the same community where I teach. I feel very valued and committed to the work at my school. The students who go to my school are really amazing young people and they continue to inspire me.

To be clear, a Complacent teacher's stabilization (and potential fossilization) does not necessarily indicate ineffective teaching, as Case 83's passion and dedication likely serve their students well. Stabilization rather indicates unfulfilled potential to varying degrees based on how individuals enact their agency in these autonomous environments, as the next subgroup demonstrates.

Complacent-Agentive. The second and smallest ($n = 7$) subgroup of cluster 1 teachers are Complacent-Agentive teacher who are also content, but take on a more active role in their own professional identity development. They are more concerned with doing what is right for students than their own comfort, but the job is still personally fulfilling since they genuinely enjoy spreading their love of languages. These teachers "get to have FUN" (Case 104) and are invigorated by their students' enthusiasm, growth, and excitement. They find the act of teaching rewarding in and of itself:

> I love connecting with my students and seeing the spark in their eyes as they explore a world outside of their community. I love guiding them through the process of becoming global citizens and having a more open mind about different communities and cultures. (Case 90)

Complacent-Agentive teachers are pedagogically connected to the profession and base their practice on what they believe to be best for student learning, whether they embrace professional standards aimed at language acquisition, teach with a whole-child approach, or take on a more critical pedagogy that focuses on exposure to diversity. They all work in highly autonomous environments, and they use this to freedom to take charge rather than passively comply.

Case 111 is an exemplar Complacent-Agentive teacher who aligns their practice to professional guidelines and seeks comfort in adhering to "best practices." They agentively developed a satisfactory teacher identity over the past seven years:

Throughout my teaching, I've aligned my planning and teaching with what I felt at the time was best; and I've sought out best practices while ditching things that are no longer recommended. I now use comprehension-based communicative language teaching and occasionally TPRS [Teaching Proficiency through Reading and Storytelling]. The way that I teach now is very different from how I started and also significantly different from what I was taught in my methods class…

Case 111 was also agentive in moving between language-teaching jobs until finding a "near-perfect atmosphere where most students and all staff members are friendly" and that provides "the freedom to experiment with different methods and topics while [they] continue to learn more about acquisition and how to apply SLA research in the classroom." They strive to be efficacious, but they also sought out an accommodating environment that allowed them to teach to their ideals. While Case 111 is clearly open to change, they may eventually fossilize once they "perfect" their teaching, like Case 95.

Case 95 is a "highly trained…National Board Certified" teacher who teaches how they should. They know this because their students usually pass the AP and IB exams. In their decade of teaching, they have "perfected many things, so it's not as stressful" now, but they "still [have] a lot [they] can perfect." Case 95 is committed and effective, but they realign their professional identity around the idea of achieving perfection (i.e., there is a point at which one can stop developing because no more improvements can be made). Once they arrive to this ideal phase, their stress is reduced. Despite Case 95 feeling "not as stressful," their burnout is actually among the highest in the cluster ($M =$ 4.75). The search for perfection (i.e., finding the "right way" to teach) is an arduous task, so it makes sense that these teachers want to stabilize at some point.

One final example of a Complacent-Agentive teacher is Case 105, who bravely finds stability in pushing back against local sociocultural norms. "As a Black woman, raised Black, and [who] studied the African diaspora," Case 105 acknowledges that her "perceptions of the reality of language learning…[are] vastly different than those of the constituents" in the "predominately white, affluent and conservative community" where she teaches. Rather than conform to her context, she confidently teaches in a way that "is not all that accepted or expected by administration and parents." She loves "exploring new ways to help people learn the language, and even if they do not fall in love with learning the language or becoming fluent, the exposure to a world outside their own is a wonderous adventure." Case 105 exemplifies how social identities (i.e., race, culture, and gender) intersect in the formation of her teaching praxis, as presented in RQ1. She views herself as a role-model who can leverage her language-teacher identity to disrupt deficit

stereotypes of Black people in the United States. She values language teaching for more than just proficiency development, and she has found stability in breaking through conventional boundaries. Her confidence and agency support her in teaching in ways that are "not all that accepted," but her context also affords her the autonomy to teach against the grain.

The final subgroup portrays teachers who have yet to find stability in their jobs, either because they lack the autonomy to teach to their ideals or they are still searching for the right way to teach. As a result, they are uncomplacent and often restricted to teaching to others' expectations.

Uncomplacent-Restricted. There are 11 teachers in the qualitative dataset (31%; 24% of the total cluster) who express discontent in their jobs despite the overall positive affect of the Complacent archetype. Their presence in the dataset is logical because the whole point of seeking complacency is to overcome dissatisfaction and discontent. These teachers have not found complacency yet, but they do seek it.

Novice Uncomplacent-Restricted teachers' dissatisfaction is rooted in their search for the right way to teach (like Case 95). Until they develop their own satisfactory pedagogical style, they must rely on others. For example, Case 90 has 2 years of experience and recognizes, "I am still learning what the most effective strategies are to teach. As a newer teacher I am constantly figuring out that I am doing things 'wrong' and that I could change my strategies to better support my students." Though Case 90 has "flexibility and…opportunities to teach to [their] own styles while still following a common curriculum and collaborating as a department," they realign their nascent

identity development around the expectations of their colleagues.

With more experience and guidance, novice teachers will likely stabilize when they establish a comfortable teaching style. However, this will only happen if their teaching environments permit them to guide their own practice. The final few examples demonstrate how restrictive environments foment dissatisfaction even for more experienced teachers who are forced to teach with a style that is not their own.

Several uncomplacent teachers feel restricted by time, prescriptive curriculum, and a lack of support. Case 109 is "too tied down to a curriculum that is developmentally inappropriate for [their] students because the district has adopted a certain textbook that it lets dictate the curriculum." Case 89 is "forced to follow a very regimented curriculum,…use the textbooks even though they are slightly outdated,….[and] cannot show films to help students with listening comprehension." Despite 10 years of experience, Case 91 does not "do not do a good enough job of differentiating or supporting…students with disabilities or English language learners because [they] teach 5 preps and have no support." And Case 93 is "not given enough time for language-specific professional development."

It is difficult to interpret the extent to which uncomplacent teachers are passively complying to local restrictions or if they truly lack the agency or savvy to resist or change their realities. Regardless, if they are unable to overcome these obstacles, they will plateau as under-developed teachers. If their resilience wanes and their attitudes tarnish over time, they risk becoming defeated or jaded.

Subgroup Comparison. It is curious that cluster 1 has the most consistent immunity mean profile, and yet there are three unique subgroups of teachers in the qualitative dataset. I further explored group differences in the data for more insight.

Figure 23 displays the distribution of each subgroup's years of teaching experience compared to the cluster as a whole. The Complacent cluster has the least amount of experience of the entire sample and is largely comprised of early-mid career teachers in their first 15 years of teaching (the mean, median, and mode of teaching experience is 10 years). This makes sense since the Complacent archetype is fueled by a search for satisfactory teaching, and this logically takes place at the beginning of one's career. This point is further substantiated by the fact that most of the teachers in their first five years of teaching are Uncomplacent; they are unsatisfied with their nascent identities and still searching for complacency (like Cases 90 and 114). Both passive and active Complacent subgroups' highest frequency of teachers are those with 6-10 years of experience, indicating this is the time when teachers tend to stabilize their identities. The fact that over half (56%) of Complacent-Passive teachers are already in their second decade of teaching validates my claim that this group has the highest risk of fossilization; they are content and feel no need to change, but they will make an effort to re-stabilize their identities should their complacency be disrupted. The fact that there are no Complacent-Active teachers with more than 10 years of experience suggests these agentive teachers either become more passive in their jobs over time and eventually settle as Complacent-Passive teachers (perhaps they are tired and want to reduce stress) or their immunities could evolve into something more productive, like a Visionary. The six

254

Uncomplacent teachers in their second decade of teaching are likely still uncomplacent not because they do not know how to teach, but because they are unable to enact their ideals in their restricted workplaces.
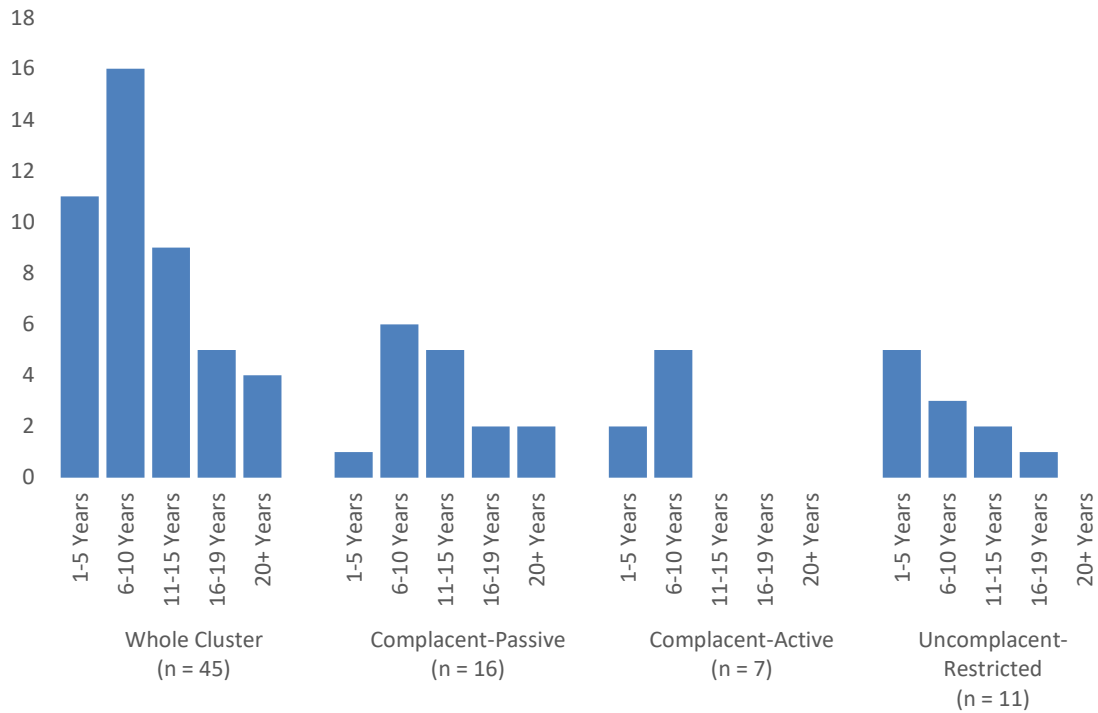
Figure 23

Complacent Teachers' Years of Teaching Experience: Subgroups and Whole Group

ANOVAs between the subgroup archetypes (IV) and seven immunity variables (DVs) revealed no statistically significant differences between their attitudes towards teaching, teaching self-efficacy, resilience, openness to change, classroom affect, or coping skills. However, 42% of the variance in Complacent teachers' burnout can be explained by their subgroup membership, $F(2,31) = 11.043$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .416$. More

specifically, a Tukey HSD post-hoc revealed that Uncomplacent-Restricted teachers experience statistically higher burnout ($M = 4.56$, $SD = .82$) than Complacent-Passive teachers ($M = 3.13$, $SD = .71$), which makes sense since complacent teachers have achieved stability, and stability is "not as stressful" (Case 95). Complacent-Active teachers' burnout ($M = 3.75$, $SD = .84$) is statistically similar to both Complacent-Passive and Uncomplacent-Restricted teachers. Their active agency logically contributes to experiencing slightly (but not significantly) higher burnout than the passive teachers, but finding satisfaction in their hard work prevents their burnout from exceeding moderate levels.

These analyses evidence the productive and maladaptive qualities of the Complacent archetype. Long-term discontent and increased burnout reduce teachers' passion for the job, while stability and satisfaction retain happy teachers. For example, Uncomplacent-Restricted teachers more frequently cite practical reasons for staying in teaching (e.g., money), while complacent teachers (both passive and active) express more enjoyment, personal fulfillment, and student-based motivational factors. Whether complacent or not, the longer these teachers remain in this archetype, the more at-risk they are of stalling their development, potentially to the point of fossilization. Complacent teachers do not push their own development if it means disrupting their comfort, but they will adapt with the times in order to maintain stability if they have to. Uncomplacent teachers may fossilize if they become stuck and plateaued in unsupportive environments. Some Complacent teachers' immunities may evolve into something completely different (e.g., Visionary or Jaded), but this group's moderate openness to

change and need for stability indicate that Complacent teachers are likely to sustain this archetype throughout their career, even though their subgroup dispositions may shift. Despite the risk of Complacent teachers not fulfilling their potential due to their sufficiency mindset, the Complacent archetype does produce efficacious teachers who are good at their jobs and contribute to the profession.

Cluster 2: From Defeated to Imposters. The cluster 2 immunity profile so clearly matched Hiver's (2017) Defeated archetype (**Table 14**) that I tentatively named the cluster *Defeated* and looked for evidence of this archetype in the cluster's demographic, contextual, and qualitative datasets. Initial demographic data logically corresponded to these teachers' feelings of inadequacy (e.g., little teaching experience) and learned helplessness (e.g., from having to juggle multiple identities as teachers of both LOTE and ESL with little support), but there was very little evidence of defeat.

The qualitative dataset elucidates how this group's undistinguished immunity measures manifest in their professional identities, but the findings did not align to my initial theory. Some of these teachers position themselves as powerless, but not with the implication that they experience inconsolable defeat; their powerlessness is more an excuse to avoid change and further develop their professional identities. These teachers are more apathetic than callous or cynical. There is actually a slightly positive overtone in their 22 sets of comments about teaching, but their affect still lacks passion, and the dataset as a whole is riddled with self-doubt, insecurity, and conflict. Taken together, these teachers are reminiscent of imposters: people claiming to be language teachers, but who have yet to fully develop an authentic professional teacher identity either because

257

they do not want to or they do not know how to. The Defeated archetype does not align to these qualities, and so I renamed cluster 2 *Imposters*.

To be clear, the data do not suggest these teachers suffer from Imposter Syndrome, i.e., the experience of feeling like a phony or a fraud (Cuncic, 2022), similar to Hiver's (2017) Overcompensator archetype. Although cluster 2 teachers do display some attributes of Imposter Syndrome, particularly self-doubt, there is no evidence that they compensate for this perceived deficit. For example, Imposter Syndrome often motivates individuals to overachieve, set high expectations for themselves, or obsess over perfectionism to prevent others from discovering their weakness (Cuncic, 2022). On the contrary, cluster 2 teachers display very little agency in overcoming their perceived deficit and tend towards a generic teacher identity that lowers, rather than heightens, their accountability for developing a language-specific teacher identity. Moreover, many of these teachers struggle with conflicting identities that impede their commitment to the profession. A thematic analysis of these narratives resulted in three subgroups of teachers with an Imposter immunity archetype: Conflicted Imposters, Powerless Imposters, and Illusory Imposters.

Conflicted Imposters. The first subgroup of Imposter teachers struggles with conflicting attitudes towards teaching that diminish their commitment to the profession. For example, 14 members explain that they were drawn to the profession by their love of language and culture, their positive experiences as language students, and to nurture multilingual/multicultural values in young people. However, when asked what motivates them to stay in language teaching, 8 teachers dispassionately explain they do not have a

choice but to stay (e.g., teaching is "the best option for employment at this point" [Case 30]; "I can't afford to [retire] yet" [Case 40]). Although one person admirably became an immersion teacher to share with students that "language is about teaching possibility, different intelligibilities, different cultural values, the possibility that the world, and thought, can be structured differently," they candidly admit to remaining a teacher because they are "hardly employable in any other salaried jobs, and PhD markets for arts and culture are dismal…" (Case 39). There is a clear disconnect between these teachers' initial and current motivations for being language teachers, which foments disingenuous, rather than authentic, professional identities.

Nevertheless, Conflicted Imposters still strive to find purpose, suggesting they are attempting to construct a more authentic identity even though it is not easy. For example, Case 35 is "burned out right now," but still loves "planning activities," works "with great colleagues," and gets "re-energized from professional development conferences." And even though Case 40 cannot afford to retire, they hope that "next year will see some improvement" from the stress of the COVID-19 pandemic and in the meantime finds solace in being able to teach advanced classes. Case 39 ponders if they can realistically sustain a fulfilled professional identity:

> I have learned to find joy in my work, but I honestly don't want to stay life-long. Yet I see very few options of places I can live my values and earn a stable living as a young single person with significant student loan debt.

These teachers represent imposters because they are not fully committed to the profession. They joined the profession because they wanted to, but are staying because

they have to, and this dissonance is preventing them from being truly authentic. Their attempts at making peace with the dissonance are merely a way to find comfort while biding their time until the conditions change, such as when Case 40 can afford to retire and the COVID-19 pandemic goes away and reduces Case 35's burnout.

Powerless Imposters. In contrast to the uncommitted Conflicted Imposters, there is a second subgroup of Imposters who are motivated to stay in the profession because they love the work and their students, find the job fulfilling, and feel like they make a difference. Despite their positive affect, almost all of them indicate a need to improve their teaching, but avoid situating themselves as agentive actors who have the power to change. These teachers represent powerless imposters who settle for being something other than their authentic selves.

Several teachers in this subgroup blame external conditions for rendering them powerless. For example, Case 33 "would like to have more opportunities to use new materials and develop new curriculum, but the funds are not always available." Case 44 "was not given enough time or training to create new materials to fit the way [they] had to teach during the pandemic," and Case 41 "definitely should use more target language…but there is pushback from students and admin about total immersion." Rather than take an active stance in their own professional identity development, these teachers noncommittally "try" to do the right thing and "would like" or "wish" things to be different. They are imposters because they fail to live up to their own standards and lead unauthentic teacher lives.

Illusory Imposters. The third and final subgroup has positive attitudes about teaching in general, but distance themselves from the language-teaching profession by not specifically embracing a language-teacher identity. This is evident in their vague descriptions about teaching. Whereas the Conflicted and Powerless Imposters cite language-specific aspects in their responses (e.g., achieving 90% target-language use, using implicit grammar instruction, or teaching methods "based on second language theory and research about how people acquire language" [Case 21]), Illusory Imposters broadly describe their practice, align their expectations to non-language specific goals, and displace learning responsibility to their students. The construction of these generic narratives suggests that these teachers assume the false identity of a language teacher, while evading accountability in actually becoming one. They are thus creating an illusion that they are authentic language teachers.

When asked if they teach the way they should, including what is expected of them and by whom, several teachers instead offer broad philosophical stances on teaching. Case 31 accompanies "students as they grow and watch[es] them become the best version of themselves." Case 26 has "high expectations for all…students" and views "teaching [as] a process of mutual exchange, learning and growth." And as far as Case 37 is concerned, "teaching should not only attach importance to the scientific and ideological content, but also focus on the cognitive basis of students as much as possible."

Several other teachers apathetically describe what they do *not* do, rather than focus on specific language pedagogy. Case 15 thinks their "teaching style is OK" because they "don't put too much pressure on…students," but they like to "see students working

hard." Case 16's "teaching method is quite good" because they "don't give boring lectures on things in the textbook." Instead, they "mingle with…students…and let them learn while playing." Case 36 "somewhat" teaches how they think they should, "but not openly with all topics, such as religion and politics," and Case 42 "never feel[s] like it's enough" even though their "students enjoy…classes."

Case 30 is more efficacious, but similarly evades language-specific goals by prioritizing their administrators' expectation "to provide structure in the classroom" and foster a "social-emotional connection with students." Case 19 displaces their responsibility onto students by hoping they, "will listen more carefully and concentrate more on…homework." And Case 27 has "some work to do when it comes to erecting scaffolding" – not for language-proficiency development – but to show "them where they can find resources on their own, rather than expecting them to come to [them] with all their questions."

These teachers' narratives insinuate good teaching, but are really just platitudes that create a façade. Many of their goals are admirable and part and parcel of good teaching (e.g., fostering a social-emotional connection to students), but their non-committal teaching styles and subjective expectations exclude language-specific goals while creating endless possibilities for what counts as effective language teaching. In fact, this subgroup represents a substantial 38% of the cluster ($n = 12$), and not one of them mentions language proficiency or communicative goals in their responses.

This analysis demonstrates that Imposter teachers construct narrative identities that evade accountability in developing a language-teacher identity. They are imposters in

the profession because they refuse or have yet to fully embrace becoming a language teacher, but they do so for different reasons. Conflicted Imposters do not want to be here, but feel they have to and at least try. Powerless Imposters see a need for change, but do not enact the change themselves (i.e., they only wish, hope, and would like to change). Illusory Imposters are unaware of a need to change, even though they are clearly not rooting their practice in standards for language teaching and learning. Supplemental data help to explain these patterns and further support the notion of this group as imposters.

It is crucial to point out that only nine (29%) teachers in this cluster have access to language-specific professional development in their schools, which they rate as only slightly or moderately useful. The large majority of Imposters have a master's degree (81%), but less than half (39%) of the degrees focus on teaching or education, while 32% are in languages and literatures, and 10% are in an unrelated discipline. A similar 81% have participated in professional organizations at some point, but only seven (23%) teachers have been active members for the entirety of their career. Lack of exposure to professional standards for teaching and learning could explain why many of these teachers embrace generic, rather than language-specific teaching expectations (i.e., they do not know what the expectations are for language teachers). In fact, the Imposter cluster has the highest ratio of language teachers who teach both a LOTE and ESL (29%) of the whole sample. This subgroup may be better prepared to teach English and lack the pedagogical knowledge to teach LOTEs. Or they may prioritize their ESL-teacher identity development over their LOTE-teacher identity development. They may even receive more local support for teaching English than a LOTE in their schools. Any of

these instances explain why Imposters are reticent to act on their own development. Moreover, this group is primarily comprised of early-to-mid-career teachers, wherein 60% are in their first decade of teaching, 20% in their second, and 20% in their third (see **Figure 16**). It makes sense that these teachers have yet to fully embrace or develop an authentic language-teacher identity since many are still in the nascent stages of identity development and/or have little support and guidance in their on-going development.

Nevertheless, there is still strong evidence that some Imposter' stalled development is due more to a lack of interest than knowledge. This group's apathy and low openness to change indicate they are not motivated to change even if they saw a need to. Furthermore, eight Imposter teachers "fell into" (Case 32) the career "by accident" (Case 16) or were drawn to the profession for dispassionate reasons, such as it "having something to do with [their] major" (Case 19) and their "family thinks it's a good career" (Cases 15 and 25). Eight teachers value the career for its pragmatic benefits, suggesting they are extrinsically motivated to teach for personal gain rather than student development (e.g., "paying bills mostly" [Case 21]; "the ability to have control of what I teach" [Case 28]; "this is a very good school to work in" [Case 31]). These teachers are not here to foster students' multilingual/multicultural capacity, so there is no need for them to develop an identity aimed at this goal. In fact, just over one-third of Imposters frequently or always follow (35%) or participate (39%) in social media, which are the lowest rates among the entire sample. Imposter teachers also have the highest occurrence (52%) of teachers who rarely or never read scholarly articles or research related to language teaching. These behaviors indicate a lack of interest in furthering their

knowledge of the field.

Having an Imposter immunity means to have not (yet) developed an authentic language-teacher identity for lack of motivation or savvy (or both). The three subgroups in this cluster represent imposters by, (a) remaining in the profession even though they are not committed, (b) settling for a teacher-self that is less-than-ideal, and (c) assuming the false identity of a language teacher while embracing generic platitudes. This archetype is maladaptive because it impedes productive development. Imposters' coping skills are lacking, and the arduous task of developing an authentic identity increases their burnout. Imposter teachers are not necessarily frauds or failures, but they do need support and guidance in order to shed their imposter identity.

Cluster 3: Visionary. I tentatively named cluster 3 Visionary for its correspondence to Hiver's (2017) Visionary cluster. Even though my sample of U.S. teachers has slightly different immunity measures than the teachers of English in South Korea (**Table 15**), their profile is overwhelmingly positive and logically represents a Visionary archetype. I looked for evidence of this archetype in the cluster 3 datasets and substantiated my initial interpretation. Cluster 3 members teach to their ideals, demonstrate commitment to the profession, embody multilingual/multicultural values, and sustain a growth mindset. Therefore, I retained the name Visionary for this cluster.

Visionary teachers' positive classroom affect is evident in the qualitative dataset. In 25 sets of comments, there are 42 mentions of the word *student(s)*, 32 of *love*, 9 of *fun*, 8 of *passion*, and 7 of *joy/enjoyment*. These teachers are passionate about language teaching because they enjoy it and believe it produces good in the world (i.e., they can

envision its potential). Case 77 also envisions themself as a lifelong language teacher since it is their "favorite thing." After 40 years of teaching, Case 73 cannot "imagine doing anything else" because "world language teachers have the best job in the world." For Case 75, "every day is an amazing day" that gives "the opportunity to teach…students acceptance and appreciation of what we have in life." Case 78 is motivated by their "colleagues and just an overall love of the students and the possibility to plant seeds of appreciation for other cultures and people of this world." Case 63 represents an exemplar Visionary who adopts a *hero* narrative to explain their motivation to stay in teaching:

> It is a vocation and labor of love for me. I feel that through my teaching and sharing of my experiences I am inspiring students to become better people through their study of the language, culture, and people of the Spanish speaking world. When I am teaching the way that I want to teach, it is not work and I am simply extending my life and experiences into the classroom. I truly enjoy what I do each day.

Visionary teachers' strong teaching self-efficacy emerges in confident remarks about teaching the way they think they should, like Case 89 who "definitely" does, and Case 55 who resounds, "Wow! I do and, even after 18 years, I'm still learning." It is important to note that these are not illusions of efficacy. Teachers with productive immunity are candid about their practice and have the ability to identify, distinguish, and respond to dissonance in order to adapt and flourish rather than burn out (Hiver & Dornyei, 2017). As Case 56 explains:

266

I am always willing to learn about new methods…[but] I need time to consider how I can implement new things gradually and phase out what is old and outdated. If others think I am not doing my job correctly or am not meeting expectations, I welcome their input as long as there is evidence and constructive criticism.

Nine additional Visionary teachers (29%) feel that their teaching is strong, but in need of improvement or limited by context. Their comments evidence a Visionary's ability to reconfigure around mechanisms of tenacity, self-actualization, and fulfillment. For example, Case 65 acknowledges the paradox of curricular freedom in the private-school setting as both a privilege and an unsustainable department model. But rather than allow the context to limit their possibility, this Visionary makes "conscious efforts in [their] planning and reflection to teach in a way that reflects [their] understanding of how languages are learned." For Case 70, "In an ideal world, formal grades [and] structured and prescriptive curricula would not exist, classes would be leveled according to proficiency markers, and the year's activities would be designed to fit each new set of students to push them forward." Nevertheless, this self-identified "dreamer" makes their teaching "work given the constraints of time." This early-career high-school Spanish teacher exemplifies the Visionary's coping strategy of channeling frustration and anger into a grand search that positions them as a hero:

I think it is an egregious injustice that Spanish for Spanish Speaker courses and tracks are woefully underrepresented in populations with high instances of Spanish speakers in the community, and I am proud to have designed and am

currently implementing the track for my own community. (Case 70)

The teaching experience of Visionary teachers ranges from 1 to 20+ years of experience (see **Figure 17**). They have an average of 12 years of experience, but the mode is 20+ years ($n = 6$), which speaks to the possibility of developing and sustaining a positive, productive immunity at all stages of one's teaching career. The fact that the Visionary cluster has the most access (58%) to language-specific professional development in their schools among the sample offers one example of how this productive immunity can be nurtured at the local level (half these teachers rate the professional development as very or extremely useful; half rate it slightly or moderately useful). In addition, 90% of Visionary teachers have participated in professional organizations at some point in their career, 29% of whom remained active members every year they have been teaching. Visionary teachers not only have local access to professional development support, but they are also agentive in continuing this quest on their own. Visionary teachers' teaching behaviors further validate their agency.

Among all clusters, Visionary teachers are the most likely to frequently or always read scholarly literature (36%) and books (36%) related to language teaching (see **Figure 21**), indicating they are the most intellectually connected to the profession. The majority of Visionaries also frequently or always follow (74%) or participate (61%) in social media related to language teaching, demonstrating their commitment to the profession outside of their work day and local contexts. Two-thirds (64%) frequently or always search for teaching ideas on the Internet, the lowest frequency among the sample. And though the majority of Visionaries may draw inspiration from the Internet, they are the

least likely to purchase resources (e.g., lesson plans); only 13% frequently or always purchase them, while 58% rarely or never do. These behaviors indicate Visionary teachers stay connected to the profession, continue to improve despite already feeling efficacious, and are innovative in their practice rather than being reliant on others' ideas and work.

Cluster 4: From At-risk to Fossilized. Cluster 4 is the smallest and most elusive group in the sample. I theorized them to be at-risk of defeat should their strong resilience wane or they stop finding satisfaction in their jobs. However, triangulating the supplemental datasets revealed that these teachers' immunities are not evolving at all; they have already fossilized in their maladaptive state. Therefore, I renamed cluster 4 *Fossilized.*

I drew on Hiver's (2017) Fossilized archetype as a guide for evidencing cluster 4 teachers' fossilization. Fossilized teachers are stuck and plateaued; they cope through denial, avoidance, and rationalization; reconfigure around conservatism, illusions of self-efficacy, and aversion to change; and they adopt an *if-it-isn't-broken-don't-fix-it* narrative. The cluster 4 mean profile somewhat corresponds to Hiver's (2017) Fossilized cluster profile, but with a different level of intensity (which is why I did not initially consider cluster 4 to be fossilized). A comparison of each sample's immunity mean scores revealed similar levels of teaching self-efficacy, classroom affectivity, and burnout (**Table 18**). However, the U.S. teachers in this study are less open to change and have considerably worse attitudes towards teaching, but they also have stronger resilience and coping skills that logically offset this imbalance. Based on the data presented below and

Hiver's (2017) archetype, I re-interpreted the cluster 4 immunity mean profile to be a unique manifestation of a more intense type of fossilization. The U.S. teachers are not merely stuck and plateaued or in denial. They choose to not change even though they are aware of the need to. Rather than adopt an *if-it-isn't-broken-don't-fix-it* narrative that suggests their practice is "good enough the way it is," these teachers more perceptively admit they will "make do with what they have" because *it-is-broken-but-they're-not-going-fix-it*. They primarily remain in the profession for their own personal benefit, but one teacher is currently planning their exit.

Table 18

Cluster Profile Comparison Between Hiver's (2017) Fossilized Cluster and Cluster 4: Immunity Variable Means and Mean Differences

	Immunity Variables					Validation Variables	
	Self-efficacy	Resilience	Attitudes to Teaching	Openness to Change	Classroom Affectivity	Burnout	Coping
Fossilized (*n* = 35, 12%)	**4.14**	**4.17**	**4.34**	**3.00**	**4.46**	**3.60**	**4.11**
Cluster 4 (*n* = 12, 7%)	4.14	4.53	3.63	2.33	4.50	3.81	4.75
Difference in means	*0*	*+0.36*	*-0.71*	*-0.46*	*-0.16*	*+0.21*	*+0.64*

First and foremost, there is much evidence in the data of cluster 4's unwillingness to develop as teachers despite the need for change. Curiously, these teachers are the highest-educated, but among the least confident teachers in the sample. All but one have a master's degree (92%, the highest rate in the sample) in a language- or education-

related discipline (e.g., languages and literatures, language teaching, instructional technology, school counseling), and yet they have the second lowest teaching self-efficacy of the sample. Their low efficacy could be the result of restricted access to language-specific professional development (only 25% have access to very or moderately useful PD), but cluster 5 (Protective) teachers are similarly restricted (only 27% have access) and have significantly higher efficacy (**Table 13**). It is more plausible that cluster 4 teachers' efficacy is repressed because they are not agentive in their own professional development, reconfigure around convenience, and choose to remain intellectually disengaged.

Half of cluster 4 teachers have participated in professional organizations for more than half their career with rates comparable to the other clusters and the sample as a whole (see **Figure 22**, wherein cluster 4 was previously labeled *At-risk*). However, the other half have either never participated (25%, the highest rate in the sample) or only participated up to a quarter of their career (25%, the highest rate in the sample). That is to say, half decided early on they were not going to formally engage in the profession for various reasons. Case 108 never participated during their four-year career because they "feel [they] don't have enough professional knowledge," even though professional organizations exist to address this very problem. Case 108 became a language teacher "because parents are language teachers," is motivated to remain in teaching for "duty," and does not answer if they teach how they think they should. Their set of incomplete and curt responses indicate this detached and dispassionate teacher entered the profession "hostile to newness" and/or "rapidly settled into this pattern of apathy" (Hiver, 2017, p.

676), which triggered their early onset fossilization. This could also be the case for Case 115 who never participated in professional organizations throughout their 12 years of teaching due to "lack of extra time." Case 115 is likely rationalizing their non-participation since most teachers in this study find some time to participate, including the following examples who at least tried professional organizations, but found them to not be worth it. Case 123 taught for 32 years without access to local professional development, but only participated in professional organizations for three of them because, "When [they were] a member, there was not enough support and/or workshops for teaching with CI [Comprehensible Input]," implying they had to look elsewhere for support. Case 103 only participated for two of 12 years because, conveniently, "Professional development is available online instead." And after one year of participating, Case 23 stopped, explaining, "Cost, it's not terribly expensive, but I would have to pay out of my own money and if I have to spend my own money, I'd rather spend it on tangible lesson plans or other PD." These sentiments are evident in cluster 4 teachers' behaviors that disproportionately rely on the Internet to inform their practice, in part because they lack access to free quality professional development, but also because they reconfigure around convenience and lack the efficacy to employ their own ideas.

All cluster 4 members frequently or always search for teaching ideas on the Internet (compared to 79% of the whole sample), and they all purchase resources on the Internet with some frequency (67% always or frequently purchase, which is the highest rate in the sample; see **Figure 21,** wherein cluster 4 was previously labeled *At-risk*). They are also among those who most frequently or always follow (58%) and participate (67%)

in social media related to language teaching, but are the least likely to frequently or always read scholarly literature (17%). Rather than utilize the Internet to intellectually engage with the profession, it is likely that Fossilized teachers use it to compensate for what they cannot provide on their own because their disengagement from the profession has resulted in them being out of touch.

Evidence of Fossilized teachers being disconnected from the profession is also found in their narratives about teaching. Every cluster 4 respondent generically describes their practice (e.g., using "effective" methods), and not one mentions language-specific methodologies or approaches that are common among the sample (e.g., comprehensible input, target-language use, etc.). For example, when describing if they teach the way they should, Case 145 vaguely states, "I think there are curriculum guidelines, mandated testing, and specific guidelines from the state and local level that we must meet, so it diminishes actually teaching the language and culture." It can be inferred that Case 145 is not satisfied with their practice, but it is difficult to imagine what this high-school Spanish teacher with 18 years of experience is teaching, if not "actually teaching the language and the culture." Despite participating in professional organizations for their entire career and portraying strong teaching self-efficacy (4.86), Case 145 always searches for ideas and purchases resources on the Internet rather than rely on their own knowledge and experience. Case 145 is among the least open to change (1.50), and has likely been fossilized for some time.

The group's elusive responses indicate cluster 4 members do not have a clear grasp of their teaching philosophy and that they are out of touch with contemporary

communicative teaching methods. In fact, Case 115 bluntly admits, "The methods of teaching foreign language [have] completely changed since I took these classes as a student. I don't know what the best method is." For 12 years, Case 115 failed to evolve their professional identity with the paradigm shift taking place in language education, and thus fossilized. Rather than find out what the best method is, they are using their very strong coping skills (5.33) to "currently [earn] another teacher license" since "nothing really" motivates them to stay. It is curious that an individual who is very unlikely to be open to change (2.00) would be open to teaching a completely different discipline, but one maladaptive quality of fossilized teachers is their inability to adapt, which is particularly problematic when teaching during a pandemic.

Case 86 has 13 years of experience teaching Spanish and participating in professional organizations, but does not teach how they think they should because "[their] teaching situation due to COVID limits [their] abilities to [use] many effective language teaching strategies." Case 86 may bounce back after the pandemic no longer limits their practice, but their teaching behaviors suggest the pandemic may just be an excuse for their inability to teach effectively. Case 86 always follows and participates in social media and always uses the Internet to search for ideas and purchase resources; they only sometimes consume scholarly literature to inform their practice. To have only moderate teaching self-efficacy (3.86), apathetic attitudes towards teaching (3.40), and feel so displaced in the pandemic despite having 13 years of experience calls to question just how much their professional identity has developed over the years.

Cluster 4 teachers are not only the least open to change, they are also among the

least efficacious and most apathetic group of the sample (**Table 13**), and yet they have managed to remain in the profession an average of 12 years; 75% of them have been teaching between 7 and 20+ years (see **Figure 18**). To heavily rely on others' ideas and not be able to articulate if and how they teach the way they think they should after this many years in the classroom is strong evidence that these teachers' identities have stopped developing. Their strong resilience, coping skills, and high classroom affectivity have helped them to sustain their careers while avoiding much-needed change. They were probably more committed to their professional development early on (hence the high rate of master's degrees), but something demotivated them along the way and triggered their fossilization.

Despite their apathy, most want to stay in teaching because they personally benefit from it, and so they use their strong coping skills to rationalize why they should stay without having to adapt. For example, Case 123 "doesn't always reach…expectations due to family demands and time constraints" because they are "exhausted" in their "32nd year of teaching." However, they, "can't think of anything else someone would hire [them] to do, [they are] finally getting to…the top of the pay scale, and…really enjoy the relationships [they] have with [their] students," and so they stay. Similarly, Case 85 is overwhelmed teaching five preps, but copes by "[drawing] the line at sacrificing family time for school prep," thus illuminating why this teacher with seven years of experience reconfigures around the convenience of the Internet to frequently search for ideas, purchase resources, follow, and participate in social media. Case 85 still "[loves] what they do and interacting with [their] students," so they found a way to

remain stable despite working in a challenging context. Finally, Case 103 displays the

most confidence in their teaching: "Yes [I teach how I should]. I have freedom to teach

using methods and curriculum that I believe to be most effective for my students in my

classroom," but may suffer from illusions of efficacy. Case 103 is very satisfied with

their teaching (classroom affectivity = 5.67), but they ironically display only moderate

efficacy (3.43) and attitudes towards the profession (3.40) and frequently or always

search for ideas and purchase resources on the Internet. Case 103 is not very open to

change (2.5), but why should they be when they benefit from a teaching context that

provides access to professional growth (4.83) and very high autonomy (6.0) and status

(5.2)?

These examples once again demonstrate the inextricable link between context and

identity development. These teachers have fossilized because they are neither

intrinsically nor extrinsically motivated to develop their professional identities. These

teachers are not necessarily ineffective, but their unwillingness to develop themselves and

their practice certainly indicates they have unfulfilled potential. I discuss approaches to

combat teachers' fossilization in Chapter 5.

Cluster 5: Protective. Cluster 5's low openness to change was the singular factor

that gave this otherwise highly positive immunity a curious profile. It is the only

immunity variable that conflicts with Hiver's (2017) Spark Plug archetype, and I

theorized it to represent a protective stance for teachers' practice rather than a

maladaptive quality of resisting professional development. To evaluate the similarities

and differences between cluster 5 and the Spark Plug archetype, I drew on Hiver's (2017)

framework to look for evidence of the Spark Plug archetype in cluster 5's supplemental data, while specifically identifying how this group's low openness to change generates a similar, but unique immunity.

My analysis validated cluster 5 teachers as protective. More specifically, I discovered that these teachers place so much value on their relationships with students that they are not willing to risk disrupting the positive social-emotional environments they create in their classrooms for the sake of pedagogical innovation. They are open to innovation, but they are largely left to figure it out on their own. Like Spark Plugs, Protective teachers are efficacious, passionate, and involved, but they will not risk using unfamiliar methods that are potentially deleterious, which explains why they are less open to change.

Protective teachers' prompts are saturated with affect and an unmistakable connection to students. In the 20 sets of comments, the word *student(s)* appears 59 times, *love* 27 times, *joy/enjoyment* 11 times, and *passion* 5 times, and a myriad of positivity (e.g., *affinity, enthusiasm, desire, inspire, motivate, warm, safe, welcoming*). All but one person states they were drawn to the profession by their love of languages and passion for teaching and directly attribute their motivation stay in language teaching to their students. For example, Case 148 says, "Seeing the enthusiasm of the children in class strengthened my belief that I wanted to continue teaching."

Protective teachers are genuinely interested in giving back to students. Whereas several teachers in the maladaptive clusters (e.g., Imposters) stay in the profession for pragmatic personal gain (e.g., it pays the bills), Protective teachers thrive on paying it

forward. Case 167 is a language teacher because they know they "can make a positive difference in at least a few students' lives." And Case 138 still pays it forward after teaching high school Spanish for 17 years:

I see how Spanish has changed my life and been a gift to me. I want to give that gift to students. I truly believe that if my students invest in learning a language, they will live a more fulfilling and meaningful life. I want to give them this tool that can help them in a future profession, travel experience, personal relationship, etc.

Protective teachers do not suffer from illusions of efficacy. They know they are effective because they experience the growth in their students and are personally fulfilled by it. Protective teachers are motivated to develop themselves so they can continue to give back. Case 139 knows they are "still doing a good job teaching students the material, relating to the students and building relationships, and above all – providing them opportunities to see the world through a travel program [they are] in charge of." Case 153 is motivated by, "The creative challenge language teaching provides," as well as "The joy of seeing students successfully communicate in the target language or have a breakthrough in learning…[and]…seeing where their language skills and interests take them in the future."

Protective teachers draw on their strong social-emotional connection to cope with adversity and sustain their resilience if conditions are difficult. Case 147 sustains a satisfactory practice despite not being able to teach their preferred language, explaining, "I absolutely love [language teaching] even though I do not love the language I am

currently teaching. To see the students understand a complicated grammar point or make connections in culture is what keeps me going everyday!" Similarly, Case 162 is motivated by "The handful of students that remain engaged and with whom [they] can connect despite schedule challenges." This K-8 Spanish teacher copes by "learning…through [their] own research to create engaging lessons" and learns "something new on a regular basis." After six years of teaching, Case 143 is aware of the instability of some language programs, but already has a plan to sustain their practice if it is threatened:

> If they eliminated French, I think I would try to become certified in another language because I love it so much. When I see my students trying to pronounce words in French and seeing the light in their eyes when they're able to communicate, that continuously brings me back.

Similar to Hiver's (2017) Spark Plugs, the Protective teachers in my sample portray "optimistic enthusiasts" who often adopt generativity narratives to describe their practice. This high-school Spanish teacher with five years of experience exemplifies a Spark Plug:

> In my opinion, the best teachers are those who WANT to teach, who learn about their students, and who do all they can to meet their students' learning needs. I do think I teach the way I should because I do all these. I love my job. My students inspire me every day and are my fuel to continue improving my craft. Building relationships with them also helps me keep the class engaged by making lessons relatable and relevant! I use the resources given to me, but I don't stop there. I

search others on my own to, again, make sure I keep students engaged. Additionally, I make sure I understand what I am going over and that I am having fun teaching it. If I have fun, the students can see the passion, and they enjoy it as well. And when plans don't go well, then that means I have to try something new which I look forward to doing. (Case 164)

Several Protective teachers are just as confident as Case 164, but at least half of them struggle to achieve their ideals and recognize a need for change. However, they feel unprepared to effectively use new teaching strategies because they do "not receive current and relevant professional development" (Case 12) to implement contemporary pedagogy. Case 139 knows they "should be using more comprehensible input," but does not feel like they understand "all the concepts of this method…in order to implement it better." And if Case 149 does "not teach the way [they] should, it's because [they're] lacking the training to be able to successfully carry out that type of teaching." The fact that only 27% of Protective teachers have access to language-specific professional development in their schools indicates these teachers are not merely making excuses; they genuinely want to develop their teaching, but they do not know how and/or find it daunting to do it alone.

For example, Case 151 has been teaching Spanish for over 20 years and understands "that there are more innovative teaching methods like comprehensible input [CI]…[and] that many in the World Language teaching community would expect [them] to use CI, but…the traditional way that most of [their] department teaches is acceptable to the administration." They "would like to implement CI, but…[thinks] it would be

difficult to implement it after just reading and researching it on [their] own."

Case 138 similarly finds their practice to be "a constant internal struggle…[because] the expectations are very unclear" in their school. After teaching Spanish for 17 years in a department where "every teacher has a different pedagogy," they are "not sure which [pedagogy] is considered best." Their department has "not officially adopted the 'CI' method yet…and most teachers are hesitant to try it." However, this teacher "took a risk and tried it, and it went very well." They want to "move more in that direction and put an emphasis on input/immersion," but struggle to find the local support to do so.

Case 166 is a novice French teacher with 3 years of experience and learned about communicative teaching methodology in their teacher preparation program. In contrast to Cases 151 and 138 who are developing their ongoing identities amidst a major paradigm shift in language education, Case 166 entered the profession primed to teach communicatively (i.e., vs. traditional grammar-translation methods). Nevertheless, they find this teaching style overwhelming:

> I think that I teach maybe 75% how I should. I think it is expected that every day I go over the standards and exactly how they are related to every single thing I do. I think it is expected that I teach 90% in French and that all my assessments are IPAs [Integrated Performance Assessments] and relevant to the student. That every activity I make is relevant and connected to the theme and culture. That everything I do is engaging. These expectations come mostly from my classes in school and being assessed in school by these standards. I sometimes feel that

everyone else but me is doing these things. I don't teach perfectly to these expectations because I don't have the time or energy to be perfect. I haven't had enough experience to meet these standards which is why it was so stressful in college to be held to them.

A common theme in these comments is that good language teaching is hard. Protective teachers understand the purpose and the benefits to shifting towards communicative teaching methods, but they are reticent to adopt this unfamiliar methodology because it makes them uncomfortable and potentially threatens their relationships with students, as Case 143 points out: "I should speak more in French and have a variety of different excuses as to why I don't," but it generally comes down to not knowing "how to establish and maintain great rapport with students while also using French 90%+ of the time." Protective teachers are social-emotional learners who thrive when interacting with others. All of them realign their practice around student performance and interaction, and at least seven of them frame their practice in terms of the "department" and use the pronoun "we" instead of "I." The social-emotional nature of this archetype suggests that the development of a Protective immunity is more closely linked to individuals' dispositions rather than their teaching context, and the behavioral data support this idea.

Most Protective teachers have been teaching for 6 to 10 years, but their experience ranges from 1 to 20+ years (see **Figure 19**), indicating teachers enter the profession with a proclivity for protecting their practice. Furthermore, they are able to sustain a productive immunity with little external support. Only 27% have access to local

professional development, but 91% have participated in professional organizations, with half (47%) having done so for the majority of their career (see **Figure 22**). The Protective cluster follows and participates in social media with rates comparable to the sample as a whole, though they are among the least likely to read scholarly literature or books related to language learning (see **Figure 21**). Like most teachers without local support, Protective teachers rely heavily on the Internet to search for teaching ideas (88% frequently or always do this), but they are among the least likely to purchase resources there (only 18% frequently or always do). These teachers strive to be like other language teachers and learn from them, but they are self-sufficient in developing their own identities. And despite putting forth this effort and not being totally satisfied with their teaching style, Protective teachers only experience low to moderate levels of burnout, which is yet another productive quality of this archetype.

      Cluster 6: Jaded. I interpreted the cluster 6 immunity profile to portray teachers who have become jaded after enduring much adversity over the years. I looked for evidence of these feelings in the demographic, contextual, and qualitative datasets, as well as explanations for their tarnished sentiments. The data support my theory, so I retained the name *Jaded*. More specifically, I discovered that these teachers have become jaded because they lack local support in the forms of guidance, feedback, and validation. Like many language teachers, they are left to do what they can with the resources they have and develop their professional identities to various degrees, but these teachers become jaded because their identities are not legitimized by others. A few Jaded teachers

have given up completely; most remain in teaching, but have lost their passion and motivation; and a rare few still have the resilience to find purpose in their jobs.

Jaded teachers are not novice teachers. They are mid-late career teachers with 7-20+ years of experience (with a mode of 20+ years; see **Figure 20**), making it plausible for them to have become jaded from extended exposure to adversity. Furthermore, most work in unsupportive environments since only 21% have access to language-specific professional development in their schools (the lowest rate in the sample). Nevertheless, this group demonstrates agency in guiding their own professional growth. All but one have participated in professional organizations at some point in their career (93%), and half have participated between 51-100% of their career (see **Figure 22**). Twelve of the fourteen (86%) have master's degrees in an education- or language-related discipline. One of these teachers has three master's degrees (French, Teaching, and Literary Aesthetics). These teachers were committed to their careers at some point and have done what they can with the resources they have, but they are weary of trying to find satisfaction in this profession. In fact, they display professional behaviors similar to Fossilized (cluster 4) teachers who stopped developing their identities for some time now. For example, all Jaded teachers frequently or always search for teaching ideas on the Internet, and more than half (58%) frequently or always purchase resources, even though they feel efficacious (see **Figure 21**). Jaded teachers also follow and participate in social media with some of the highest rates in the sample, but are the least likely to consume scholarly literature related to the profession. Like Fossilized teachers, Jaded teachers are intellectually disengaged from the profession. But unlike Fossilized teachers, Jaded

teachers' disengagement spawned from their inability to find satisfaction in the profession rather than a disinterest in further developing themselves. Why put forth the effort when nobody recognizes it?

Most Jaded teachers have not always displayed apathetic classroom affectivity and low attitudes towards teaching. Six individuals became language teachers for passionate reasons, such as wanting "to watch students grow and be changed by their learning of languages and culture" (Case 5), they "love the whole process and science and art that goes into language teaching and learning" (Case 14), and because "…everyone should be bilingual. Kids are amazing young people and seeing them succeed (especially after a struggle) is an absolute delight!" (Case 12). Only three of them sustained a positive attitude over time, like Case 10 who is motivated to stay after 16 years by "the opportunity to teach children to be open minded about other cultures, people, and places." Sadly, the others' passion waned. Case 12 still has "love for the students," but stays for the "paycheck" and "comfort." Case 5 still loves German, but finds "it is hard to find another profession where [they] can use [their] skills," and Case 11 candidly admits, "honestly, I don't know…[what motivates me to stay]."

A few Jaded teachers entered the profession for more practical reasons, such as liking the language or having a cultural connection to it (e.g., ancestry), because it was a practical job to have while growing a family or to fund graduate school, and because the job was "sort of chosen for [them]" through Teach for America (Case 3). Nevertheless, they, too, are only motivated to stay for personal gain (e.g., the "pay check and health care," Case 4; "retirement," Case 6; and because their "children are still in school," Case

8), and several have succumbed to defeat (i.e., two of them quit, and one is about to). Over time, all of these teachers failed to develop a satisfactory professional identity and have grown cynical and indifferent.

Case 13 best exemplifies the character arc of a Jaded teacher who entered this profession for positive personal gain, but grew cynical as their environment slowly destroyed their soul:

…by working hard to be an excellent teacher, I overcame many personal psychological obstacles – shyness, introversion, fear of public speaking. By learning to encourage others, I learned to encourage myself and not beat myself up all the time psychologically. Was this the best profession for me? Probably not, but through my own hard work, it's given me a lot. It's time to go, though….

I used to love it, but that was when I didn't teach in the U.S. However, U.S. culture and the educational culture here is just soul-destroying. I am not staying in language teaching. I taught for nearly 15 years outside the U.S., and now have been teaching here for 13 years, and I've had enough. I'm changing careers. I've taught K-6, some high school, college and grad students, in the United States and abroad. I wish I had never come back to the U.S. I'm tired and I'm done.

Case 13 clearly demonstrates that context matters when it comes to developing a positive professional identity. Even though Case 13 was born in the United States, their story is reminiscent of many international language teachers who lose status and struggle to adapt in the U.S. education system (Kissau et al., 2011). Despite having extensive

286

experience, Case 13 is unable to construct a satisfactory language teacher identity in their U.S. school because their professional identity does not align to local expectations. They remain unsupported and unvalidated:

> I teach as best I can under the circumstances. I would like to do more projects, have more time with the kids so they can be a little more immersed in the language. That won't happen because I'm not given that time. I don't teach well enough by my standards, but the conditions limit me. I think I teach well enough by the school's standards. But of course, because of "face validity," they'd prefer to have a "native speaker" in my position – more [credit] with parents. The teacher previous to me got the students to "produce" more – because she did a lot of the student's work for them, there was lots and lots of coaching of memorized lines, and she was very "scary" and strict. That's not me, so we don't manage to produce as much "stuff" for parental consumption. So, I compare myself to her.

Like Case 13, most cluster 6 teachers feel Jaded because they do not feel validated in their teaching environments. Many have the autonomy to teach as they please, but they must independently construct their own practice. They become dispirited when their practice is not supported or validated by others as effective, useful, or worthwhile. This is especially hurtful when these teachers are confident that they are making the right choices.

For example, Case 14 sounds like a Protective teacher (cluster 5) who realigns their practice around student validation, and they very likely could have had a Protective immunity earlier on in their career. In fact, like Protective teachers, Case 14 remains in

287

the profession after 20+ years because they "believe [they are] effective and…enjoy working with [their] students." They are efficacious (4.43) and find satisfaction in their classroom (5.00), but have jaded attitudes towards the profession (2.40) for being silenced, humiliated, and invalidated by colleagues:

World language teachers in my district are expected by the county supervisor to teach immersively, staying in the target language for 90% of class time. I do not teach this way, but neither do I teach in the traditional, grammar-based drill-and-kill way. No one talks about this except at county meetings; it's as if the conversation was driven underground. I think it's worthy of debate. As a learner of four different languages other than my first, this is not how I want to experience language learning and it is not how my students on the whole want to learn French. Last month, one of my students said, "Thank you for not just talking at us in French but actually teaching us." Additionally, 90% does not allow for relationship-building, for students to ask questions or even to deal with housekeeping issues. I use very effective strategies to manage language use in my classroom. When I send my students on to high school, they are regarded as some of the best prepared and knowledgeable. One year, I was humiliated by the county supervisor yet she has no idea how I teach a or how successful and happy my students are.

Case 14 is motivated to stay because they know they are effective and still "love teaching and learning," but not all teachers stay. Despite having, autonomy, confidence, and strong pedagogical knowledge, Case 3 chose to leave the profession after 15 years of

288

facing criticism from onlookers:

I absolutely think I teach (taught – I left teaching last year) the way I should. I have invested lots of personal time in researching how language is acquired naturally and how children develop and all the intersections of which make teaching a new language such an art as well as a science (affective filters, compelling but comprehensive instruction, negotiating meaning, etc.). I feel like most visiting adults or parents looking over [kids'] shoulders mistakenly think the class is too hard ('OMG it's all in Spanish!') or too easy ('Well, if they are in 5th grade, why aren't they speaking to each other in complete Spanish sentences?'). And I didn't have to [take] either of their criticisms [because] I have (had) been in the classroom for 15 years following research-based best practices.

The visitors criticized, rather than complemented, Case 3's practice, which reasonably contributed to Case 3 feeling jaded about having "invested lots of personal time in researching" how to teach, and nobody recognizing those efforts. Case 1 succumbed to the same fate. Despite being "…a fantastic teacher with total freedom to teach as [they] wish," Case 1 "actually quit in June!" because "It's a completely thankless task and [their] district doesn't care about or support FL teaching." If it gets bad enough, Jaded teachers may ultimately leave the profession despite being good teachers. When Jaded teachers cannot quit because they need the job, their practice suffers because they lose the motivation to teach well. Case 8 is ready to give up, but needs this job because their "kids are still in school":

I do not teach the way that I should. I do use the curriculum I should be using. It

is comprehensible input, which is research-based. However, I have definitely lost my passion for teaching. I have gotten to where I would rather post an assignment from the curriculum I use…and let the students navigate it on their own, rather than try and do any activities with them. They do not want to learn for the most part. I am tired of trying to get them to do stuff when they don't want to do anything. It's exhausting and I give up.

Jaded teachers can hang on to their jobs because they have strong coping skills. Some teachers productively cope by compartmentalizing their dispassion for the profession and focus on the satisfaction they find in the classroom, like Case 14, but this may not last forever. Others utilize maladaptive coping strategies that help them get by without solving their problem, like Case 8 blaming students for being disinterested rather than designing a practice that interests students. Regardless of their coping methods, Jaded teachers experience the most burnout of the sample for having had to cope for too long.

After hearing their stories, this group's curiously high score on openness to change makes more sense: Jaded teachers crave change. They want guidance, recognition, and support, but have grown cynical from years of attempting to fulfill their professional identities without these essential ingredients. They are agentive, but they lack the resilience to sustain long-term adversity. Jaded teachers' respectable coping skills have carried them far into the profession, but their passion, attitudes, and affect waned over time, leading them to rely on maladaptive, rather than productive, coping strategies. At best, their professional development stalls and their practice conforms to

others' expectations; at worst, Jaded teachers experience the highest rates of burnout and display the highest risk of quitting the profession altogether, which is a particular shame since they genuinely want to be recognized as effective language teachers.

Immunity Archetypes

This 6-cluster solution portrays a sample of language teachers with a wide range of immunity attributes. The quantitative and qualitative analyses I conducted to arrive at these conclusions resulted in six unique and valid immunity archetypes with various maladaptive and productive qualities. **Figure 24** displays the standardized mean profile of each cluster. It is a composite sketch of the results that shows how each immunity archetype relates to one another and the sample as a whole. Positive bars (above zero) indicate group qualities that exceed the sample mean, and negative bars (below zero) indicate values below that of the sample mean. The clusters are ordered from the most intensively negative scores on the left to the most intensively positive scores on the right to sort the archetypes along a sort of maladaptive-productive spectrum.

Clusters 5 (Protective) and 3 (Visionary) clearly emerge as groups with higher scores that portray more intensely productive qualities. Conversely, Clusters 6 (Jaded), 2 (Imposter), and 4 (Fossilized) diverge from the sample with decreasing levels of immunity attributes that represent increasingly maladaptive qualities. Cluster 1 (Complacent) most closely represents the sample as a whole since their measures diverge the least from zero. This archetype shares both productive and maladaptive qualities that stabilize these teachers in a neutral position of defying defeat while evading further development despite having unfulfilled potential.

Figure 24 thus serves as a visualization of how this sample of language teachers orients themselves to the profession via their immunity archetype. To be clear, the figure does not depict any particular order in which teachers' immunities develop and evolve over time, nor is it inclusive of all potential archetypes. It is a map of the archetypes that emerged in this study and shows discernable patterns that aid in understanding how language teacher immunity develops. In sum, increasing levels of self-efficacy, resilience, attitudes, and affect are associated with increasingly productive immunities, while decreasing levels of these four attributes are associated with increasingly maladaptive immunities. While there is a significant effect of cluster membership on openness to change (**Table 13**), **Figure 24** shows no linear association between openness to change along the maladaptive-productive spectrum (i.e., productive and maladaptive archetypes display both high and low openness to change). However, each archetype's mean score on openness to change logically aligns to its qualitative disposition (e.g., Protective teachers are less open to change because they want to protect their practice).
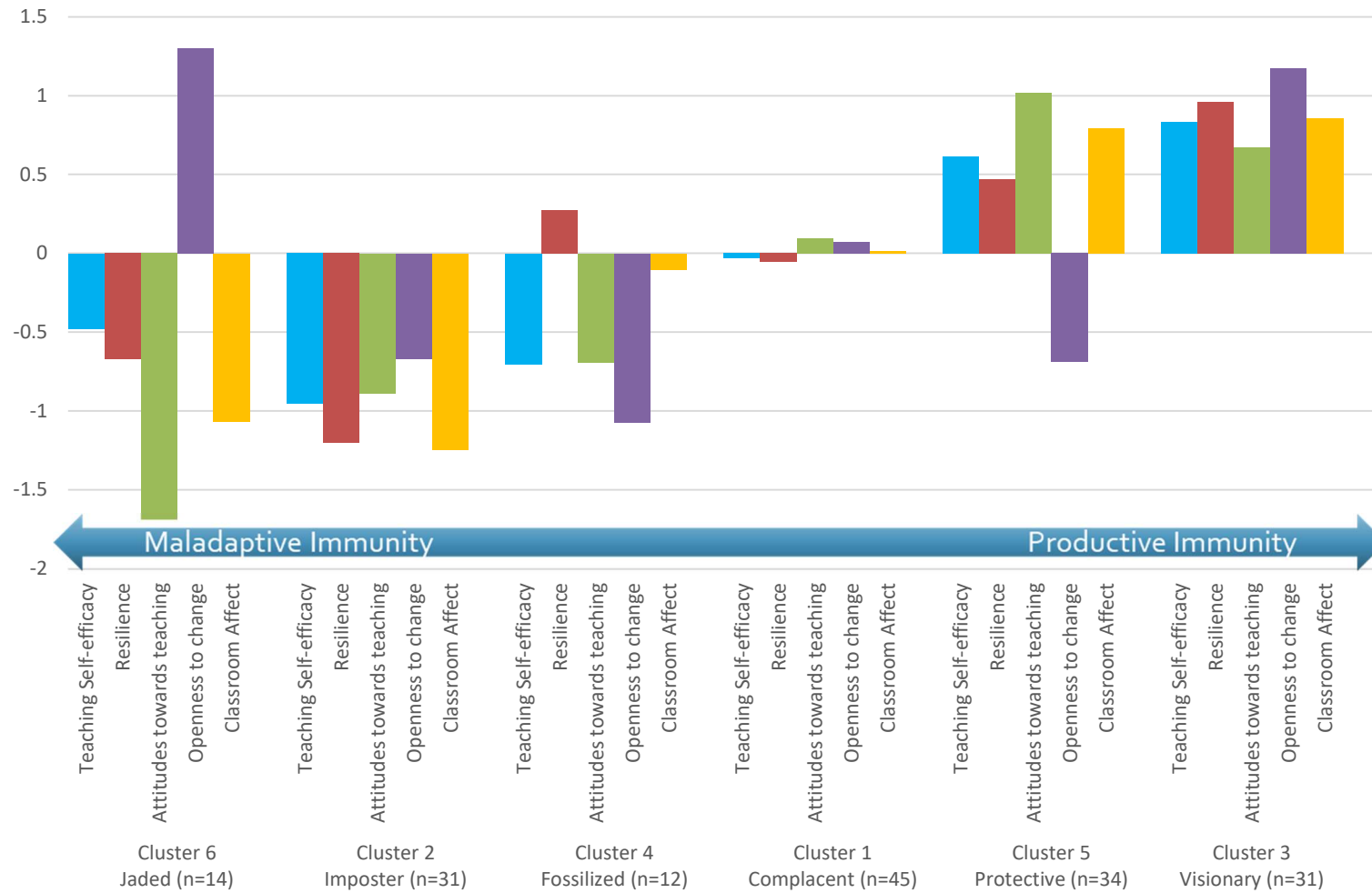
Figure 24

Standardized Immunity-Variable Means by Cluster

Language teacher immunity emerges in relation to the adversity teachers face on the job (Hiver, 2017), and so teaching context must be considered as equally influential as individuals' immunity attributes when it comes to interpreting these archetypes. The only contextual variable to be significantly associated to cluster membership is access to local professional development with a medium effect, $\chi^2(5) = 12.981$, $p < .05$, Cramer's V = .279, wherein Visionaries report the most access (58%), followed by Complacent (49%), Imposter (29%), Protective (27%), Fossilized (25%), and Jaded (21%). Groups with more productive immunities logically have more local support, while the maladaptive groups have the least, with one obvious exception: Protective teachers have among the least access to professional development, but one of the most productive immunities of the sample. The clearest explanation for this is that Protective teachers' robust, protective immunities equip them with a strong sense of agency to address this adversity (Hiver, 2017). Specifically, Protective teachers are more likely to productively engage in their own professional learning since such opportunities are not locally provided, which is evidenced by their teaching behaviors (see **Figure 21**) and participation in professional organizations (see **Figure 22**). In Chapter 5, I discuss in more detail how teachers' immunities influence their response to marginalizing practices, such as restricted access to professional development.

No other significant statistical relationships emerged between individuals' presage variables (demographic or contextual) and their immunity archetypes, but this was mainly due to insufficient data (i.e., too few cases), and the data nevertheless suggest that individuals' social identities (e.g., language, race) may play a role in immunity

development. I discuss these suggestive relationships, as well, in Chapter 5.

RQ3: Marginalization, Privilege, Empowerment, and Language Teacher Immunity

The final task in this study was to link the findings from RQ1 and RQ2 to explore the potential relationships between marginalization, privilege, empowerment, and immunity archetypes. I explored these relationships quantitatively using the variables for respondents' cluster membership, empowerment, marginalization, and privilege. I evaluated the results in relation to previous findings from RQ1 and RQ2, as well as the qualitative data grouped by cluster, to gain a more nuanced understanding of U.S. language teachers' professional identity development at the intersection of marginalization, privilege, and empowerment.

Chi-square tests of association between the categorical variable for cluster membership and the dichotomous variables for perceptions of marginalization and privilege revealed a significant association between cluster membership and marginalization with a medium effect (Cramer's $V = .294$), but no association for privilege (**Table 19**). I was unable to run a chi-square test using the variable for combined perceptions due to insufficient cell counts, but the data are meaningful nonetheless and displayed in **Table 20**.

Table 19

Observed Frequencies of Teachers' Perceptions of Marginalization and Privilege by Cluster Membership

	Cluster 1 Complacent n = 45		Cluster 2 Imposter n = 31		Cluster 3 Visionary n = 31		Cluster 4 Fossilized n = 12		Cluster 5 Protective n = 34		Cluster 6 Jaded n = 14		Total Sample N = 167		
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	$\chi^2(5)$
Marginalized	20	44	13	42	11	36	7	58	17	50	13	93	81	49	14.46*
Not Marginalized	25	56	18	58	20	64	5	42	17	50	1	7	86	51	
Privileged	21	48	9	30	13	42	4	33	19	58	4	31	70	43	6.60
Not privileged	23	52	21	70	18	58	8	67	14	42	9	69	93	57	

*$p < .05$

Table 20

Observed Frequencies of Teachers' Combined Perceptions of Marginalization and Privilege by Cluster Membership

	Cluster 1 Complacent $n = 45$		Cluster 2 Imposter $n = 31$		Cluster 3 Visionary $n = 31$		Cluster 4 Fossilized $n = 12$		Cluster 5 Protective $n = 34$		Cluster 6 Jaded $n = 14$		Total Sample $N = 167$	
	n	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*
Marginalized, not Privileged	12	27	10	33	5	16	3	25	8	24	8	62	46	28
Marginalized and Privileged	7	16	2	7	6	19	4	33	8	24	4	31	31	19
Privileged, not Marginalized	14	32	7	23	7	23	0	0	11	33	0	0	39	23
Neither Marginalized nor Privileged	11	25	11	37	13	42	5	42	6	18	1	8	47	28

Cluster 6 (Jaded), the most maladaptive group, has the highest rate of teachers who perceive themselves to be marginalized, and their rate of 93% far surpasses that of any other group (**Table 19**). This high rate is logical since these teachers have grown jaded from being largely unsupported and invalidated in their jobs. Four Jaded teachers feel privileged for working in high-status schools and/or enjoying curricular freedom, but these privileges are always accompanied by feelings of marginalization (**Table 20**). The fact that not one Jaded teacher feels privileged, but not marginalized, aligns to the fact that this archetype only emerges as the result of dealing with long-term adversity; it is unlikely for privileged teachers to become jaded. Only one Jaded teacher feels neither marginalized nor privileged, but they are also emotionally detached from the profession, merely teaching "what is required" and motivated by their "pay check and healthcare" (Case 4). The maladaptive nature of the Jaded archetype, as well as the marginalizing contexts that foment this archetype, clearly shape Jaded teachers' perspectives of marginalization and privilege.

Cluster 3 (Visionary), the most productive group, has the lowest rate of marginalized teachers (13% below that of the whole sample; **Table 19**). This makes sense considering many Visionaries "feel valued and supported" (Case 51), are "treated with respect" (Case 64), and have "ample opportunity to make [their] voice heard" (Case 56). Of the 31% who do feel marginalized for being misunderstood and unsupported, half of them still manage to find privileged aspects to their jobs (**Table 20**), such as curricular freedom and working in contexts that are not "emotionally draining" (Case 57). While an impressive 64% of Visionaries do not feel marginalized, only 42% perceive themselves

to be privileged. However, this is because most Visionaries feel neither marginalized nor privileged due to equality. For example, "the teachers in [Case 59's] department are some of the most powerful voices in the building," and yet they are not "held on a pedestal relative to other departments." The data suggest the productive nature of the Visionary archetype and the supportive contexts that nurture this archetype imbue teachers with an optimism that shapes their perspectives of marginalization and privilege.

These two extreme cases (Jaded and Visionary) suggest maladaptive archetypes associate with high marginalization and productive archetypes with low marginalization. However, the remaining four clusters share perceptions of marginalization that hover around the sample frequency of 49% with no consistent pattern across the productive and maladaptive archetypes. For example, despite having more productive qualities, cluster 5 (Protective) has more marginalized members than clusters 1 (Complacent) and 2 (Imposter; **Table 19**). Nevertheless, respondents' combined perceptions and open-ended descriptions substantiate a meaningful association between immunity archetype and perceptions of both marginalization and privilege. **Figure 25** is a visualization of the combined-perceptions data that facilitates the cross-cluster comparison described below.
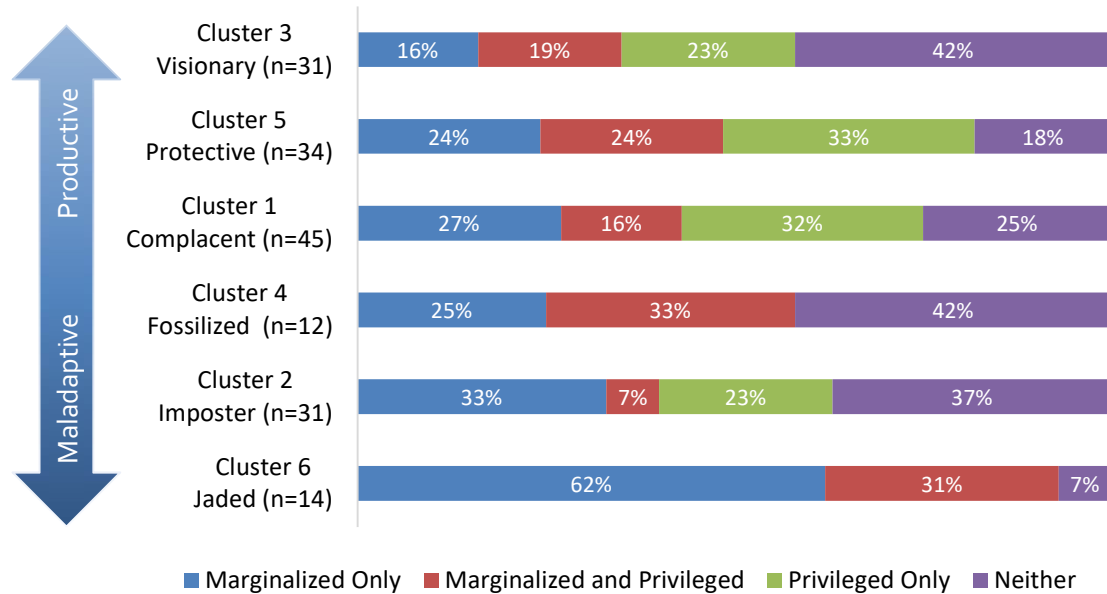
Figure 25

Frequency of Combined Perceptions of Marginalization and Privilege by Cluster

Cluster 5 (Protective) teachers' perceptions of marginalization are high because they are valid (e.g., language education is often less valued in their schools), but also because this group is the most likely to attribute their marginalization to social identities (e.g., being deaf, non-White, female). Thus, Protective teachers more frequently perceive themselves to be marginalized because they embrace broader perspectives of marginalization that bespeak critical self-awareness. Their enhanced awareness is also evident in the fact that they have the highest rate of perceived privilege among the sample (**Table 19**) and the highest rate of privilege that is not accompanied by marginalization (**Table 20**). In the context of the Protective archetype, high rates of perceived marginalization and privilege are associated with the archetype's productive qualities that

influence teachers to look for the good in their jobs (e.g., the privilege of having "the awesome opportunity to explore other cultures [and] make new, rewarding life-long relationships" [Case 163]) and purposefully address their marginalization by "[working] harder to prove how important language is" (Case 134), showing students how language "can be practical in their own lives and futures" (Case 167), and being more inclusive of diversity.

Cluster 1 (Complacent) teachers are similar to Protective teachers regarding their divided perceptions of marginalization and privilege. Although 27% of Complacent teachers feel marginalized and not privileged, there are twice as many who are able to find privilege in their jobs (**Table 20**). This is logical because they often offset their marginalization with aspects of privilege to find equilibrium, and, thus, complacency. For example, Case 188 feels undervalued by society for "just [teaching] Spanish," but privileged for teaching "something that not all people are able to do."

Finally, clusters 2 (Imposter) and 4 (Fossilized) have the highest rates of teachers who do not feel privileged (**Table 19**), similar to cluster 6 (Jaded), but this is because most of these members feel neither privileged nor marginalized, similar to cluster 3 (Visionary; **Table 20**). Several Imposters attribute this perception to misconceptions (e.g., "I don't need special privileges," Case 19), which aligns to this archetype being out of touch, but they also cite equality, which aligns to them teaching in much more supportive environments than Jaded teachers. Fossilized teachers have higher rates of marginalization than Imposters due to working in less supportive environments, but marginalized Fossilized teachers are more likely to find privilege in their jobs than

Imposters (**Table 20**), which is likely what allows them to remain in their less-than-ideal jobs long-term (similar to how Complacent teachers seek complacency by balancing their marginalization with perceptions of privilege).

In sum, each cluster's breakdown of combined perceptions of marginalization and privilege logically correspond to their immunity archetype even though statistical analyses only show a significant association for marginalization. This incongruence is likely due to respondents' inconsistent conceptualizations of each construct, as presented in RQ1 and substantiated here (e.g., privilege can be viewed as a lack of marginalization or equality or misunderstood altogether). The data also indicate that extreme cases of marginalization are associated with maladaptive immunities, and lack of marginalization to productive immunities, but once again, these associations are relative to how respondents conceptualize each. In addition to teachers' subjective conceptualizations, the data consistently demonstrate that teachers' contexts matter. For example, there is a clear pattern that working in unsupportive environments is associated with both marginalization and the more maladaptive immunities. The final analyses between cluster membership and empowerment corroborate and refine these conclusions.

Each cluster's mean scores for the continuous variables of marginalization and empowerment are in **Table 21**. ANOVAs between cluster membership (IV) and each continuous variable (DV) revealed significant and large effects of cluster membership on teachers' marginalization, decision making, professional growth, and status (**Table 21**), verifying that marginalization and empowerment are related to immunity archetypes. Tukey HSD post-hoc comparisons for marginalization, decision making, and status, and a

Games-Howell post-hoc for professional growth (Levene's test of homogeneity was violated at $p < .05$) revealed significant differences for several pairings that further illuminate these relationships.

Table 21

Cluster Means and Standard Deviations for Whole Sample and by Cluster

	Cluster 1 Complacent $n = 45$		Cluster 2 Imposter $n = 31$		Cluster 3 Visionary $n = 31$		Cluster 4 Fossilized $n = 12$		Cluster 5 Protective $n = 34$		Cluster 6 Jaded $n = 14$		Total Sample $N = 167$		F (5, 161)	η^2
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*		
Marginalization	2.95[b]	1.08	3.50[ab]	.98	2.88[b]	1.08	3.42[ab]	.94	2.92[b]	1.07	4.11[a]	1.20	3.17	1.11	4.17**	.115
Decision making	3.19[b]	.78	3.20[ab]	.84	3.77[a]	.82	2.78[b]	.77	3.39[ab]	.97	2.77[b]	.89	3.28	.89	4.18**	.115
Professional growth	4.67[a]	.61	4.13[b]	.68	4.99[a]	.68	4.60[ab]	.15	5.00[a]	.65	4.12[ab]	1.23	4.64	.78	8.00***	.199
Status	4.95[b]	.51	4.41[c]	.54	5.29[a]	.44	4.70[bc]	.52	5.32[a]	.47	4.74[bc]	.51	4.95	.59	14.87***	.316
Autonomy	4.39	.96	4.59	.86	4.75	.91	4.94	.86	4.79	.84	4.47	1.31	4.62	.94	1.24	.037

$**p < .01, ***p < .001$

Note. Pairs not sharing a superscript are significantly different at $p < .05$

Marginalization is the variable that most distinguishes cluster 6 (Jaded) from the other groups. Jaded teachers experience moderate to very high marginalization that is significantly greater than that of clusters 1 (Complacent), 3 (Visionary), and 5 (Protective), but the same as clusters 2 (Imposter) and 4 (Fossilized). All remaining cluster pairings experience similar levels of marginalization.

Decision making is the variable that most distinguishes cluster 3 (Visionary) from other groups. Visionaries have moderate to high decision-making capabilities that are significantly greater than those of clusters 1 (Complacent), 4 (Fossilized), and 6 (Jaded) teachers, but the same as clusters 2 (Imposter) and 5 (Protective). All other cluster pairings have statistically similar levels of decision making.

Professional growth is the variable that most distinguishes cluster 2 (Imposter) from other groups. Imposters have moderate to high professional growth that is similar to clusters 4 (Fossilized) and 6 (Jaded), but only Imposters' professional growth is significantly lower than clusters 1 (Complacent), 3 (Visionary), and 5 (Protective). All other cluster pairings have statistically similar levels of professional growth.

Finally, status is the empowerment variable with the greatest effect across all clusters ($\eta^2 = .316$) and distinguishes the more productive immunities from the sample. Clusters 3 (Visionary) and 5 (Protective) have statistically similar high to very high status that is significantly greater than the remaining clusters. Of the less productive (more maladaptive) clusters, only cluster 1 (Complacent) has significantly more status than cluster 2 (Imposter). The remaining pairings have statistically similar status.

These significant differences highlight which particular dimensions of marginalization and empowerment distinguish certain archetypes from others. However, the statistical similarities across profiles meaningfully indicate that marginalization and empowerment are more broadly related to the maladaptive/productive disposition of each archetype rather than the individual archetypes themselves.

Despite the differences described above, maladaptive clusters 2 (Imposter), 4 (Fossilized), and 6 (Jaded) have statistically similar measures on all four empowerment variables, as do productive clusters 3 (Visionary) and 5 (Protective). Cluster 1 (Complacent) has statistically similar empowerment to cluster 4 (Fossilized), but is also statistically similar to either of the productive clusters (3 or 5) on three of the four measures, corroborating my theory that the Complacent immunity has a hybrid maladaptive-productive disposition. The clusters' marginalization is much less distinguished, wherein only the most extreme maladaptive group (Jaded) experiences significantly more marginalization than the most extreme productive group (Visionary). Otherwise, the groups experience similar ranges of low to high marginalization.

Figure 26 depicts the dispersion of empowerment and marginalization across the immunity archetypes in relation to their maladaptive/productive disposition. Each archetype's empowerment and marginalization overlaps to some extent with other archetypes, but there is a clear association between productive immunity qualities, higher empowerment, and lower marginalization, as well as maladaptive immunity qualities, lower empowerment, and higher marginalization. The larger effect of immunity

306

archetype on empowerment is noticeable with three distinct empowerment profiles compared to only two for marginalization.
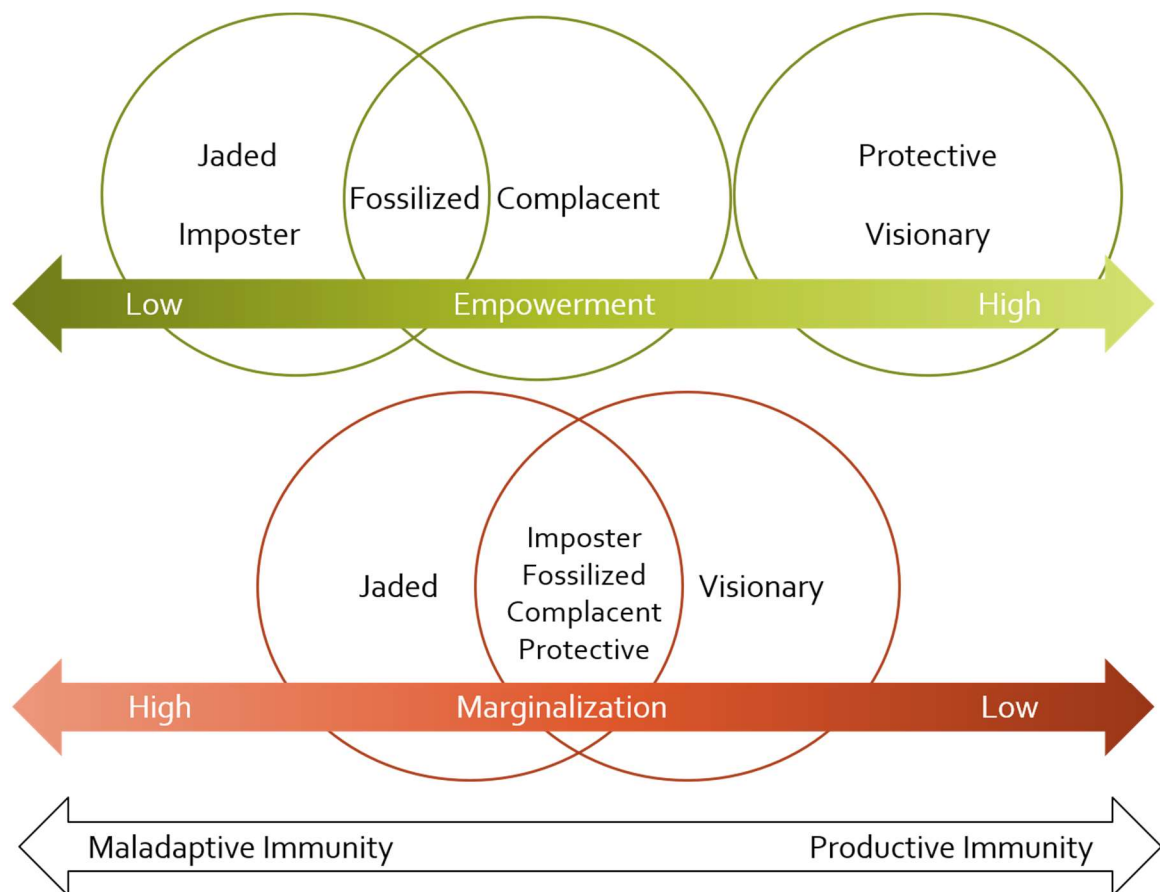
Note. Archetypes in the same circle are statistically similar. Archetypes in different circles are significantly different (e.g., Jaded and Imposter have statistically similar empowerment to Fossilized, but significantly lower empowerment than Complacent).

Figure 26

Similarities and Differences Between Each Archetype's Empowerment and

Marginalization in Relation to Their Maladaptive/Productive Disposition

Summary

These analyses provide strong evidence of meaningful relationships between marginalization, privilege, empowerment, and immunity archetypes. Not only do teachers with more maladaptive immunities (Imposter, Fossilized, Jaded, and Complacent) have less empowerment than teachers with productive immunities (Visionary and Protective), the most extremely maladaptive (Jaded teachers) experience significantly more marginalization than the most productive (Visionary) and are much more likely to perceive themselves as marginalized. Though respondents' perceptions of privilege are not statistically associated with their immunity archetype, qualitative differences in how members of each archetype conceptualize privilege indicate a potential relationship.

Chapter Five: Discussion

In this chapter I present a summary of the study, discuss the meaning and implications of the findings, and offer recommendations for future research and language teachers' professional development and learning.

Summary of the Study

The purpose of this study was to understand who teachers of languages other than English (LOTEs) in the United States are becoming in relation to their roles and work environments given that they work in an historically marginalized discipline. Thus, I surveyed a diverse sample of U.S. language teachers about their perceptions of and experiences with marginalization and privilege, facets of their language teacher immunity, and demographic and contextual characteristics. I quantitatively and qualitatively analyzed these data to explore the relationships between respondents' social identities (e.g., gender, race, language), teaching contexts, marginalization, privilege, empowerment, and immunity as they converge in their professional identity development.

The findings validate Ritter's (2019) concern that there is a substantial amount of language teachers in the United States who are overstressed, underappreciated, and disempowered. However, the findings also refute Reagan and Osborn's (2019) assertion "that even the most competent foreign language teacher is faced with an almost insurmountable challenge in the U.S. context" (p. 91) because not all language teachers actually experience marginalization in their jobs. In fact, on average, this sample experiences moderate marginalization; half perceive themselves to be marginalized, and

just under half feel privileged as language teachers.

I drew on The DFG's (2016) transdisciplinary framework for language teaching and learning to show how the hindrance or success of language teachers' identity development is inextricably tied to the macro-level ideological valuation of language education, (non)marginalizing practices they experience on the job, and individual characteristics that influence how they perceive and react to their environments. A hierarchical cluster analysis revealed that six distinct language teacher immunity archetypes (Hiver, 2017) emerge in this sample, which profile the varied ways in which these unique interactions manifest in situ. The productive immunities associate with higher levels of empowerment and lower levels of marginalization, while maladaptive immunities are associated with lower levels of empowerment and higher levels of marginalization. Although findings do not indicate causal relationships, they highlight the myriad factors that converge in language teachers' identity development. Having identified these factors, we can better understand how to support language teachers in more successfully and satisfactorily doing their jobs.

Ideological Influence on Language Teacher Identity Development

Qualitative analyses in this study revealed that teachers are marginalized when they work in environments that ideologically devalue language education and are exposed to marginalizing practices that prevent them from fulfilling their potential. Half the respondents in this study feel marginalized by being disrespected, forgotten, excluded, and Othered by local stakeholders; not given a voice or adequate resources to teach to their ideals; and denied access to meaningful professional development (lack of

access to language-specific professional development is the only contextual variable significantly related to teachers' increased perceptions of feeling marginalized).

In an era of globalization, multilingual/multicultural education efforts must be embraced (e.g., Kramsch, 2014). However, the fact that many U.S. language teachers remain subjected to marginalizing practices validates Reagan and Osborn's (1998, 2019) long-held critique that the semantic approach of re-naming the discipline "World" Language Education instead of "Foreign" Language Education continues to mask, rather than resolve, the "foreignness" of teaching LOTEs in this monolingual culture. The findings from my study indicate that some progress has been made since half the respondents are locally supported as teachers of LOTE, but also that the *foreignness agenda* (Osborn, 2000) continues to thrive when dominant monolinguistic ideologies suffuse into the system and set language programs up to fail (Reagan & Osborn, 2019). This phenomenon is further corroborated by similar findings worldwide.

My findings of U.S. language teachers' experiences with marginalization closely parallel those of Gayton's (2016) qualitative examination of FL teachers in Scotland, Germany, and France whose competence (Wenger, 1998) is devalued in a system that fails to find purpose in learning LOTEs, resulting in their professional identities being called into question by local stakeholders. In line with Gayton's (2016) finding that societal and community perceptions about language influence teacher identity, the valuation of language education at the macro level emerged as the most salient factor in distinguishing the marginalized versus non-marginalized teachers in this study.

Similarly, Jacobsen (2001) cites collegial interaction as a source of empowerment

in second language education, while Mason and Poyatos Matas (2016) more broadly conclude that social capital is a vital ingredient for FL teacher retention. Among other factors, Mason and Poyatos Matas (2016) found that FL teachers in Australia are more likely remain in teaching when they have opportunities to sustain supportive collegial relationships and feel valued, respected, and appreciated, whereas lack of support and arduous working conditions influence them to leave the profession. Quantitative analyses in this study revealed that marginalized teachers indeed have significantly worse attitudes towards the profession and higher rates of burnout than non-marginalized teachers, and qualitative evidence shows marginalized respondents lack motivation to remain in the profession; in fact, three of the 167 respondents already quit. Together, these findings indicate that marginalization disempowers, at least in part, because it restricts teachers' social capital, which results in teachers' unfavorable attitudes towards the profession.

Hashemi Moghadam et al. (2019) conducted a similar qualitative study, but included multiple forms of capital (i.e., economic, symbolic, cultural, and social) to conclude that EFL teachers in Iran are forced to play on an uneven social field with restricted capital since English language education is not locally valued and supported. The authors argue that macro-level ideological devaluation creates asymmetrical power relations that depreciate teacher' capital, thereby rendering it useless. The factors of marginalization and privilege that emerged in this study could logically be interpreted as myriad forms of capital (e.g., status as symbolic capital, funding as economic capital), making the findings from this study analogous to Hashemi Moghadam and colleagues' conclusion.

In sum, these studies span six national contexts and provide strong evidence that the societal devaluation of language education disempowers language teachers and is detrimental to their identity development. This study adds credence to the conclusion that context matters by paying equal attention to what happens when teachers are not marginalized. Namely, the ideological valuation of language education empowers teachers with the capacity and resources to construct productive identities. This juxtaposition may seem obvious, but by simultaneously focusing on what does and does not work, this study offers a more holistic analysis of identity possibilities and their associated factors, and concludes that marginalization is not inevitable in language education.

Marginalization Versus Privilege

To understand how marginalization impacts language teachers, it is necessary to analyze its relationship to privilege across multiple dimensions (Park, 2015). I analyzed this relationship from an interpersonal perspective to reveal how the privileging of one group contributes to the marginalization of another, as well as an intrapersonal perspective to learn how individuals experience marginalization and privilege on "shifting continua" in their own lives (Varghese et al., 2016, p. 556).

In line with intersectionality theory (e.g., Garcia Bedolla, 2007), I found that respondents' interpersonal conceptualizations of marginalization and privilege are indeed borne in relation to other (e.g., feeling marginalized in relation to colleagues from other disciplines; feeling privileged in relation to a prior teaching experience with inferior work conditions). My thematic analyses of these broad conceptualizations revealed the two

overarching and diametric patterns described above: devaluation-disempowerment-struggle and valuation-empowerment-success. However, intrapersonally, I found that respondents labeled these conceptualizations inconsistently, more so with regard to privilege than marginalization. For example, some define privilege as a lack of marginalization, and marginalization as a lack of privilege, but a lack of privilege could also mean equality. Several respondents even exhibit a misunderstanding of privilege altogether (e.g., "teachers are supposed to teach, not have privileges"). These inconsistencies made it difficult for me to label the findings, but respondents' intrapersonal perceptions of their own marginalization and privilege are decidedly not opposites (i.e., feeling marginalized does not indicate a lack of privilege, and vice versa). Rather, their perceptions are not even statistically associated.

Respondents in this study are almost equally divided into four groups in terms of their combined perceptions of marginalization and privilege: (a) marginalized, but not privileged, (b) privileged, but not marginalized, (c) both marginalized and privileged, or (d) neither. Moreover, some respondents could easily shift between these categories because they describe qualitatively similar experiences, but they label them differently. Although this dissonance muddied the data to an extent, it is somewhat expected. As Garcia Bedolla (2007) explains:

> …individuals cannot be boiled down to one kind of societal categorization, and individual experience, by definition, has the potential to include experiences of marginalization and privilege simultaneously. Additionally, individuals' understanding of these categorizations is largely a relational one; self-

identifications do not exist in isolation and derive their meanings from their

relationships to other categorizations. That hybridity within groups and within

individuals is one of the aspects of the post-civil rights world that scholars need to

be able to understand. (pp. 235-236)

I analyzed each of the four groups' descriptions of marginalization and privilege

to harmonize the discord in the data and was better able to understand which features of

identity were pertinent to them in terms of privilege and oppression (Appleby, 2016).

Broadly, I found that respondents who feel marginalized, but not privileged, tend to work

in the most oppressive environments where their needs are not being met and they cannot

teach to their ideals. Respondents who feel marginalized and privileged are both

oppressed and empowered to some extent in their schools (i.e., their contexts are not

ideal, but they could be worse). Respondents who feel privileged, but not marginalized,

are empowered and aware of their empowered status as language teachers (i.e., they are

appreciative that their needs are being met and they can do their jobs well). Finally,

respondents who feel neither tend to be highly empowered because they share equal

status with everyone in their schools.

In all four groups, marginalization is qualitatively associated with

disempowerment, and lack of marginalization with empowerment. Privilege is also

associated with empowerment, but lack of privilege is associated with both

disempowerment and empowerment. In other words, not being marginalized is always

perceived as a good thing, but not being privileged can be perceived as both good or bad.

This nuance could explain why quantitative analyses show that empowerment is

more strongly associated with marginalization than privilege. Specifically, respondents who perceive themselves to be marginalized report significantly less decision making, professional growth, and status in their schools than those who do not feel marginalized, but the empowerment of those who perceive themselves to be privileged or not differs only in terms of status. This important distinction indicates that marginalization is statistically more meaningful, but this should not be interpreted as diminishing the role of privilege because the qualitative data indicate otherwise. This became more apparent when I interrogated the conflicting presence of autonomy in the dataset.

Empowerment, Autonomy, and Agency

Autonomy is one of four empowerment variables I explored in this study and generally measures respondents' freedom to teach as they choose (see **Appendix C**). Quantitatively, there is a significant relationship between respondents' increased levels of autonomy and decreased marginalization, and autonomy clearly emerges as an important factor in the qualitative dataset. For example, respondents overwhelmingly cite freedom and flexibility (i.e., high autonomy) as a source of privilege, and several cite restriction and lack of control (i.e., low autonomy) as contributing to marginalization. However, quantitatively, there is no significant difference between the autonomy of respondents who perceive themselves to be marginalized or not and privileged or not. In fact, all four subgroups (based on combined perceptions) report statistically similar high to very high levels of autonomy in their schools, even though marginalized respondents describe themselves as restricted. The sample's consistently high levels of autonomy evidence Varghese's (2017) claim that language teachers are often left to do what they can with the

resources they have. Theoretically, high levels of autonomy should be empowering (Short & Rinehart, 1992), but the marginalized teachers in this study present as both autonomous and disempowered. I further explored this contradiction to discover that autonomy by itself is not empowering. What matters more is whether teachers can take advantage of their autonomy, which highlights the critical link between the perceived affordances for potential action (i.e., autonomy) and teachers' capacity to exercise their choice (i.e., agency; Huang & Benson, 2013). Qualitative analyses revealed that individuals' varied levels of (dis)empowerment determine how well they are supported in using their autonomy to enact their teaching ideals, which influences whether they perceive their autonomy as good or bad. Non-marginalized/privileged teachers have the resources they need to teach how they want, including social support, access to professional development, funding, status, etc., so they view their freedom as a means of achieving their goals. On the contrary, marginalized (and some non-privileged) teachers have significantly less access to professional development and are significantly less empowered in their decision-making, professional growth, and status. Because they lack the means to enact their agency, their autonomy makes them feel lost and abandoned, and so they perceive their autonomy negatively.

The intersection of autonomy, agency, and identity is admittedly much more complex (e.g., Huang & Benson, 2013), but the notion that autonomy alone is not necessarily empowering is not a novel finding. In their meta-analysis of studies that used the same SPES scale (Short & Rinehart, 1992) to study the impact of empowerment on job satisfaction, Ahrari et al. (2021) found that autonomy inconsistently relates to job

317

satisfaction and sometimes even emerges with a negative association, showing that it is entirely plausible for the marginalized teachers in this study to have high autonomy and low job satisfaction. Furthermore, the same meta-analysis found decision making, self-efficacy, and professional growth to consistently have a significant impact on job satisfaction, which parallels non-marginalized respondents having significantly higher decision making, professional growth, and attitudes towards the profession in this study. Ahrari et al. (2021) conclude that teachers need both freedom and authority to be involved in meaningful work, substantiating my conclusion that autonomy alone is insufficient in empowering teachers. Taken together, and in line with my conclusions of this study, Ahrari and colleagues underscore the need to consider teachers as "valuable assets and experts in the education field" because it "can increase their sense of organizational commitment in addition to their satisfaction and performance" (p. 17).

Thus far, I have discussed how the institutions in which teachers work are indeed "powerfully characterized by pervasive social conditions…which affect the possibility and nature of persons creating social identities in terms of investment, agency, and power" (DFG, 2016, p. 24). Teachers' own subjectivities and intersectional identities are also central to understanding their developing agency (Kayi-Aydar et al., 2019). Respondents' perceptions of marginalization and privilege vary because they are relative to context and individual. However, it must also be considered that respondents' inconsistent conceptualizations of privilege are symptomatic of the fact that privilege is an elusive construct, which makes it particularly difficult to capture in research:

Privilege is not all-consuming, and power is not unidirectional…While research

participants may be acutely aware of conditions they find problematic or oppressive in professional and personal domains, they may not so easily perceive the ways in which they may benefit from broader structural patterns that organise individuals into professional and institutional hierarchies and favour particular groups or identities of teachers. (Appleby, 2016, p. 764)

This point is particularly applicable to my analysis of respondents' social identities, which is the final domain I analyzed in relation to participants' marginalization, privilege, and empowerment prior to exploring language teacher immunity.

Marginalization, Privilege, and Social Identities

Understanding the extent to which participants' social identities (e.g., race, gender, language) serve as (dis)empowering factors of professional identity development was a core feature of this study, but I did not explicitly ask respondents if particular social identities contributed to their marginalization and privilege (e.g., Do you feel marginalized as a non-native speaker of the language you teach?). I intentionally crafted an open-ended prompt that broadly asked how they felt marginalized and privileged in their jobs to see if and how respondents discuss social identities of their own volition. Very few respondents (12%) do so, and of those who do, not all are able to explain how these identities impact practice. The scarcity of data is thus limited, but still meaningful.

Given that this sample is primarily comprised of privileged identities (approximately 80% are White native-English speakers [NESs]), it is understandable there is little discussion of their marginalization or privilege. Not only are these

resondents less likely to experience marginalization because of their privilege, but Coston and Kimmel (2012) explain, "When one is privileged by class, or race or gender or sexuality, one rarely sees exactly how the dynamics of privilege work" (p. 97). McGowan & Kern (2014) argue that teachers, in particular, often lack awareness of White privilege and the oppression it begets because discussions of systemic inequities are often left out of teacher preparation programs. That said, thirteen respondents (8%) do cite myriad social identities as privileging, most commonly being White. Several describe that awareness of their own White privilege fosters awareness of others' marginalization, which influences them to be more responsive educators. Several also claim that being White, heterosexual, female or male, and/or middle class indeed facilitates their professional identity development by allowing them to fit in, not be questioned or criticized, and to have authority. Their stories parallel a growing body of research in which English language teachers interrogate their own privileged positioning (see Appleby, 2016), but most respondents admit to simply not knowing how their privilege impacts practice. This is important because t-tests revealed that White teachers report significantly more decision-making capabilities in their schools than Teachers of Color, indicating White teachers may be implicitly more empowered in their schools. This finding is inconclusive, but entirely possible since existing research documents minority teachers' marginalization and disempowerment in language teaching specifically (Bustamente & Novella, 2019; Kayi-Aydar, 2017, 2018) and U.S. schools generally (e.g., D'amico et al., 2017).

Only six respondents (4%) highlight social identities as factors that contribute to

marginalization. The scarcity of comments could be due to this sample not representing diverse minoritized identities (e.g., only 20% of this sample is comprised of People of Color) and because respondents may not have wanted to expose these vulnerable identities to an unfamiliar researcher (Appleby, 2016; Zembylas, 2003a, 2003b). Most of the respondents who cite a social identity offer no explicit connection to practice or claim that their social marginalization is "not applicable" to their jobs, even though it likely is (e.g., Park, 2015), which also suggests that many respondents did not think their social marginalization was applicable to mention in the prompt, and so they did not (the same could be said for privilege). For example, only two respondents claim that being female marginalizes them in the workplace, but quantitative analyses revealed that male respondents in this study report significantly more decision-making capabilities in their schools than females with a large effect. This is meaningful because it suggests male language teachers are more empowered than females, regardless of individuals' awareness of this phenomenon, and substantiates Vélez-Rendón's (2010) call to further interrogate male privilege in LTI development.

Though the large majority displays a lack of critical self-awareness, several respondents optimistically explain that their personal experiences with social marginalization constructively influence them to incorporate more diversity in the curriculum (e.g., incorporating *Afro-Latindad* culture, ensuring diverse representation in images) and to serve as a support system for students with similar marginalized identities (e.g., from the LGBTQ+ community). Their stories affirm similar findings from research on minority language teachers who source professional empowerment from past

disempowering experiences (e.g., Bustamente & Novella, 2019; Kayi-Aydar, 2017, 2018) and emphasize the benefits that can come of engaging language teachers in developing critical self-awareness.

Linguistic Identities. The most meaningful social identities to emerge in the quantitative analyses were respondents' linguistic identities, which is logical since these participants are language teachers. The findings from this study both substantiate and refute existing research that explores how teachers of LOTEs are (dis)empowered in relation to their status as native- (NS), non-native (NNS), or heritage-speakers (HS) of the target language (TL) they teach, as well as their status in relation to English, indicating that these relationships are possible, but not inevitable, and that more research is needed.

When it comes to teaching LOTEs in the United States, recent studies show that NSs of the TL are marginalized as non-native English speakers (NNESs; Fan & de Jong, 2019; Kayi-Aydar, 2018), but often simultaneously empowered with the privileged status of being subject-matter experts (Vélez-Rendón, 2010). A few respondents in this study feel that their NS status benefits them, and quantitative analyses show NSs experience significantly less marginalization than NNSs. However, no respondents cite their NNES status as marginalizing, nor are there any statistically significant relationships found between their English-speaking status and marginalization, privilege, or empowerment. Similar research found that international language teachers are privileged in that they are often recruited to teach in the United States as NSs of a LOTE, but often struggle to develop their professional identities in an education system that devalues the teaching

profession (Kissau et al., 2011). One respondent's claim that U.S. education culture "is just soul destroying" echoes these sentiments, but the data indicate these outcomes are not inevitable since there are teaching environments in the United States where language teachers do thrive. It is important to note, however, that the international (non-U.S. born) teachers in this study who view their social identities as privileged tend to work in immersion settings where multilingual values are fundamental to the entire school system and their experiences are rare and special (take, for example, speakers of German receiving stipends for their language expertise in an urban immersion school). Those who teach their native language in more common traditional FL programs may not feel as privileged since these programs are not ubiquitously valued across the United States, as discussed above. There is insufficient evidence in this study that respondents actually feel this way, but it is a point to consider.

Because FLE is predicated on the notion of the NS (Kramsch, 1997) and NESs employ the most linguistic privilege in the United States (Jenkins, 2015), it is no surprise that the growing population of HS teachers is often marginalized for lacking native-level status in both English and the LOTE they teach and often carry the stigma of having been labeled an English language learner (ELL) in the U.S. school system (e.g., Bustamente & Novella, 2019; Kayi-Aydar, 2017, 2018). However, no respondents reference their status as a HS or ELL as marginalizing, nor are there any significant relationships between respondents' ELL status and their marginalization, privilege, or empowerment in the data. Furthermore, there are no significant differences between the empowerment or marginalization of NS and HS teachers, but HSs are empowered with significantly more

decision-making in their schools than NNSs. Together these findings indicate that being a HS and/or NNES language teacher in the United States is not necessarily marginalizing or disempowering, contrary to existing research.

Their lack of marginalization could be explained by their actual empowerment in supportive environments where their linguistic identities are valued (HSs can possess accurate, advanced proficiency, after all). It is also possible that monolingual stakeholders assume HSs to be NSs since this distinction is not common knowledge, and they thus emplace on HSs an empowering NS status. It is also entirely possible that respondents who label themselves as HSs and/or English language learners are unaware of how these linguistic nuances impact their professional identity development, and so they did not mention them. Existing studies, for example, show that HSs' awareness of their unique linguistic identities often needs to be mediated with others, such as teacher educators, through narrative sense-making processes (e.g., Bustamente & Novella, 2019; Kayi-Aydar, 2018), and I did not employ such an approach in this study.

The empowerment of NSs and HSs over NNSs in this study also means that the NNS respondents are significantly more marginalized and disempowered in relation. It is well documented that NESs who are NNSs of the TL struggle if their proficiency is lacking, which can be disempowering (e.g., Burke, 2013; Kayi-Aydar, 2015). A few respondents do cite their NNS status as an obstacle (e.g., they feel like they have to prove themself), but the large majority (89%) self-rates their target-language proficiency as Advanced or Superior, suggesting their proficiency is not lacking and therefore does not logically contribute to their marginalization. Their marginalization and disempowerment

could be symptomatic of their status as NNSs rather than their actual target-language proficiency since native speakers tend to "enjoy a de facto authority and prestige" over NNSs (Kramsch, 1997, p. 359) that would influence others (e.g., administrators, parents) to perceive NNSs as less than, regardless of their actual language proficiency, and consequently treat them differently. One respondent, for example, feels they have "less cred with parents" as a NNS. That said, the NNSs in this study are also primarily White, U.S.-born, NESs, which affords them the privilege of fitting into the dominant culture, as several aforementioned respondents explain. However, of these identities, NES status in particular did not emerge as a significant variable in either the quantitative or qualitative data. In Chapters 1 and 2, I posited that dominant-culture status may aid many language teachers in overcoming the challenges inherent to FLE in the United States, and the data in this study suggest this may be true, though the intersectionality of these identities need to be further explored in the future research. I suspect that English-speaking status did not emerge as a significant factor in this study not because it is not meaningful, but rather because it is a powerfully invisible force that permeates and gives shape to language education in the United States (e.g., Schwartz & Boovy, 2017), such that it needs to be more explicitly and purposefully interrogated.

Clearly, the language teachers in this study experience marginalization and privilege along different dimensions that are tied to both context and individual. However, the data indicate that respondents' awareness of the intersectionality of their social and professional identities is lacking. The respondents do seem to be more aware of oppressive personal domains than they are of privileged ones, as Appleby (2016)

suggests, but even so, there is a disconnect in their understanding of how their personal marginalization and privilege impact their professional identities. These findings underscore the need to develop language teachers' critical awareness of their own social positioning and how this impacts practice because it can make them more responsive and empowered educators (e.g., Kubota & Lin, 2006; Lankiewicz et al., 2016; McGowan & Kern, 2014).

Respondents' linguistic identities emerged as the most empowering social identities, and these data corroborate a small and growing body of research that highlights the shifting valuation of language across contexts (e.g., Fan & de Jong, 2019; Park, 2015), such that in the context of FLE, teachers' linguistic identities in relation to the LOTE they teach may be more relevant to their professional identity development than their status as a speaker of English. In fact, despite the prevalent finding that NES status garners much privilege in the context of TESOL (Berger, 2014), being a NES does not seem to embody as privileged or empowered a status for teachers of a LOTE in the United States. However, intersecting identities that allow teachers to fit in to local dominant culture (e.g., White, heterosexual) emerged as meaningful to their professional identity development, even if only a few respondents displayed awareness of this.

This study is groundbreaking for its focus on a large, diverse sampling of language teachers that more accurately represents the spectrum of marginalized and privileged identities that exist within the profession. My broad exploration of identity development shows that marginalization is not inevitable in the United States and that diverse identities can flourish as long as they are valued. However, my findings also call

for more explicit interrogations of the roles that dominant-culture identities play in language teachers' professional identity development since they are largely ignored in extant research, but are just as meaningful.

Language Teacher Immunity

Language teacher immunity is comprised of various personal attributes (i.e., teaching self-efficacy, resilience, attitudes towards teaching, openness to change, and classroom affectivity), but is not a disposition in and of itself; it is rather a "situated and teaching-specific construct which emerges dynamically in relation to conflicts specific to classroom practice" (Hiver, 2017, p. 671). It was thus an ideal construct for gauging how language teachers in the United States orient themselves to a job that is fraught with adversity (e.g., marginalization). The aforementioned analyses of marginalization and privilege revealed the language teachers in this study experience and perceive adversity in diverse ways, so it is no surprise that they also address adversity differently. A hierarchical cluster analysis of respondents' immunity attributes revealed six distinct immunity archetypes emerged in this sample: Visionary, Protective, Complacent, Fossilized, Imposter, and Jaded.

Three of the immunities that emerged in the U.S. sample (Fossilized, Visionary, and Protective) correspond with several from Hiver's (2017) original study (Fossilized, Visionary, and Spark Plug), suggesting there are global patterns of archetype development. However, there were more dissimilar than similar immunities that emerged among these two samples, evidencing distinct possibilities that are relative to time, place, and individual, as is all identity development (Norton, 2000). The differences between

327

these samples could be attributed to collecting data during the pandemic (discussed in further detail below), cultural differences between Eastern and Western education systems (Fang & Gopinathan, 2009), and/or ideological differences that shape the teaching of English in South Korea (a non-Anglophone nation) versus the teaching of LOTEs in the United States (an Anglophone nation; e.g., Park, 2015). It is also possible the differences exist because I did not capture an exhaustive representation of possibilities. For example, Hiver's (2017) Sellout archetype was clearly missing from my data even though this archetype logically exists. The Sellout is a maladaptive immunity that "does the minimum to get by" (Hiver, 2017, p. 678) and scores the lowest on all immunity variables. None of the clusters in the U.S. sample scored as low as the Sellout, but I believe that this profile is logically absent since this type of teacher is the least likely to have been recruited for this study. Not only did I primarily target teachers who actively participate in social media and professional organizations, but intuitively, a Sellout would have little motivation to participate in voluntary research even if they came upon my call for participants. Hence, I believe it is very likely that the Sellout archetype exists among language teachers in the United States, but that my recruitment efforts did not reach this population.

In any case, the archetypes that emerged in this sample provide meaningful depictions of the various ways in which many language teachers orient themselves to the profession in this time and space. Their profiles aid the profession in understanding what becomes of in-service language teachers across the diverse contexts in which they work, and we can leverage these findings to create professional development opportunities that

foster teachers' robust and productive forms of immunity (Hiver, 2017). This study

further contributes to these efforts by layering the construct of immunity with

marginalization, privilege, and empowerment for a more nuanced understanding of how

immunity emerges across a spectrum of adversity and (dis)empowerment. This is

meaningful because the nascent body of research on language teacher immunity

prioritizes an individual perspective of immunity development with little attention paid to

the role of environments in shaping immunity attributes in return. I return to these studies

in the Implications section and first discuss how individual and contextual factors

converge in immunity development.

Immunity, Marginalization, Privilege, and Empowerment

The primary function of immunity is to support teachers' survival in the

profession, but it has double-edged potential, either productively protecting its host or

maladaptively impeding the host's development (Hiver & Dornyei, 2017), and the six

archetypes in this study indeed embody a range of maladaptive and productive qualities.

The presence of productive archetypes offers optimistic evidence of fulfilling language

teachers' potential, but the substantial presence of maladaptive archetypes reminds us that

productive immunity development is neither easy nor guaranteed, and that many U.S.

language teachers are in great need of support.

The distribution of productive and maladaptive immunities among the sample is

relatively even, which aligns to respondents' equally distributed perceptions of

marginalization and privilege. Quantitative analyses reveal there are significant and

meaningful differences between the immunity archetypes' marginalization and

empowerment. There are no statistical associations between archetype and perceptions of privilege, but this is likely due to respondents' inconsistent conceptualizations of it (as discussed above), and each group's combined perceptions of marginalization and privilege logically align to their archetype profile.

Two meaningful patterns emerged: (a) an association between increased marginalization, decreased empowerment, and maladaptive immunity development and (b) an association between decreased marginalization, increased empowerment, and productive immunity development. These outcomes logically align to my conclusion that marginalizing environments are disempowering and detrimental to language teachers' identities (hence, their maladaptive immunity development), while non-marginalizing environments empower teachers to develop more successfully (hence, their more productive immunities). However, the immunity archetypes vary more greatly on their empowerment than they do on marginalization, indicating that marginalization is not the sole arbiter of teachers' (dis)empowerment. These findings very meaningfully show that respondents' contexts and immunity attributes contribute to their empowerment. For example, those who enter the profession with weaker immunity attributes are more susceptible to even the slightest marginalizing practices, such that they are less able to overcome adversity and develop productive immunities, even in environments where language teachers could theoretically thrive. Conversely, teachers who enter into their jobs with stronger immunity attributes are better equipped to manage the adversity they might face, so productive immunity development can take place in a range of environments depending on how individuals interact with them. This helps to explain

why not all teachers in this study perceive themselves to be marginalized even though most respondents in this study experience similar levels of marginalization.

Ainsworth and Oldfield (2019) similarly conclude that "a person's chances of thriving in the face of adversity are related just as much to a person's environment (if not more so) than to his or her individual tendencies" (p. 125), and their findings on the contextual and individual factors that contribute to teachers' resilience can be readily applied to the findings from this study. The authors specifically found that school culture, workload, and administrative support are the three most important contextual factors of teachers' productive adaption to their jobs. In this study, Jaded teachers' cynicism is fomented in school cultures where their identities are not validated by others, and Fossilized teachers often explain they lack the resources to fulfill the demands of their workload (e.g., too many preps, not enough planning) – hence, both groups' maladaptation. In terms of administrative support, lack of access to language-specific professional development emerged as the singular contextual variable significantly associated with respondents' marginalization and disempowerment. There is also a significant association between cluster membership and access to professional development, where those with the most access have more productive immunities, and those with the least are more maladaptive, with one exception: only one-quarter of Protective teachers have access to meaningful professional development, and they often cite it as an obstruction. And yet they still have productive immunities, which can best be explained by individual contributions.

In terms of individual predictors of productive adaption, Ainsworth and Oldfield

(2019) found emotional intelligence, perceived conflict between internal and external expectations, and self-care to be the most important. In this study, Protective teachers display high emotional intelligence (e.g., self-regulation, empathy) that allows them to teach to their ideals and maintain healthy social-emotional relationships with students despite lack of administrative support. They productively cope with the lack of professional development by actively engaging in their own professional learning on-line, similar to Visionaries, and there is no reason to think that Protective teachers could not be Visionaries given a more supportive environment that provides more professional development opportunities. When it comes to perceived conflict, productive Visionaries and Protective teachers accept certain limitations and "make it work" in spite, rather than allowing these obstacles to impede their progress. A Fossilized teacher, on the other hand, copes through rationalization (e.g., they cannot invest sufficient planning time because it takes away from family time). Nonetheless, their preoccupation with balancing home-work life substantiates self-care as essential to productive adaption. Though Fossilized teachers' development is thwarted, their willingness to put their families first could be what allows them to sustain longer careers despite working in non-ideal environments.

These examples highlight the link between immunity and agency in that agency emerges "as a complex continuous negotiation process between these teachers' personal characteristics, their sense of self (identity), and the context in which they work" (Hiver & Whitehead, 2018, p. 77). The data show that teachers with maladaptive immunities grow frustrated and demotivated, which has implications for how, when, and whether

they enact their agency (e.g., a Jaded teacher might ask "What's the point?" after years of invalidation). Teachers with productive immunities, however, are more likely to perceive obstacles as resolvable because they have the resources to address them and have experienced success in doing so. The data suggest this dynamic is self-perpetuating, wherein restrictive environments fail to produce people who are motivated and supported in further developing language education (so they do not), and productive environments are effective at reproducing people who are motivated to continue to promote language education (so they do). This finding is important because it contributes to much-needed knowledge about how language teachers develop and exercise their agency across diverse sociocultural contexts (Kayi-Aydar et al., 2019). It also underscores how productive teacher immunities can work to change the system from within by fostering students' multilingual/multicultural values in successful programs.

Understanding how language teachers enact their agency in their highly autonomous environments is particularly important given the fact that only 38% of the sample has access to language-specific professional development. The behavioral data show that almost all respondents rely on the Internet to some extent to engage in their own professional learning, but this is not unique to language education. The expansion of web-based technologies in the 21st century provided teachers with easy, cheap (often free) access to Apps, social media, and professional networks that allow them to self-initiate their own professional learning online (Prestridge, 2019). The data in this study affirm that language teachers often turn to the Internet to search for teaching ideas, purchase resources (including lesson plans), and follow and participate in social media.

Almost all respondents also claim to read scholarly literature related to language teaching to some extent, but far fewer do this frequently or always. Without having asked respondents why they prefer the Internet for professional learning, it is likely due to its flexibility and accessibility (Prestridge, 2019). Scholarly literature, on the other hand, is more difficult to access, both practically and intellectually. It must also be considered that I largely recruited participants to take this web-based survey via social media platforms, which biased the sample with teachers who engage with the profession on-line. Nonetheless, there is extensive research that documents many teachers engage in professional on-line learning, including language educators (e.g., Khan, 2014; Wesely, 2013), so these data are still very meaningful.

More importantly, the data in this study shed light on how language teachers choose to engage in their own professional learning, but they do not explicitly indicate the extent to which teachers are actively or passively involved in these endeavors or what they actually get out of them. As Prestridge (2019) observes, "From a people orientation, teachers are sharing, collaborating, supporting, providing ideas, but also just lurking," and "from a content orientation, teachers are collecting, sharing, gathering and constructing resources but also just taking, not always wanting to contribute" (p. 146). The data in this study suggest that teachers with maladaptive immunities are more passively involved, while those with productive immunities are more active. This observation is inconclusive, but worthy of further investigation because it is yet another indication that unsupportive work environments may be fomenting maladaptive behaviors

Immunity Development and Social identities. Quantitative and qualitative analyses in this study suggest that social identities (e.g., race, gender, language) play a significant role in language teachers' marginalization, privilege, and empowerment (described above), and I also explored if and how they relate to immunity development. My analysis plan was to run chi-square tests of association between respondents' immunity archetype and various demographic variables to explore potential associations. However, insufficient cell counts in these data matrices precluded their use. Nevertheless, I drew on the findings from my previous analyses between marginalization, empowerment, and social identities to infer potential relationships between social identities and immunity archetypes.

Recall that linguistic identities emerged as the most meaningful social identities related to respondents' marginalization and privilege. Quantitative data suggest native- and heritage-speakers are less marginalized and more empowered than non-native speakers of the TL, while qualitative data show non-native speakers may indeed experience less status in their jobs. Supplemental research also indicates that non-native and heritage speakers struggle if their proficiency is insufficient (Bustamente & Novella, 2019; Kayi-Aydar, 2015), while native speakers are granted more status as content-knowledge experts (Kayi-Aydar, 2018; Vélez-Rendón, 2010) and often recruited to teach in U.S. language programs (Kissau et al., 2011).

Knowing this, it stood out that both productive immunity archetypes (Protective and Visionary) have the most racially and linguistically diverse groups among the sample. Both groups have high rates of bi/multilingual speakers, non-U.S. born teachers,

and the highest self-rated target-language proficiency of the sample. Not only are their linguistic identities statistically associated with empowerment in this study, but they also logically contribute to these teachers' high teaching self-efficacy (i.e., they have strong content knowledge) and potentially their ability to cope with adversity if they have prior experience in dealing with social marginalization (e.g., as international teachers in the U.S. school system; Kissau et al., 2011).

In a similar vein, several respondents candidly exposed that their privileged social identities (e.g., being White, heterosexual, upper-middle class) allow them to fit in and evade discrimination in their schools. Once again, I could not run a chi-square test of association between race and immunity archetype due to there being zero occurences in some of the group cells, but this fact alone was meaningful. There is not one Hispanic/Latino teacher in the Complacent archetype, even though it is the largest group and represents 27% of the sample. Complacent teachers are disproportionately White (93%), and their archetype is fueled by finding stability and comfort in their jobs. These teachers are empowered by their status and authority as members of the dominant culture, and it is plausible that this dynamic facilitates their ability to fit in and stabilize into comfortable positions.

Independently, these phenomena may be coincidental. However, the fact that (dis)empowering social identities suggestively emerge in three of the archetypes substantiates a need to further investigate if and how (dis)empowered social identities interact with immunity development specifically, and identity development generally (Norton & De Costa, 2018).

COVID-19 as a Contributing Factor. The data from this study were collected in the spring and summer of 2021, approximately one year into the COVID-19 global pandemic that majorly impacted the way schools function. Language teachers around the world cite six specific sources of COVID stressors that directly impacted them: health-related, teaching-related, home-life issues, limits imposed on freedom, financial and job-security concerns, and general uncertainty about the future (Gregersen et al., 2021). Interestingly, only nine respondents (5%) in this study mention the pandemic at all in any of their comments, suggesting many were accustomed to working in the pandemic by the time they took the survey, but their comments are still meaningful.

The data in this study validate the pandemic as having impacted language teachers' development, like one respondent who admits, "This year has been a massive blow to how effective I've been and it's really slowed my professional growth as a result. It's hard to keep improving when you're drowning." Nevertheless, Gregersen et al. (2021) also discovered some teachers actually benefitted from the pandemic by having learned and grown as a teacher, discovered the benefits of on-line teaching, and appreciated time in the slower pace of life. For better or worse, the COVID-19 pandemic must be considered as a factor that impacted respondents' survey responses and, therefore, the results of this study, especially in regards to language teacher immunity.

Collecting data during the pandemic could be viewed as a limitation since the variables introduced by the pandemic drew attention away from the original focus of the study (e.g., by making it difficult to distinguish pandemic-induced adversity from the adversity language teachers face because they are language teachers). However, the

pandemic can also be viewed as a catalyst that contributed to this study by putting respondents' true immunity attributes to the test. Teaching during the pandemic necessarily triggered immunity development by testing teachers' openness to change, self-efficacy, coping strategies, and resilience as they shifted to on-line instruction and adjusted to novel policies and procedures in their professional and personal lives (MacIntyre et al., 2020), which logically impacted their attitudes, affect, and burnout. Furthermore, MacIntyre et al.'s (2020) study found that language teachers' coping strategies during the pandemic significantly correlated with their stress, wellbeing, and negative emotions. Teachers' use of approach coping strategies (e.g., accepting reality, devising a strategy, seeking emotional and instrumental support) positively correlated with their wellbeing, health, happiness, resilience, and growth during trauma, while use of avoidant coping strategies (e.g., denial, distraction, disengagement) correlated with increased stress, anxiety, anger, sadness, and loneliness. In other words, respondents' pre-pandemic immunities logically determined whether they productively or maladaptively coped with the pandemic, which theoretically impacted whether their immunities remained productive by the time they took this survey or devolved into something more maladaptive. For example, productive Visionary teachers portray themselves as reflexive problem solvers who are resourceful and open to trying new things; they would have likely accepted the reality of COVID and devised strategies to overcome it. This does not mean dealing with the pandemic was easy, but it does mean some teachers were better equipped to address it.

The pandemic also contributed to this study by emphasizing marginalization and

privilege in ways that directly shaped the types of adversity language teachers had to face. For example, one respondent explained that during COVID, "because we were an 'elective,' we could not require students to meet with us synchronously. The district did not respect our pleas, even after being told how central live communication is to our practice and to student language acquisition." On the contrary, another respondent had the privilege of successfully working from home for being in a high-risk health category. These examples show that the pandemic also tested administrators' true valuation of language education by revealing how they chose to support their language teachers throughout. For some respondents, these responses highlighted the divide between those who are societally marginalized and privileged (e.g., those who were able to work from home vs. those who had to be exposed in in-person instruction; students in low-socioeconomic communities with connectivity issues that impeded their access to learning). The data in this study were undoubtedly impacted by the timing of this study, but language teacher identity development is a site of struggle across time and space (Norton, 2000), such that the pandemic is a factor, but not a limitation, to these findings. COVID can be viewed as contributing to this study for the ways in which it emphasized language teachers' marginalization, privilege, empowerment, and immunity development.

Implications and Recommendations

Teaching LOTEs is a challenge in the U.S. context, but not an insurmountable one. The findings in this study overwhelmingly underscore the need for all stakeholders to value language education and support language teachers in doing their jobs so they can

develop productive professional identities. The data suggest that productive immunities emerge in language teachers who have social support (i.e., they feel valued, have opportunities to collaborate with colleagues, and are treated as equals); requisite resources, most especially access to meaningful language-specific professional development; and productive immunity qualities that allow them to constructively address adversity (e.g., high resilience, proactive coping). Parallel to Ainsworth and Oldfield's (2019) conclusion on enhancing teachers' resilience, these findings indicate that any intervention aimed at enhancing U.S. language teachers' holistic professional identity development must focus on both the individual and their work environment.

The best way to support language teachers in doing their jobs is to first ensure that language education is ideologically valued by society and the local community. This is no small feat considering the entire system is suffused with subjugating neoliberal ideologies that undermine the multilingual/multicultural agenda (Bernstein et al., 2017; Kubota, 2006; Reagan & Osborn, 2019). Ironically, current efforts focus on changing the system from within by re-envisioning language teachers as moral agents who engage in more politically oriented pedagogy and reflective practice (Kramsch, 2014; Kubanyiova & Crookes, 2016). The more effective language teachers are in nurturing multilingual/multicultural values in their students, the more likely we are to have a future citizenry that ideologically values language education. Not only will teachers need to know how to do this, but they themselves will need to believe in the cause. If teachers are subjected to extreme marginalization, they themselves might begin to question the value of the subject they teach (Gayton, 2016), which cycles back to a focus on improving

teachers' work environments. Indeed, this is a perplexing problem, but small steps can be made. After all, it is important to reiterate that half the teachers in this sample do succeed and feel valued, indicating it is entirely possible for language education to succeed in the United States.

Recommendations for Practice

On a pragmatic level, there is an obvious need to provide language teachers with local access to meaningful professional development. Less than half the sample reports having such access, which is associated with their disempowerment and growing frustration. Many of the respondents in this study are ready to embrace the paradigm shift towards communicative language teaching, but they often explain they do not know how to incorporate these professional standards in their practice. While many supportive resources do exist (e.g., as offered by The ACTFL) and many pre-service teachers are entering the field with the requisite tools to engage in communicative pedagogy, more efforts should be made to mediate in-service teachers' understanding of how to implement these practices both pedagogically (e.g., how to build rapport with students while using the TL 90% of the time) and practically (e.g., when they are expected to assimilate to existing traditional models that conflict with this paradigm; Reagan & Osborn, 2020). While it is optimistic news that many teachers are embracing the communicative paradigm endorsed by the profession, McMillan (2013) makes a compelling argument for also critically engaging teachers with the misleading target-language only policies that undergird this movement.

Notwithstanding the essential need for developing language teachers' pedagogical

content knowledge, the objectification of language in our consumer society (i.e., perceiving 'language' as a singular entity that is ahistorical, atheoretical, and a product to be consumed; Reagan, 2004; Reagan & Osborn, 2020) has led to a myopic overreliance on technicist teaching approaches that only focus on grammar and instruction (Quan, 2021). The dominance of the communicative/consumer paradigm in 21ˢᵗ century language education continues to disguise the political, ideological, and powerful nature of language use in society (Reagan, 2004; Reagan & Osborn, 2020). Though extensive critiques of the discipline have surfaced these hidden issues (see Chapter 1), language teachers themselves are largely unaware of these perspectives, which limits their vision of *what* can be accomplished by language education and *why* (Reagan & Osborn, 2020). That is to say, language proficiency development is but one goal, and there is a more fundamental need to develop the whole teacher by raising their critical awareness of issues that unknowingly shape their practice so they can expand their vision of classroom possibilities (Kubota & Austin, 2007; Reagan & Osborn, 2020). A whole-teacher approach can and should simultanesouly consider fostering language teachers' robust, productive immunities so that they are better equipped to address adversity on the job and sustain satisfactory careers (Hiver, 2017) while transforming the discipline from within.

In order for teachers to know that change needs to take place, Hiver (2015) recommends drawing on Language Teacher Conceptual Change theory (Kubanyiova, 2012) to engage teachers in reflecting on their actual and possible selves to take a more agentive stance in their identity and, by association, immunity development. There are additional frameworks in the realm of reflective practice that can be used to mediate

teachers' understanding of why they teach the way they do while enhancing their awareness of new possibilities, such as narrative inquiry for transformative professional development (Golombek & Johnson, 2017; Johnson & Golombek, 2002, 2011) and Mindful L2 Teacher Education (Johnson & Golombek, 2016). With the aim of correcting maladaptive immunities and fostering productive ones, these approaches can be tailored in ways to help Imposters and Fossilized teachers find purpose and (re)ignite their passion for teaching, develop Complacent teachers' intrinsic motivation to keep developing, foster Protective teachers' confidence with innovative pedagogy, provide Jaded teachers with strategies that transform their oppressive environments from within, and give Visionaries the opportunity to take on leadership and mentorship roles for others. While these reflective approaches are undoubtedly beneficial, it is arguably more crucial to incorporate critical approaches that foster teachers' "negative thinking" (see Clarke & Phelan, 2015) and politically charged agency that seek to change the system through praxis.

Critical pedagogy in teacher education, for example, recognizes education as inherently political, rather than neutral and objective (Reagan & Osborn, 2020), and is used to raise teachers' awareness of the power structures in which they develop their identities and potentially contribute to the systemic failure of language education in the United States (Reagan & Osborn, 2019, 2002). It calls for a shift in epistemology from positivist views of language to constructivist (Reagan, 2004) and more ethically oriented (neo)Marxist, post-structuralist, or post-colonial perspectives, among others (Kubota & Austin, 2007). Critical pedagogy in language teacher education requires critical

reflection, but is distinct from it (Gounari, 2020), and can be informed by numerous frameworks and considerations, including Kubota and Miller's (2017) re-examination of criticality in language studies; Waller et al.'s (2016) principles of critical praxis; Morgan's (2016) domestication of dissent; Glynn et al.'s (2014) ACTFL-endorsed social justice curriculum in world language education; Kumaravadivelu's (2012b) language teacher education for a global society; Hawkins & Norton's (2009) critical language teacher education; and Timothy Reagan's and Terry Osborn's extensive contributions to developing FL teachers' critical reflection (Osborn, 2000; Reagan & Osborn, 2002) and critical practice via teaching for social justice (Osborn, 2006) and reconceptualizing world language education as critical pedagogy (Reagan & Osborn, 2020).

While all of these approaches are necessarily non-prescriptive and locally situated (Gounari, 2020), they share an overarching goal of developing language teachers' *critical language awareness* so they may better understand the social, political, and economic struggles associated with language in general, and the teaching and learning of languages specifically (García, 2008). Critical language awareness is essential for transforming language education in the United States by arming teachers with the tools to interrogate the ideological foundations of the current system that restrict the enterprise of language education as a whole (Reagan, 2004). Of particular concern to Reagan and Osborn (2020) are teaching teachers how to question the ideological and cultural biases embedded in instructional materials and surface issues of linguistic legitimacy in the classroom that oppress non-dominant speakers of both English and the TL (e.g., the growing population of HS Spanish students), and developing teachers' awareness of their role as linguistic

authorities in their schools. For García (2015), *critical multilingual language awareness* helps teachers recognize linguistic diversity in their communities and question the concept of language itself while empowering them as social activists. Expanding teachers' perspectives about language expands their perspectives about what can be achieved in the language classroom (Reagan, 2004; Reagan & Osborn, 2020). Beyond the goal of developing good teaching, these approaches can raise teachers' awareness of their own and others' marginalized and privileged positioning so they may free themselves from oppressive hegemonic ideologies (Brookfield, 2017) and develop a productive immunity and critical form of autonomy that allows them to successfully maneuver in a system despite its constraints (Lamb, 2019). Language teachers' use of critical pedagogy in the classroom would further transform the system by developing students' critical awareness that would inform their life choices outside of the classroom.

While the focus on language teachers' development is necessary and well-intended, we must avoid placing on the onus solely on teachers to overcome the obstacles that others place in their paths. We must not lose focus of why teachers face so much adversity in the first place (Ainsworth & Oldfield, 2019) and call on other stakeholders to do their part. As a profession, we need to remind powerful stakeholders that the success or failure of language programs and teachers hinges on their professional behaviors. This is particularly true of administrators and guidance counselors, who emerged as powerful stakeholders that engaged in many of the marginalizing practices cited by respondents in this study. Respondents commonly described that their building principals exclude them from school events, fail to provide meaningful professional development, and generally

345

do not prioritize language teachers in their decisions. However, supportive building principals helped ameliorate any feelings of marginalization that respondents felt from other sources, such as other teaching colleagues or district-level administration. Many respondents also cited guidance counselors' disrespectful behaviors, such as pulling students from language class and discouraging student enrollment in language courses. Developing administrators' and guidance counselors' critical awareness of their role in this system just may motivate them to be more mindful of the decisions they make that impact language teachers and programs. Administrators specifically need to provide language teachers with more appropriate professional development, give teachers a voice in program decisions (curriculum, course offerings), provide them tangible resources (funding), but above all else, value them as useful human beings who are contributing to the betterment of our children (Mason & Poyatos Matas, 2016). It may also be time to reconsider Loew's (1978) proposal to develop collaborative relationships between guidance counselors and FL teachers to reduce and prevent the marginalizing practices that constrain language program progress. Such collaboration should include mediating counselors' critical self-reflection of potential biases they may have in regards to whom they enroll and encourage to take language coursework.

Recommendations for Research

Academics have recently shown great interest in applying the novel construct of language teacher immunity (Hiver, 2015, 2017; Hiver & Dornyei, 2017) in their research, but much work still needs to be done. First, existing studies have all been conducted in the context of teaching English as a Foreign Language (EFL) or for Academic Purposes

(EAP), to the exclusion of LOTEs. Second, they are not geographically diverse, as eight

take place in Iran (Ahmadi et al., 2020; Beyranvand & Mohamadi Zenouzagh, 2021;

Dobakhti et al., 2022; Haseli Songhori et al., 2018; Maghsoudi, 2021; Noughabi et al.,

2020; Rahimpour et al., 2020; Rahmati et al., 2019), three in Turkey (Ordem, 2017;

Saricoban & Kirmizi, 2021; Saydam, 2019), and one each in Japan (Sampson, 2022) and

China (Li, 2022). Third, the authors creatively employ quantitative, qualitative, and

mixed methods to explore the developmental processes, predictors, outcomes, and impact

of immunity, but most of these studies are limited in their methodological rigor and

theoretical interpretations, and so their findings should be interpreted with caution.

Quantitatively, the studies typically explore differences between various personal

and contextual variables and immunity outcomes. Findings suggest that teacher

engagement, affective factors (e.g., emotional intelligence), personality traits, social

identities (i.e., gender, age), teaching experience, job insecurity, and autonomy are all

potentially associated with immunity development (Ahmadi et al., 2020; Beyranvand &

Mohamadi Zenouzagh, 2021; Dobakhti et al., 2022; Li, 2022; Noughabi et al., 2020;

Rahimpour et al. 2020). While the findings in this study support autonomy as essential to

productive immunity development, recall that my analyses suggest it is teachers'

perceptions of autonomy that really matter, so this point should be considered in future

research on the matter.

Qualitative methods in these studies highlight phases of immunity development,

including contextual stressors that trigger immunity development (e.g., low income, low

student motivation, lack of time, high parental expectations, and general lack of value for

English language education) and the attributes that shape teachers' responses to the stressors (e.g., low self-confidence, reflective capacity, motivation, student-teacher relatedness; Haseli Songhori et al., 2018; Ordem, 2017; Rahmati et al., 2019; Sampson, 2022). Not only are these factors logical, but several also emerged in this study, suggesting they are worthy of future exploration, albeit in a more rigorous manner. Haseli Songhori et al.'s (2018) study is notable for its more thorough mixed-methods design that better captures the complexity of language teacher immunity theory, but their conclusions still reduce immunity development to unidirectional relationships, namely that unfavorable conditions contribute to maladaptive immunity development, while individuals' intrinsic/altruistic motivation to teach drives productive immunity development. Several of these conclusions are supported by the data in this study, but the conclusions are also incomplete for failing to acknowledge the inverse relationships that portray how context relates to productive immunity development and individual factors to maladaptive immunity development.

Generally speaking, this body of research tends to methodologically oversimplify language teacher immunity, as though it were singular and predictable, when it is actually complex and dynamic. Researchers should continue to explore the factors mentioned above, but with methods that employ the language teacher immunity survey (Hiver, 2017) with fidelity and address the theory's complexity. That said, immunity studies should carefully consider how their findings might refine how language teacher immunity is measured. For example, at least one study found that openness to change has a low effect on immunity development (Dobakhti et al., 2022), and this study found openness to

change to be a particularly problematic variable. However, many existing immunity studies agree that affective factors are essential to immunity development. The findings from this study and supplemental research agree that there is a fundamental social-emotional quality to teaching, wherein those who have strong connections to their students (e.g., Protective and Visionary teachers), higher emotional intelligence (Ainsworth & Oldfield, 2019), social personalities (Swanson, 2011), and social support (Mason & Poyatos Matas, 2016) are more likely to succeed in language teaching. Together, these findings indicate that the language teacher immunity survey should incorporate some measure of individuals' social-emotional intelligence and/or social value/support in the workplace as a key attribute of their ability to construct a productive immunity, whereas openness to change might not be that important. Testing this would require new immunity survey validation studies.

Aside from an unpublished study conducted by Hiver (Hiver, personal communication), this dissertation research is the only study to date to my knowledge that has explored language teacher immunity development in the U.S. context, as well as in the discipline of teaching LOTEs. The findings from this study indicate that there are universal patterns of immunity development across English and LOTE contexts, but more research must be conducted to better evaluate patterns across diverse contexts and with diverse samples of teachers.

My analyses show that teachers of LOTEs in various Anglophone nations (i.e., United States, Australia, Scotland) have similar experiences due the devaluation of the discipline in relation to English. Exploring the immunity development of teachers across

349

various national settings would help to reveal if similar immunities emerge in relation to macro-level ideological influences and/or the extent to which cultural factors shape immunity development in return. It would also be fruitful to explore diverse samples of teachers within countries to better capture archetype stability and new possibilities within a delineated system. For example, replicating this study with a new sample of FL teachers in the United States could evaluate whether the archetypes that emerged in this study consistently emerge in this population over time. However, researchers should consider the role of COVID in any divergent archetypes (i.e., COVID stressors should be reduced in the future, leading to potentially higher immunity scores in the sample) as well as focus on recruiting teachers who were less represented in this study (e.g., those who are less active on-line) to potentially identify archetypes I may have missed (e.g., The Sellout; Hiver, 2017). It would also be productive to evaluate the immunities of various teachers working in similar environments (e.g., the same school) to hone in on the role of individuals' perceptions of adversity in their immunity development (i.e., how do the immunities of individuals exposed to similar levels and types of adversity compare, and what factors shape their immunity development?). Longitudinal studies that track immunity development over time would be useful to know how steadfast particular immunity qualities are in individuals and which factors stand out as (dis)empowering throughout teachers' career journeys. Layering language teacher immunity with studies like those presented in Kalaja et al. (2015) could achieve this.

In addition, any of these inquiries could simultaneously interrogate the intersectionality and (dis)empowerment of diverse social identities (Norton & De Costa,

2018). The findings from this study indicate linguistic identities, in particular, as salient

social identities in need of further investigation. Guiding questions might include, How

are language teachers' linguistic identities in relation to English and the TL

(dis)empowering across diverse contexts? And more broadly, to what extent does

dominant-culture and/or minority status in relation to race, nation, and language influence

language teachers' immunity development? The data in this study made it clear that

teachers' awareness of their own marginalization and privilege is not always obvious, so

future research in this realm should more explicitly engage teachers in discussions that

mediate their awareness of it. Conducting interviews and/or focus groups with teachers

would help to achieve this and provide opportunities for the researcher to tease out

conflicting perceptions or misconceptions, such as the ideas that one cannot be

simultaneously marginalized and privileged or that social and professional

marginalization are unrelated. Empirically investigating language teachers' participation

in critical reflective practice is also a means of simultaneously developing and

researching teachers' awareness and perceptions of these relationships. Intervention

studies could utilize the language teacher immunity survey (Hiver, 2017) as a pre-post

assessment that evaluates how critical reflective practice might alter language teachers'

immunities. One guiding question to consider is, How does teachers' developing critical

language awareness relate to their immunity development over time? The language

teacher immunity survey (Hiver, 2017) could even be used as a means of triggering

teachers' awareness of their orientation towards the profession so they may better

understand which attributes they need to strengthen for their own immunity health. After

all, Hiver (2017) contends that, "even the maladaptive outcomes contain the seeds of their own renewal" (p. 683).

In sum, there is much potential for further exploring language teacher identity through the lens of immunity. Because of its complexity, researchers should consider focusing on the transactional factors that facilitate immunity development via empowerment, rather than individual and contextual factors in isolation (discussed below; see Chang, 2009). Both quantitative and qualitative methods can be used to creatively explore these options, but mixed-methods approaches may yield the most nuanced findings. For example, qualitatively analyzing respondents' open-ended descriptions in this study revealed inconsistencies and misconceptions that informed my conclusion that privilege is meaningful even though it did not always emerge as statistically significant. Further, qualitative data allowed me to substantially refine and validate the original cluster profile interpretations I made based on quantitative data alone. Researchers who wish to conduct future cluster analyses with the immunity survey should seriously consider integrating complementary qualitative methods to enhance understanding the quantitative results, enhance validity and credibility of the analyses, and examine discord in the data, among other purposes (Greene, 2007).

There are two final considerations for future research that do not tie directly to language teacher immunity. First, it would behoove the profession to investigate how U.S. language teachers engage in their own professional learning given so many teachers do not have access to local professional development. The data in this study show that many utilize the Internet, but there should be more empirical investigations into the

specific sources teachers choose, why they choose them, and what they get out of them. Understanding these behaviors would inform the profession of teachers' emic perspectives of what counts as "*good enough* in teaching" (Pittard, 2017, p. 30, emphasis in original) and identify pathways to providing in-service teachers with much-needed resources via more accessible platforms. Second, understanding administrators' and guidance counselors' perceptions of language education was of concern to the profession forty years ago (e.g., Baranick & Markham, 1986; Beard, 1984; Crawford-Lange, 1984; DeFelippis 1979; Weatherford, 1982), and it should still be of concern today. Conducting similar studies today would refresh our knowledge of how these powerful stakeholders perceive language education in an era of globalization that is rapidly evolving so we can support them in supporting language programs at the local level. Conducting more critically focused enrollment studies of FLE in the United States similar to Baggett's (2016) would help raise stakeholders' awareness of the biased practices they engage in that constrain program growth and access for students from all backgrounds.

Limitations

This study is limited in various ways. Methodologically, the data were limited to that which I could collect on a web-based survey in 30 minutes or less. Though the data were plentiful, some open-ended descriptions were curt or unclear, so some of my interpretations may not accurately reflect respondents' original intentions. Follow-up interviews would have been very insightful, but I chose not to conduct them since that much data would have exceeded the purview of this study. There were also missing data that may have biased my findings by not including all respondents' voices.

Recruiting participants for this study also proved to be difficult. My use of network and snowball sampling resulted in a somewhat diverse, but nonrandom and non-representative sample. (It should be noted, however, that a lack of census data on language teachers in the United States makes it very difficult to know what a representative sample should look like anyway.) My heavy reliance on Internet-based recruitment to conduct a web-based survey also biased my sample with teachers who actively participate in professional groups on Facebook, are comfortable with using technology, and self-selected to participate in this study. As I mentioned earlier, these recruitment efforts likely excluded meaningful groups of language teachers who do not engage with social media in professional ways and/or are not interested in voluntarily participating in research. Not only did this sample limit the types of archetypes that emerged in this study, but having a less diverse sample also limited the scope of statistical analyses that I could perform.

Conclusion

Facing adversity in language teaching is inevitable, but succumbing to it is not.

The problem I posed in Chapter 1 portrays the teaching of LOTEs in the United States as a problematic endeavor, wherein "even the most competent foreign language teacher is faced with an almost insurmountable challenge" (Reagan & Osborn, 2019, p. 91). And though many respondents in this study testify this job is challenging, they also demonstrate that it is not insurmountable. Paramount to language teachers' success is being valued, supported, and empowered in doing their jobs. The challenge certainly can be insurmountable for those working in disempowering environments where language

education is not valued or supported by local stakeholders, which underscores the need to support language teachers in their "search for a voice in a context of disenfranchisement" (Lamb, 2019, p. viii).

The findings in this study substantiate the notion of language teaching as identity work that is "dynamic, relational, and constructed" (De Costa & Norton, 2017, p. 10). The construct of language teacher immunity (Hiver, 2015, 2017) served as a lens for understanding the transactional factors of identity development that result from individuals interacting with their contexts (Chang, 2009). The analyses reiterate that teachers' subjective perceptions are just as influential to their professional identity development as the environments in which their identities are being (de)constructed, (un)supported, and (dis)empowered. To borrow Chang's (2009, p. 201) phrasing, the bulk of the analyses in this study explored "who" is marginalized and privileged in "which" situations, as well as "who" teachers are becoming in relation to the constraints and affordances of their environments (i.e., their immunity archetype), rather than focusing on "who" and "what" in isolation. These analyses revealed that empowerment, sourced from both context and individual, is a key driving force in language teachers' identity development. Short of changing the system itself, which the field of foreign language education has worked hard to do, it is incumbent on the profession to help teachers develop robust, productive immunities (Hiver, 2017) so they may successfully maneuver in this system despite its constraints.

Appendix A

Appendix A

Complete Survey

I.	**Demographics**

1. What language(s) do you teach? (check all that apply)
   - Arabic
   - Chinese
   - English as a Second Language (ESL)*
   - French
   - German
   - Italian
   - Japanese
   - Latin
   - Spanish
   - Spanish to Spanish speakers
   - Other (please describe):

*1b. You just indicated that you teach English as a Second Language. If English is the only language you teach, then you are ineligible to continue with the survey, but we thank you for your interest. If you teach English and a language other than English, then you may continue.
Please confirm your status:
Which option best describes the language program(s) you teach? (check all that apply)
   - I teach both English AND this language other than English:
   - I teach English only

2. Which option best describes the language program(s) you teach? (check all that apply)
   - FLES (Foreign language in elementary schools)
   - FLEX (Foreign language exploratory)
   - Traditional foreign/world language
   - Immersion
   - Bilingual
   - Heritage program
   - Enrichment program (e.g., after school,
   - summer session)
   - On-line language program (*NOT due to COVID-19 restrictions)
   - Other (please describe):

*2b. What percentage of your typical work week do you spend teaching each of these programs? (Total sum must equal 100)

3. What grade level(s) do you teach? (check all that apply)

- o Pre-kindergarten
- o Kindergarten
- o 1
- o 2
- o 3

- o 4
- o 5
- o 6
- o 7
- o 8

- o 9
- o 10
- o 11
- o 12

4. Including this school year how many years of teaching experience do you have? [DROP-DOWN BOX]

5. On average, how many **hours** do you teach language on a typical work day?
    - o 1 hour per day
    - o 2 hours per day
    - o 3 hours per day
    - o 4 hours per day
    - o 5 hours per day
    - o 6 hours per day
    - o 7 hours per day
    - o 8 hours per day

6. How many **lesson plans** do you write for your language classes on a **weekly** basis?
    - o 1-3 lessons per week
    - o 4-6 lessons per week
    - o 7-9 lessons per week
    - o 10-12 lesson plans per week
    - o 13-15 lesson plans per week
    - o 16-19 lesson plans per week
    - o 20+ lesson plans per week

7. On average, how much **prep time** do you have in your **daily** schedule to prepare for language instruction? (This time does **not** include fulfilling extra duties, such as hall monitoring or recess duty.)
    - o Less than an hour
    - o 1-2 hours
    - o 2-3 hours
    - o 3+ hours

8. On average, how many **students** do you teach **per class**?
    - o 1-10 students per class
    - o 11-15 students per class
    - o 16-20 students per class
    - o 21-25 students per class
    - o 26-30 students per class
    - o 30+ students per class

9. In what type of school do you work?
    - o Public
    - o Private (non-religious)
    - o Charter
    - o Magnet
    - o Religious/Parochial
    - o Other (please describe):

10. Which context best describes the school where you teach?
    - o Urban
    - o Suburban

      o   Rural

11. In which **state** do you currently teach? [DROPDOWN BOX]

12. In which **county** do you currently teach? (You may alternatively provide the ZIP code of your school.) [OPEN-ENDED]

13. Which option best describes your typical teaching environment prior to March 1, 2020 (i.e., before the COVID-19 pandemic)?
I worked remotely (i.e., from home, office space, etc.)
Other (please describe):

o I had my own classroom all to myself	o I pushed-in to other teachers' classrooms (e.g., teach off a cart)
o I shared a classroom with other language teachers	
o I shared a classroom with other teachers who do not teach languages	o I worked remotely (i.e., from home, office space, etc.)
	o Other (please describe):

14. Which option best describes your typical teaching environment now?

o I had my own classroom all to myself	o I pushed-in to other teachers' classrooms (e.g., teach off a cart)
o I shared a classroom with other language teachers	
o I shared a classroom with other teachers who do not teach languages	o I worked remotely (i.e., from home, office space, etc.)
	o Other (please describe):

15. Does your school of employment offer professional development specific to language teacher?
      o   Yes   o   No

*15a. Approximately how many hours per year do you receive language-specific professional development from your school of employment?
      o   No more than 8 hours total (up to 1 work day per school year)
      o   9-24 hours (1-3 days per school year)
      o   25-48 hours (4-6 days per school year)
      o   49-80 hours (7-10 days per school year)
      o   80+ hours (more than 10 days per year)

*15b. Rate the usefulnees of the language-specific professional development you receive from your school employment. (Measured on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 [*Not at all useful*] to 5 [*Extremely useful*])

16. Have you ever been a member of a language-specific professional organization at any level (local, state, regional, national)?
    o   Yes   o   No

*16b. For approximately how many years in your career have you participated in professional organizations? [DROPDOWN BOX]

17. If you are **not** currently an active member or have **never** participated in professional organizations, what is your primary reason for not participating? [OPEN-ENDED RESPONSE]

18. How often do you utilize the following resources to plan for you language teaching? [5-point response scale: (1) Never, (2) rarely, (3) sometimes, (4) frequently, (5) Always]
    a) Search for teaching ideas on the Internet
    b) Purchase resources on the Internet (including lesson plans and activities)
    c) Participate in social-media groups dedicated to language teaching
    d) Follow blogs, podcasts, or social-media accounted dedicated to language teaching
    e) Read books relate to language teaching
    f) Read scholarly articles/research related to language teaching

19. Choose the response that best describes how you earned the target language you teach. (If you teach multiple languages other than English, please rate the language you **primarily** teach. If you teach both English and another language, rate the **language other than English**.)
    o   I am a native speaker of the language I teach / I grew up speaking this language in another country.
    o   I am a heritage speaker of the language I teach / I learned to speaker this language at home while growing up in the United States
    o   I am a second-language learner of the language I teach / I learned this language in school

20. How would you rate your **oral proficiency in the target language** you teach? (If you teach multiple languages other than English, please rate the language you **primarily** teach. If you teach both English and another language, rate the **language other than English**.
    o   Superior / Distinguished   o   Intermediate High
    o   Advanced High   o   Intermediate Mid
    o   Advanced Mid   o   Intermediate Low

o Advanced Low   o Novice

21. Were you born in the United States?
   - o Yes   o No

22. How do you describe your native/first language?
   - o I am a native speaker of English
   - o I am a native speaker of this language other than English:
   - o I was raised bi/multilingual in these languages (please describe):

*22b. Were you identified as an English language learner (ELL) in the U.S. school system as a student?
   - o Yes   o No

23. In which discipline is your Bachelor's degree?
   - o Education
   - o Languages and Literatures
   - o Other (please describe):
24. Do you have a Master's degree?
   - o Yes   o No

*24b. In which discipline is your Master's degree?
   - o Education
   - o Languages and Literatures
   - o Other (please describe):

25. How do you describe your gender?
   - o Male
   - o Female
   - o Non-binary / third gender
   - o Prefer not to say

26. How do you describe your race / ethnicity?
   - o Asian
   - o Bi/multiracial
   - o Black
   - o Hispanic / Latino
   - o Native American / Alaskan
   - o Pacific islander / Hawaiian
   - o White
   - o Other:

II.   Scaled Responses

(Participants responded to the following items in a random order on a 6-point Likert scale, from 1 [*strongly disagree*] to 6 [*strongly agree*])

Marginalization scale (adapted from PE-MAIS; Gaudreault et al., 2017)
1. Foreign language education is just as important as other subjects at my school.
2. My teaching colleagues value foreign language education.
3. As a foreign language teacher, my opinions are valued in my school.
4. In my school, foreign language education is a marginalized subject.
5. I feel as if foreign language is a lower-class subject in my school.

Decision-making scale (SPES; Short & Rhinehart, 1992)
6. I am given the responsibility to monitor programs.
7. I make decisions about the implementation of new programs in the school.
8. I make decisions about the selection of other teachers for my school.
9. I am involved in school budget decisions.
10. I am given the opportunity to teach other teachers.
11. I can determine my own schedule.
12. Principals, other teachers, and school personnel solicit my advice.
13. I can plan my own schedule.
14. My advice is solicited by others.
15. I have an opportunity to teach other teachers about innovative ideas.

Professional growth scale (SPES; Short & Rhinehart, 1992)
16. I function in a professional environment.
17. I am treated as a professional.
18. I have the opportunity for professional growth.
19. I work at a school where kids come first.
20. I am given the opportunity for continued learning.
21. I have the opportunity to collaborate with other teachers in my school.

Status scale (SPES; Short & Rhinehart, 1992)
22. I believe that I have earned respect.
23. I believe that I am very effective.
24. I have the respect of my colleagues.
25. I have the support and respect of my colleagues.
26. I have a strong knowledge base in the areas in which I teach.

Autonomy scale (SPES; Short & Rhinehart, 1992)
27. I have control over daily schedules.
28. I am able to teach as I choose.
29. I have the freedom to make decisions on what is taught.
30. I make decisions about curriculum.

Teaching self-efficacy (Language teacher immunity survey; Hiver, 2017)
31. If I really try hard, I can get through to even the most difficult or unmotivated students.
32. When all factors are considered, I am a powerful influence on my students' success in the classroom.

33. I do not have confidence in my professional ability to help students learn.
34. I have enough training and experience to deal with almost any learning problem in the classroom.
35. I am not certain that I am making a difference in the lives of my students.
36. I can deal effectively with the problems of my students.
37. I feel I am positively influencing my students' lives through my teaching.

Burnout (Language teacher immunity survey; Hiver, 2017)
38. At school I feel burned out from my work.
39. I feel that teaching is hardening me emotionally.
40. There are days at school when I feel vulnerable.
41. I am emotionally drained by teaching.**
42. There are days when I feel insecure at school.

Resilience (Language teacher immunity survey; Hiver, 2017)
43. I can get through difficult times because I've experienced difficulty before.
44. Failures double my motivation to succeed as a teacher.
45. I have a hard time making it through stressful events.
46. I tend to bounce back quickly after hard times.
47. It is hard for me to recover when something bad happens

Attitudes towards teaching (Language teacher immunity survey; Hiver, 2017)
48. I enjoy working as a teacher because it brings me pleasure.
49. Teaching is my life and I can't imagine giving it up.
50. Teaching brings me very little satisfaction.
51. If I could choose an occupation today, I would not choose to be a teacher.
52. I am tempted to leave the teaching profession.

Openness to change (Language teacher immunity survey; Hiver, 2017)
53. As a teacher, I prefer the familiar to the unknown.
54. I do not get impatient when there are no clear answers or solutions to my problems as a teacher.
55. I get frustrated when my work is unfamiliar and outside my comfort zone as a teacher.
56. In my teaching, I find it hard to give up on something that has worked for me in the past, even if it is no longer very successful.
57. The "tried and true" ways of teaching are the best.
58. As a teacher, I like it when things are uncertain or unpredictable.

Classroom affectivity (Language teacher immunity survey; Hiver, 2017)
59. At school or in the classroom I often feel upset.
60. While teaching I regularly feel depressed.
61. I regularly feel inspired at school or in the classroom.
62. Overall, I expect more good things to happen to me in the classroom than bad.
63. It's hard to imagine anyone getting excited about teaching.
64. In my teaching I always look on the bright side of things.

Coping (Language teacher immunity survey; Hiver, 2017)
65. When problems arise at work, I accept what has happened and learn to live with it.

66. When I am under a lot of stress, I just avoid thinking or doing anything about the situation.
67. When things get really stressful, I try to come up with a strategy about what to do.
68. When I encounter a bad situation at school, I look for something good in what is happening.
69. I don't feel that I can cope with problems that come my way.

Attention Checks
70. Mark that you somewhat disagree with this statement.
71. I am a rock star! Mark that you strongly agree for this statement.
72. We appreciate you taking the time to complete this survey. Mark agree for this statement.

III.   Open-ended Prompts

1. **Marginalization** is the treatment of a person, group, or concept as insignificant or peripheral. To be marginalized is to be relegated to an unimportant or powerless position within a society or group.

   Teachers may feel **marginalized** due to their teaching environments, because of the subject matter they teach, or because of differences between themselves and other individuals.

   Do you perceive yourself to be **marginalized** as a language teacher?
   - o   Yes   o   No

*1b. Please describe the ways in which you are **marginalized** as a language teacher.

*1c. Please provide specific examples of how your **marginalization** impacts your practice and student learning.

*1d. Please explain why do you not perceive yourself to be **marginalized** as a language teacher.

2. **Privilege** is a special right, advantage, or immunity available only to a particular person or group. To be **privileged** is to be given a higher value, superior position, benefit, advantage, or favor over another.

   Teachers may feel **privileged** due to their teaching environments, because of the subject matter they teach, or because of differences between themselves and other individuals.

   Do you perceive yourself to be **privileged** as a language teacher?
   - o   Yes   o   No

*2b. Please describe the ways in which you are **privileged** as a language teacher.

*2c. Please provide specific examples of how your **privilege** impacts your practice and student learning.

*2d. Please explain why do you not perceive yourself to be **privileged** as a language teacher.

3. Why did you become a language teacher?

4. Do you think you teach the way that you should? When answering, please briefly describe what you think is expected of you and by whom, as well as why you do or do not teach to these expectations.

5. What motivates you to stay in language teaching?

Note. *These questions were only displayed to respondents who met certain criteria, which were determined by their answer to a previous question.
**This item was inadvertently displayed twice to respondents.

Appendix B

B1. George Mason University IRB Approval Letter

GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

Office of Research Integrity and Assurance

Research Hall, 4400 University Drive, MS 6D5, Fairfax, Virginia 22030
Phone: 703-993-5445; Fax: 703-993-9590

DATE: April 2, 2021

TO: Marjorie Haley, PhD
FROM: George Mason University IRB

Project Title: [1740070-1] US Language Teacher Identity Development at the Intersection
                    of Marginalization and Privilege

SUBMISSION TYPE: New Project

ACTION: DETERMINATION OF EXEMPT STATUS
DECISION DATE: April 2, 2021

REVIEW CATEGORY: Exemption category #2

Thank you for your submission of New Project materials for this project. The Institutional Review Board (IRB) Office has determined this project is EXEMPT FROM IRB REVIEW according to federal regulations.

You are required to follow the George Mason University Covid-19 research continuity of operations guidance. You may not begin or resume any face-to-face interactions with human subjects until (i) Mason has generally authorized the types of activities you will conduct, or (ii) you have received advance written authorization to do so from Mason's Research Review Committee. In all cases, all safeguards for face-to-face contact that are required by Mason's COVID policies and procedures must be followed.

Please remember that all research must be conducted as described in the submitted materials.

Please note that any revision to previously approved materials must be submitted to the IRB office prior to initiation. Please use the appropriate revision forms for this procedure.

If you have any questions, please contact Kim Paul at (703) 993-4208 or kpaul4@gmu.edu. Please include your project title and reference number in all correspondence with this committee.

Please note that all research records must be retained for a minimum of five years, or as described in your submission, after the completion of the project.

Please note that department or other approvals may also be required to conduct your research.

GMU IRB Standard Operating Procedures can be found here: https://oria.gmu.edu/topics-of-interest/human-subjects/

This letter has been electronically signed in accordance with all applicable regulations, and a copy is retained within George Mason University IRB's records.

- 1 -   Generated on IRBNet

B2. Recruitment Materials

Call for Research Participants

If you teach a language other than English in the United States (K-12), then I want to hear your voice! As a former Spanish teacher with firsthand experience navigating the ups and down of the profession, I want to know more about the experiences of fellow language teachers. My name is Laura Tokarczyk, and I invite you to participate in my dissertation study that explores how language teachers perceive and experience marginalization and privilege, and how these factors influence who they become as teachers. By completing this on-line survey, you will have an opportunity to contribute your voice to research that supports all language teachers in sustaining satisfactory careers. To thank you for your time and participation, I will be raffling off $100 and $50 Amazon gift cards to 25 randomly selected participants! (Participation in the raffle is optional. This survey will take approximately 30 minutes to complete.)

You may forward this research opportunity to your fellow language-teaching colleagues. PARTICIPATE HERE:

https://gmucehd.az1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_7NE8Pv5fanHNRki Thank you! Merci! *Danke! Shukran! Xie xie! Obrigada! Gracias! Grazie!*

B3. Follow-up Recruitment E-mail to Participants Excluded from Skip-logic Error

Hello, fellow language teacher!

At some point this year between April and September, you completed a survey called "U.S. Language Teacher Identity Development at the Intersection of Marginalization and Privilege," and I thank you for your participation!

You are receiving this e-mail because three questions were inadvertently missing from the survey you completed, and I would greatly appreciate it if you took 5 minutes to respond to them. Completing these responses will help me better understand your experiences as a language teacher.

You can respond to this short survey here:

https://gmucehd.az1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_2lBEmR7yXdlxSIK

Please know that the raffle for an Amazon gift card is still open! I will select winners at random after data collection is complete. If you did not enter yourself in the raffle before but have changed your mind, you will have an opportunity to opt in to the raffle at the end of this survey.

Thank you!

Laura Tokarczyk

This research is being conducted by doctoral candidate Laura Tokarczyk under the faculty advisement of Dr. Marjorie Haley at George Mason University. Laura may be reached at (412) 596-4712 or ltokarcz@gmu.edu, and Dr. Haley may be reached at (540)

253-5014 or mhaley@gmu.edu for questions or to report a research-related problem. You may contact the George Mason University Institutional Review Board office at 703-993-4121 or IRB@gmu.edu if you have questions or comments regarding your rights as a participant in the research.

This research has been reviewed according to George Mason University procedures governing your participation in this research. [IRBNet No. 1740070-01].

Appendix C

Final Scale Items and Reliability Measures

Scale (source)	Items retained from original scale (*n* = 59)	Cronbach's α
Marginalization (Gaudreault et al., 2017)	(1) Language education is just as important as other subjects at my school.* (2) My teaching colleagues value language education.* (3) As a language teacher, my opinions are valued in my school.* (4) In my school, language education is a marginalized subject. (5) I feel as if language education is a lower-class subject in my school.	.826
Decision Making (SPES; Short & Rhinehart, 1992)	(1) I am given the responsibility to monitor programs (2) I make decisions about the implementation of new programs in the school. (3) I make decisions about the selection of other teachers for my school. (4) I am involved in the school budget decisions (5) I am given the opportunity to teach other teachers. (6) I can determine my own schedule. (7) Principals, other teachers, and school personnel solicit my advice. (8) I can plan my own schedule (9) My advice is solicited by others. (10) I have the opportunity to teach other teachers about innovative ideas.	.803
Professional Growth (SPES; Short & Rhinehart, 1992)	(1) I function in a professional environment. (2) I am treated as a professional. (3) I have the opportunity for professional growth. (4) I work at a school where kids come first. (5) I am given the opportunity for continued learning.	.805

	(6) I have the opportunity to collaborate with other teachers in my school.	
Status (SPES; Short & Rhinehart, 1992)	(1) I believe that I have earned respect (2) I believe that I am very effective. (3) I have the respect of my colleagues (4) I have the support and respect of my colleagues (5) I have a strong knowledge base in the areas in which I teach	.703
Autonomy (SPES; Short & Rhinehart, 1992)	(1) I am able to teach as I choose (2) I have the freedom to make decisions on what is taught. (3) I make decisions about curriculum	.694
Self-efficacy (LTI; Hiver, 2017)	(1) I can deal effectively with the problems of my students. (2) If I really try hard, I can get through to even the most difficult or unmotivated students. (3) I feel I am positively influencing my students' lives through my teaching. (4) I have enough training and experience to deal with almost any learning problem in the classroom. (5) When all factors are considered, I am a powerful influence on my students' success in the classroom. (6) I am not certain I making a difference in the lives of my students.* (7) I do not have confidence in my professional ability to help students learn.*	.756
Burnout (LTI; Hiver, 2017)	(1) At school I feel burned out from my work. (2) I am emotionally drained by teaching. (3) There are days at school when I feel vulnerable. (4) There are days when I feel insecure at school.	.796
Resilience (LTI; Hiver, 2017)	(1) I tend to bounce back quickly after hard times. (2) I have a hard time making it through stressful events.* (3) It is hard for me to recover when something bad happens.*	.783

Attitudes Towards Teaching (LTI; Hiver, 2017)	(1) Teaching brings me little satisfaction.* (2) If I could choose an occupation, I would not choose teaching.* (3) I am tempted to leave teaching.* (4) I enjoy working as a teacher because it brings me pleasure. (5) Teaching is my life and I can't imagine giving it up.	.822
Openness to Change (LTI; Hiver, 2017)	(1) As a teacher, I prefer the familiar to the unknown.* (2) I get frustrated when work is unfamiliar.*	.666
Classroom Affectivity (LTI; Hiver, 2017)	(1) It's hard to imagine anyone getting excited about teaching.* (2) At school/classroom I often feel upset.* (3) While teaching I feel depressed.* (4) In my teaching, I always look on the bright side of things. (5) Overall, I expect more good things to happen to me in the classroom than bad. (6) I regularly feel inspired at school or in the classroom.	.787
Coping (LTI; Hiver, 2017)	(1) I don't feel I can cope with problems that come my way.* (2) When I am under a lot of stress, I just avoid thinking or doing anything about the situation.* (3) When things get really stressful, I try to come up with a strategy about what to do.	.677

Note. *Items that were reverse-coded

References

Ahmadi, M., Amiryousefi, M., & Hesabi, A. (2020). Role of individual difference

    variables in EFL teachers' immunity development. *Journal of English Language*

    Teaching and Learning 12(26), 361-376.

Ahrari, S., Roslan, S., Zaremohzzabieh, Z., Rasdi, R. M., & Samah, A. A. (2021).

    Relationship between teacher empowerment and job satisfaction: A Meta-

    Analytic path analysis, *Cogent Education, 8*(1), 1-23.

    https://doi.org/10.1080/2331186X.2021.1898737

Ainsworth, S., & Oldfield, J. (2019). Quantifying teacher resilience: Context matters.

    Teaching and Teacher Education, 82, 117-128.

    https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2019.03.012

Allen, L. Q. (2002). Teachers' pedagogical beliefs and the Standards for Foreign

    Language Learning. *Foreign Language Annals, 35*(5), 518 – 529.

    https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1944-9720.2002.tb02720.x

American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. (n.d.a). *Benefits of language*

    learning. https://www.actfl.org/resources/guiding-principles-language-

    learning/benefits-language-learning

American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. (n.d.b). *Every Student*

    Succeeds Act (ESSA). https://www.actfl.org/advocacy/advocacy-resources/every-

    student-succeeds-act-essa

American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. (n.d.c). *Guiding principles*.

https://www.actfl.org/resources/guiding-principles-language-learning/opening-statement

American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. (n.d.d). *Opening statement*.

https://www.actfl.org/resources/guiding-principles-language-learning/opening-statement

American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. (2011). *Foreign language enrollments in K-12 public schools: Are students prepared for a global society? Executive summary.* https://www.ced.org/pdf/actfl-k12-foreign-language-for-global-society.pdf

American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. (2012). *ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines 2012*.

https://www.actfl.org/sites/default/files/guidelines/ACTFLProficiencyGuidelines2012.pdf

American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. (2016, September 12). *What you need to know about Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) in 19 slides,* [Video]. YouTube. https://youtu.be/N4RB2tsfqxk

American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages/Council for the Accreditation of Educator Preparation. (2015). *ACTFL/CAEP Program standards for the preparation of foreign language teachers*.

https://www.actfl.org/sites/default/files/caep/ACTFLCAEPStandards2013_v2015.pdf

American Councils for International Education. (2017, June). *The national K-12 foreign language enrollment survey report*.

https://www.americancouncils.org/sites/default/files/FLE-report-June17.pdf

Aoki, M. A. (2013). The role of testing language proficiency as part of teacher certification. *Modern Language Journal*, *97*(2), 539–540.

http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2013.12018.x

Apple, M. (1979). *Ideology and curriculum*. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Appleby, R. (2010). *ELT, gender and international development*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Appleby, R. (2016). Researching privilege in language teacher identity. *TESOL Quarterly*, *50*(3), 755–768. https://doi.org/10.1002/tesq.321

Baggett, H. C. (2016). Student enrollment in world languages: *L'Égalité des Chances? Foreign Language Annals*, *49*(1), 162–179. https://doi.org/10.1111/flan.12173

Baranick, W. A., & Markham, P. L. (1986). Attitudes of elementary school principals toward foreign language instruction. *Foreign Language Annals, 19*(6), 481-489. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1944-9720.1986.tb01038.x

Barkhuizen, G. (2017). *Reflections on language teacher identity research*. Routledge.

Beard, J. L. (1984). Attitudes of secondary school counselors and superintendents toward foreign language teaching: A descriptive study. *Foreign Language Annals, 17*(1), 29-33. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1944-9720.1984.tb01702.x

Beijaard, D., Meijer, P. C., & Verloop, N. (2004). Reconsidering research on teachers' professional identity. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *20*(2), 107–128. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2003.07.001

Bell, T. R. (2005). Behaviors and attitudes of effective foreign language teachers: Results of a questionnaire study. *Foreign Language Annals*, *38*(2), 259–270. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1944-9720.2005.tb02490.x

Berger, K. (2014). Reflecting on native speaker privilege. *The CATESOL Journal, 26*(1), 37-49.

Bernstein, K. A., Hellmich, E. A., Katznelson, N., Shin, J., & Vinall, K. (2015). Introduction to special issue: Critical perspectives on neoliberalism in second/foreign language education. *L2 Journal*, *7*(3), 3-14. https://doi.org/10.5070/l27327672

Beyranvand, S., & Mohamadi Zenouzagh, Z. (2021). Teacher immunity, technological pedagogical content knowledge, and teacher engagement: Contributing factors and relations. *SN Social Sciences 1*(9), 1-23, https://doi.org/10.1007/s43545-021-00250-2

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241-258). Greenwood.

Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The logic of practice*. Stanford University Press.

Brecht, R. D., & Rivers, W. P. (2000). *Language and national security in the 21ˢᵗ century: The role of Title VI/Fulbright-Hays in supporting national language*

capacity. The National Foreign Language Center.

https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED445516.pdf

Brecht, R. D., & Walton, A. R. (2000). System III: The future of language learning in the

United States. In R. D. Lambert & E. Shohamy (Eds.), *Language policy and*

pedagogy: Essays in honor of A. Ronald Walton (pp. 111-127). John Benjamins

Publishing Co.

Brookfield, S. D. (2017). *Becoming a critically reflective teacher* (2nd Ed.). Jossey-Bass.

Brown, C. (2005). Seize the moment: How to benefit from NCLB. *The Modern*

Language Journal, 89(2), 274-277.

Burke, B. M. (2011). Rituals and beliefs ingrained in world language pedagogy: Defining

deep structure and conventional wisdom. *Journal of Language Teaching and*

Research, 2(1), 1-12. https://doi.org/10.4304/jltr.2.1.1-12

Burke, B. M. (2013). Looking into a crystal ball: Is requiring high-stakes language

proficiency tests really going to improve World Language Education? *Modern*

Language Journal, *97*(2), 531–534.

http://doi.org/10.1111/j.15404781.2013.12016.x

Bussone, M. (2005). Calling the foreign language profession to action. *The Modern*

Language Journal, 89(2), 261-263. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3588686

Bustamente, C., & Novella, M. (2019). When a heritage speaker wants to be a Spanish

teacher: Educational experiences and challenges. *Foreign Language Annals,*

52(1)*,* 184-198. https://doi.org/10.1111/flan.12377

Butler, Y. G. (2004). What level of English proficiency do elementary school teachers need to attain to teach EFL? Case studies from Korea, Taiwan, and Japan. *TESOL Quarterly, 38*(2), 245–278. http://doi.org/10.2307/3588380

Byrnes, H. (Ed.). (2009). Perspectives [Special section]. *The Modern Language Journal*, *93*(2), 261-291.

Cammarata, L., & Tedick, D. J., (2012). Balancing content and language in instruction: The experience of immersion teachers. *Modern Language Journal, 96*(2), 251-269. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2012.01330.x

Carver, C., Scheier, M., & Weintraub, J. (1989). Assessing coping strategies: A theoretically based approach. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *56*(2), 267–283. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.56.2.267

Chacón, C. T. (2005). Teachers' perceived efficacy among English as a foreign language teachers in middle schools in Venezuela. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 21*(3), 257–272. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2005.01.001

Chambless, K. S. (2012). Teachers' oral proficiency in the target language: Research on its role in language teaching and learning. *Foreign Language Annals, 45*(1), 141–162. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1944-9720.2012.01183.x

Chang, M. (2009). An appraisal perspective of teacher burnout: Examining the emotional work of teaching. *Educational Psychology Review, 21*(3), 193-218. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10648-009-9106-y

Cho, H. (2014). 'It's very complicated' exploring heritage language identity with heritage

    language teachers in a teacher preparation program. *Language and Education,*

    28(2), 181-195. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09500782.2013.804835

Clarke, M. (2009). The ethico-politics of teacher identity. *Educational Philosophy and*

    Theory, *41*(2), 185–200. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-5812.2008.00420.x

Clarke, M., & Moore, A. (2013). Professional standards, teacher identities and an ethics

    of singularity. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, *43*(4), 487–500.

    https://doi.org/10.1080/0305764x.2013.819070

Clarke, M., & Phelan, A. (2015). The power of negative thinking in and for teacher

    education. *Power and Education*, *7*(3), 257–271.

    https://doi.org/10.1177/1757743815607025

Cochran-Smith, M. (2005). The new teacher education: For better or for worse?

    Educational Researcher 34(7), 3-17. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189x034007003

Connell, R. (2009). Good teachers on dangerous ground: towards a new view of teacher

    quality and professionalism. *Critical Studies in Education, 50*(3), 213-229.

    https://doi.org/10.1080/17508480902998421

Connor, K. M., & Davidson, J. R. (2003). Development of a new resilience scale: The

    Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale (CD-RISC). *Depression and Anxiety*, *18*(2),

    76–82. https://doi.org/10.1002/da.10113

Coston, B. M., & Kimmel, M. (2012). Seeing privilege where it isn't: Marginalized

    masculinities and the intersectionality of privilege. *Journal of Social Issues,*

    68(1), 97-111. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2011.01738.x

Crawford-Lange, L. M., (1984). Minnesota senior high school principals' perceptions of

    foreign language programs. *Foreign Language Annals, 68*(4), 344-353.

    https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.1984.tb02511.x

Crystal, D. (2003). *English as a global language* (2nd ed.). Cambridge University Press.

Cuncic, A. (2022, May 23). *What is imposter syndrome?* Verywell Mind.

    https://www.verywellmind.com/imposter-syndrome-and-social-anxiety-disorder-
4156469

D'amico, D., Pawlewicz, R. J., Earley, P. M., & McGeehan, A. P. (2017). Where are all

    the Black teachers? Discrimination in the teacher labor market. *Harvard*

    Educational Review, *87*(1), 26-49.

Darvin, R., & Norton, B. (2015). Identity and a model of investment in applied

    linguistics. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, *35*, 36–56.

    https://doi.org/10.1017/s0267190514000191

Dattalo, P. (2018). Determining sample size using fast and slow thinking. *Journal of*

    Social Service Research, 44(2), 180-190.

    http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01488376.2018.1436632

De Costa, P. I., & Norton, B. (2017). Introduction: Identity, transdisciplinarity, and the

    good language teacher. *The Modern Language Journal*, *101*(S1), 3–14.

    https://doi.org/10.1111/modl.12368

DeFelippis, D. (1979). Views of secondary school superintendents on foreign language

    study: A support-constraint analysis. *Foreign Language Annals, 12*(2), 139-144.

    https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1944-9720.1979.tb00157.x

Dillman, D. A., Smyth, J. D., & Christian, L. M., (2014). *Internet, phone, mail, and mixed-mode surveys: The tailored design methods* (4th ed.). Wiley.

Dobakhti, L., Zohrabi, M., & Masoudi, S. (2022). Scrutinizing the affective predictors of teacher immunity in foreign language classroom. *Teaching English Language Journal, 16*(1), 65-88. https://doi.org/10.22132/TEL.2022.148550

Donato, R. (2009). Teacher education in the age of standards of professional practice. *The Modern Language Journal*, *93*(2), 267-270. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2009.00860_3.x

Donato, R., & Davin, K. (2017). The genesis of classroom discursive practices as history-in-person processes. *Language Teaching Research, 22*(6), 739-760. https://doi.org/10.1177/1362168817702672

Douglas Fir Group. (2016). A transdisciplinary framework for SLA in a multilingual world. *The Modern Language Journal*, *100*(S1), 19–47. https://doi.org/10.1111/modl.12301

Draper, J. B., & Hicks, J. H. (2002). *Foreign language enrollments in public secondary schools, Fall 2000* (Report of Grant #P017A000017-01). U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, Educational Resources Information Center.

Ennser-Kananen, J. (2016). A pedagogy of pain: New directions for world language education. *The Modern Language Journal*, *100*(2), 556–564. https://doi.org/10.1111/modl.1_12337

Fan, F., & de Jong, E. J. (2019). Exploring professional identities of nonnative-English-speaking teachers in the United States: A narrative case study. *TESOL Journal*, *10*(4). https://doi.org/10.1002/tesj.495

Fang, Y., & Gopinathan, S. (2009). Teachers and teaching in Eastern and Western schools: A critical review of cross-cultural comparative studies. In L. J. Saha & A. G. Dworkin (Eds.), *International handbook of research on teachers and teaching* (pp. 557-572). Springer Science + Business Media LLC.

Faul, F., Erdfelder, E., Lang, A. G., & Buchner, A. (2007). G*Power 3: A flexible statistical power analysis program for the social, behavioral, and biomedical sciences. *Behavior Research Methods*, *39*(2), 175–191. https://doi.org/10.3758/bf03193146

Fenwick, T. J. (2003). The 'good' teacher in a neo-liberal risk society: a Foucaultian analysis of professional growth plans. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 35*(3), 335-354. https://doi.org/10.1080/00220270210151089

Flores, N., & Rosa, J. (2015). Undoing appropriateness: Raciolinguistic ideologies and language diversity in education. *Harvard Educational Review*, *85*(2), 149–171. https://doi.org/10.17763/0017-8055.85.2.149

Fogle, L. W., & Moser, K. (2017). Language teacher identities in the Southern United States: Transforming rural schools. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, *16*(2), 65–79. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2016.1277147

Formann, A. K. (1984). *Die latent-class-analyse: Einführung in Theorie und Anwendung*. Beltz.

Freeman, D., & Johnson, K. E. (1998). Reconceptualizing the knowledge-base of language teacher education. *TESOL Quarterly*, *32*(3), 397–417. https://doi.org/10.2307/3588114

Gagné, M., Forest, J., Gilbert, M.-H., Aubé, C., Morin, E., & Malorni, A. (2010). The motivation at work scale: Validation evidence in two languages. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, *70*(4), 628–646. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013164409355698

Garcia Bedolla, L. (2007). Intersections of inequality: Understanding marginalization and privilege in the post-civil-rights era. *Politics & Gender, 3*(2), 232-248. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X07000050

García, O. (2008). Multilingual language awareness and teacher education. In J. Cenoz & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education* (pp. 385-400). Springer International Publishing.

García, O. (2015). Critical multilingual awareness and teacher education. In J. Cenoz et al. (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education* (pp. 263-280). Springer International Publishing.

Garson, G. D. (2014). *Cluster analysis*. Statistical Associates Publishing.

Gaudreault, K. L., Richards, K. A. R., & Woods, A. M. (2017). Initial validation of the Physical Education Marginalization and Isolation Survey (PE-MAIS). *Measurement in Physical Education and Exercise Science 21*(2), 69-82. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1091367X.2016.1257994

Gayton, A. M. (2016). Perceptions about the dominance of English as a global language: Impact on foreign-language teachers' professional identity. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, *15*(4), 230–244. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2016.1194209

Gee, J. P. (2000). Identity as an analytic lens for research in education. *Review of Research in Education*, *25*(1), 99–125. https://doi.org/10.3102/0091732x025001099

Glisan, E. W. (2005). Leaving no foreign language teachers behind: A grassroots response. *The Modern Language Journal, 89*(2), 268-272.

Glisan, E. W. (2012). National standards: Research into practice. *Language Teaching*, *45*(4), 515–526. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0261444812000249

Glisan, E. W., & Donato, R. (2017). Letter to the Editor. *Foreign Language Annals, 50*(4), 821-828. https://doi.org/10.1111/flan.12290

Glisan, E. W., Swender, E., & Surface, E. A. (2013). Oral proficiency standards and foreign language teacher candidates: Current findings and future research directions, *Foreign Language Annals, 46*(2), 264–289. https://doi.org/10.1111/flan.12030

Glynn, C., Wesely, P., & Wassell, B. (2014). *Words and actions: Teaching languages through the lens of social justice*. American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.

Goals 2000. (1994). Goals 2000: Educate America Act. H. R. 1804. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, 1994.

Golombek, P. R., & Johnson, K. (2017). Re-conceptualizing teachers' narrative inquiry as professional development. *PROFILE Issues in Teachers' Professional Development*, *19*(2), 15–28. https://doi.org/10.15446/profile.v19n2.65692

Golombek, P. R., & Jordan, S. R. (2005). Becoming "black lambs" not "parrots": A poststructuralist orientation to intelligibility and identity. *TESOL Quarterly*, *39*(3), 513–533. https://doi.org/10.2307/3588492

Gounari, P. (2020). Critical pedagogies and teaching and learning languages in dangerous times: Introduction to the special issue. *L2 Journal, 12*(2), 3-20. https://doi.org/10.5070/l212249913

Greene, J. C. (2007). *Mixed methods in social inquiry*. Jossey-Bass.

Gregersen, T., Mercer, S., & MacIntyre, P. D., (2021). Language teacher perspectives on stress and coping. *Foreign Language Annals, 54*(4), 1-19. https://doi.org/10.1111/flan.12544

Groves, R. M., Fowler, J. F., Couper, M. P., Lepkowski, J. M., Singer, E., & Tourangeau, R. (2009). *Survey methodology* (2nd Ed.). Wiley.

Haley, M. H. (2000). Shaping the future of twenty-first century schools: Fulfilling the need for minority teachers in foreign language classrooms. In D. Birckbichler & R. Terry (Eds.), *Reflecting on the past to shape the future* (pp. 99–124). National Textbook.

Haley, M. H., & Fox, R. K. (2004). Examining language proficiency of teacher candidates. In G. Bräuer & K. Sanders (Eds.) *New visions in foreign and second language education* (pp. 261 – 271). LARC Press.

Hamlyn, H., Swender, E., & Glisan, E. (2007, November). *What proficiency testing is telling us about teacher certification candidates*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the America Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, San Antonio, TX.

Hammond, K. (2006). More than a Game: A critical discourse analysis of a racial inequality exercise in Japan. *TESOL Quarterly*, *40*(3), 545-571. https://doi.org/10.2307/40264543

Haque, E., & Morgan, B. (2009). Un/marked pedagogies: A dialogue on race in EFL and ESL settings. In R. Kubota & A. Lin (Eds.), *Race, language and identities in English language education: Exploring critically engaged practice* (pp. 271–285). Routledge.

Haseli Songhori, M., Ghonsooly, B. & Afraz, S. (2018). Language teacher immunity among Iranian EFL teachers: A self-organization perspective. *Iranian Journal of English for Academic Purposes, 7*(1), 128-143.

Hashemi Moghadam, H., Adel, S. M. R., Ghaniabadi, S., & Amirian, S. M. R. (2019). A Bourdieusian analysis of the educational field and professional identity of EFL teachers: A hermeneutic phenomenological analysis. *Qualitative Research Journal*, *19*, 156–170. https://doi.org/10.1108/QRJ-12-2018-0002

Hawkins, M., & Norton, B. (2009). Critical language teacher education. In A. Burns & J. Richards (Eds.) *Cambridge guide to second language teacher education* (pp. 30–39). Cambridge University Press.

Hellmich, E. A. (2018). Language in a global world: A case study of foreign languages in U.S. K-8 education. *Foreign Language Annals, 51*(3), 313-330. https://doi.org/10.1111/flan.12333

Hiver, P. (2015). Once burned, twice shy: The dynamic development of system immunity in language teachers. In Z. Dörnyei, P. D. MacIntyre, & A. Henry (Eds.), *Motivational dynamics in language learning* (pp. 214–237). Multilingual Matters.

Hiver, P. (2017). Tracing the signature dynamics of language teacher immunity: A retrodictive qualitative modeling study. *The Modern Language Journal, 101*(4), 669-690. https://doi.org/10.1111/modl.12433 0026-7902/17/669–690

Hiver, P., & Dörnyei, Z. (2017). Language teacher immunity: A double-edged sword. *Applied Linguistics, 38*(3), 405-423. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amv034

Hiver, P., & Whitehead, G. E. K., (2018). Sites of struggle: Classroom practice and the complex dynamic entanglement of language teacher agency and identity. *System, 79*, 70-80. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2018.04.015

Hlavacik, M. (2016). *Assigning blame.* Harvard Education Press.

Holborow, M. (2016). Neoliberal keywords, political economy and the relevance of ideology. *Key Words: A Journal of Cultural Materialisms, 14*, 38-53. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26920409

Huang, J. P., & Benson, P. (2013). Autonomy agency and identity in foreign and second language education. *Chinese Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *36*(1), 7-28. https://doi.org/10.1515/cjal-2013-0002

Jacobsen, A. (2001). *Developing a voice: Teacher empowerment and second language teacher education*. U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, National Library of Education, Educational Resources Information Center. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED456105.pdf

Jenkins, J. (2015). *Global Englishes* (3rd Ed.). Routledge.

Johnson, K. E. (2006). The sociocultural turn and its challenges for second language teacher education. *TESOL Quarterly*, *40*(1), 235–257. https://doi.org/10.2307/40264518

Johnson, K. E. (2009). *Second language teacher education: A sociocultural perspective*. Routledge.

Johnson, K. E. (2015). Reclaiming the relevance of L2 teacher education. *The Modern Language Journal*, *99*(3), 515–528. https://doi.org/10.1111/modl.12242

Johnson, K. E., & Golombek, P. R. (2002). *Teachers' narrative inquiry as professional development*. Cambridge University Press.

Johnson, K. E., & Golombek, P. R. (2011). The transformative power of narrative in second language teacher education. *TESOL Quarterly*, *45*(3), 486–509. https://doi.org/10.5054/tq.2011.256797

Johnson, K. E., & Golombek, P. R. (2016). *Mindful L2 teacher education: A sociocultural perspective on cultivating teachers' professional development*. Routledge.

Kalaja, P., Barcelos, A. M. F., Aro, M., & Ruohotie-Lyhty, M. (2015). *Beliefs, agency and identity in foreign language learning and teaching*. Springer.

Kayi-Aydar, H. (2015). Multiple identities, negotiations, and agency across time and

    space: A narrative inquiry of a foreign language teacher candidate, *Critical*

    Inquiry in Language Studies, 12(2), 137-160.

    https://doi.org/10.1080/15427587.2015.1032076

Kayi-Aydar, H. (2017). A language teacher's agency in the development of her

    professional identities: A narrative case study. *Journal of Latinos and Education,*

    18(1), 4-18. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348431.2017.1406360

Kayi-Aydar, H. (2018). "If Carmen can analyze Shakespeare, everybody can": Positions,

    conflicts, and negotiations in the narratives of Latina pre-service teachers. *Journal*

    of Language, Identity & Education, *17*, 118–130.

    https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2017.1415759

Kayi-Aydar, H., Miller, E. R., Varghese, M., & Vitanova, G. (2019). *Theorizing and*

    analyzing language teacher agency. Multilingual Matters.

Kelleher, A. (2010). *Who is a heritage language learner*? Center for Applied Linguistics.

    https://www.cal.org/heritage/pdfs/briefs/Who-is-a-Heritage-Language-

    Learner.pdf

Kelly, W. (2008). Applying a critical metatheoretical approach to intercultural relations:

    The case of U.S.-Japanese communication. In M. Asante, Y. Muke, & J. Yin

    (Eds.), *The global intercultural communication reader* (pp. 263–279). Routledge.

Khan, A. (2014). Teaching, learning, and professional development in the English

    companion ning (ecn): An online community for English teachers. *International*

    Journal of Arts and Sciences, 7(3), 347–353.

Kissau, S. P., Algozzine, B., & Yon, M. (2013). Similar but different: The beliefs of

    foreign language teachers. *Foreign Language Annals, 45*(4), 580–598.

    https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1944-9720.2013.12001.x

Kissau, S. P., Davin, K. J., & Wang, C. (2019). Aspiring world language teachers: Their

    influences, perceptions, and commitment to teaching. *Teaching and Teacher*

    Education, 78, 174-182. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2018.11.020

Kissau, S. P., Yon, M., & Algozzine, B. (2011). The beliefs and behaviors of

    international and domestic foreign language teachers. *Journal of the National*

    Council of Less Commonly Taught Languages, 10, 21–56.

Korte, G. (2015, December 10). The Every Student Succeeds Act vs. No Child Left

    Behind: What's changed? *USA Today*.

    https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2015/12/10/every-student-

    succeeds-act-vs-no-child-left-behind-whats-changed/77088780/

Kramsch, C. (1997). Guest column: The privilege of the nonnative

    speaker. *PMLA*, *112*(3), 359-369. http://www.jstor.org/stable/462945

Kramsch, C. (2014). Teaching foreign languages in an era of globalization:

    Introduction. *The Modern Language Journal*, *98*(1), 296–311.

    https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2014.12057.x

Kubanyiova, M. (2012). *Teacher development in action: Understanding language*

    teachers' conceptual change. Palgrave Macmilllan.

Kubanyiova, M., & Crookes, G. (2016). Re-envisioning the roles, tasks, and

    contributions of language teachers in the multilingual era of language education

research and practice. *The Modern Language Journal*, *100*(S1), 117–132. https://doi.org/10.1111/modl.12304

Kubota, R. (2004). Critical multiculturalism and second language education. In B. Norton & K. Toohey (Eds.), *Critical pedagogies and language learning* (pp. 30-52). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139524834.003

Kubota, R. (2006). Teaching second languages for national security purposes: A case of Post-9/11 USA. In J. Edge (Ed.), *(Re-)Locating TESOL in an Age of Empire* (pp. 119–138). Springer.

Kubota, R., & Austin, T. (2007). Critical approaches to world language education in the United States: An introduction. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, *4*(2–3), 73–83. https://doi.org/10.1080/15427580701389367

Kubota, R., & Lin. A. (2006). Race and TESOL: Introduction to concepts and theories. *TESOL Quarterly, 40*(3), 471-493. https://doi.org/10.2307/40264540

Kubota, R., & Miller, E. R. (2017). Re-examining and re-envisioning criticality in language studies: Theories and praxis. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, *14*(2–3), 129–157. https://doi.org/10.1080/15427587.2017.1290500

Kumaravadivelu, B. (2012a). Individual identity, cultural globalization and teaching English as an international language: The case for an epistemic break. In L. Alsagoff, S. McKay, G. Hu, & W. Renandya (Eds.), *Teaching English as an international language: Principles and practices* (pp. 9–27). Routledge.

Kumaravadivelu, B. (2012b). *Language teacher education for a global society: A modular model for knowing, analyzing, recognizing, doing, and seeing*. Routledge.

Lamb, T. (2000). *Reconceptualising disaffection: Issues of power, voice and learner autonomy*. Garant.

Lamb, T. (2019). Foreward. In M. Gallardo (Ed.), *Negotiating identity in modern foreign language teaching* (pp. vii-x). Springer Nature.

Lankiewicz, H, Wąsikiewicz-Firlej, E., & Szczepaniak-Kozak, A, (2016). Insights into teacher language awareness with reference to the concept of self-marginalization and empowerment in the use of a foreign language. *Porta Linguarum, 25*, 147-161. https://doi.org/10.30827/digibug.53895

Li, S. (2022). Chinese English as a Foreign Language teachers' immunity and mindfulness as predictors of their work engagement. *Frontiers in Psychology, 13*. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2022.874356

Lippi-Green, R. (1997). *English with an accent: Language, ideology and discrimination in the United States*. Routledge.

Lo Bianco, J. (2002). Uncle Sam and Mister Unz. *Australian Language Matters: A Newsletter of Language and Literacy*, *10*(4), 8–10.

Loew, H. Z., (1978). Working together: Guidance counselors and foreign language teachers. *Foreign Language Annals*, *11*(4), 367–374. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1944-9720.1978.tb00051.x

Looney, D., & Lusin, N. (2019). Enrollments in languages other than English in United

    States institutions of higher education, summer 2016 and fall 2016: Final report.

    Modern Language Association.

    https://www.mla.org/content/download/110154/2406932/2016-Enrollments-Final-

    Report.pdf

Lyberg, L. E., & Weisberg, H. F., (2016). Total survey error: A paradigm for survey

    methodology. In C. Wolf, D. Joye, T. W. Smith, & Y. C. Fu (Eds.), *The SAGE*

    handbook on survey methodology (pp. 27-40). SAGE.

    https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781473957893

MacIntyre, P. D., Gregersen, T., & Mercer, S. (2020). Language teachers' coping

    strategies during the Covid-19 conversion to online teaching: Correlations with

    stress, wellbeing and negative emotions. *System 94*.

    https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2020.102352

Maghsoudi, M. (2021). Productive or maladaptive immunity? Which one is more

    dominant among Iranian EFL prospective teachers? *Applied Research on English*

    Language, 10(1), 51-80.

Martel, J. (2015). Learning to teach a foreign language: Identity negotiation and

    conceptualizations of pedagogical progress. *Foreign Language Annals*, *48*, 394–

    412. https://doi.org/10.1111/flan.12144

Martel, J., & Wang, A. (2014). Language teacher identity. In M. Bigelow, & J. Ennser-

    Kananen (Eds.) *The Routledge handbook of educational linguistics* (pp. 289–300).

    Routledge.

Martínez Agudo, J. de D. (2018). *Emotions in second language teaching: Theory, research and teacher education*. New York: Springer.

Maslach, C., & Jackson, S. (1981). The measurement of experienced burnout. *Journal of Occupational Behavior, 2*(2), 99–113. https://doi.org/10.1002/job.4030020205

Mason, S., & Poyatos Matas, C. (2016). Social capital: A vital ingredient for retaining foreign language teachers. *Asian-Pacific Journal of Second and Foreign Language Education*, *1*(3), 1-19. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40862-016-0008-5

Maxwell, J. A., & Chmiel, M. (2014). Generalization in and from qualitative analysis. In U. Flick (Ed.) *The SAGE handbook of qualitative data analysis* (pp. 540-553). SAGE.

McCrae, R. (1996). Social consequences of experiential openness. *Psychology Bulletin*, *120*(3), 323–337. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.120.3.323

McGowan, S. L., & Kern, A. L. (2014). Pre-service foreign language teachers' attitudes of privilege and oppression. *Journal of Education and Training Studies, 2*(1), 31-43. http://dx.doi.org/10.11114/jets.v2i1.188

McMillan, B. A., (2013). Professional identities shaped by resistance to target language only policies. In D. J. Rivers and S. A. Houghton (Eds.) *Social Identities and Multiple Selves in Foreign Language Education* (pp. 57-75). Bloomsbury.

McNamara, T. (1997). Theorizing social identity: What do we mean by social identity? Competing frameworks, competing discourses. *TESOL Quarterly, 31*(3), 561-567. https://doi.org/10.2307/3587838

Merriam-Webster. (2021a). Marginalize. *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*.

https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/marginalization

Merriam-Webster. (2021b). Native speaker. *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*.

https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/native%20speaker

Merriam-Webster. (2021c). Privilege. *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*.

https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/privilege

Merriam-Webster. (2021d). Target language. *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*.

https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/target%20language

Merriam-Webster. (2022). Jaded. https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/jaded

Meyers, L. S., Gamst, G., & Guarino, A. J., (2006). *Applied multivariate research*.
SAGE.

Miller, J. (2009). Teacher identity. In A. Burns & J. C. Richards (Eds.) *The Cambridge guide to second language teacher education* (pp. 172-181). Cambridge University Press.

Moeller, A. J. (2013). Advanced low language proficiency–An achievable goal? *The Modern Language Journal, 97*(2), 549–553. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2013.12021.x

Morgan, B. (2004). Teacher identity as pedagogy: Towards a field-internal conceptualisation in bilingual and second language education. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *7*(2-3), 172–188. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050408667807

Morgan, B. (2009). Fostering transformative practitioners for critical EAP: Possibilities and challenges. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, *8*(2), 86–99. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jeap.2008.09.001

Morgan, B. (2016). Language teacher identity and the domestication of dissent: An exploratory account. *TESOL Quarterly*, *50*(3), 708–734. https://doi.org/10.1002/tesq.316

Morgan, B., & Clarke, M. (2011). Identity in second language teaching and learning. In E. Hinkel (Ed.), *Handbook of research in second language teaching and learning* (Vol. 2, pp. 817–836). Routledge.

Moser, K. M., García, P. A., Davis-Wiley, P., & Hernández, T. A. (2019). A survey of world language cooperating teachers: Implications for teacher development. *Foreign Language Annals, 52*(4), 873-890. https://doi.org/10.1111/flan.12427

Motha, S. (2006). Racializing ESOL teacher identities in U.S. K-12 public schools. *TESOL Quarterly*, *40*(3), 495-518. https://doi.org/10.2307/40264541

Mullen, C. A., Samier, E., Brindley, S., English, F., & Carr, N. (2013). An epistemic frame analysis of neoliberal culture and politics in the US, UK, and the UAE. *Interchange*, *43*(3), 187–228. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10780-013-9176-0

National Center for Education Statistics. (2014). *Percentage of high school students with foreign language credits earned in 2000, 2005, 2009 and 2013, by language type* [Table J6]. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, High School Longitudinal Study of 2009 (HSLS:09). https://nces.ed.gov/surveys/hsls09/tables/high_school_coursetaking_j6.asp

National Center for Education Statistics. (2017). *Number and percentage distribution of teachers in public and private elementary and secondary schools, by selected teacher characteristics: Selected years, 1987-88 through 2015-16* [Table 209.10]. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Schools and Staffing Survey (SASS). https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d18/tables/dt18_209.10.asp

National Center for Education Statistics. (2019, February). *Indicator 6: Elementary and secondary enrollment*. U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences. https://nces.ed.gov/programs/raceindicators/indicator_rbb.asp

National Center for Education Statistics. (2021a, February). *Percentage of public school teachers of grades 9 through 12, by field of main teaching assignment and selected demographic and educational characteristics: 2015-16* [Table 209.50]. U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, National Teacher and Principal Survey (NTPS). https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d17/tables/dt17_209.50.asp

National Center for Education Statistics. (2021b, May). *Condition of education: Characteristics of public school teachers.* U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences. https://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/indicator_clr.asp

National Standards Collaborative Board. (2015). *World-readiness standards for learning languages*. https://www.actfl.org/sites/default/files/publications/standards/World-ReadinessStandardsforLearningLanguages.pdf

No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001, Pub. L. No. 107-110, § 101, Stat. 1425
(2002).

Norton, B. (2000). *Identity and language learning: Gender, ethnicity and educational change.* Pearson Education.

Norton, B., & De Costa, P. I. (2018). Research tasks on identity in language learning and teaching. *Language Teaching*, *51*(1), 90–112.
https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261444817000325

Norton, B., & Morgan, B. (2012). Poststructuralism. In C. A. Chapelle (Ed.), *The encyclopedia of applied linguistics* (pp. 1-6). Blackwell Publishing.
https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405198431.wbeal0924

Noughabi, M. A., Amirian, S. M. R., Adel, S. M. R., & Zareian, G. (2020). The association of experienced in-service EFL teachers' immunity with engagement, emotions, and autonomy. *Current Psychology*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-020-01066-8

Ordem, E. (2017). A language teacher's reflection on maladaptive immunity, possible selves and motivation. *International Education Studies, 10*(9), 1-8.
https://doi.org/10.5539/ies.v10n9p1

Osborn, T. A. (2000). *Critical reflection and the foreign language classroom*. Bergin & Garvey.

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

Oxford Languages. (2021a). Marginalize.

https://www.google.com/search?q=marginalize&oq=marginalize&aqs=chrome..6
9i57j0i433i457j0i433l4j0l2.1747j0j4&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8

Oxford Languages. (2021b). Privilege.

https://www.google.com/search?q=marginalize&oq=marginalize&aqs=chrome..6
9i57j0i433i457j0i433l4j0l2.1747j0j4&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-
8#dobs=privilege

Park, G. (2015). Situating the discourses of privilege and marginalization in the lives of
two East Asian women teachers of English. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *18*(1),
108–133. https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2012.759924

Pavlenko, A. (2003). "I never knew I was a bilingual": Reimagining teacher identities in
TESOL. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, *2*(4), 251–268.
https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327701jlie0204_2

Pennington, M. C., & Richards, J. C. (2016). Teacher identity in language teaching:
Integrating personal, contextual, and professional factors. *RELC Journal*, *47*(1),
5–23. https://doi.org/10.1177/0033688216631219

Pennycook, A. (1999). Introduction: Critical approaches to TESOL. *TESOL Quarterly,*
33(3), 329. https://doi.org/10.2307/3587668

Penuel, W. R., & Wertsch, J. V. (1995). Vygotsky and identity formation: A sociocultural
approach. *Educational Psychologist*, *30*(2), 83–92.
https://doi.org/10.1207/s15326985ep3002_5

Phillips, J. K. & Abbott, M. (2011). *A decade of foreign language standards: Impact, influence, and future directions.* (Report of Grant Project #P017A080037). U.S. Department of Education to the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. https://www.actfl.org/sites/default/files/publications/standards/NationalStandards2011.pdf

Pittard, E. A. (2017). Gettin' a little crafty: Teachers Pay Teachers©, Pinterest© and neo-liberalism in new materialist feminist research. *Gender and Education, 29*(1), 28-47. https://doi.org/10.1080/09540253.2016.1197380

Potowski, K. (2010). Language diversity in the United States: Dispelling common myths and appreciating advantages. In K. Potowski (Ed.) *Language diversity in the United States* (pp. 1–24). Cambridge University Press.

Prestridge, S. (2019). Categorising teachers' use of social media for their professional learning: A self-generating professional learning paradigm. *Computers & Education, 129*, 143-158. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.compedu.2018.11.003

Pufahl, I., & Rhodes, N. C. (2011). Foreign language instruction in U.S. schools: Results of a national survey of elementary and secondary schools. *Foreign Language Annals*, *44*(2), 258–288. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1944-9720.2011.01130.x

Qualtrics. (2020). Qualtrics, Provo, UT, USA. https://www.qualtrics.com

Qualtrics. (2021). *How to increase survey response rates*. https://www.qualtrics.com/experience-management/research/tools-increase-response-rate/

Quan, T. (2021). Critical approaches to Spanish language teacher education: Challenging raciolinguistic ideologies and fostering critical language awareness. *Hispania, 104*(3), 447-459. https://doi.org/10.1353/hpn.2021.0096

Quintero, A. H., & Guerrero, C. H. (2018). The (re)construction of self through student-teachers' storied agency in ELT: Between marginalization and idealization. In B. Yazan & N. Rudolph (Eds.), *Criticality, Teacher Identity, and (In)equity in English Language Teaching* (Vol. 35, pp. 81–102). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-72920-6_5

R Core Team (2020). *R: A language and environment for statistical computing*. R Foundation for Statistical Computing, Vienna, Austria. https://www.R-project.org/

Rahimpour, H., Amirian, S. M. R., Adel, S. M. R., & Zareian, G. R. (2020). A model of the factors predicting English language teacher immunity: A path analysis. *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics, 10*(1), 73–83. https://doi.org/10.17509/ijal.v10i1.24990

Rahmati, T., Sadeghi, K., & Ghaderi, F. (2019). English as a foreign language teacher immunity: An integrated reflective practice. *Iranian Journal of Language Teaching Research, 7*(3), 91–107. https://doi.org/10.30466/ijltr.2019.120738

Reagan, T. G. & Osborn, T. A. (1998). Power, authority and domination in foreign language education: Toward an analysis of educational failure. *Educational Foundations, 12*(2), 45–62.

Reagan, T. G. & Osborn, T. A. (2020). *World language education as critical pedagogy: The promise of social justice.* Routledge.

Reagan, T. G. (2002). "Knowing" and "learning" a foreign language: Epistemological reflections on classroom practice. In T. A. Osborn (Ed.), *Future of foreign language education in the United States* (pp. 45-61). Greenwood Publishing Group.

Reagan, T. G. (2004). Objectification, positivism and language studies: A reconsideration. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies: An International Journal, 1*(1), 41-60. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15427595cils0101_3

Reagan, T. G., & Osborn, T. A. (2002). *The foreign language educator in society: Toward a critical pedagogy*. Routledge.

Reagan, T. G., & Osborn, T. A. (2019). Time for a paradigm shift in U.S. foreign language education? Revisiting rationales, evidence, and outcomes. In D. Macedo (Ed.) *Decolonizing foreign language education: The misteaching of English and other colonial languages* (pp. 73-110). Routledge.

Rios-Aguilar, C., Kiyama, J. M., Gravitt, M., & Moll, L. C. (2011). Funds of knowledge for the poor and forms of capital for the rich? A capital approach to examining funds of knowledge, *Theory and Research in Education, 9*(2), 163-184. https://doi.org/10.1177/1477878511409776

Ritter, L. L. (2019). Opportunities for teacher empowerment. *Foreign Language Annals*, *52*(1), 5–6. https://doi.org/10.1111/flan.12374

Rosenbusch, M. H. (2005*). The No Child Left Behind Act and teaching and learning

languages in U.S. Schools. *The Modern Language Journal, 89*(2), 250-261.

https://www.jstor.org/stable/3588685

Rotermund, S., DeRoche, J., & Ottem, R. (2017, May). *Teacher professional

development by selected teacher and school characteristics: 2011-12*. National

Center for Education Statistics. https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2017/2017200.pdf

Ruohotie-Lyhty, M. (2015a). Dependent or independent: The construction of the beliefs

of newly qualified foreign language teachers. In P. Kalaja, A. M. Barcelos, M.

Aro, & M. Ruohotie-Lyhty (Eds.), *Beliefs, agency and identity in foreign

language learning and teaching* (pp. 149–171). Springer.

Ruohotie-Lyhty, M. (2015b). Stories of change and continuity: Understanding the

development of the identities of foreign language teachers. In P. Kalaja, A. M.

Barcelos, M. Aro, & M. Ruohotie-Lyhty (Eds.), *Beliefs, agency and identity in

foreign language learning and teaching* (pp. 172–201). Springer.

Sachs, J. (2005). Teacher education and the development of professional identity:

Learning to be a teacher. In P. M. Denicolo & M. Kompf (Eds.) *Connecting

policy and practice: Challenges for teaching and learning in schools and

universities* (pp. 5–21). Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group.

Saldaña, J. (2016). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. SAGE.

Sampson, R. J. (2022). From darkness to light: Teacher immunity and the emergence of

relatedness with students. In Y. Kimura, L. Yang, T. Kim, & Y. Nakata (Eds.)

Language teacher motivation, autonomy and development in East Asia (pp. 77-94). Springer.

Santoro, D. A. (2019, November 25). The problem with stories about teacher 'burnout'. *Phi Delta Kappan*. https://kappanonline.org/teacher-burnout-stories-moral-objections-santoro/

Sariçoban, A. & Kirmizi, O. (2021). Language teacher immunity: Insights from Turkey. *International Online Journal of Education and Teaching (IOJET), 8*(2), 1172-1189.

Saville-Troike, M. (2012). *Introducing second language acquisition* (2nd ed.). Cambridge University Press.

Saydam, D. (2019). *English language teacher immunity: The METU case*, [Doctoral thesis, Middle East Technical University]. https://open.metu.edu.tr/bitstream/handle/11511/43843/index.pdf

Schwartz, A., & Boovy, B. (2017). Mapping monolingualism within a language/race cartography: Reflections and lessons learned from 'World Languages and Cultures Day'. *L2 Journal*, *9*(1), 1–20. https://doi.org/10.5070/l29131080

Scott, R. A., (2005). Many calls, little action: Global illiteracy in the United States. *American Council on Education, 8*(1), 18-23.

Sfard, A., & Prusak, A. (2005). Telling identities: In search of an analytic tool for investigating learning as a culturally shaped activity. *Educational Researcher*, *34*(4), 14–22. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189x034004014

Short, P. M., & Rinehart, J. S. (1992). School participant empowerment scale: Assessment of level of empowerment within the school environment. *Educational and Psychological Measurement, 52*(4), 951–960. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013164492052004018

Siddiqui, K. (2013). Heuristics for sample size determination in multivariate statistical techniques. *World Applied Sciences Journal, 27*(2), 285-287. http://dx.doi.org/10.5829/idosi.wasj.2013.27.02.889

Sleeter, C. (2008). Equity, democracy, and neoliberal assaults on teacher education. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *24*(8), 1947–1957. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2008.04.003

Sthli, M. E., & Joye, D. (2016). Incentives as a possible measure to increase response rates. In C. Wolf (Ed.), *SAGE handbook of survey methodology* (pp. 425-440). SAGE. http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781473957893

Swanson, P. (2011). Second/Foreign language teachers' professional identity and its relation to one's decision to leave the profession. In M. Wearing (Ed.), *Social identity* (pp. 145–162). Nova Science Publishers.

Swanson, P., & Mason, S. (2018). The world language teacher shortage: Taking a new direction. *Foreign Language Annals*, *51*(1), 251–262. https://doi.org/10.1111/flan.12321

Taylor Webb, P. (2007). Accounting for teacher knowledge: Reterritorializations as epistemic suicide. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 28*(2), 279-295. https://doi.org/10.1080/01596300701289409

Tedick, D. J. (2013). Embracing proficiency and program standards and rising to the

    challenge: A response to Burke. *The Modern Language Journal*, *97*(2), 535–538.

    https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2013.12017.x

Teixeira, M. I. (2022, May 31). *20 most spoken languages in the world in 2022*. Lingoda.

    https://blog.lingoda.com/en/most-spoken-languages-in-the-world-in-2021/

Till, Y., & Matei, M. (2016). Basics of sampling for survey research. In C. Wolf, D. Joye,

    T. W. Smith, & Y. C. Fu (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook on survey methodology* (pp.

    311–28). http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781473957893.n21

Tschannen–Moran, M., & Woolfolk Hoy, A. (2001). Teacher efficacy: Capturing an

    elusive construct. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 17*(7), 783–805.

    https://doi.org/10.1016/s0742-051x(01)00036-1

Understood Team. (n.d.). *The difference between the Every Student Succeeds Act and No

    Child Left Behind*. Understood. https://www.understood.org/en/school-

    learning/your-childs-rights/basics-about-childs-rights/the-difference-between-the-

    every-student-succeeds-act-and-no-child-left-behind

U.S. Census Bureau. (2015, November 3). *Census Bureau reports at least 350 languages

    spoken in U.S. homes*. https://www.census.gov/newsroom/archives/2015-pr/cb15-

    185.html

U.S. Department of Education. (1991). *America 2000: An education strategy*.

    https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED327009.pdf

U.S. Department of Education. (2012). *Succeeding globally through international

    education and engagement: U.S. Department of Education international strategy*

2012-2016. https://www2.ed.gov/about/inits/ed/internationaled/international-

strategy-2012-16.pdf

U.S. Department of Education. (2014). *Foreign Language Assistance Programs (SEAs)*.

https://www2.ed.gov/programs/flapsea/index.html

United States. (1965). Elementary and secondary education act of 1965 : H. R. 2362, 89th

Cong., 1st Sess., Public law 89-10. Reports, Bills, Debate and Act. [Washington]

:[U.S. Govt. Print. Off.].

Valdés, G. (2000a). Introduction. In L. A. Sandstedt (Ed.) *Spanish for native speakers:*

AATSP professional development series handbook for teachers k-16 (Vol. 1, pp.

1-20). Harcourt College.

Valdés, G. (2000b). Teaching heritage languages: An introduction for Slavic language-

teaching professionals. In O. Kagan & B. Rifkin (Eds.), *Learning and teaching of*

Slavic languages and cultures: Toward the 21st century (pp. 375-403). Slavica.

Vandrick, S. (2009). *Interrogating privilege: Reflections of a second language educator*.

University of Michigan Press.

VanPatten, B., & Benati, A. G. (2010). *Key terms in second language acquisition*.

Continuum.

Varghese, M. (2017). Language teacher educator identity and language teacher identity:

Towards a social justice perspective. In G. Barkhuizen (Ed.), *Reflections on*

language teacher identity research (pp. 42–48). Routledge.

Varghese, M., Morgan, B., Johnston, B., & Johnson, K. A. (2005). Theorizing language teacher identity: Three perspectives and beyond. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, *4*(3), 21–44. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327701jlie0401_2

Varghese, M., Motha, S., Park, G., Reeves, J., & Trent, J. (2016). In this issue. *TESOL Quarterly*, *50*(3), 545–571. https://doi.org/10.1002/tesq.333

Vehovar, V., Toepoel, V., & Steinmetz, S. (2016). Non-probability sampling. In C. Wolf, D. Joye, T. W. Smith, & Y. C. Fu (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook on survey methodology* (pp. 329–45). http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.4135/9781473957893.n22

Vélez-Rendón, G. (2010). From social identity to professional identity: Issues of language and gender. *Foreign Language Annals*, *43*(4), 635–649. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1944-9720.2010.01113.x

Waller, L., Wethers, K., & De Costa, P. I., (2017). A critical praxis: Narrowing the gap between identity, theory, and practice. *TESOL Journal, 8*(1), 4-27. https://doi.org/10.1002/tesj.256

Watson, D., Clark, L. A., & Tellegen, A. (1988). Development and validation of brief measures of positive and negative affect: The PANAS scales. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *54*(6), 1063–1070. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.54.6.1063

Watzke, J. L. (2003). *Lasting change in foreign language education: A historical case for change in national policy*. Greenwood Publishing Group.

Weatherford, H. J. (1982). Foreign Language Attitudes Survey: Georgia superintendents

and high school principals. *Foreign Language Annals, 15*(1), 29-34.

https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1944-9720.1982.tb00225.x

Weng, Z. (2017). Social identities and multiple selves in foreign language education, by

Rivers, D.J. & Houghton, S.A. (Eds.) [Book review]. *Journal of Language,*

Identity & Education, *16*(2), 124–126.

https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2017.1306999

Wenger, E. (1998). Communities of practice: Learning as a social system. *Systems*

Thinker, *9*(5), 1-10.

Wesely, P. M. (2013). Investigating the community of practice of world language

educators on Twitter. *Journal of Teacher Education, 64*(4), 305–318.

https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487113489032

Wolff, D., & De Costa, P. I. (2017). Expanding the language teacher identity landscape:

An investigation of the emotions and strategies of a NNEST. *The Modern*

Language Journal, *101*(S1), 76–90. https://doi.org/10.1111/modl.12370

Zembylas, M. (2003a). Emotions and teacher identity: A poststructural perspective.

Teachers and Teaching, 9(3), 213-238. https://doi.org/10.1080/13540600309378

Zembylas, M. (2003b). Interrogating "teacher identity": Emotion, resistance, and self-

formation. *Educational Theory, 53*(1), 107-127. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-

5446.2003.00107.x

Biography

Laura L. Tokarczyk was born and raised in Carnegie, Pennsylvania. She received a Bachelor of Arts in Hispanic Languages and Literatures from the University of Pittsburgh in 2004. Her time abroad studying Spanish at the University of Alicante, Spain, and Portuguese in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, fueled her passion for language learning. In 2006 she received a Master of Arts in Teaching, also from the University of Pittsburgh, and eventually found her niche in teaching Spanish in Foreign Language in Elementary School (FLES) programs. She achieved National Board Certification in 2011, and not long after began her doctoral studies at George Mason University. Laura currently resides in Mt. Lebanon, PA, where she and her husband, Chris, raise their three children, Staś, Ziggy, and Zosia, and spend their free time renovating their century-old home.