

CRITICAL PEDAGOGY IN AN UNDERGRADUATE ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE
CLASSROOM IN BANGLADESH

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ABSTRACT

This study explores critical pedagogy in an undergraduate EFL classroom in Bangladesh. It focuses on the classroom practices that facilitate ‘criticality.’ Here criticality refers to a stance that problematizes the assumptions that perpetuate injustice in society. The study also looks into the routes the learners take towards criticality and the ways language mediates the communication of criticality. As different socio-cultural contexts may influence criticality differently, the context of Bangladesh calls forth an in-depth study of criticality in the classroom context. This is a qualitative case study of critical pedagogy in an English writing course in an undergraduate classroom in Bangladesh. The course comprised of 12 two-hour classes spread out over a period of four months. The researcher played the role of a teacher-researcher. Data were collected from multiple sources namely recordings of classroom interactions of 12 classes, documents of students’ writings, interviews with the students, and the teacher-researcher’s post-lesson reflections. The study reveals that the role of the teacher in critical pedagogy is a complex one involving a dilemma about problematization lest it contribute to indoctrination. It also reveals that students’ engagement in dialogue may appear different in different situations. The study also finds that in their movement of positionality towards critical stance students at first became aware of injustice as they negotiated multiple other discourses presented in the classroom and then they attempted problematization. Literature considers this movement towards criticality as othering. However, this study finds the process as fluid and recursive revealing the routes to criticality as both othering and reclaiming some of the internal discourses. As for the ways language mediates the communication of criticality, it finds a particular pattern of

interrelationship of voices in the linguistic expressions that communicate criticality.

Thus the study unfolds new understandings regarding critical pedagogy in the language classroom.

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ABSTRAK

PEDAGOGI KRITIKAL DALAM BILIK DARJAH MAHASISWA BAHASA INGGERIS SEBAGAI BAHASA ASING DI BANGLADESH

Kajian ini meneroka pedagogi kritikal dalam bilik darjah Bahasa Inggeris sebagai Bahasa Asing (EFL) di Bangladesh. Ia memberi tumpuan kepada amalan bilik darjah yang memudahkan unsur-unsur kritikaliti. Di sini kritikaliti merujuk kepada pendirian yang mempermasalahkan andaian yang mengekalkan ketidakadilan dalam masyarakat. Kajian ini juga melihat laluan yang diambil oleh pelajar ke arah kritikaliti dan caranya bahasa digunakan sebagai pengantara komunikasi kritikal. Konteks sosio-budaya yang berbeza boleh mempengaruhi kritikaliti berbeza dan konteks Bangladesh memerlukan kajian mendalam kritikal dalam konteks bilik darjah. Ini adalah satu kajian kes kualitatif mengenai pedagogi kritikal dalam kursus penulisan Bahasa Inggeris di dalam kelas ijazah pertama di Bangladesh. Kursus terdiri daripada 12 kelas dua jam yang dijalankan dalam tempoh empat bulan. Pengkaji memainkan peranan sebagai seorang guru-penyelidik. Data dikumpul daripada pelbagai sumber iaitu rakaman interaksi bilik darjah daripada 12 buah kelas, dokumen tulisan pelajar, temubual dengan pelajar-pelajar dan refleksi guru-penyelidik selepas pengajaran. Kajian ini menunjukkan bahawa peranan guru dalam pedagogi kritikal adalah sesuatu yang kompleks yang melibatkan dilema mengenai permasalahan iaitu ia boleh menyumbang kepada indoktrinasi. Ia juga mendedahkan bahawa penglibatan pelajar dalam dialog mungkin kelihatan berbeza dalam situasi yang berbeza. Kajian ini juga mendapati bahawa dalam pergerakan pelajar terhadap kritikaliti, pada mulanya pelajar menyedari ketidakadilan kerana mereka berunding pelbagai wacana lain yang dibentangkan di dalam kelas dan kemudian mereka cuba mempermasalahkannya.

Literatur kajian menganggap pergerakan ini ke arah kritikal sebagai othering. Walau bagaimanapun, kajian ini mendapati proses ini adalah cecair dan rekursif, dan mendedahkan bahawa laluan ke kritikaliti melibatkan othering dan menuntut kembali sebahagian daripada wacana dalaman. Bagi cara bahasa pengantara komunikasi kritikal, ia mendapati corak tertentu mengenai perhubungan suara dalam ungkapan bahasa yang berkomunikasi kritikal. Oleh itu kajian ini memberi kefahaman baru mengenai pedagogi kritikal di dalam kelas bahasa.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

A Vignette

In 2009, a renowned Bangladeshi writer, poet, columnist, environmentalist and human rights activist was denied entry into the Dhaka Club, because he went there in *lungi*, the indigenous dress of Bangladesh he usually wears as his signature dress, on invitation to attend a party. Established in 1911 the Dhaka Club claims that as the oldest and the largest of elite clubs in Bangladesh it is “an icon of elegance in its aristocracy, tradition and excellence” (About Dhaka Club).

My students were hotly discussing this issue in the classroom. When I entered the classroom, they stopped talking. With a view to letting them speak on the issue I inquired after the matter. So, the discussion on the issue resumed.

One of the students said, “*Lungi* is our indigenous dress. So, we should respect the dress.” The student beside him made a sly comment: “Then you go back to be a farmer.” A student behind him stood up and said, “You must be rational. *Lungi* is not the dress of the educated modern people. It is the dress of the rural farmers.” Another student said, “Dhaka Club is for the educated modern people. So you must wear standard dress there.” A student from the back of the class supplemented, “Yes, we must wear modern dress in formal situations.” He pointed to his fellow students in the class, “Look! Here we are all wearing modern dress.” Boys were all in pants and shirts, and girls in *salower* and *kamiz*. I noticed, of course, the seeming contradiction between male and female dress, and the claim about modernity. At this stage of the discussion, in alignment with the first speaker, I said, “However, we should not disrespect our indigenous dress.” Then a student retorted, “So, will you allow us in the classroom in *lungi*?”

The question the student asked me was really intriguing. I knew the university had a dress code which said students must be decently dressed. And I was sure from the tradition of the university that *lungi* would not be considered as a decent dress. However, the classroom dialogue evoked a number of questions in me: Why was the indigenous dress not considered decent? How could a western dress (i.e. pants) be considered as standard for the people of Bangladesh? Why did the students link modernity with western values? Why did they look down upon the farmers, their own people? What did they mean when they said, “You must be rational”?

Background to the Problem

In the vignette none of the students denied that *lungi* was their indigenous dress. However, they placed it in opposition to decency, standards, and modernity. Thus, *lungi* in the dialogue came out as a symbol of indigeneity which was further considered as indecent, non-standard, and pre-modern, and so inferior to the Western norms and values represented by the *pants* and *shirts*.⁴ Even speaking in favour of the indigenous dress was deemed to be unrealistic and irrational. Hence, the student emphasized, “You must be rational.” The claim that *lungi* is “not the dress of educated modern people” implies that educated modern people tend to distance themselves from the indigenous practices and values. Western i.e. European values, replacing their own values, have been the standard of the educated people’s ways of perceiving the world.

This dominance and imposition of Western ways of perceiving the world causing displacement of the non-Western ways of perceiving the world has been

articulated in the post-colonial discourses (Alatas, 1977; Altbach, 1995; Ashcroft, Griffith, & Tiffin, 1995; Fanon, 1967; Said, 1995; Thiong'o, 1986). For example, as Fanon (1967) illustrates, colonial discourse so forms the mindset of the colonized that the Black Subject loses its cultural origin, embraces the culture of the colonizer country. This discourse produces an inferiority complex in the mind of the Black Subject, who then tries to appropriate and imitate the culture of the colonizer. Such behavior is more readily evident in upward mobile and educated black people who can afford to acquire status symbols within the world of the colonial influence such as an education abroad and mastery of the language of the colonizer, the white masks. However, based on brief but deep psychoanalyses of colonized black people Fanon finds that Black people are unable to fit into the norms (social, cultural, racial) established by white society. That "a normal Negro child, having grown up within a normal family, will become abnormal on the slightest contact of the white world" (p.143). That, in a white society, such an extreme psychological response originates from the unconscious and unnatural training of black people, from early childhood, to associate "blackness" with "wrongness". That such unconscious mental training of black children is effected with comic books and cartoons, which are cultural media that instill and affix in the mind of the white child, the society's cultural representations of black people as villains. Moreover, when black children are exposed to such images of villainous black people, the children will experience a psychopathology (psychological trauma), which mental wound becomes inherent to their individual, behavioral make-up; a part of his and her personality. That the early-life suffering of said psychopathology — black skin associated with villainy — creates a collective nature among the men and women who were reduced to colonized populations.

Alatas (1977) also explains how colonizers created the myth of the lazy native. He examines centuries of original sources to find the sources of the persistent idea that Malays, and other native peoples, are lazy. He demonstrates that at the time of first contact with Europeans, the peoples of the Nusantara were active economically and were engaged in long-distance trade far beyond the archipelago on their own boats with their own capital and with the ability to defend their own interests. Ocean-going vessels, arms and ammunitions were manufactured locally. European monopoly shut down thriving multi-national trade zones, impoverishing and over centuries eliminating the indigenous trading class, eventually reducing native society to peasants and rulers. Alatas finds clear and detailed discourse from Ibn Khaldun 700 years ago describing the ill effects of mercantile colonialism (specifically the ruler engaging directly in trade) and promoting a role for the ruler that corresponds closely to the way the trade ports of the archipelago were in fact run. Only after the region was thoroughly dominated by European powers do observations about the laziness of the locals begin to emerge.

As Alatas propounds, laziness as used by European observers meant, and could only mean non-cooperation with colonial exploitation. The Malays would rather live on their own terms in their village than work under near-slavery conditions in the plantations and mines. If the labor arrangement wasn't to their satisfaction, they would simply stay back from work. This was not an option for the hundreds of thousands of Chinese and Indians who were brought in as indentured laborers, often from even more dire situations back home, and worked to death under appalling conditions until their debt was repaid. For this, they were labeled as ~~un~~industrious".

Thus, for their own interest, the colonizers with their intellectuals, educationists, and writers created a humiliating discursive version of the other colonized nations as uncivilized, savages etc. They i.e. the colonized people feature in the Western mind ~~as~~ a surrogate and even underground self” (Barry, 1995, p.192) inferior to the West. The superior Europeans had the divine right to rule the inferior. This style of thinking ~~for~~ dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient” is termed as Orientalism by Said (1995, p. 3). Said (p. 12) says ~~It~~ was the culture that created that interest that acted dynamically along with brute political, economic, and military rationales ...”

~~By~~ such means as scholarly discovery, philological reconstruction, psychological analysis, landscape and sociological description, it not only creates but also maintains; it is, rather than expresses, a certain will or intention to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is manifestly different (or alternative and novel) world;” (1995, p. 12).

Ngugi wa Thiong’o (1986) also propounds how in a colonized society the language of the colonizers suppress the language and culture of the colonized. He describes the process with reference to his own life growing in Kenya. He states they all spoke ~~Gikuyu~~”, and all told many stories about animals or humans. The over-arching theme of these stories was about the ~~apparent~~” weak outwitting the strong, or how a disaster forces co-operation. Then he turns to the intruding colonization that occurred. Rapidly, everything he knew about his life was suppressed, and replacing it was the English language. English became the dominating language to learn, and anyone caught speaking Gikuyu was lashed. The only way to continue in education was to earn a credit in English, no matter how well you did elsewhere.

Thus when English was imposed into Ngugi's culture, textbooks and teachings made his culture look inferior. The postcolonial scholar Spivak (1988/1995, p. 24) uses the term "epistemic violence" to refer to this phenomenon. She takes it from Michel Foucault who identified epistemic violence in "the redefinition of sanity at the end of the European eighteenth century" (Spivak, 1988/1995, p. 24-25), where he argued that modern medical treatment of insanity poses an apparent scientific neutrality, though that is in fact a cover for "controlling challenges to a conventional bourgeois morality" (Garry, 2012). Discerning it in the imperial "representation of the history, culture, and psychology of the U.S. and the others," Kincheloe (2008) refers to this phenomenon of western domination in the field of knowledge and education as the "irrational dimension of Western rationality" and calls it a form of "epistemological violence" (p. 55). Spivak's use of the term "epistemic violence" in post-colonial context, and Kincheloe's reference to "epistemological violence" in the field of knowledge and education point to a particular dimension of neo-colonialism, i.e. epistemic violence in education in post-colonial context. As a consequence of this form of violence, everything that is non-western or non-European is pushed into an inferior status (Alatas, 1977; Altbach, 1995; Ashcroft, Griffith, & Tiffin, 1995; Fanon, 1967; Said, 1995; Thiong'o, 1986), "the pride of the native" destroyed (Alatas, 1995, p.29), and inferiority injected (Cesaire, 1950/2000; Fanon, 1967).

The pedagogical approach that addresses issues like epistemic violence is critical pedagogy (Kincheloe, 2008; Norton & Toohey, 2004). Critical pedagogy holds the view that power is unequally and unfairly distributed in society. Dominant classes exercise power through consent (Auerbach 1995; Gramsci, 1971; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005). All social systems nurture discrimination and injustice in terms

of race, class, or gender (Giroux, 1983, 2001). As a social system, education reproduces injustice of society. Therefore, critical pedagogy attempts to question the assumptions that perpetuate injustice in society (Norton & Toohey, 2004). By so doing it attempts to ensure social justice by removing all sorts of oppression in society (Canagarajah, 1999; Freire, 1970). Epistemic violence in the context of Bangladesh as indicated in the vignette calls for exploration of critical pedagogy while addressing issues of epistemic violence, because exploration of critical pedagogy entails addressing the question of injustice in issues like gender, identity, race, etc. (see the studies in Norton & Toohey, 2004).

Education in Bangladesh. An exploration of the background and history of education in Bangladesh exposes the politics of education in the context of Bangladesh. It also sheds light on the instances where education reproduces epistemic violence on the learners and in society. With this end, this section focuses on the present structure of education in Bangladesh, the history of education in Bangladesh, and English language teaching in Bangladesh.

The structure of education in Bangladesh. Education in Bangladesh has mainly two streams namely general education and *madrasa* education. General education is also known as modern education, while *madrasa* education is known as religious (Islamic) education. The vocational and technical stream sometimes classified as a third stream is generally considered as modern education. The informal and semi-formal education for underprivileged children operated by the NGOs under the supervision of Bureau of Non-formal Education is also considered to be in the general stream. In addition, general education includes privately run kindergarten schools providing early childhood education.

Both the streams, however, provide the country's three tiered education such as primary, secondary and higher education (Ahmed, 2013). Primary education is a 5-year cycle while secondary education is a 7- year one with three sub-stages: 3 years of junior secondary, 2 years of secondary and 2 years of higher secondary. The entry age for primary is 6 years. The junior, secondary and higher secondary stages are designed for age groups 11-13, 14-15 and 16-17 years respectively. Higher secondary is followed by graduate level education requiring 5-6 years to obtain a Masters degree.

General Education. The general stream of education operates in a number of types of schooling. At K-12 level the major types to be mentioned are Bangla medium schools, cadet colleges and English medium schools. The tertiary level of education is provided by the universities. There are general as well as specialized universities. General universities provide higher education in disciplines of science, social science and humanities. Specialized universities, on the other hand, provide education in engineering, agriculture, medicine, applied science, technology etc. Whatever may be the subjects taught, on broad scale universities are categorized in two groups namely public universities and private universities. With a first degree from the universities graduates become eligible to compete in the job market.

1. Bangla medium schools.

Bangla medium schools provide the major bulk of the education in Bangladesh. There are government and non-government Bangla medium schools fully and partially funded by the government. As a result education in these schools is provided at a low cost. So people from all walks of life can send their children to Bangla medium schools.

The medium of instruction and the learning materials of Bangla medium schools are in Bangla. English is taught as a compulsory subject throughout all the levels of education. These schools follow the curriculum and the textbooks prescribed and published by National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB). The purpose of the curriculum is to make students competent in the modern world.

2. Cadet colleges.

Highly subsidized by the government and run by Bangladesh Army cadet colleges provide military oriented education to a handful of students recruited through a very competitive admission test. Like Bangla medium schools, cadet colleges follow the curriculum and the textbooks prescribed and published by National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB). However, unlike that of the Bangla medium schools the medium of instruction in cadet colleges is English with all learning materials other than that of Bangla subject in English. The purpose of the curriculum is to make students, along with military training, competent in the modern world.

3. English medium schools.

English medium education is a growing trend especially in the urban areas of Bangladesh. Privately funded and run, English medium schools are very expensive. The cheapest of the English medium schools is far more expensive than the Bangla medium schools. Only the well off people in the society can send their children to these schools.

Instead of following the curriculum prescribed by NCTB, English medium schools provide education up to O‘ and A‘ levels following a curriculum prescribed either by London University or Cambridge University. To prepare students for O‘ and A‘ levels examinations conducted by Edexcel, schools design their syllabus

from play group to Class VIII on their own. The Islamic English medium schools, a growing trend in Bangladesh, include a number of Islamic books in the syllabus up to class VIII to orient their students with Islam. However, these syllabuses intend to facilitate students to follow the ‘O’ and ‘A’ level curriculum. They include little related to Bangladesh. Books prescribed are all written by European writers. After class VIII, all the schools follow a British syllabus, along with textbooks, in class IX to XII for ‘O’ and ‘A’ levels examinations. The purpose of the curriculum is to provide internationally qualified modern education to students.

4. Public universities.

The major bulk of higher education in Bangladesh is provided by the public universities funded by the government. Selected on the basis of admissions tests, students from all the strata of society can study in these public universities with a very low cost.

The curriculum is approved by the university grants commission of Bangladesh (UGC). The medium of instruction in public universities is Bangla, though because of availability, they prescribe English books written by Western writers. Therefore, teachers sometimes find it comfortable to instruct in English.

5. Private universities.

Started in 1992 with the private university act 1992, private universities are very expensive. Only moneyed men can send their wards to these universities. They provide education in the model of European or American universities. They follow their own syllabuses formulated in the light of American or European universities and approved by UGC. The medium of instruction in private universities is English.

Madrasa education. The religious stream of education i.e. *madrasa* education operates in two types of schooling namely *alia madrasas* and *qawmi madrasas*. They

provide education of K-12 level as well as tertiary level to a significant number of students.

1. Alia madrasas.

Alia madrasas are funded by the government. Common people can avail this schooling at a low cost. With the prescription of the government they follow a syllabus that includes, in addition to the Islamic subjects, all the general subjects taught in general education. Though the medium of instruction is Bangla, learning materials are both in Bangla and Arabic. English is taught as a compulsory subject throughout the levels of education.

With special emphasis on English language some *madrasas* are established on private initiatives calling themselves cadet *madrasas* especially in the big cities. Making a combination of general, English medium, and *alia madrasa* curriculum, they attempt to address all the sentiments existing in society. Being expensive they invite students from elite pious Muslim families.

As per government policy, *alia madrasa* graduates can swing to some specific disciplines of general education after completing secondary or higher secondary level of education in *alia madrasas*. Classes at tertiary level of education are Fazil and Kamil, where Fazil is recognized as a graduate degree. With a first degree from *alia madrasas* graduates become eligible to compete in the job market.

2. Qawmi madrasas.

The *qawmi madrasas* have significant contribution to religious education in Bangladesh. Established and run by the help of people of the community they are mainly funded by the charity of the people in society and/or donation from some Muslim countries. These *madrasas* provide food, lodging, and education free of cost

to the poor. Most of the students are from poor families, though some of the pious rich families also send their wards to these *madrasas*.

Qawmi madrasas follow their own curriculum (Mehedi 2003) known as *Dars-e-Nizami*. Besides L1 Bangla students are taught Arabic, Farsi, and Urdu as the academic languages. They also teach English language up to class VIII. The tertiary level of education in *qawmi madrasas* is called *dawra-e-hadith*.

Until recently *qawmi madrasa* education was not recognized by the government. As a result *qawmi* graduates were not eligible to compete for government and other jobs. They are employed in the mosques as imams and in *qawmi madrasas* as teachers. However, recently the government of Bangladesh has recognized the tertiary level of *qawmi madrasa* education i.e. *dawra-e-hadith* degree as Masters degree. Now it is expected that the *qawmi madrasa* graduates will be able to join the mainstream job market and contribute to the development of the country.

History of education of Bangladesh. Bangladesh emerged as an independent state in 1971. Bangladesh had been a part of greater Indian sub-continent until 1947. British colonial rule started in 1757 and formally ended in 1947 dividing the sub-continent into two nations: India and Pakistan. Bangladesh, the then East Bengal, was incorporated in Pakistan as one of the states and remained in Pakistan until 1971. The history of education in Bangladesh, therefore, shares the history of education in India and in Pakistan as well. The history of education of Bangladesh briefly narrated below is based on the related entries in *Banglapedia*, the national encyclopedia of Bangladesh, available in print and online.

Institutionalized form of education in Bangladesh can be traced back in *Vedic* era, almost 3000 years ago in this subcontinent. The education at that time aimed at

spiritual development. It was temple-centred. Besides, there were scope for learning agriculture, business and craft. Only the *Brahmanas* had the right to study religion, philosophy, art and culture, science and social institutions etc. and they received the most priority in the society. The house of the mentor or Guru was meant to be the school. Starting from the age of 5 or 6, student life (*Brahmachariya*) was divided into five stages spreading over continuous 12 years. The curriculum mainly focused on religious knowledge and practice in society where religion was the prime determiner of the social system. Education was general and occupation oriented.

In *Brahmana* era that began in 800 BC, the aim of education was to create monks as well as to search for truth, to know the mystery of the creation of the universe. At that time, *Rishi*, i.e. the sage, acquired knowledge by devoting himself in deep meditation and that knowledge used to be passed on to others by the adding of tunes” (Primary Education). Education was teacher-centred and it was in the teacher’s discretion to decide on the syllabus. Learners used to go and stay from age 5 to 12 in the teacher’s house as a member of the family. They stayed there, helped the teacher in the household work, and learnt from the teacher. In this system *Brahmana* children enjoyed more facilities than the *Ksatriyas* and the *Vaishyas*, while *Shudra* children were not allowed to take education. *Brahmana*, *Ksatriya*, *Vaishya*, and *Shudra* are the four casts categorized in Hindu religion. There were *Ashrams* (abodes) of forest dwelling *Rishis* as the centres of education. Besides, there were house tutors or *grihishikkhaks* devoted to teaching in society.

In Buddhist era in 6th century BC, Buddhist education aimed at acquiring knowledge on physical development, religious philosophy, medical science etc. Buddhism considered illiteracy as a sin and acquiring knowledge as the only way of salvation. Buddhist education was mainly temple centric. Various *vihars* (meaning

monastery) were established at that time. —*Viharas* were seats of higher learning like present day residential universities” (Secondary Education). Receiving education up to the age of 8 at home, Buddhist children were sent to the temples for formal primary education. Education was open for all castes, rich or poor. Both reading and writing were emphasized. A compulsory syllabus was followed to prepare students for higher education.

As Buddhism declined with the rise of Sen Dynasty, Hindus became dominant in education and society. Education again became exclusive for the Hindus. The pupils used to render all necessary services to the teacher and in turn, the teacher gave the students all possible teaching and instruction regarding spiritual help and guidance. A competent preceptor supervised two young probationers.

During the Muslim rule, mosques, *maktabs* (i.e. libraries) and *madrasas* (i.e. Islamic religious educational institutions) in different places of the country were established for spreading education. *Maktabs* provided the primary education. Education for Hindu students was provided in *pathshalas*. Besides, the wealthy families arranged tutors at home for educating their children. In the higher level of *maktab*, the biography of the *darbishes* (i.e. saints) and the Pir-fakirs (i.e. religious preachers) and Persian poetry were taught. Saying the prayers and learning the religious practices which were mandatory for all the Muslim students were the least level of education in the Muslim era. *Amirs* and *Omrahs* were —enthusiastic about literature besides formal education” (Primary Education). The rich people of the society set up schools and financed education. Education especially primary education at that time was complimentary. So, both the administration and the society conducted the educational activities with collaboration. —School-based education system developed and expanded mainly in the reign of Akbar. Akbar

transformed religious education into a formal education in the primary level along with non-formal reading, writing and accountancy” (Primary Education). Besides religious teaching, education at that time focused on preparing people for running the state and social affairs. Advanced education was also emphasized. Famous philosophers, historians, scholars, administrators and officials came out, besides great theologians from *madrasas*. During the rule of Emperor Shahjahan there were *madrasas* specialized in teaching science, theology, philosophy and mathematics.

The *madrasa* curriculum during the Muslim era included Arabic, Nahu, Saraf, Balagat, Manatik, Kalam, Tasauf, literature, Fiqah and Philosophy. The scope of the curriculum gradually expanded. It included various branches of knowledge and science, such as Astronomy, Mathematics, Geography, Accounting, Agriculture, Public Administration, Biology, Zoology, Fine Arts etc. As the Muslim power declined, there was no more state patronage for *madrasa* education. Financial support from the landed aristocracy and nobility was also unavailable. Moreover, official language was changed from Persian to English. As a result, *madrasa* education lost its past glory. —It assumed a conservative character and used classical language as medium of instruction. *Madrasa* education with some modifications is continuing in Bangladesh” (Secondary Education).

Colonial rule started in India in 1757 with the East India Company taking the power. Till the early 19th century, they did not formulate any definite educational policy. However, Christian missionaries worked and had great impact upon the development of modern type of English schools at primary and secondary levels. Later on in 1835, they adopted policy to spread secular education through English language.

British colonial rule began in India by defeating and replacing the existing Muslim rule. The Muslims, therefore, held a suspicious and antagonistic attitude towards the colonizers. Colonial rulers also found the Muslims as a threat to their power. So to consolidate their power, the colonial rulers adopted divide and rule policy with the population in India, comprised mainly of the Hindus and the Muslims, two big religious communities living in harmony as one nation. As a political strategy the colonial rulers favoured the Hindus and were hostile towards the Muslims. Thus, the colonial/Muslims confrontation in the form of colonial/anti-colonial contestation emerged in society.

When the British colonial government reformed the education system of India with a new education policy, they entirely ignored the already existing education system in the country and replaced that with a colonial education system. The medium of instruction was changed from Persian to English. As a result, people educated in the previous education system became useless, and were considered outdated. They formulated an education policy to set up an education system that will only serve their own purpose in this sub-continent. As Atlbach (1995, p. 453), with reference to McCully (1943), maintains, “Colonial education policies were generally elitist. In India, British educational elitism assumed the title of “downward filtration” – a system by which a small group of Indians with a British style education supposedly spread enlightenment to the masses.” This went on until 1947, the year of independence from the British rule.

Muslims suspected the colonial policy from the beginning, and so deliberately stayed away from the colonial education. However, as a counter to the colonial step and as a means of revolt against the colonial power some Muslim scholars tried to continue the education system established during the Muslim rule.

They established Darul Uloom Deoband far away from the touch of the colonial rulers with a view to keeping Islamic identity and epistemological property safe from the colonial epistemological and cultural onslaught. As it was a counter hegemonic move against the colonial educational hegemony this education was not recognized by the colonial power. As a result, the education which had all the strength for intellectually, philosophically, and administratively supporting the country and the Muslim rulers during the Muslim rule, was relegated to a materially useless education. On the other hand, the Indians who wanted material gain obtained colonial education uncritically. Under these circumstances Muslim education had to recoil into the realm of religion only. Despite all this, most of the anti-colonial movements in India took their spirit from this education. All prominent anti-colonial movements were led by the people who were educated in this education.

After 1947, following the partition of India, education in Pakistan was extended significantly, but little had been changed in terms of system and principle. However, government measures on education had significant impact on the development of education in East Bengal.

After the independence of Bangladesh in 1971, the 1972 constitution recognized education as basic human right. A number of education commissions were formed to reform the education system suitable for an independent and sovereign Bangladesh. For the development of education many development partners cooperated. There are Asian Development Bank (ADB), World Bank, and Department for International Development (DFID), German Technical Corporation, International Development Agency (IDA), Islamic Development Bank (IDB), Norwegian Agency for Development (NORAD), United Nation's Children Fund

(UNICEF), Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) and USAID. Measures were taken to expand the reach of education.

Education in Bangladesh: Colonial legacy and epistemic violence. A part of India until 1947, Bangladesh shares the history of India's colonial legacy (Rahman, Hamzah, Meerah, & Rahman, 2010). India had been a British colony for about 190 years starting from 1757 to 1947. The aim of the education system the British colonial rulers formulated to promote education in India was to mould the mindset of the people in the light of European enlightenment. In "downward filtration" system of British colonial education policy it was the duty of the small group of Indian elite group of people with colonial education to educate the masses (Altbach, 1995, p.453). This was, evidently, a form of epistemic violence i.e. a process of establishing the dominance of Western ways of perceiving the world replacing the indigenous ways of perceiving the world.

Though "traditional colonialism" i.e. direct political domination of one nation over another area has now been ended, there has been hardly any change in the education policy prescribed during the colonial period (Altbach, 1995, p. 245). For example, books prescribed for higher education in Bangladesh are mostly written by the western writers. As a result, by default, they carry European ideals with them. Above all, as Canagarajah says, education in modern world is "built on educational philosophies and pedagogical traditions which can be traced back to the colonial mission of spreading Enlightenment values for civilizing purposes" (1999, p. 12). Therefore, without critical interrogation of the colonial legacy, education in Bangladesh runs the risk of acting as accomplice of the western epistemic violence.

English Language Teaching in Bangladesh. As the colonial rule started, English became the official language replacing the Persian. As a result, English became the language of power and prestige. It helped people join the bureaucracy and enjoy colonial power. As a result, since it mediates social privileges, English education paved a basis for a new stratification in society (Hamid, 2010).

Colonial rule ended in 1947 putting East Bengal, now Bangladesh, as part of Pakistan. Though there was a nationalistic fervor in the political discourse against the language related to the colonial oppression, English remained the language of power and prestige despite all nationalistic fervor for the local languages for identity formation against colonial oppression. After the independence, because of the influence of Bangla language based nationalism on the state policy, English had a hard time at the policy level. However, the status of English in practice was the same. The demand of the language caused establishment of private schools for teaching English. The social elites and the newly emerging middle classes are the clients of these schools.

Since 1991 English has been being taught as a compulsory subject for all students from grade 1.

The 1990s witnessed other significant changes in English teaching, the most notable reform being the introduction of communicative language teaching which was jointly funded by the British Department for International Development (DfID) and the Bangladesh Ministry of Education (MOE). English teaching has received a significant boost more recently with the implementation of several high-profile English language projects, including a \$50-million “English in Action” Project which has prioritized teacher

training, the use of mobile technology and provision of language instruction beyond the formal classroom (Hamid, 2010).”

English education both in the private and public sectors has been influenced by the global actors. “Almost all English language reforms in the country – either having an exclusive focus on English or as part of education – have been fully or partially funded by donors or agencies of English-speaking western countries including the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and DfID” (Hamid, 2010).

Occasionally, global actors are involved in the management of reforms. For instance, English in Action is being implemented by a conglomerate of five institutions and agencies including the Open University of UK, BBC World Service, the Netherland-based global management and engineering consultancy called Mott Macdonald and two Bangladesh-based nongovernment organizations (see www.eiabd.eia). The British Council has been a key global player in shaping the policy and practice of English education in Bangladesh, as it has in many other countries. It has developed an in-depth understanding of English teaching in the country by commissioning research in all sectors, including mainstream education, *madrassa* education (i.e. the stream of Islamic Education), vocational education and the university sector. It also works with the MOE and other national education agencies to implement English language projects (Hamid, 2010). More critically, it operates its own English language centers that offer English language courses and conducts the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) test.

English and the elite-nonelite divide in Education. As we have already seen in the structure of education discussed above, Bangla medium schools, cadet colleges and English medium schools under general education possess elements of

contestation with each other. Bangla medium schools are government funded. As a result, education there is of low cost. So, people from all walks of life can afford it. On the contrary, English medium schools are privately funded, and highly expensive. Only the rich families can afford it. Thus, an elite/non-elite contestation is embedded in the system. At the tertiary level, there are contestations of this type between public and private universities as private universities provide education to the elite class while public universities provide education generally to the middle class.

The elite/non-elite contestation between English medium schools and Bangla medium schools is further emphasized by the curriculums they follow. English medium curriculum is internationally recognized, whereas Bangla medium curriculum is local. Thus, a global/local contestation is embedded in the system. Moreover, English medium school's medium of instruction, i.e. English, bears special prestige against Bangla. As the language of the superpowers, English language bears with it the discourse of superiority. English in Bangladesh is considered as the language of power and prestige. Bangla, the language of the common people, is relegated to a lower status against this power and prestige. Though the nation is proud of its language movement that led towards the independence of the country, people recoil all pride in the face of English language myth. Thus, a superior/inferior contestation regarding English language in education is embedded in the structure of education.

Cadet colleges, however, with the English version of Bangladeshi syllabus, materials and the medium of instruction, have attempted to approach closer to English medium schools distancing themselves from Bangla medium schools. In addition to this, graduates from this schooling enjoy privileges and prestigious job opportunities in Bangladesh Army of which Bangla medium school graduates are

mostly deprived. Moreover, there is a dearth of job opportunities for Bangla medium graduates. Thus, access to privilege and job opportunity is an element of contestation between Bangla medium schools and cadet colleges.

ELT in Bangladesh and epistemic violence. As ~~language~~ affirms a set of social patterns and reflects a particular cultural taste” those ~~who~~ imitate the language of another culture, therefore, allow themselves to be defined by it” (New, 1995, p. 303). Hence, it is possible that the learners of the English language in a post-colonial country like Bangladesh become hegemonized and allow themselves to be dominated by the culture of the English language. They think, as Fanon (1967) argues, that they are approaching superiority by learning the language as well as by imitating the customs of the English people. Thus the English language has the potential to take them ~~further~~ and further from ourselves to other selves, from our world to other world” (Thiong’o, 1986, p. 12).

Though Bangladesh became independent from British colonial rule in 1947, here, like many other previously colonized countries, English continues to be a language both of power and of prestige’ (Kachru, 1995, p. 291). Moreover, as a global language English is now considered as an economically valuable language. Its importance is so valued that English is taught as a compulsory subject right from class one up to tertiary level of education in all the streams of education in Bangladesh (Ahmed, 2013). To write English textbooks for the school level, the government sends experts to England for training as well as hires foreign experts to advise and supervise the entire writing process (Rahman, 2001). The guidance of overseas consultants’ is the mechanism of neocolonialism that ~~includes~~ the use of

foreign technical advisors on matters of policy ... and curricular patterns” (Altbach, 1995. p. 453).

The paradoxical role of the English language. Thus Bangladesh, like many other post-colonial countries, shares the phenomenon where English language teaching plays a potential role in consolidating the epistemic violence of the modernist education. However, as the lingua franca for communicating with different nations for the purposes of business, and as technology driven mass communication is done with English for corporate, geopolitical and cultural exchanges, the importance of the English language cannot be neglected. Therein lies a paradox: the English language has the potential to help oppress or to emancipate (Almarza & Llavador, 1996; Canagarajah, 1999; Pierce, 1989).

Necessity of critical pedagogy for addressing epistemic violence in English teaching. Therefore, while teaching the English language, attempts need to be made to avert the oppressive potential of the language. As any practice of language learning and teaching is intrinsically political and socially constructed (Auerbach, 1995; Pennycook, 1989), critical pedagogy is advocated to be introduced in English teaching (Almarza & Llavador, 1996; Norton & Toohey, 2004). Critical pedagogy strives to facilitate development of criticality in the learners. Criticality refers to a stance that questions the assumptions that perpetuate injustice in society (Freire, 1970; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005; Luke, 2013). By developing criticality learners empower and liberate themselves against the perpetuation of the status quo and bring about a change in society (Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1997, 2005; Kincheloe, 2004, 2008; Smith & McLaren, 2010). In critical English pedagogy students

appropriate English to find oppositional views and voices, and to critique its complicity with domination and subordination. Thus, critical English pedagogy could broaden possibilities for thinking and communication (Canagarajah, 1999; Norton & Toohey, 2004).

Statement of the Problem

There is a large body of research on critical pedagogy in language learning. This body of research demonstrates how criticality in language learning is facilitated in different ESL and EFL situations, while addressing issues of gender, race, class, identity, and representation of Otherness. For instance, Sunderland (2004) addressed the issue of gender in the United Kingdom; Morgan (2004) and Canagarajah (2004) addressed the issue of identity in Canada, and the United States and Sri Lanka respectively; Kubota (2004) addressed the issues of race. While such literature has contributed to providing thick descriptions of classroom events as teachers and students engage with a critical analysis of the issues, no research has been done on the facilitation of criticality in the EFL context of Bangladesh. As different socio-cultural contexts may influence facilitation of criticality differently (Canagarajah, 1999; Norton & Toohey, 2004; Pennycook, 1999), critical pedagogy addressing epistemic violence in English language teaching in the socio-cultural and historical context of Bangladesh may call forth unique ways to facilitate criticality in the classroom.

Researchers while addressing issues of gender, race, class, and identity attempt to make the learners aware of the injustice associated with those issues. They show that learners become critical while undergoing critical pedagogy in the classroom (Akbari, 2008; Chun, 2009; Norton & Pavlenko, 2004; Peirce, 1989; Shin

& Crookes, 2005). However, one gap that demands in-depth understanding based on empirical study is the trajectory or routes that the learners take towards positioning themselves on a critical stance (Pennycook, 1999). An understanding of the routes to criticality may shed light on the ways of facilitation of criticality.

An important issue in the research on critical pedagogy in language learning is the role of language in the process of developing criticality (Morgan, 2004; Pierce, 1989). Researchers indicate that students develop language skills while involved in dialogic engagement in the classroom (Shin and Crookes, 2005). Some researchers make the point that communication of criticality is multimodal; only language is not sufficient to communicate criticality (Stein, 2004). Shin and Crookes (2005) show that students with low language proficiency involve themselves actively in dialogic engagement. However, the role of language as mediator of communication of criticality among EFL learners has not been given adequate coverage in the literature.

Objective of the Study

The problem of the study has three dimensions namely facilitation of criticality, routes to criticality and the way language mediates the communication of criticality. Therefore, the objective of the study is to explore all the three dimensions of the problem: this study attempts to understand how criticality is facilitated when addressing issues of epistemic violence in an EFL classroom of undergraduate students in Bangladesh; it also explores the routes the students take towards criticality, and the way language mediates the communication of criticality.

Research Questions

Three research questions have been formulated to explore the three dimensions of the problem namely facilitation of criticality, routes to criticality and the way language mediates the communication of criticality:

1. How is criticality facilitated when addressing issues of epistemic violence in an undergraduate EFL classroom in Bangladesh?
2. What routes to criticality do the undergraduate students take in the process of critical pedagogy in EFL classrooms?
3. How does language mediate the communication of criticality by undergraduate students in the EFL classrooms?

Significance of the Study

This study explored critical pedagogy in the classroom, an under-researched area in the context of Bangladesh. It reveals features of dialogue and student voice peculiar to the context of the study. Besides rational and compassionate exchanges, apparently hostile exchanges lead towards critical thinking, the aim of dialogue (Freire, 1970), provided that epistemological curiosity is maintained (Freire & Mecedo, 1996). It also reveals the teacher role in doing critical pedagogy as a complex one involving dilemma as a critical pedagogue.

This study fleshes out new dimension to the concept of routes to criticality. The findings of this study argue that individuals otherized certain ideas and beliefs taking resort to certain other interests inside themselves. "Othering" (Luke, 2004) of certain epistemological space was possible with certain other epistemological spaces already existing in the individual. Thus, criticality of a person develops through a

struggle between various discourses inherent in the person through a mediation of outside discourses. This study also traces the linguistic expressions that mediate communication of criticality.

The findings of the study have implications for policy development, critical pedagogy in the classroom, and critical writing pedagogy. The findings, as a byproduct of the study, ascertain that education in Bangladesh is haunted by epistemic violence. The study also illustrates an example of implementing critical pedagogy in the classroom where students appreciated and welcomed critical pedagogy as empowering. Thus, this study upholds the necessity of policy development for education in Bangladesh adopting critical pedagogy in the classroom for addressing epistemic violence. The insights from the study also inform critical pedagogy in the classroom in terms of dialogue, student voice and teacher role, and a model of critical writing pedagogy.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this study on critical pedagogy in an undergraduate EFL classroom in Bangladesh draws on the critical theory conceptualized by Kincheloe and McLaren (2005) and Bakhtin's concept of language as "heteroglossia" (1981, p. 291). Figure 1.1 below is a diagrammatic representation of the theoretical framework incorporating the key concepts of Kincheloe and McLaren's critical theory and Bakhtin's heteroglossia. The figure also represents how heteroglossia connects to criticality.

Critical theory attempts to "confront the injustice of a particular society" aiming at ensuring social justice (p. 305). Critical theory holds the view that power can be both "empower[ing]" and "oppressive" (p. 309). The oppressive power works

through ~~discourses~~, ideologies and epistemologies” that people are made, through ~~hegemony~~”, to consider ~~natural~~ and inviolable.” Assumptions taken for granted are the means by which power maintains the status quo and thus perpetuates ~~social~~ relationship of inequality, injustice, and exploitation.” Oppressive power undermines oppositional ~~knowledges~~ causing ~~epistemological~~ violence” in the name of ~~disciplin[ing]~~ the world.” In the power mechanism, language as a ~~social practice~~” ~~serves~~ as a form of regulation and domination.” Therefore, critical theory advocates for an ~~evolving~~ criticality” that problematizes institutions, ideologies, discourses of society and the assumptions taken for granted to expose and destabilize the oppressive power that perpetuates injustice in society. In this way it attempts to liberate human beings from all constraints, oppression and violence in society in order to ensure social justice.

Theoretical Framework of the Study

Kincheloe & McLaren’s Critical Theory

Bakhtin’s Heteroglossia

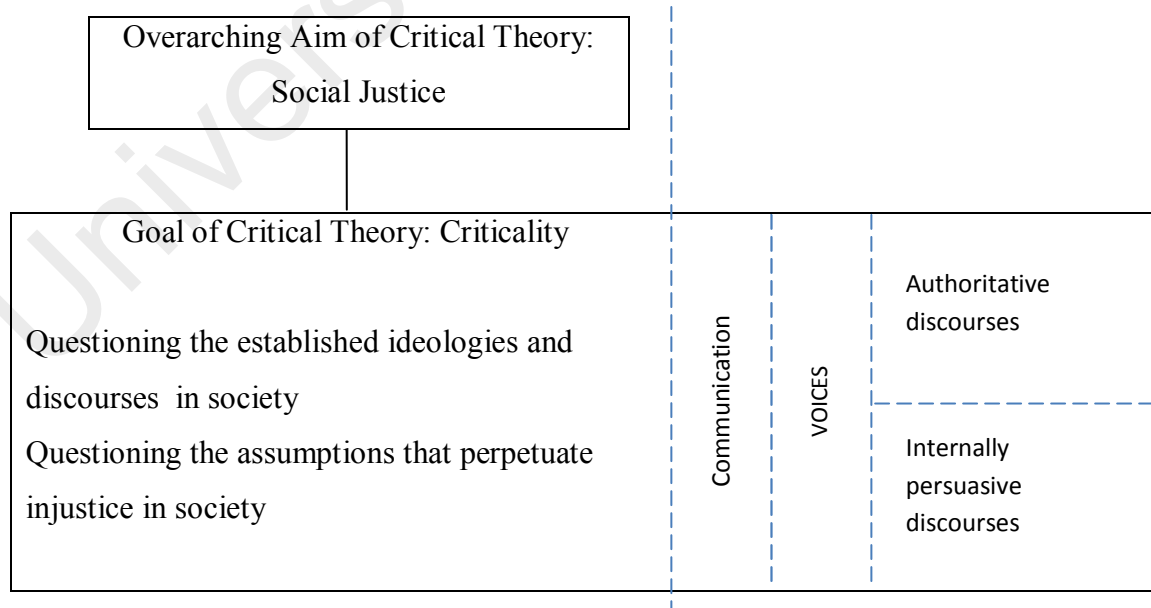


Figure 1.1 Diagrammatic representation of Kincheloe and McLaren’s critical theory and Bakhtin’s heteroglossia; and the connection of heteroglossia with critical theory.

This study explores critical pedagogy in the classroom while addressing epistemic violence. Critical theory's (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, pp. 305-11) goal of questioning the taken-for-granted assumptions and the established discourses in society helped in adopting instructional approach in the classroom for making attempts of problematization. The instructional approach elicited students' responses in connection with established discourses and assumptions providing data for the study. Thus, critical theory helped to frame the first two dimensions of the problem namely the facilitation of criticality and routes to criticality stated in research questions one and two.

Though critical theory (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005) questions the use of language for "regulation and domination," (p. 310) it does not address the issue of how language mediates the communication of criticality, the third dimension of the problem stated in research question three. Hence, I drew on Bakhtin's concept of language as "heteroglossia" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 291) which refers to language as the intersection of "multiple socio-ideological" voices. The voices in the intersection are engaged in a power relation where they represent two types of discourses namely "the authoritative discourses" and "the internally-persuasive discourses" (p. 342). The authoritative discourse refers to the discourse "of tradition, of generally acknowledged truths, of the official line, and other similar authorities" while the internally persuasive discourse refers to the discourse of personal beliefs and ideas (p. 344). "The struggle and dialogic interrelationship" of these heteroglossic voices in society are what usually determine the history of an "individual ideological consciousness" (p. 342). Therefore, as criticality is a stance i.e. an ideological consciousness, an analysis of the struggle and interrelationship of the voices that "populate" the language expressing critical stance appeared to have potential for

understanding how language mediates the communication of criticality (p. 294). Hence I incorporated Bakhtin's concept of language as "heteroglossia" in Kincheloe and McLaren's critical theory to look into the way language mediates the communication of criticality.

Conceptual Framework

The diagram (Figure 1.2) below represents the conceptual framework of the study. The study has two components namely 'instructional approach for criticality' and 'learners' responses.' The purpose of the former is to involve learners in dialogue in the class. Thus the former generates the latter i.e. 'learners' responses.'

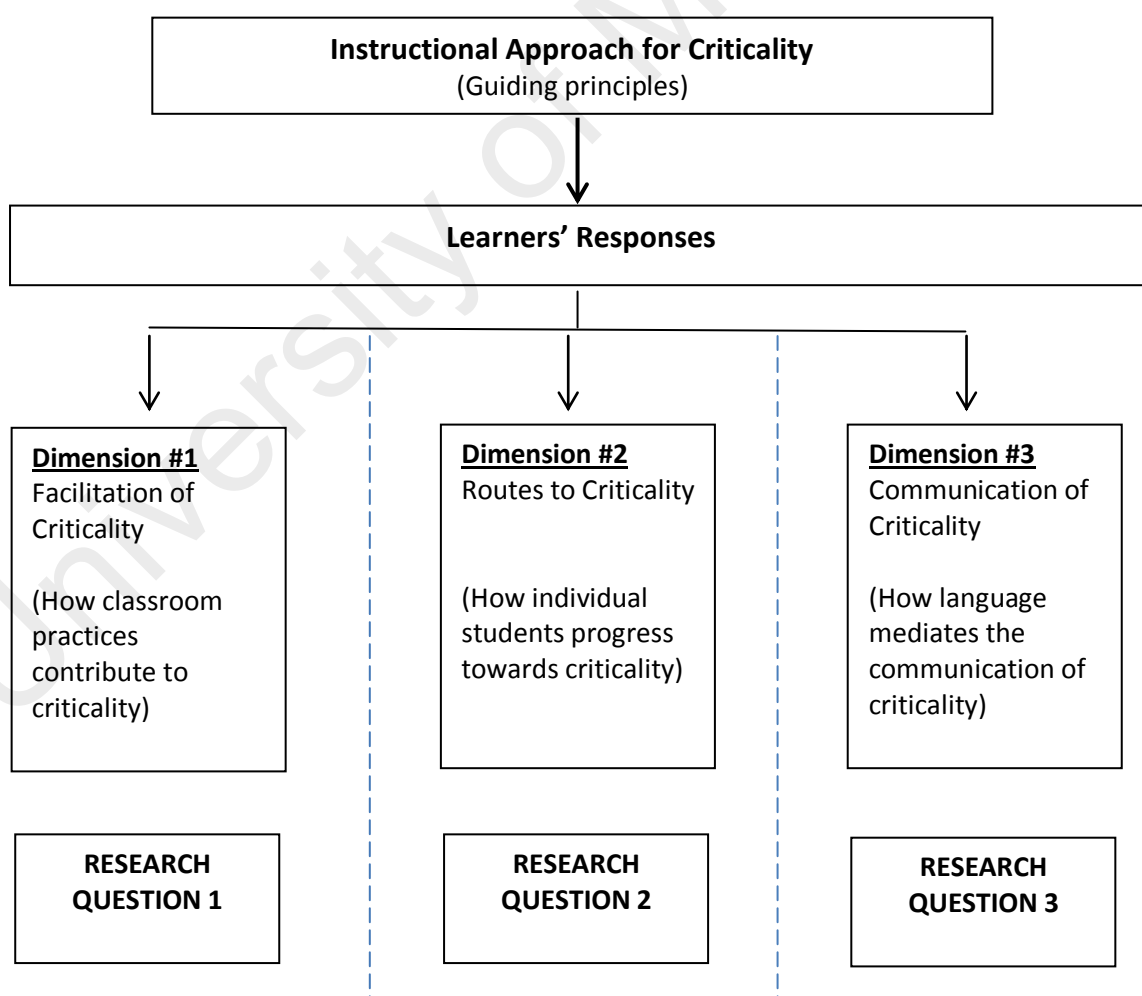


Figure 1.2 Conceptual Framework

Instructional approach for criticality refers to guiding principles drawn from the theoretical framework. The principles are: (i) Established ideologies and discourses should be questioned, because oppressive power works through them to maintain the status quo; (ii) Assumptions taken for granted must be questioned, because they conceive social relationship of inequality, injustice, and exploitation. These principles are maintained in the tradition of critical pedagogy in the classroom (see subsections critical pedagogy and criticality in chapter 2 for details of the tradition of critical pedagogy in the classroom).

The instructional approach for criticality generates the second component learners' responses that provide data for the problem of the study. The study focuses on three specific dimensions of the learners' responses. The dimensions are: facilitation of criticality; routes to criticality; and communication of criticality.

Dimension #1: Facilitation of criticality. Classroom practices based on the instructional approach for criticality, and learners' responses to the classroom practices mutually contribute to each other. From the negotiation of the instructional approach and the learners' responses, classroom practices facilitating criticality situated in the context emerge. Thus, the dimension of facilitation of criticality in learners' responses is connected to research question 1.

Dimension # 2: Routes to criticality. Individual student's position-taking in the classroom interactions is another dimension of learners' responses. Routes to criticality emerge from the responses where learners take positions on the issues the lessons address. In this regard, a trajectory of the learners' position-taking, and the reasons why they take those positions indicate learners' progress towards criticality

and routes to criticality. Thus, the dimension of position-taking in learners' responses is connected to research question 2.

Dimension # 3: Communication of criticality. Another dimension of learners' responses is individual learners' communication of criticality through language. By language here I mean the utterances and the written texts produced by the learners. The language the learners use for communication of their stances is populated with multiple voices (See 'Theoretical Framework' in this chapter for details about voices in language). Hence, the interrelationships of voices populating the utterances and the written texts they use in their responses illustrate how language mediates the learners' communication of criticality. Thus, the dimension of 'communication of criticality' is connected to research question 3.

Definition of Terms

Operational definitions of some of the terms used in this study have been given below.

Criticality: Criticality in this study refers to a stance that problematizes the assumptions that perpetuate injustice in society with a view to changing the unjust social conditions. However, there are different versions of criticality in TESOL. One version of criticality refers to critical thinking which means higher order thinking on the basis of scientific argument. This version of criticality originated in Bloom's taxonomy. It's a cognitive kind of criticality. It does not take the social context into consideration. Therefore, another version of criticality developed and it incorporates the social context. It simply puts the issues in the larger social context, but does not question the social assumptions. As a result, this version of criticality reproduces the

existing social discourses. A third kind of criticality addresses this gap. It questions the existing social discourses. However, it questions the discourses taking resort to some modernist terminologies like empowerment, emancipation, freedom, etc. There remains the possibility that its unquestioned reliance on these terminologies may produce the same thing it is fighting against. Hence a fourth kind of criticality emerged. It questions the assumptions that perpetuate injustice in society as well as the assumptions of the questions. Hence this fourth kind of criticality is self reflexive. This thesis refers to criticality with the fourth version of criticality. (See subsection ‘Criticality’ in chapter 2 for a detailed discussion on criticality.)

Epistemic Violence: Epistemic violence refers to the dominance and imposition of Western ways of perceiving the world causing displacement of the non-Western ways of perceiving the world. Postcolonial critic Spivak (1995) used the term ‘epistemic violence’ to refer to the phenomenon. She took it from Foucault who coined this term to refer to the violence done in the 18th century Europe. In the eighteenth century Europe the rulers suppressed people in the name of madness. They defined certain criteria for normal people. Those who did not conform to the criteria were labeled as mad. So they were imprisoned. They used medical science to declare the dissent voices as mad. Thus they used science as a tool for their violence. Hence it was termed as epistemic violence. The same phenomenon was seen in the colonized countries. The colonizers created a discourse where everything non-European was considered as inferior. Through education and other social pedagogy they spread this discourse. They attempted to mould the mindset of the natives in such a way that they would consider Europe as superior. As non-Europeans their own culture did not match with that of the Europe. As such their own culture appeared to them as inferior. Thus, this discourse caused the natives to look down

upon themselves. The post-colonial thinkers Alatas (1977), Ceasare (1950/2000), Fanon (1967), Said (1995), and Thiong'o (1986) examined this colonial discourse and referred to the epistemic violence done by the discourse. In the field of knowledge, Kincheloe (2008) referred to the American imperialistic representation of the other as epistemological violence. Thus, in this study epistemic violence refers to the dominance and imposition of Western ways of perceiving the world causing displacement of the non-Western ways of perceiving the world through education (See subsection 'Background to the Problem' in this Chapter for a detailed discussion on epistemic violence.)

Facilitation of Criticality: Facilitation of criticality refers to the classroom practices that help one develop a stance that attempts to problematize the assumptions that perpetuate injustice in society. In this regard, Freire (1970) suggests that classroom activities involve students in dialogue. Students should engage in dialogue and speak out their voices with equal opportunity. The teacher engages in the dialogue as co-interlocutor. The teacher has his authority to create the conditions in the classroom so that each student can participate democratically. They enjoy democracy, practice democracy and promote the language of democracy in the classroom (Giroux, 2011). In the democratic environment students come up with multiple discourses they live in to address the learning issues in question. The purpose of shoring multiple discourses around an issue is to problematize it (Kincheloe, 2004). Problematization refers to questioning the assumptions that perpetuate injustice in society. The purpose of problematization is to destabilize the status quo so that society is relieved of all injustice. The teacher's duty is to ensure problematizing practice in the classroom (Pennycook, 1999). Therefore, classroom practices that incorporate

dialogue in a democratic environment in order to problematizing practice are deemed to facilitate criticality.

Routes to Criticality: Routes to criticality refer to the trajectory of a person's stances towards positioning himself/herself on a critical stance.

University of Malaya

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter reviews literature on critical pedagogy in language teaching with an aim to make the problem of the study evident. The chapter is divided in six sections. The first section entitled critical pedagogy briefly conceptualizes critical pedagogy. As critical pedagogy attempts to develop criticality, the second section entitled criticality focuses on the versions of criticality. The third section briefly focuses on some key figures in the field of critical pedagogy, while the fourth section discusses the critiques of critical pedagogy. The fifth section analyses the studies on critical pedagogy in ESL/EFL contexts. This section particularly focuses on the classroom practices for facilitation of criticality, the considerations on criticality and language in communication of criticality. This section also explores critical pedagogy in Bangladesh. The chapter ends with a concluding section that calls forth the significance of exploring critical pedagogy in the context of Bangladesh.

Critical Pedagogy

Critical pedagogy holds the view that power is unequally and unfairly distributed in society. Dominant classes exercise power through consent (Gramsci, 1971; Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005). All social systems nurture discrimination and injustice in terms of race, class, or gender (Giroux, 1983, 2011). As a social system, education reproduces injustice of society. Therefore, critical pedagogy addresses educational issues politically (Norton & Toohey, 2004). It aims at problematizing assumptions that perpetuate injustice in society. By so doing it attempts to ensure social justice by removing all sorts of oppression in society (Canagarajah, 1999; Freire, 1970). This commitment to social justice is the prime feature of critical pedagogy (Darder, Baltodano & Torres, 2003; McLaren & Kincheloe, 2007).

Critical pedagogy was formally framed in Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1968/1974)" (Luke, 2004, p. 21; McLaren, 2000) as "problem-posing education." The body of work on critical pedagogy is growing with works by pedagogues from different areas of the world (Norton & Toohey, 2004; Pennycook, 2001). Besides Freire, critical pedagogy in the field of education is now identified with the works of Giroux (1988, 1997, 2001, 2011), McLaren (1989, 2002), Kincheloe (2004, 2008), Ira Shor (1992), Simon (1992), and others. Critical pedagogy is also known as critical work, transformative pedagogy, participatory approach, emancipatory literacy, critical education, pedagogies of resistance, liberatory teaching, radical pedagogy, post-modern pedagogy, border pedagogy, and pedagogies of possibility (Riasti & Mollaei, 2012). It is also known as "pedagogy of hope" (Freire, 1992). Critical pedagogy operates, as the big body of literature manifests, in two domains, "one a research- or theory-oriented critical discussion of schooling, the other a critical practice of teaching" (Pennycook, 2001, p. 130).

Freire (1970) maintains that every human being possesses the potential to question the status quo that oppresses them. Freedom from oppression requires oppressed people's awareness of the details of the oppressive mechanism. Only when people start thinking about their own thinking and questioning the status quo, they move towards their own empowerment and their own liberation from the constraints and injustices they are in (Pennycook, 1999; Riasati & Mollaei, 2012). Critical pedagogy, therefore, creates environment for people so that they themselves can look into the oppressive power mechanism, and become aware of the ways and means of injustices being done to them. It attempts to facilitate development of criticality in the learners so that they can critically investigate the injustice in society and make

attempts to bring about a change in themselves and in the social system (Freire, 1970; Smith & McLaren, 2010; Riasati & Mollaei, 2012).

Criticality

The concept of criticality in critical pedagogy has been approached with the terms conscientization (Freire, 1970), critical (Pennycook, 2004), the critical (Luke, 2004) and criticality (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005). It refers to a stance that problematizes assumptions that perpetuate injustice in society (Freire, 1970; Kincheloe & McLaren 2005; Luke 2013).

As there are various critical approaches to TESOL and applied linguistics, such as critical literacy (Clark & Ivanic, 1997), critical pedagogy (Giroux, 1988; Kanpol, 1999; Kincheloe, 2004, 2008; McLaren, 1989), critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995; Wodak, 1996), and critical views on language policy (Phillipson, 1992), so are there different versions of criticality. The versions of criticality are briefly presented here on the basis of Pennycook's (2004) discussion on criticality.

One approach to criticality is associated with critical thinking where criticality simply refers to higher order thinking with rational questioning. It proposes to adopt an unbiased objective stance. However, the broader social context remains beyond its consideration. Therefore, in the process of critical thinking it ~~reproduces~~ reproduces its own rational and liberal social agenda" (Pennycook 2004, p. 329).

Another approach to criticality associates language with society but does not critique the social system. It simply takes social contexts into consideration for meaning making. A third approach to criticality addresses this gap. It explicitly critiques power, inequality and injustice prevailing in society with a view to changing the unjust social conditions. However, in its critique it draws on the modern concepts

like emancipation, empowerment, awareness, rationality, objectivity, equality, democracy and transformation, and this arouses the criticism that as products of the same system this critique of the problems of society may reproduce the same.

To overcome the problem of the third approach, another approach to criticality goes on to problematize the categories and assumptions it employs to problematize the world. With reference to Chakrabarty (2000), Pennycook maintains that though the self-questioning of this approach leads it towards having no clear political stance”, this approach can question the western ways of thinking dominant in the society (2004, p. 330). The questions of language, discourse, power, and identity are prominent in this approach to criticality. It has the potential to work in language education without reducing –critical work either to the domain of critical thinking or to crude dialectics between micro and macro relations”. This fourth notion of criticality is adopted in this study. Taking new ideas, theories, and the context into consideration this version of criticality is self-reflexive and –evolving” (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p.306; Pennycook, 2004;).

Some Key Figures in the Field of Critical Pedagogy

Critical pedagogy had got the shape as we find it today with the contribution of a number of critical pedagogues. In this section I briefly introduce the key figures and their ideas regarding critical pedagogy.

The Frankfurt School. –The notion of critical pedagogy – the concern with transforming oppressive relations of power in a variety of domains that lead to human oppression – that we are working with finds its origin in critical theory and evolves as it embraces new critical discourses in new eras” (Kincheloe, 2004, p. 45). Critical theory as a philosophy was developed by a group of scholars namely Herbert

Marcuse, Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, and Walter Benjamin of the Institute of Social Research at the University of Frankfurt, Germany in the 1930s. These scholars are widely referred to as the Frankfurt School. They saw the devastations of World War I. There were inflation and unemployment caused by economic depression in postwar Germany. As a result, there were strikes and protests in Germany and in the Central Europe. All these incidents caused these theorists feel the need for reinterpretation of the world. Therefore, ~~they~~ they initiated a conversation with the German tradition of philosophical and social thought, especially that of Marx, Kant, Hegel and Weber.” They focused on the changing nature of capitalism. This change brought forth a form of domination that caused injustice and subjugation in the lived world. Hence though they drew on Karl Marx, they defied Marxist orthodoxy.

Paulo Freire. Paulo Freire was a Brazilian educator. Born to a middle-class family in Recife, Brazil, in 1921, Freire experienced poverty and hunger during the Great Depression of the 1930s. During that time he came close to the lives of the poor peasants and experienced what oppression was like. This experience shaped his concern for the poor and influenced his decision to work for improving the lives of the poor. This experience of oppression helped him construct his educational philosophy. In 1962 he, as the director of the Department of Cultural Extension of Recife University, got an opportunity to apply his theories to a literacy programme for the peasants in Brazil. Under the programme 300 sugarcane workers learnt to read and write in only 45 days. In response, the government took steps to run thousands of cultural circles across the country, as literacy was a precondition for the rights to vote. In 1964 Brazil experienced a military coup which found Freire’s literacy effort dangerous. So the literacy programme was banned and Freire was

imprisoned for seventy days as a traitor. Then he was finally released and ~~went~~ into exile for a number of years, first in Chile and later in Geneva, Switzerland” (Giroux, 2011, p. 152). His seminal work *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* first published in Portuguese in 1968 expounds his ideas about problem-posing education, later on known as critical pedagogy.

Freire (1970, 1992) proposed this problem-posing education against the education system that ~~turns~~ them [students] into ~~containers~~,” into ~~receptacles~~” to be ~~filled~~” by the teacher” (p. 72). Thus, students in this system are considered as empty receptacles. They ~~receive~~, memorize, and repeat” what the teachers give. Here the teacher is the depositor and the student is the depository. Students are knowledge receivers and the teachers are knowledge givers. Freire named it the ~~banking~~” concept of education ~~in~~ which the scope of action allowed to the students extends only as far as receiving, filing and storing the deposits” (p. 72). The ~~attitudes and practices~~” of the banking concept of education are enumerated by Freire (p. 73):

- (a) the teacher teaches and the students are taught;
- (b) the teacher knows everything and the students know nothing;
- (c) the teacher thinks and the students are thought about;
- (d) the teacher talks and the students listen – meekly;
- (e) the teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined;
- (f) the teacher chooses and enforces his choice, and the students comply;
- (g) the teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher;
- (h) the teacher chooses the program content, and the students (who were not consulted) adapt to it;

(i) the teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his or her own professional authority, which she or he sets in opposition to the freedom of the students;

(j) the teacher is the subject of the learning process, while the pupils are mere objects.

According to Freire, these attitudes and practices of banking concept of education ignore the “human” quality of the students. “In this view, the person is not a conscious being (*corpoconsciente*); he or she is rather the possessor of a consciousness: an empty “mind” passively open to the reception of deposits of reality from the world outside” (p. 75). Freire (1970) maintains that

this view makes no distinction between being accessible to consciousness and entering consciousness. The distinction is, however, essential: the objects which surround me are simply accessible to my consciousness, not located within it. I am aware of them, but they are not inside me” (p. 76).

Thus, it entails that human beings are “conscious beings, and consciousness as consciousness intent upon the world” (p. 79). Therefore, students as human beings are conscious and creative. They are conscious with their surroundings. It is not the case that the world enters into them. Rather they reach the world, reflect on it and create it. In this way human beings are always in the process of creating knowledge and thus transforming the world. Hence, knowledge is not an entity out there in the world to be possessed, rather it is to be created by human beings in the world in connection with the world. Freire maintains, “Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry human beings pursue in the world, with the world and with each other” (p. 72). Without this inquiry “individuals cannot be truly human.”

Therefore, by considering students as empty receptacles, banking education denies students the human nature. It refuses to allow students use their full potentials to create knowledge. Thus, according to Freire, it dehumanizes the students, and this is a form of oppression. This model of education helps to maintain the dominant status quo to perpetuate the oppression. Thus, banking model of education goes against the aim of education i.e. freedom, while the vocation of human beings is to achieve freedom.

Therefore, Freire proposes problem-posing education that can ensure freedom for each human being. As the status quo maintains oppression in society, it poses the status quo as a problem. It foregrounds the human nature and involves students in the process of knowledge creation. Thus, students act as human beings. In this backdrop Freire goes on to say that without acting as the full human beings students cannot achieve the human vocation i.e. freedom.

Freire developed this problem posing education while he was working with the peasants in a literacy program in Brazil where the peasants were oppressed. They did not afford enough food to eat. They could not think of changing their lot. They accepted the situation as God's providence. In that situation, their liberation demanded their awareness of the oppression and their action to transform the situation. The oppressors will not come forward to transform the situation, because once the situation is transformed, the oppressor's privileged position will be taken away. Therefore, they can do some humanitarian activity which in turn will consolidate their power. They will never work for the individuals to be "more fully human" as that will lead towards changing the situation and, as a result, they will lose their social status. Therefore, only the oppressed can work for their own humanization. And that must start with the awareness of the oppressive mechanism.

This awareness can be achieved by questioning the status quo. The stance of questioning the status quo is called “deconsentization” by Freire (p. 67).

In problem-posing education, students are human beings capable of producing knowledge and transforming the world. They are no longer the empty receptacles, and teachers the knowledge givers. Freire says, “The role of problem-posing educator is to create, together with the students, the conditions under which knowledge at the level of *doxa* is superseded by true knowledge, at the level of *logos*” (p. 81). Both the teachers and the students are the co-interlocutors in the world and with the world. They engage in dialogue with a view to knowing the world. Freire defines dialogue as “the encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world” (p. 88). He specifies some essential elements of dialogue. He says, “founding itself upon love, humility, and faith, dialogue becomes a horizontal relationship of which mutual trust between the dialoguers is the logical consequence” (p. 91). All the parties must have humility, love, and faith on each other in terms of unveiling the world. Instead of exerting authority, the teacher must have humility, love, and faith in the co-interlocutors. With humility, love, and faith dialogue leads towards mutual trust. In the process, the world is unveiled and named. Once it is named they take action to transform the world.

The teacher does not indoctrinate his ideas into the learners, rather he appears as a co-interlocutor, and makes it clear that his ideas are also open to question. However, that does not mean that the teacher will be without authority. The teacher must have the full authority and knowledge to create conditions for knowledge production and problematization.

Freire maintains that “To exist, humanly, is to *name* the world, to change it. Once named, the world in its turn reappears to the namers as a problem and requires

of them a new *naming*. Human beings are not built in silence, but in word, in work, in action-reflection” (p. 88). Thus, reflection and action are closely linked in Freire’s pedagogy. Freedom is possible ~~only~~ by means of the praxis: reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it” (p. 51). Reflection and action go simultaneously. Reflection without action turns into ~~verbalism~~” and action without reflection turns into ~~activism~~” (p. 87). Freire clarifies his position regarding praxis: ~~Let~~ me emphasize that my defense of the praxis implies no dichotomy by which this praxis could be divided into a prior stage of reflection and a subsequent stage of action. Action and reflection occur simultaneously. A critical analysis of reality may, however, reveal that a particular form of action is impossible or inappropriate *at the present time*. Those who through reflection perceive the infeasibility or inappropriateness of one or another form of action (which should accordingly be postponed or substituted) cannot thereby be accused of inaction. Critical reflection is also action” (p. 128).

Thus critical pedagogy poses the world as a problem to unveil the status quo that maintains injustice in society. It acknowledges freedom and transformation of the world as human nature. Hence through dialogue it helps all the dialoguers in conscientization so that they can problematize the world and name it and thus create knowledge. ~~Education~~ is thus constantly remade in the praxis” (p. 84).

However, there are critiques of Freire. It is claimed that Freire essentialized the oppressor-oppressed dichotomy, while there are the oppressed who at the same time are oppressors in other spheres and there are oppressors who are oppressed in other aspects. Therefore, there is no unproblematic category of the oppressed or the oppressors. However, the backdrop of the development of Freire’s thought justifies his use of the terms. As he claims, in the situation he was in everybody knew what it

meant to be oppressed. He was not unaware that the terms are problematic. That's why he refers to the peasant overseers who acted like and for the oppressors. He referred to multiple realities that incorporate multidimensional nature of the truth.

Another issue of critique is the use of radical vocabulary. It is said that the radical vocabulary makes the literature biased and unintelligible. However, Donald Mecedo speaks for Freire. He says that it is biased for those who are already biased towards banking education. They cannot see the dehumanizing activities they are performing. According to Mecedo, "Freire's language was the only means through which he could have done justice to the complexity of the various concepts dealing with oppression" (p. 21). As for unintelligibility, he refers to accounts where readers from the oppressed groups found the book as if it was speaking out their hearts' cry. For example,

Freire gave an African American student at Harvard a chapter of the book to read to see how she would receive it. A few days later when he asked the woman if she had read it, she enthusiastically responded, "Yes. Not only did I read it, but I gave it to my sixteen-year-old son to read. He read the whole chapter that night and in the morning said, 'I want to meet the man who wrote this. He is talking about me' (pp. 22-23).

Henry A. Giroux. Giroux, born in 1943, is an American and Canadian scholar and cultural critic. The concept of critical pedagogy that we know now has been shaped by his work in the late 70s and 80s. Kincheloe (2004) says, "Bringing together Freire's work, the cultural capital of Pierre Bourdieu, the radical democratic works of Aronowitz, and the critical theory of the Frankfurt School, Giroux establishes critical pedagogy as a domain of study and praxis" (p. 77). Freire had a

great influence on Giroux. Giroux (2011) said, “When I began my career teaching high school students, Freire became an essential influence in helping me to understand the broad contours of my ethical responsibilities as a teacher. Later, his work would help me come to term with the complexities of my relationship to universities as powerful and privileged institutions that seemed far removed from the daily life of the working-class communities in which I had grown up” (p. 159).

Giroux (1988, 2005, 2011) believes that true freedom, the human vocation, is possible in a vibrant democratic sphere. Therefore, as per social contract, democracy is a basic requirement in society. And for the survival of a democratic society, critical and self-reflexive citizens are required, because only critical and self-reflexive citizens can act socially responsible and make moral judgements. As Giroux says, “no democratic society can survive without a formative culture shaped by pedagogical practices capable of creating the conditions for producing citizens who are critical, self-reflective, knowledgeable, and willing to make moral judgments and act in socially responsible way” (p. 3).

Giroux finds the need for critical pedagogy for creating a vibrant democratic sphere. Critical pedagogy questions the status quo and thus helps citizens become critical. Besides emphasizing the importance of critical analysis and moral judgements critical pedagogy “also provides tools to unsettle commonsense assumptions, theorize matters of self and social agency, and engage the ever-changing demands and promises of a democratic polity” (p. 3)

At present every country in the world is committed to retaining democracy as a vibrant phenomenon. According to Giroux democracy is an ongoing process, it is not complete. In the ever-changing world everyday emerges with new demands and new threats to human freedom. Therefore, democratic norms cannot be static. They

are also ever-changing with the sole focus on the human freedom. Hence democracy is an ongoing process. Therefore, Giroux advocates for the project of democratization where the citizens need to act socially responsible and make moral judgements.

Giroux finds neoliberalism as a threat to democracy, as it devalues the human virtue, i.e. freedom, for the sake of profit maximization. The sole tenet of neoliberalism is profit accumulation. It claims that the free market economy can solve all human problems. It has created its image as a universal and objective phenomenon, though that is an ideology propounded by a vested quarter. Therefore, the value of anything is determined in terms of its demand in the free market. Thus neoliberalism upholds economic Darwinism. It quantifies all social phenomena especially education and comes out with cost benefit analysis. The human values are no more valued as they do not accumulate profit.

Education is now infiltrated by neoliberalism. With its prime focus on profit maximization, neo-liberalism brushes away the vitals of education that are fundamentals to democracy. Hence, education attempts to mould students in the image of market economy. It does not allow human freedom and democracy that can dissent and question the status quo. The freedom and democracy it allows is the freedom that ensures free accumulation of profit in the market. Hence, it aims to make students skilled for the market. Thus, education turns into training for surviving in the market, instead of producing knowledge.

Thus, neoliberalism contributes to reproduction of knowledge in favour of the status quo. It considers the students as consumers. The value of citizens is determined by the things that they consume. They are treated as robots for

performing the defined tasks briskly. They are not treated as human beings capable of transforming the society.

Teachers in neoliberal education are considered as technicians. Though knowledge is situated and ever evolving, certain skills and knowledge are considered as authentic, and teachers simply transmit those authentic skills and knowledge to the learners. Thus, neither the students nor the teachers can fulfill their human vocation, i.e. freedom. In this way, this education undermines democratic norms. Hence neoliberal education is detrimental to democracy. Thus, with the infiltration of neoliberalism in education we see modes of education that undermine the conditions of freedom to dissent and question. Giroux maintains,

With the growing influence of neoliberalism ... the United States has witnessed the emergence of modes of education that make human beings superfluous as political agents, close down democratic public spheres, disdain public values, and undermine the conditions for dissent. ... we see the emergence and dominance of pedagogical models that fail to question and all too frequently embrace the economic Darwinism of neoliberalism (p. 9).

Hence critical pedagogy needs to problematize neo-liberalism. A true understanding of neo-liberalism can dethrone it and restore education for democratization. Thus, critical pedagogy opens up the possibility of democratization. Therefore, education with critical elements in it is fundamental to democracy. With its critique of neoliberalism, critical pedagogy needs to develop the language of hope and possibility.

Giroux also maintains that at this time of the world the pedagogical sphere is no longer limited to the schools and universities. It has been expanded and included the media and other cultural organs. Giroux calls it public pedagogy. Public

pedagogy is now more attractive and powerful than the educational pedagogy. Whatever is learnt in the educational pedagogy is unlearned in the public pedagogy. The public pedagogy is owned by the neoliberal tycoons. Its only purpose is to make the youth consumers of products.

To address this neoliberal media attack critical pedagogy needs to include cultural studies in its lens, because most of the onslaughts are done with cultural mechanisms. It should also incorporate multiple disciplines to understand the phenomena. The borders of the disciplines are merged. As society is turning more and more multicultural, borders of cultures are also merged.

Giroux urges educators to develop a language of hope to combat neoliberalism and the continual fight against democracy. Students do not just learn about democracy, rather they participate in it by speaking and learning this language and then using it. This language of hope and the students' participation in the unfinished project democracy is what Giroux calls critical pedagogy. A democracy cannot survive without critical and engaged citizens, and education is the site for this critical training and critical pedagogy.

True pedagogy in the form of critical thinking and civic participation cannot be quantified or measured whereas standardized tests can. What Giroux's analysis makes blatantly clear is how consumption is now a new type of morality. We are what we consume and there are more choices than ever.

Public pedagogy, a method of education, falls outside of the formal education system. The domain of public pedagogy includes, for example, media, advertising, government propaganda, and the Internet – consumerism – neoliberalism – by way of culture. With the advent of Internet public pedagogy is literally everywhere. – we are told that schools must be held accountable, they must produce workers for the global

economy. –Schools cannot become mouth pieces for neo-liberalism; rather they must be a safe haven from it” (p. 99). Giroux calls for a multidisciplinary approach to tackle the complex problems that neoliberalism breeds (p. 67). In these dark times educators must fight to connect education with democracy (p. 171).

Joe L. Kincheloe. Joe L. Kincheloe (2004, 2008) is one of the key figures in critical pedagogy. Kincheloe refers to critical pedagogy as ever-evolving. Critical pedagogy, for him, is “a critical theory that was critiqued and overhauled by the postdiscourses of the last quarter of the twentieth century and has been farther extended in the first years of the twenty first century” (Kincheloe, 2004, p. 48). Critical pedagogy is informed by a variety of discourses emerging after the work of the Frankfurt School. However, some of the theoretical positions, though call themselves as critical, directly questions some of the work of Herbert Marcuse, Theodor Adorno, and Max Horkheimer. Thus, as Kincheloe maintains, diverse theoretical traditions have informed our understanding of critical pedagogy and have demanded understanding of diverse forms of oppression indicating class, race, gender, sexual, cultural, religious, colonial, and ability related concerns. Kincheloe (2004) enumerates his takes on critical pedagogy in his book entitled *Critical Pedagogy Primer*.

1. Critical pedagogy is grounded on a social and educational vision of justice and equality. Education needs to be based on larger social and cognitive visions. The educational vision that critical pedagogy propagates demands a fundamental rethinking of
 - what human being are capable of achieving
 - the role of the school, cultural and political in shaping human identity

- the relationship between community and schooling
- the ways that power operates to create purposes for schooling that are not necessarily in the best interests of the children that attend them
- how teachers and students might relate to knowledge
- the ways schooling affects the lives of students from marginalized groups
- the organization of schooling and the relationship between teachers and learners

With this vision critical pedagogy deals with questions of schooling, curriculum, and education policy with the perspective of social justice and human possibility. Instead of producing socially regulated workers critical pedagogy advocates a transformative pedagogy to develop “empowered, learned, highly skilled democratic citizens who have the confidence and the savvy to improve their own lives and to make their communities more vibrant places in which to live, work, and play” (Kincheloe, 2004, p. 7).

2. Critical pedagogy is constructed on the belief that education is inherently political. All decisions regarding education have political implications. Most of the times the students from dominant cultural backgrounds are privileged, while the interests of the marginal students are undermined. The mainstream curricula put politics out of education. It is because of a limitation in the understanding of power. Critical pedagogy exposes the hidden politics of what is taken as neutral. Therefore, critical pedagogy is accused of contributing to indoctrination. However, the claim of the neutrality of education serves the dominant and existing power structure.
3. Critical pedagogy is dedicated to alleviation of human suffering. In society human suffering is caused by discrimination and poverty. This suffering is

not a natural phenomenon. It is constructed by human beings. Therefore, critical pedagogy intends to destabilize human suffering.

4. Critical pedagogy prevents students from being hurt. Critical pedagogy holds the view that intelligence and academic ability are not “individual dynamics free from social, cultural, and economic influences” (p. 13). Therefore, one of the important reasons for student failures in the class is the socio-economic and cultural discrimination they experience. Students are not to blame for their failures. Hence critical pedagogy questions the cause of the failure to remove the problem.
5. Critical pedagogy values the importance of generative themes. As Freire (1978) maintains, learning in the classroom should be based on themes generated by students from their lived experience. The generative themes can be constructed by “exploring the community around the school and engaging in conversations with the community members” (Kincheloe, 2004, p. 16). With the generative themes students can connect the word on a printed page with the world. In this process students can identify the discrimination and inequalities in society and problematize them in order for a social change. However, the teacher authority in the classroom is not denied in this process. For the classroom activities to go smoothly teachers need to have the authority, and the authority will be to facilitate student actions for producing knowledge.
6. In critical pedagogy teachers work as the researchers. They engage in constant dialogue with their students and problematize the existing oppressive power relations. In this way they are the researchers of their students. They contribute to the process of knowledge creation. It critiques the banking

model of education, because banking model of education considers teachers as technicians who will implement the knowledge produced by experts in an exalted domain. Thus, banking education deskills teachers.

7. Critical pedagogy focuses on social change as well as cultivating the intellect. Critical educators do not simply attempt to bring about a social change. As the educators they must help to educate a knowledgeable and skillful group of students. Both the dimensions are equally important in critical pedagogy.
8. Critical pedagogy questions marginalization in society. It explores and questions the ways in which the world that is unjust by design shapes the classroom and the relations between teachers and students. Critical pedagogy attempts to find out the marginalized voices, texts and perspectives and provide a space for them so that they work for their own empowerment.
9. The central tendency of critical pedagogy is to question positivism. Positivism is an epistemological position that argues that there is ~~no~~ difference between the ways knowledge is produced in the physical sciences and in the human sciences – one should study sociology in the same way one studies physics” (p. 27). Without considering the context that shapes human beings, positivists study people in laboratory like conditions. In this way they make universal statements about human beings. From the positivistic perspective educational laws are also framed universal and hence unchangeable. Critical pedagogy is concerned about this attitude of positivism.
10. Critical pedagogy understands that in this neoliberal capitalistic world science can be used as a means for regulating people in society. Critical pedagogy, therefore, questions the regulatory dimension of science while recognizing

the contributions of physical and social science to the human society. It explores science in cultural and social context questioning how it is used and whose interests it serves.

11. Critical pedagogy emphasizes the importance of understanding the context of educational activities, because process of education is grounded in the context the students and the teachers are coming from. It is a complex process. Students and the teachers' awareness of contexts helps them critically explore issues and make meaning.
12. Critical pedagogy resists the harmful effects of dominant power. It exposes and questions the oppressive forms of power as expressed in –socioeconomic class elitism, Eurocentric ways of viewing the world, patriarchal oppression, and imperialism around the world” (p. 34). The oppressive forms of power take their place in the curriculum which is viewed as neutral. Critical pedagogy helps to question the hidden political assumptions in education.
13. Critical pedagogy considers Cartesian forms of rationalism and mainstream forms of knowledge production as one perspective on the complex web of reality. It believes that –the web of reality is composed of too many variables to be taken into account and controlled” (p. 37). Hence critical pedagogy puts emphasis on the understanding of the complexity of reality.
14. Critical pedagogy attempts to question the empire building efforts of U.S. evident around the world. It examines the ways U.S. is building its empire under the cover of establishing democracy around the world. It finds that U.S. is an epistemological empire, as U.S. promotes a notion truth that downgrades everything that is outside its paradigm.

Peter McLaren. Peter McLaren is known as one of the leading figures of critical pedagogy. He is an uncompromising political analyst oriented by a Marxist humanist philosophy. He began his career in education as an elementary school teacher in Toronto. Early in his career he was influenced by Paulo Freire and Henry Giroux. His familiarity with the critical theory, cultural studies, feminist studies gave him the conviction that the teachers must be theoretically and politically grounded. Therefore, he emphasized that teachers need to develop a philosophy of praxis. Because of this motivation he focused less on the classroom practices as a critical pedagogue. He mainly focused on exploration of political, cultural and racial identity, white supremacy, modes of resistance, and popular culture. His critical pedagogy exposes oppression and exploitation in life in society. He attempts to find postmodernism's relevance in critical pedagogy. His critical pedagogy attempts to realize democratic social values in the classrooms. He argues that classroom pedagogy needs to link the classroom issues with the workings of capital in the larger society and problematize them. He denounces the injustices of neoliberal capitalism as well as attempts to establish the conditions for new social or economic arrangements.

McLaren's critical pedagogy attempts to develop a politics of everyday life in a number of ways. First of all, it concentrates its critical analysis on the popular culture. Secondly, he explores how everyday discourses and social practices represent power relations incorporating struggle, resistance and transformation. Finally, he establishes a connection of the school life of teachers and students with larger economic, social, and cultural structures. In this process he attempts to understand how power struggle in the larger society influence the life in the classroom and in the community, and how everyday lives of students and teachers

reproduce the larger structure. His critical pedagogy has earned controversy because of its uncompromising politics of class struggle.

Michael Apple. Concerned about the inequality in American society, Michael Apple has always been aware of the way power and inequality affect education. He argues, as Kincheloe's (2004, pp. 80-81) enumerates, that the entire process of education is political in

- the way it is funded
- its goals and objectives
- the manner in which these goals and objectives are evaluated
- the nature of the textbooks
- who attends and who doesn't
- who has the power to make these and other decisions.

In this backdrop, Apple maintains that the political struggle regarding the meaning of democracy, the legitimacy of certain culture, and determining who will benefit from government always encompass schools. Being guided by these concerns –Apple has made central contributions to critical scholarship in curriculum studies and teaching as well as in education theory and policy” (Kincheloe, 2008, p. 81). Hence he advocates for the need to study the effects of power and inequality in education.

He analyzed how right-wing reforms aimed at deskilling teachers by marginalizing them from the professional decision making process. He explored curricular forms of knowledge and saw how they are related to larger political, social, cultural, and economic dynamics. He studied questions like, as Kincheloe propounds,:

- How did school forms of knowledge reflect power in these domains?

- How does curricular knowledge get validated in the commerce of everyday life in capitalist societies?
- What is the role that such knowledge plays in maintaining extant social, economic, political, and cultural arrangements?

Apple comes to the conclusion that education in United States functions to benefit the privileged classes and the groups enjoying power. It helps to perpetuate the gender discrimination in society. By external regulatory agents it bids teachers not to address these issues. He points out that the neoliberal free market policy is dominating education. Hence education rewards the performers of excellence. Those who perform poorly are to blame themselves. They can hold nobody else responsible. However, performance in the class is influenced by the socio-economic and cultural conditions students come from. And the unequal socio-economic and cultural conditions in society have been created and nurtured by the neoliberal system.

Ira Shor. Influenced by Paulo Freire, Ira Shor's critical pedagogy attempts to apply Freire in the classrooms of North America. Shor (1992, 1996) integrates the critical notions of social critique with the pedagogical techniques in such ways that create new educational possibilities. In this way he aims at producing a just and democratic education. In this education the subordinate classes are not exploited, social discrimination and exploitation are not reproduced in the classroom. With this aim, Shor practices a dialogical pedagogy in his classroom. In this pedagogy, the teacher is not the centre of the pedagogy. Hence teaching is no more authoritarian. The teacher engages students in dialogue where students responses to themes, texts and/or problems. In this democratic dimension of the class, the status quo can be

questioned. In this classroom students and teachers together construct knowledge. They do not simply meet to inculcate knowledge.

Shor emphasizes that teachers must develop an epistemological relationship with the subject matter. In this relationship the teacher allows students' knowledge and interpretations of the subject matter. The different ways of thinking and talking of the students in the mediation of the teacher get synthesized in the lived world of the classroom and a critical language is constructed. Kincheloe (2004, p.88) says that this language is "distinct from everyday language of students and the academic language of teachers." It comes out as a hybrid discourse. Thus, his critical pedagogy challenges the banking pedagogy of the present era where teachers transmit information and students passively receive the information.

Critiques of Critical Pedagogy

There are opposing views on the relation between politics and knowledge in critical applied linguistics and critical pedagogy. First of all, I focus on the opposing views in critical applied linguistics, and then I will go for casting light on the opposing views in critical pedagogy. I discuss both critical applied linguistics and critical pedagogy because a comprehensive view of critical pedagogy in language teaching requires a focus on the both.

In critical applied linguistics, there is one position that does not see any particular connection between politics and knowledge. It considers knowledge production to be autonomous not connected to the general political views. One of the proponents of this position is Widdowson. Widdowson (1999) claims that critical applied linguistics should be detached from politics. He suggests that "it is the disinterested stance of rational inquiry than politicized orientations to applied

linguistics (“hypocritical applied linguistics” in Widdowson’s terms) that brings a true critical stance to applied linguistics. This view has been influenced by the structuralist movement in the first half of the twentieth century. Structuralism holds the view that systems are entities in themselves. The structure of a system is made up of interrelated constituent parts. This school has been inspired by linguist Ferdinand de Saussure who looks at language as a system, as a series of underlying structures.” (Pennycook, 2001, p. 30). Therefore, the study of language needs to focus not on the surface features of everyday language, but on the underlying system. Pennycook calls this position liberal ostrichism.

There is another position which Pennycook labels as Anarcho autonomy that is involved in a more radical leftist politics, but hold the view that this politics has nothing to do with applied linguistics. Noam Chomsky is the best known proponent of such a position. Chomsky’s linguistic theory claims that the principles underlying the structure of language are biologically determined in the human mind. Therefore, the structure of language is genetically transmitted. He argues that whatever difference there may be in the sociocultural backgrounds of human beings, all human beings share the same underlying linguistic structure. Thus, Chomsky’s linguistics does not take external connections, real language use, context, or politics into consideration. However, the political critique of Chomsky focuses on “American and international foreign policy in contexts such as Vietnam and East Timor and the role of transnational corporations and the media” (Pennycook, 2001, p. 34). Pennycook struggles to find a link between Chomsky’s political work and academic work on linguistics, and concludes that “Chomsky’s politics and academic work do come together at one level, therefore in his view of a universal human nature, of which the innate capacity for language is one aspect” (p. 34). He refers to Chomsky’s

arguments in this regard: ~~It~~ is the humanistic conception of man that is advanced and given substance as we discover the rich systems of invariant structures and principles that underlie the most ordinary and humble of human accomplishments” (Chomsky, 1971, p. 46). However, Pennycook argues that to address the global and cultural challenges, critical language education needs to develop a viable philosophical and political background. In this context, ~~such~~ notions of universality and human nature must be rejected” (p. 36).

The third position is termed by Pennycook as emancipator modernist framework. He considers them as the mainstream critical work which ~~draws~~ on neo-Marxist analyses of power, science, ideology, and awareness.” Phillipson (1992) argues that language is deeply political and the critical applied linguistics needs to reveal the political implications of language. A similar view is held by a number of scholars in critical applied linguistics, e.g. Ruth Wodak (1996), Norman Fairclough (1995), Kress (1990), etc. Pennycook points out that this school has various limitations. Though it attempts to relate language to social and political concerns, it sidesteps the possibility of its own assumptions to be counter-productive. Hence it does not tend to question its own assumptions.

The fourth position views language as fundamentally political. It is profoundly skeptical about ~~science~~, about truth claims, and about an emancipator position outside ideology. This view draws on poststructuralist, postmodernist, and postcolonial perspectives. The post position ~~views~~ language as inherently political; understands power more in terms of its micro operations in relation to questions of class, race, gender, ethnicity, sexuality and so on; and argues that we must also account for the politics of knowledge” (Pennycook, 2001, p. 42). Pennycook refers to this position as *critical applied linguistics as problematizing practice*.

Pennycook (1991, p. 30) illustrates the four positions along with their characteristics in a table as follows.

<i>Frameworks</i>	<i>Epistemology & Politics</i>	<i>Relation to Language</i>	<i>Usefulness for Critical Applied Linguistics (CALx)</i>
Liberal ostrichism	Liberalism and structuralism; critical as objective detachment; egalitarianism	Denies both its own politics and the politics of language	Mainstream applied linguistics; claims that the critical is nonpolitical; strongly opposed to CALx
Anarcho-autonomy	Anarcho-syndicalism and rationalism, realism, and positivism	Disconnects the political from the academic analysis of language	Opposed to CALx as confusing the political and the scientific
Emancipatory modernism	Scientific leftism: neo-Marxist politics and scientific analysis; macro structures of domination	Seeks to analyze relations between language and the social and political	Powerful critiques, limited by determinism, inflexibility, and belief in emancipation
Problematizing practices	Poststructuralism, postmodernism, postcolonialism, and other post positions	Views language as already political; analysis of the social through language	Constant questioning of applied linguistics; self-reflexive; possible relativism and irrationalism

Figure 2.1 Relations between knowledge and politics

As for critical pedagogy, one of the critiques of critical pedagogy says that it remains at the level of grand theorizing rather than focusing more on pedagogical practice. Gore (1993) observes that most of what is discussed as critical pedagogy is also known as critical theory. Hence she considers critical pedagogy as a misnomer. She also criticizes critical pedagogy because according to her the grand theorizing of critical pedagogy is in the long run prescriptive. She says, –A major danger of this

strand of critical pedagogy lies in the juxtaposition of its abstract metatheoretical analysis of schooling with its abstract dictates and declarations for what the teachers should do” (pp. 110-111). She accuses critical pedagogy of failing to problematize its own status as, in Foucault’s terminology, a *regime of truth*. Usher and Edwards (1994), similarly, make the point that critical pedagogy is curiously silent about concrete educational practices. It simply advocates for heterogeneity and difference into educational practices. Johnston (1999) mounts a similar critique. He considers critical pedagogy in the context of TESOL and suggests that its abstractions and the political posturing can be alienating.

The way critical pedagogy uses the notion of voice and the notion of dialogue is also criticized. It just let everyone have a voice, but it does not make it clear how this exposure of marginality can bring about social change. Simon (1992) states that most of the times both the notion of voice and the notion of dialogue are treated trivially:

The concept of dialogic pedagogy is perhaps one of the most confused and misdeveloped ideas in the literature on critical teaching. At a simplistic level, it has been taken as a process within which a student voice is taken seriously and in this respect is counterposed to transmission pedagogy. But this is both a vague and trivial statement.

Ellsworth (1992) comes up to criticize critical pedagogy because like the rationalist view of education it takes it for granted that students will logically arrive at the awareness that they have right to freedom from oppression. According to her, critical pedagogy does not adequately address how assurance of people’s voice can bring about their empowerment. It does not address the complexity of the

multiplicities of oppression. Because of its simplistic understanding of oppression it assumes that students will side with the oppressed, against the oppressor.

It is also said that though critical pedagogy claims to draw from poststructuralist, postmodernist, and postcolonial insights, it has tended to be grounded in the modernist discourse. It has given only lip service to the question posed by postmodernism. As Gore (1993) argues, “The pedagogy of the argument remains a directive one. The goal remains a universal, rather than partial and contradictory, one of empowerment” (p. 39). Many criticalist texts are unreflexive (Usher and Edwards, 1994). While they critically engage with certain texts, they do not subject themselves to similar types of critical engagement. Hence they (Usher and Edwards, 1994) argue that critical pedagogy “continues the modern project of emancipation through the adoption of certain postmodern ideas” (p. 221). in this regard, Johnston remarks,

Critical pedagogy has given me insights into and understanding of the educational process that I would not otherwise have had ... but it is not enough to capture the complex essence of teaching, especially of EFL/ESL teaching in the postmodern world. (p. 564)

Thus, we can briefly focus on the features and critiques of critical pedagogy as follows:

<i>Features of Mainstream Critical Pedagogy</i>	<i>Critiques and Weaknesses</i>
Political understanding of schooling	Grand theorizing rather than pedagogical practice
Emphasis on inclusion and voice	Tied to narrow vision of inclusion; voice as individualistic; dialogism as trivial
Transformative vision of education	Rationalist and modernist notion of change and empowerment

Figure 2.2 Features and critiques of critical pedagogy

Critical Pedagogy in ESL/EFL Contexts

However, there are detailed accounts of critical practices in ESL/EFL classrooms when critical pedagogy takes up Freirean approaches to education. As language is not just a system, it represents ideology, critical pedagogy in language teaching, therefore, focuses on the social, cultural, and political dynamics of language use (Kumaravadivelu, 2006). Research literature on critical pedagogy in both ESL and EFL contexts addresses the question of injustice in issues of gender, identity, and race (see Canagarajah, 2004; Kubota, 2004; Morgan, 2004; Pavlenko, 2004; Sunderland, 2004). Critical work in ESL/EFL also focuses on sexuality, representations of Otherness and ethnicity (Norton & Toohey, 2004; Pennycook, 1999).

Researchers mainly rely on feminist, poststructuralist, and critical theory (Ko, 2013; Morgan, 2004; Sunderland, 2004) in framing their research and instructional methodologies. Some of them combine a number of theories to frame their problems. Norton and Pavlenko (2004) draw on feminist poststructuralism and critical theory to understand the relationship between power and knowledge and to trace the role of language in the production and reproduction of power. Drawing on different theoretical positions ranging across feminist scholarship, language socialization studies, Bakhtinian semiotics and Foucauldian poststructuralism, Canagarajah (2004) identifies some hidden spaces in the classroom which he calls safe houses where students negotiate identities and critical thinking with positive consequences for their literacy development.

This section reviews the works on critical pedagogy in ESL/EFL contexts with a particular focus on the classroom practices they came up with, their considerations on criticality and language in communication of criticality.

Classroom practices for facilitation of criticality in ESL/EFL classrooms.

Critical pedagogy does not refer to “a unitary set of texts, beliefs, convictions, or assumptions” (Norton & Toohey, 2004, p. 2). Neither does it mean simply to introduce a “critical element” into the classrooms. Rather it “involves an attitude, a way of thinking and teaching” (Pennycook, 1999, p. 340). It attempts to engage students in dialogue for problematization or “problem-posing” practice in the classroom ensuring equality in student voice (Freire, 1970; Giroux & McLaren, 1986). With this attitude, it has the scope of introducing a variety of instructional practices in the classroom. What follows is a discussion on the instructional practices the studies on critical pedagogy in the classrooms came up with.

Incorporating experiences and beliefs of the learners in classroom practice.

To facilitate students’ engagement in dialogue for promoting attempts of problematization, classroom instruction needs to be connected with students’ lives and experiences (Shor, 1992). In this regard, critical pedagogues find it effective to interweave lessons with the learners’ socio-cultural and historical contexts to help them imagine alternative ways of being in the world.

Rivera (1999) gives a detail account of a popular education program in New York. He illustrates how he uses a bilingual curriculum where he involves current and former participants as popular teachers. He used video technology for exploring a range of critical concerns in the community. Students engaged in projects and collected and analyzed data about issues affecting their lives. Through this process in the program students learned how to read and write in two languages. Frye (1999) also gives a similar account of critical pedagogy in an ESL class for Latina women in

Washington D.C. She adopted a critical participatory approach that helped to develop solidarity among the participants. In the process the participants developed an increased sense of identity; they explored women-centred issues; and they came up with different learning styles and became aware of different learning styles.

Schenke (1996) involved students in historical engagement in relation to the cultures of English and the learners' own culture (p. 156). Brutt-Griffler and Samimy (1999), in a program of teacher education for overseas students, engaged the students in discussion and diary writing in order to help them reflect on their own histories. With this practice they attempted to make the students aware of their positions in the new situation. Morgan (2004) provides an example of a grammar lesson that located the grammar points in a broader socio-cultural context i.e. the historic events in the lives of these learners. The grammar lesson organized in this way, as he notes, encouraged students to explore ~~the~~ complex social and political contexts influencing the students (p. 162).

Norton and Pavlenko (2004), on the other hand, consider a number of other studies and find a number of transformative practices which include reading and reflection, personal storytelling, journal writing, and discussions of scenarios. Goldstein, (2004) adds that ethnographic playwriting and performed ethnography, as classroom practices, offer ~~exciting~~ possibilities for preparing language teachers to effectively respond to the complexities of working across linguistic, cultural, and racial differences in multilingual schools (p. 324). Norton and Vanderheyden (2004) address ~~the~~ appeal of Archie comics for elementary school second language learners and suggest that comic books ~~could~~ be viewed as an incentive for children to read (p. 202).

All classroom practices focus on certain curriculum contents. Contents or issues for the lessons in critical pedagogy may be generated by the learners (Freire 1970) or selected by the teacher (Monchinski, 2008, p. 127). In either case the issues must be located in students' lives and experiences. Therefore, Pierce (1989) noted the importance of consultation with the participants in learning and teaching process for developing pedagogy for freedom and possibility. In this respect, Johnston (1999) maintains that the radical vocabulary usually used by the critical pedagogues should be avoided as they are difficult for students to understand.

Flexibility in instructional approach. Practices of critical pedagogy demonstrate that flexibility in instruction contributes to students' engagement in dialogue in the classroom. Drawing on Benesch (1999), Pavlenko (2004) refers to an instance of a classroom discussion on some abstract gay issues where initially students showed negative or dismissive reactions. However, once the focus of the instruction was shifted to a discussion of their own experiences and reactions, students engaged in a deeper consideration of the roots of homophobic attitudes. Canagarajah (1999, 2004) proposes to understand the students' practices in the "safe houses" where students express resisting codes regarding teaching methods, learning strategies, discourse patterns, and language varieties. Capitalizing the resisting codes may help develop innovative and empowering pedagogies. He argues that the teacher authority and power may be intimidating for the students. And as a result, they may step back from presenting identities that contradict the institutional expectation. In addition, grades in the examinations and other reward systems of the institution put "subtle restrictions" on the students. Consequently, they refrain from what they really want to do. Moreover, as a class usually consists of students from a variety of

backgrounds, –students are under peer pressure to conform to the dominant discourses and identities preferred in the classroom” (p. 120). With these mechanisms among many others the school –functions as a medium of ideological and social reproduction.” If students do not conform to expectations of the classroom, the school defines them as failures and thus marginalizes them. In these situations students look for *safe houses* for expressing their views and negotiating issues critically. Canagarajah says that he takes the concept of safe houses from Pratt’s (1991) use of the term in the cultural contact of postcolonial societies and has used the term in ESL contexts. Hence by safe houses he refers to –social and intellectual spaces where groups can constitute themselves as horizontal, homogeneous, sovereign communities with high degrees of trust, shared understandings, and temporary protection from legacies of oppression.” In educational institutions safe houses are sites that are relatively free from surveillance by authority figures, because they (the domains of time and space) are seen as unofficial or extra-pedagogical. Canagarajah (2004, p. 121) has made a list of spatiotemporal domains that he found in his research:

In the classroom: asides between students, passing of notes, small group interactions, peer activities, marginalia in textbooks and notebooks, transition from one teacher to another, before classes begin, after classes are officially over.

Outside the classroom: the canteen, library, dorms, playgrounds, and computer labs.

In cyberspace: e-mail, online discussions/chat.

However, he reminds us that students’ safe houses are not limited to the ones mentioned in this list. They can construct safe houses anywhere any time in the

educational institution. They can negotiate gestures and signs and use them to communicate amongst themselves right in front of the teacher. Hence he comes to the conclusion that ~~safe~~ houses are somewhat fluid and mobile” (p. 121).

In this study, Canagarajah (2004) explores the way language learners learn a second language or dialect by maintaining their membership in their vernacular communities and cultures. He referred to his research with two very different groups – one in the United States and the other in Sri Lanka. His research in the United States focuses on African American students who were learning academic writing in English as a second dialect. His research in Sri Lanka focuses on Tamil students who were learning English for general academic purposes. In both the cases he finds that students expressed their resistance to the unfavourable impositions on them in the safe houses.

Norton and Vanderheyden (2004), in their study, focus on second language learners in a Vancouver, Canada, elementary school. They explore the ways how language learners engage with Archie comics in the classrooms as well as in the communities. They find that, because the Archie comics are humourous and engaging to read, language learners found them appealing. They found the pictures and dialogue in the comic book format helpful in meaning making. Therefore, they argue, ~~the~~ humour and entertainment value of Archie comics should not be dismissed as trivial” (p. 209). What is more, as the students reflected, the Archie comics had an appeal on them because ~~they~~ could help students learn about their new society.” Regarding literacy development, the study finds that because of the simplified vocabulary of the Archie comics, students found them suitable for instructional purpose. In addition, comic books lead the learners to make meaning at two levels simultaneously: one of pictures and another of text. The researchers also

look into if comic books could be used to promote the second language learners' use of mother tongue. Their study suggests that "comic books in the mother tongue may provide an important connection to the pre-immigration life of young language learners" (p. 212). The study also finds that the engagement with the Archie comics helped students form an informal and loosely connected community of readers that cross ethnic and linguistic boundaries. Thus, the use of comic book contributes to literacy as a social practice.

As for the use of mother tongue, Norton and Vanderheyden (2004) find that though comic books were helpful for student motivation to read, many of the learners in the study read comics in their mother tongue. Akbari (2008) and Ko (2013) maintain that in an EFL context judicious use of L1 facilitates communication and comprehension ensuring transformative learning.

Critical interrogation. The key feature of the problem-posing education in the class is the intriguing questions that challenge the status quo. Chun (2009, p. 119) says that "pedagogical interventions through critical interrogations of neoliberal discourses can open up spaces for alternative subject positions in contesting ideologies of neoliberalism." Some of the questions used in the interventions are as follows:

What else could anyone say?

What does it mean to care in different contexts?

Who cares and why should this agent care?

Ko (2013, p. 94), drawing on Burns and Hood (1998), Luke, O'Brien, and Comber, (1994), and McLaughlin and DeVogd (2004), suggests some questions that may promote reading from a critical stance:

Whose viewpoint is expressed?

What does the author want us to think?

Whose voices are missing, silenced, or discounted?

How might alternative perspectives be represented?

What material or economic interests were served in its production?

How are the participants named and shaped?

What does it exclude?

How is the reader positioned?

The critical pedagogue. Teachers in the critical pedagogy classroom work to lead students to question ideologies and practices considered oppressive, and to bring their own liberation (Freire, 1970; Giroux & McLaren, 1986; Kincheloe, 2004). In Ko's study (2013, pp. 99-100) the teacher often used three steps to have a critical dialogue with students.

1. Stance: asking students to respond to commonly held ideas or beliefs by taking different perspectives;
2. Deconstruction: guiding students to uncover the effects of the commonplaces or stereotypes on people;
3. Reconstruction: encouraging students to reflect on the possibility of constructing the liberatory or emancipatory discourse.

Thus, in critical pedagogy the teacher is placed –at the centre of the consciousness-raising activity” (Ellsworth, 1992, p. 103). Critical practices in the studies appear to refer to the teacher in the critical pedagogy as doing it simply by having been critical himself/herself (see Norton & Toohey, 2004).

However, as Freire (1970) maintains, in critical pedagogy ~~the~~ teacher is no longer merely the-one-who-teaches, but one who is himself taught in dialogue with the students, who in turn while being taught also teaches” (p. 80). During the dialogical engagement between teacher and students and students themselves, students begin to recognize each other as sources of knowledge (Auerbach, 1995; McLaren, 1988; Shor, 1996). In this regard, ~~arguments based on authority~~” are no longer valid” (Freire, 1970, p. 80), though the authority of the teacher in the class cannot be ignored (Freire & Macedo, 1996). To facilitate knowledge production in the classroom, the class requires the teacher to use teacher authority. Therefore, as Freire maintains, ~~in~~ order to function, authority must be *on the side of* freedom, not *against* it” (1970, p. 80). However, Ellsworth (1992) finds that a teacher’s stance is likely to be constrained by ~~his~~ or her own race, class, ethnicity, gender, and other positions. ...Critical pedagogues are always implicated in the very structures they are trying to change.” Hence, she questions the notion of the teacher as a ~~disinterested~~ mediator on the side of the oppressed group” (p. 101). Aware of the baggage of the critical pedagogue Pennycook, however, considers a ~~way~~ in which teacher-educators can intervene in the process of practicum observation to bring about educational and social change” (Norton & Toohey, 2004, p. 10). He strives, in the practicum, to identify critical moments. A critical moment refers to ~~a~~ point of significance, an instance when things change.’ He maintains that teaching needs to look for ~~those~~ critical moments when we seize the chance to do something different, when we realize that some new understanding is coming about” (Pennycook, 2004, p. 330). After the class Pennycook and the student teacher discuss three critical moments which were triggered by

–(a) the actions of a disruptive male student, (b) the use of practice dialogues for calling technicians, and (c) the recognition of nonstandard English in the classroom. Each of these critical moments, Pennycook argues, raises larger questions of power and authority in the wider society and provides an opportunity for critical discussion and reflection” (Norton & Toohey, 2004, p. 10).

However, Pennycook concludes that analysis of critical moments will possibly not change the world, but it may open windows through which we can look into the aims of critical education.

Student voice and dialogue. The purpose of the classroom practices is to create a democratic environment in the classroom to engage students in dialogue where every voice enjoys equal opportunity (Giroux & McLaren, 1986). As a precondition for dialogue, individuals, as rational beings, agree on universalizable –fundamental moral principles” and –quality of human life” (Ellsworth, 1992, p. 108). In this regard, Freire maintains, students must share an epistemological curiosity without which a dialogue turns into a conversation. Epistemological curiosity refers to the –curiosity about the object of knowledge” for –learning and knowing” (Freire & Macedo, 1996, pp. 202-206). –[A] hostile, polemical argument between those who are committed neither to the naming of the world, nor to the search for truth, but rather to the imposition of their own truth” (Freire, 1970, p. 89) cannot be a –dialogue” that can generate –critical thinking” (p. 92). A sense of love and respect for each other must be at the centre of the dialogical engagement (Bartlett, 2005). –Funding itself upon love, humility, and faith, dialogue becomes a horizontal relationship of which mutual trust between the dialoguers is the logical consequence” (Freire, 1970, p. 91).

However, Ellsworth finds that ~~oppositional~~ voices do not speak in the spirit of sharing. Their speeches are a ~~“talking back,”~~ a defiant speech that is constructed within communities of resistance and is a condition of survival” (1992, p. 102). Moreover, ~~social~~ agents are not capable of being fully rational and disinterested; and they are subjects split between the conscious and unconscious and among multiple social positionings” (p. 108). Ellsworth and Selvin (1986) maintain that, as social beings, everybody in society is engaged in ~~the~~ changing, often contradictory relations of power at multiple levels of social life – the personal, the institutional, the governmental, the commercial” (qtd in Orner, 1992, p. 79). Hence, sometimes students may find it safer to keep silent in a public space like the classroom, and as a result, may be unwilling to speak out their voices. Therefore, emphasis on student voice may be sometimes repressive (Ellsworth, 1992). As a result, Ellsworth (1992) argues that dialogue as propounded in critical pedagogy literature is both ~~impossible~~ and undesirable” (p. 106). However, Freire (1970) emphasizes the importance of dialogue and maintains that if the structure does not permit dialogue, the structure must be changed.

Considerations on criticality. Critical pedagogy attempts to develop criticality in the learners (Freire, 1970; Luke, 2004; Pennycook, 2004). Criticality is a stance that problematizes ~~the~~ injustice of a particular society or public sphere in society” (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 305). It is ~~always~~ interested in uncovering social structures, discourses, ideologies and epistemologies that prop up both the status quo and variety of forms of privilege” (p. 306).

Most of the studies on critical pedagogy in ESL context (as discussed above in the subsection Classroom practices for facilitation of criticality in ESL/EFL

classrooms') focus on making students aware of injustice related to issues like gender, identity and race. Concerned with the identity of the people coming from different cultural backgrounds, some studies in ESL situations attempt to save the identities of the people of different cultural backgrounds. They attempt to find a way out for the culturally threatened groups of people so that they can maintain their cultural values while living in the dominant culture. Chun's (2009) pedagogical interventions in an intensive English program to contest the neoliberal discourse in a US university, however, address criticality that can lead towards freedom.

Studies in EFL contexts mainly explore the possibilities of critical pedagogy in the existing power structure. Most of them work for awareness of the learners so that life may be comfortable in the existing power structure (see, for example, Akbari, 2008; Riasati & Mollaei, 2012; Safari & Pourhashemi, 2012). Shin and Crookes' study (2005) finds that learners developed English language abilities when they were engaged in critical discussion of topics. Norton and Pavlenko (2004), on the other hand, find that in the course of the process students were able to point to cross-cultural differences. Canagarajah (2004) identifies that students develop a resistant stance in the hidden spaces in the classroom which he calls safe houses. Peirce's study (1989) explores criticality that questions the power mechanism of the society in the project of People's English in South Africa.

Freire (1970) addresses how learners progress towards criticality i.e. how the learners position themselves on a critical stance. He spells it out that an individual first of all perceives injustice, and then problematizes the injustice (pp. 54-55). The process of problematizing a particular discourse, as Luke (2004, p. 26) maintains, is facilitated as individuals become aware of ~~multiple~~ discourses." Thus, the multiple discourses brought to the class help students perceive injustice, and this awareness of

injustice leads the students towards problematizing injustice. Luke further maintains that criticality ~~entails~~ an epistemological Othering and ~~“doubling”~~ of the world – a sense of being beside oneself or outside of oneself in another epistemological, discourse, and political space than one typically would inhabit” (p. 26).

Considerations on language in communication of criticality. Studies on critical pedagogy in language learning demonstrate that students in a critical pedagogy classroom achieve criticality and learn the language in both ESL and EFL situations. Shin and Crookes’ (2005) study explored the possibility of critical pedagogy in two Korean EFL high school classrooms. It found that the EFL learners, in spite of their limited English proficiency, were active participants in generating critical dialogues in English. It also found that students developed English language abilities when they were engaged in critical discussion on the topics. On the other hand, reflecting on her classroom teaching with English language learners, Stein (2004) says that representation is multimodal i.e. visual, gestural, speech, writing, and sound. Individuals represent their meanings in ~~“modes~~ of communication which ...may go beyond language” (p. 113).

However, learning of language engages ~~the~~ identities of the language learners in diverse and complex ways (Norton & Toohey, 2004, p. 4). Therefore, Pennycook (1999) suggests ~~“problematizing practice”~~ in critical approach to ELT that ~~“questions~~ the role of language or discourse in social life ... constantly problematiz[ing] the givens of TESOL” (p. 343). As power maintains its domination and regulation through language, critical theory questions the use of language for ~~“domination and regulation”~~ (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 310). Critical Discourse Analysis, through ~~“linguistic analysis”~~ and ~~“intertextual analysis”~~

(Fairclough, 1995, p. 188), describes, interprets and explains “why and how discourses work” (Rogers, 2004, p. 2) and “how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimised by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions” (Gee, 2004; van Dijk, 1996, p.84). Kubota (2004) puts emphasis on interrogating existing power relations that sustain a hierarchy of multiple perspectives and linguistic forms to explore possibilities for oppositional discourses.

Oppositional discourses in language are examined by Bakhtin (1981). Bakhtin’s (1981, p. 291) concept of language as “heteroglossia” refers to language as the intersection of “multiple socio-ideological” voices. The voices in the intersection are engaged in power relations where they represent two types of discourses namely “the authoritative discourses” and “the internally-persuasive discourses” (p. 342). The authoritative discourse refers to the discourse “of tradition, of generally acknowledged truths, of the official line, and other similar authorities” while the internally persuasive discourse refers to the discourse of personal beliefs and ideas (p. 344). “The struggle and dialogic interrelationship” of these heteroglossic voices in society are what usually determine the history of an individual ideological becoming. For Bakhtin, ideology means simply an “idea system” determined socially. Ideological becoming refers to how we develop our way of viewing the world, our system of ideas, what Bakhtin calls an ideological self (Ball & Freedman, 2004). In his writings, Bakhtin examines the different forms of interrelationship of voices in the individual’s ideological becoming. As criticality is a particular type of ideological becoming i.e. critical ideological becoming, the linguistic expressions for communication of criticality may demonstrate distinctive interrelationships of voices.

Critical pedagogy in Bangladesh. Some NGOs of Bangladesh experimented critical pedagogical approach especially Freirean model for making the poor rural women of Bangladesh aware of their rights, and thus leading them towards empowerment (Rafi, 2003).

For example, in mid-1970s inspired by Freire's liberating education and Andre Gunda's dependency theory BRAC, a non-government organization, adopted Freire's concept of conscientization to help the poor in rural areas of Bangladesh improve their socio-economic condition. BRAC works to alleviate poverty and to empower the poor people of Bangladesh. That's why they strive to bring the poor into the mainstream of development. They shared the Freirean view that, for the empowerment of the poor, the poor themselves must first of all be aware that they are being deprived of their rights and that they are exploited in the social system. They believed that though the NGOs are providing financial support to the poor, this support would not be of any use to them. This support will be misappropriated by the groups who are exploiting the poor. Only when the poor become aware of their exploitation and act for their own freedom from exploitation, their empowerment may be ensured. If the poor are conscious of the causes of their poverty and the mechanism of exploitation they would be motivated to ~~take~~ take part in programmes for their uplifting." Therefore, BRAC adopted conscientization programme for the rural poor.

As part of the programme they met the poor villagers and discussed with them the social system and mechanism of exploitation and the steps they could take to free themselves from exploitation. In addition, they arranged popular theatre as well as education programme to make people aware of the issues and of their legitimate rights. As an outcome of the programme, as Rafi (2003) suggests, there

were changes in the people's level of knowledge and skill, changes in their attitude and behavior and above all changes in the community.

However, the programmes were determined by the experts of the NGO and the poor were expected to ~~take~~ part in the programmes for their uplifting." This indicates that the poor people did not have any participation in the design of the programme. The lessons were not ~~dialogical~~ and participatory." They were ~~highly~~ didactic and top down." Thus, the interventions were, however, influenced by the existing pedagogical power structure.

Research on ELT in Bangladesh, on the other hand, (for instance, Ahmed, 2013; Akter, 2006; Begum, 2011; Haider & Akhter, 2012; Haider & Chowdhury, 2012; Khan, 2008; Sharif & Ferdous 2012) is mainly concerned about how to make ELT effective for Bangladeshi learners suggesting either the application of new technology or CLT procedures. Some research (Hamid, 2010; Hamid, Sussex & Khan, 2009) evaluates English language teacher training projects, and performance of students in the use of the language. There are also research (Hasan & Rahman, 2012) addressing the status of Bangla language, politics of the English language, and the concern of the onslaught on Bangla language. Some research (Imam, 2005) discusses English in education in Bangladesh in the growing importance of English in society. However, the research on ELT in Bangladesh hardly focuses on critical pedagogy necessary for addressing the political dimensions of EFL in classroom pedagogy.

Conclusion

As the ~~socio~~-cultural conditions always influence our cognitive activity, mediating how we perceive and interpret the world around us," critical pedagogical

procedures developed in other contexts especially in Europe may not be suitable for periphery contexts (Canagarajah, 1999, p. 14). However, few researches on critical pedagogy have been conducted in EFL situations. Crooks (2010) argues that more reports on actual implementation of EFL critical pedagogy are needed. In this respect, Luke (2004) advocates for a form of local, highly reactive bricolage rather than via systematic educational policy for English teachers.

Historically Bangladesh possesses a distinct socio-economic and cultural environment. It is a post-colonial country. A part of India until 1947, Bangladesh shares the history of India's colonial legacy. India had been a British colony for about 190 years starting from 1757 to 1947 (Rahman, Hamzah, Meerah, & Rahman, 2010). The colonial education system made European education available for a small elite group of India. In "downward filtration" system this small group was entitled to educate the other Indians.

Though "traditional colonialism" i.e. direct political domination of one nation over another area has now been ended, there has been hardly any change in the education policy prescribed during the colonial period (Altbach, 1995, p. 245). For example, books prescribed for higher education in Bangladesh are mostly written by the western writers. As a result, by default, they carry European ideals with them. Above all, as Canagarajah says, education in modern world is "built on educational philosophies and pedagogical traditions which can be traced back to the colonial mission of spreading Enlightenment values for civilizing purposes" (1999, p. 12).

Though Bangladesh became independent from British colonial rule in 1947, here, like many other previously colonized countries, "English continues to be a language both of power and of prestige" (Kachru, 1995, p. 291). Moreover, as a global language English is now considered as an economically valuable language. Its

importance is so valued that English is taught as a compulsory subject right from class one up to tertiary level of education in all the streams of education in Bangladesh (Ahmed, 2013). To write English textbooks for the school level, the government sends experts to England for training as well as hires foreign experts to advise and supervise the total writing process (Rahman, 2001). Altbach (1995. p. 453) says that the guidance of ‘overseas consultants’ is the mechanism of neocolonialism that ~~includes~~ the use of foreign technical advisors on matters of policy ... and curricular patterns”.

With this socio-economic and cultural background of Bangladesh, critical pedagogy in EFL classrooms in Bangladesh may unfold new understandings about the facilitation of criticality shedding light on the shape it takes in Bangladesh and its links with critical pedagogy in other areas of the world.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter describes the methodology designed for conducting the study on critical pedagogy in an undergraduate EFL classroom in Bangladesh. On the basis of the theoretical framework and the conceptual framework (see chapter one for details) the methodology was designed to address the issues raised in the research questions (see subsection ‘Research Questions’ in chapter one for details). The description of the methodology is given under the sections entitled selection of site and participants, research design, procedures for data collection and procedures for data analysis.

Selection of Site and Participants

The site of the study was a university in an urban area of Bangladesh. Participants of the study were the students enrolled for an English writing course at undergraduate level in the university.

The site. The site of the study was a private university i.e. non-government university situated in an urban setting in Bangladesh. The concept of private university in Bangladesh is quite a recent one. Private universities started functioning in Bangladesh under the Private University Act 1992. The initiative at the beginning faced serious protests from the civil society in Bangladesh, because private universities were allegedly commercially motivated. The high tuition fees they charged were beyond the reach of most of the people of the country. In contrast, public universities provide education at a very low cost. It was a criticism that once the private universities start functioning, education in Bangladesh will be considered as a commodity to be sold and bought. These universities are going to serve only the

elite class of the country. Besides, it was feared that as the private universities are established with a business motive, they may not maintain the quality of education. For their financial gain they may award low quality degrees. However, proving all the fears false, some of the private universities are ensuring quality higher education alongside the public universities. The university that was the site of this study is one of the quality education providing private universities. However, it does not charge high tuition fees. Therefore, education in this university is affordable to the middle class people.

Like many other private universities in Bangladesh, this university also followed European and American universities especially in terms of curricula and teaching/learning materials. It signed MoUs and established links with some European and American universities. In the context of Bangladesh, links with the universities overseas, especially European and American universities, improve the image of the university. These links help them attract more students to get enrolled in the university. Thus, the education it provided was directly linked with western epistemology. Therefore, it can be argued that it was a potential site for epistemic violence where through education students got an orientation towards western ways of perceiving the world. And this orientation might cause displacement of the nonwestern ways of perceiving the world.

Hence the site itself called forth the necessity of doing critical pedagogy for addressing epistemic violence in the classroom. Teaching of English language, the language of the superpowers, in this site particularly demanded inculcation of criticality in the learners (see the section entitled ‘Background to the Study’ in Chapter 1 for details about epistemic violence in education and English language teaching in Bangladesh). Therefore, it was a unique site for studying critical

pedagogy in the classroom. In addition, the researcher was the teacher of an English writing course introduced in the beginning semesters of students' undergraduate studies in this university. Therefore, this study was conducted in the English writing course in the university. The researcher played the role of a teacher-researcher in this study.

Participants. The students of the writing course introduced in the beginning semesters of undergraduate studies in the university were the participants of the study. Twenty four students, all female, enrolled for the course in that semester. Though all the enrolled students agreed to participate in the study, some of the students were irregular. Therefore, this study focused particularly on students who regularly attended the classes and participated in all the activities of the lessons. The participants had intermediate level of proficiency in the English language. The socio-cultural and economic backgrounds of the students can be understood from an account of themselves each of them wrote for me. Parts of some of the accounts are given below:

Rima. Rima came off a religious, middle class family. She was the eldest of the three issues of her parents. About her she wrote, ~~My~~ "My aim in life is to be an independent woman. It is not yet specific which profession I choose for developing my career. However, I have a liking for corporate jobs or business to be independent. I also dream to be a good mother." The university she was studying was chosen because it was near her residence. Her parents considered it appropriate for her because ~~it~~ "it maintains an Islamic environment better than any other universities."

She was studying English, because it was her dream. She said, ~~It~~ "It is due to facilities of job opportunities. I was advised that English would open the door of

opportunities. I can see myself as a teacher, banker, or I can fit in any administration-related jobs, corporate jobs, private companies, etc. It is also because it is widely accepted.

Tisha. Tisha was from a district in the northern part of Bangladesh. She wrote, “I have come to this city to fulfill my vision. The main target of my life is to be a true Muslim lady. That’s why I took admission in one of the best colleges of my country. Because I think that a good environment can provide the perfect lesson which is required to flourish our hidden power. Most of the time education shows us the path to differentiate between good and evil. Education makes our rational power stronger. I want to be a more rational being in my day to day life and want to spread the knowledge that I have gathered and will gather.

I am studying in this university because I am from a religious family. My parents found this institution to be the most suitable for me. I am happy to be a student of this institution. It maintains a good environment. Environment has a strong influence on our mind. I think my surroundings influence me positively as required by my family.

I am studying English. My family and I think that what subject you study is not an important factor for being a good person. A good lesson can lead a person towards good, whether it is English, BBA, Engineering, or any other subject. I want to learn my subject properly, and spread my knowledge in my family and society.”

Rupa. Rupa was the only issue of her parents. Her father died when she was only ten. Her mother was in hardship to bring her up. She wrote, “I want to be something exceptional. At first, I want to do a good job like a job in a multinational company. Then I want to earn money and start a shopping mall. Well, earning money is not my aim. My aim is to help the people who have none except Allah to help

them. When I get enough money I will start new schools, colleges, and industries for those helpless poor people. Day by day rich people are getting richer and poor people are getting poorer. But nobody care about them. Where is our humanity if we do not help them. I wish, Allah bless me for achieving my aim.

My guardians think that this university provides a safe environment for a girl. And I am studying English because I think it will help me achieve my aim. If I can fulfil my aim I think my Mom will be happy. And I love my Mom very much.”

Shumi. Shumi came from a middle class family. She was the eldest of the three siblings. She had a number of aims in her mind. Of all the aims her main target was to work in the tourism industry in Bangladesh. According to her, “tourism is a developing sector in Bangladesh. It offers vast opportunity for the youngsters.”

The private university she was studying was chosen by her parents. One of her uncles advised her to choose English as a subject for her higher studies. Because English is an international language, it can provide vast career opportunities. She said, “by studying this subject, I can build my careers in various sectors. In addition, I could settle my life in various developed countries in the world. Moreover, English is considered as the means for entering the world of knowledge. Most of the world famous books are written in English. For this reason, I have chosen English for my higher studies.”

Rubi. She came from a district of southern part of Bangladesh. Her father was a businessman and her mother a housewife. She wrote, “I come from a respectable family. I try to be a respectable girl of my family. I like to be practical in life.

I have chosen this university to study because it is affordable to my parents and it provides a good and safe environment for the girls.

I selected English for my higher study because English is an international language. In Bangladesh it is very important. Now for job more or less every company wants employ those candidates who know English well.

I like to be a teacher. I think that teaching is the best profession for a woman. I always try to be a responsible girl. After my marriage my new family will be my new world. I will try to do all my duties for my family. I will feel proud if I would be a good wife and a good mother and be the best daughter of my parents. I want to be a good citizen of my country.”

Tania. She wrote about herself, “I am the second daughter of my parents. I got two sisters and one little brother. I’m ambitious. I would like to be a teacher at a university. I am not sure that I’m gonna make it. But may be I got the potential to do so and I want to utilize every opportunity life gives me.

My father made me get admitted in this university. He said that the environment of this university is clean and I’ll be safe here.

Sweety. She came from a district of southern part of Bangladesh. Her father was a businessman and her mother a housewife. She wrote, “I am from a Muslim family. I am the eldest of the three daughters of my parents.

Every man has an aim. When I was in school I had the aim to be a doctor. By the time I was in college my aim changed. I decided to study chemistry. But this aim was not fulfilled. So now I have no specific aim. As I am studying English, everybody advises me to be a teacher, but this profession irritates me. Now after graduating I will try to get a job. If that suits me I will go with that.

Unfortunately I did not get a chance in a public university. So I am studying in this private university. At present most of the private universities are ultra modern. As a girl of a Muslim family I do not support the kind of environment they provide.

This university's environment is suitable for me. The academic and other facilities are better than those of other universities.

My family has chosen English as a subject to study for me. Because if you study English you can go to a number of job sectors. So this is a valuable subject to study.”

The narratives the students gave about themselves say that although the university was located in an urban area, most of the students came from neighbouring rural areas, from communities with strong religious values. The majority of the students came from middle income homes. In a setting where resources were limited and where access to higher education was a privilege, students who gained access to university education aspired to have a better life than their parents' generation. As with other postcolonial societies, the 'upper classes' in Bangladesh showed an affinity with aspects of western culture. Middle class students also nurtured a fascination for the west as they aspired to 'catch up' with the upper classes. These features made the participants unique for the study exploring critical pedagogy in the classroom.

Access. Before I began the study I had sought permission from the concerned authority i.e. the Head of the Department of English of the university to conduct the study in the researcher's own classroom.

The consent of the participants had also been sought. A sample of the consent forms that the participants reviewed and signed are in *Appendix A*. Before distributing the consent form I explained the purpose of the research and the procedures of data collection for the research. I made my teaching procedure for the writing course clear to them: the class will generate ideas through interaction and

then students will organize the ideas into a coherent argumentative essay. I told them that all the classes will be video recorded and a copy of their writings will be preserved. I explained to them that the study would need their reflections on the classroom procedures and I would like them to do that at the end of the course in an one-on-one interview at their convenience. I assured them that all the data of the study will be handled as confidentially as possible. In the report of the study, individual names and other personally identifiable information will not be used. So they should not feel uncomfortable. They agreed to participate in the research. Once all the parties gave their consent I began the activities related to my study.

I was aware that asking the students in one's own class to participate in a research study is ethically problematic. The questions of power and ethics were involved here. The male teacher/authority figure in an all female class signals further complexities in the power relation. The question of coercion in one's own class is a critical issue in this regard. There was a possibility that students will not be willing to participate in the research, but because of my teacher authority students may not decline my proposal on the face. In that case, as the teacher of the course ethically I cannot compel my students to participate in the research. Therefore, I explained to the students the purpose and procedure of the research in detail and said that they can accept or decline the proposal without any inhibition. In response, students enthusiastically agreed to participate in the research study, once they understood that they will go along with this course as they go with other courses; the only additional thing they will have to do is to meet the teacher in an interview at the end of the course. They also expressed their curiosity to closely observe, as participants of the research, how a classroom research goes.

Research Design

This study was a qualitative case study. This study explored criticality of EFL undergraduate students in a writing course collecting data from the students' activities for a period of four months, i.e. the duration of the course. A qualitative case study, therefore, was the suitable approach to explore the problem of the study. Qualitative research goes for in-depth understanding of certain issues (Cresswell, 2009, 2012). Case studies explore a programme, event, activity, process, or one or more individuals, in-depth for understanding an issue or a problem. Case studies are bounded by time and activity. In case studies detailed information is collected using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time (Cresswell, 2007, 2009).

As this study explored critical pedagogy in an undergraduate writing course, bounded by time (i.e. a period of four months, the duration of the course) and collected data over the same period of time, it met all the criteria to be a qualitative case study. Though the teacher was the teacher-researcher of this study, it was not an action research, since the purpose of this study was not to solve any problem, rather to explore an issue. It was not an ethnographic study also, as the aim of this study was not to study the culture of a group of people.

Instructional context. The instructional context comprised the course and the instructional approach in the tradition of critical pedagogy in the classroom context.

The course. The English writing course was a four month long course, having in total 12 contact periods, the duration of each period being two (02) hours, and two examinations. The goal of the writing course was to help students learn how

to write compositions coherently with a particular focus on the argumentative techniques. It left on the teacher the freedom to design the course on the basis of the goals. I, the teacher, knew that the goal of the writing course (i.e. to help students learn how to write compositions coherently with a particular focus on argumentative techniques) was possible to achieve with issues diverse in nature. As the teaching of English language in Bangladesh called forth the necessity of addressing epistemic violence (see the section ‘Background to the Study’ in Chapter 1 for details about epistemic violence), I capitalized the freedom left on the teacher to design the course: I selected some issues and encouraged students to generate issues that seemed to incorporate acts of epistemic violence. I capitalized the prewriting activities, e.g. generating ideas and organizing the ideas into a coherent written text, for engaging students in dialogue to problematize the acts of epistemic violence which consequently helped generate ideas for writing essays. Thus, provided that the goals of the writing course were met, this course had space for addressing epistemic violence and facilitating criticality in the classroom.

The instructional approach. The classes were conducted in the tradition of critical pedagogy that problematizes assumptions that perpetuate injustice in society (Freire, 1970; Kincheloe, 2004; Giroux, 2011). Attempts of problematization were guided by the principles drawn from the theoretical framework (see ‘Theoretical Framework’ in Chapter 1 for details). In critical pedagogy the issues of the lessons are either generated by the learners (Freire, 1970) or selected by the teacher (Monchinski, 2008, p. 127). The teacher-selected topics may also engage students in dialogue and attempts of problematization provided that they are related to students’ everyday experiences (Monchinski, 2008, p. 127). In either case it is suggested that

the instruction be evolved from a dialogue of the learners and the teacher in the classroom (Freire, 1970).

Selection and generation of issues. I, the teacher, made several attempts to have the issues “generated” by the students (Freire, 1970). Accustomed to the traditional teacher-centred class, students, however, wanted me to decide the issues for the lessons. Therefore, following Monchinski (2008) I selected some issues closely related to students’ lived experiences and kept on encouraging the students to generate issues for discussion. As I began the classes with a postcolonial concept of epistemic violence i.e. the dominance and imposition of western ways of perceiving the world causing displacement of non-western ways of perceiving the world, my motive, as a critical pedagogue, behind selecting the issues was to “name” (Freire, 1970, 33) the dominance and imposition of western ways of perceiving the world. I introduced the following issues in the lessons:

1. A Modern Person (Week 1 & 2)
2. Bengali Nation (Week 3 & 4)
3. English and Development (Week 5)
4. Illiterate People of Bangladesh (Week 7 & 8)

As a Bangladeshi national, I was aware that the discourses around modernity, attitude to Bengali nation, English language, development and literacy were potentially informed by the western norms and values, and hence they needed to be problematized.

As I kept on encouraging the students to generate issues for the forthcoming lessons, in week 6 the class engaged in finding phenomena around themselves where they experience instances of dominance and imposition of views on others. Some of

the issues they came up with were: anti-religious views in Bangladesh, connecting terrorism with the Muslims, status of indigenous dress in Bangladesh, and inequalities in society. I knew that the political situation in Bangladesh at that time was very sensitive. Therefore, I found it unwise to deal with the first two issues related to religion and the politics of religion. I drew the attention of the class to the situation. The class agreed with me and decided to discuss the following issues:

5. Inequalities in Society of Bangladesh (Week 9 & 10), and
6. The Status of Indigenous Dress in Bangladesh (Week 11 & 12).

Thus, students decided the last two issues for the curriculum where I, the teacher, intervened as a co-interlocutor. However, though I selected the first four issues from the students' lived experiences, the curriculum came out as teacher-centred. It would have been interesting to find an alternative to the teacher deciding the issues for the lessons. However, this was not feasible in a teacher-centred classroom ethos. The success of critical pedagogy was to help the students generate the last two issues for the lessons, and thus one third of the curriculum came out as student-centred..

Instruction as critical interactions. Critical pedagogy suggests that the instruction be evolved from a dialogue of the learners and the teacher in the classroom (Freire 1970). In critical pedagogy

the teacher is no longer merely the-one-who-teaches, but one who is himself taught in dialogue with the students, who in turn while being taught also teach. ...In this process, arguments based on "authority" are no longer valid; in order to function, authority must be *on the side of* freedom, not *against* it (Freire, 1970, p. 80).

Therefore, instead of playing the traditional domineering teacher role in the class, I engaged in dialogue with the students as one of the interlocutors. I attempted the lessons with the sole motivation to create a democratic environment in the class so that students enjoy freedom to express their views without inhibition. I knew that freedom of expression is not critical pedagogy, but it is a pre-requisite for critical pedagogy. The teacher needs to ensure a space for freedom of expression to practice problematization. Therefore, the study explored how the space for freedom of expression was maintained in the class for facilitation of criticality. I was also aware that because of his/her social positions a teacher cannot play the role of a “disinterested mediator on the side of the oppressed group” (Ellsworth, 1992, p. 101). This tension is inherent in the study of critical pedagogy in the classroom.

The instructional approach for criticality comprised the guiding principles conceptualized from the theoretical framework (see Chapter 1 for details of the theoretical framework). The principles of the approach were: (i) Established ideologies and discourses should be questioned, because oppressive power works through them to maintain the status quo; (ii) Assumptions taken for granted must be questioned, because they conceive social relationship of inequality, injustice, and exploitation. Hence attempts were made to problematize stances that these principles suggest to problematize, keeping it in mind that critical theory further suggests that these principles be also open to problematization (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005). Thus, interactions in the classroom aimed at promoting attempts of problematization (Freire, 1970; Giroux, 2003; Smith & McLaren, 2010).

Lesson procedures. The following procedures were maintained for conducting the classes: introducing the issue, sharing ideas on the issue, selecting

and organizing the ideas for drafting an essay, writing of drafts of the essay, and finally the teacher's feedback on the essay. The issues were introduced either by vignettes (see the subsection entitled 'Classroom interactions addressing instances of epistemic violence' under Research Question One in Chapter 4 for details) or by some intriguing questions (see Appendix C). As a pedagogical technique for provoking students' responses I placed the issues to the class foregrounding an extreme side of an issue (Monchinski, 2008). However, I kept it always open for the students to lead the discussion to any direction they found comfortable (see the subsection entitled 'Classroom interactions addressing instances of epistemic violence' under Research Question One in Chapter 4 for details).

Through sharing views on the issues in the classroom I intended to facilitate generation of ideas for writing essays as well as problematize the epistemic violence associated with the issues. A facebook page was created to exchange ideas on the issues of the lessons with a view to facilitating the writing process. However, because of the conservative environment as well as the limitations of access to internet many students appeared reluctant to use that. Therefore, I dropped the idea of using the facebook page after the second lesson and focused mainly on the classroom interactions. In the classroom, students shared ideas on the issues, selected and organized ideas for writing an essay and finally drafted the essay. I, the teacher, gave feedback on their writings. My feedback included instruction on the techniques of organizing the ideas into an essay and on the accuracy of the language (grammar, vocabulary & discourse) they used in their essays (see Appendix B (d) Instruction on Writing). As the issues were closely related to students' lived experiences, the instruction mainly evolved from the students' and the teacher's experiences and reflections on the issues.

Role of the researcher. The researcher was the teacher of the writing course. The researcher, therefore, acted as a teacher-researcher for exploring critical pedagogy in the classroom. The teacher-researcher was involved with the students to co-construct lessons and facilitate attempts of problematization. He taught, recorded the classroom interactions, acted as a co-interlocutor in the dialogue, and kept journal of his reflections on the lessons for sense making of the classroom interactions. However, the primary focus of the study was the students. The teacher-researcher's involvement in the lessons was to facilitate critical pedagogy in the classroom.

Procedures for data collection. Data for the study were collected from multiple sources such as recordings of classroom interactions, documents of students' writings, interviews, and observations, because multiple sources of evidence are recommended for a good case study (Cresswell, 2007; Yin, 2009). As data for the problem of the study emerged from the students' responses, enough data were gathered from recordings of students' classroom interactions, documents of students' writings, interviews with students, and teacher-researcher's post-lesson reflection reports. However, the study mainly relied on the recordings of students' classroom interactions, and the documents of students' writings. Interviews with students and the teacher-researcher's post-lesson reflections were used for triangulation.

Recordings of classroom interactions. Classroom interactions were audio recorded in order to explore the complex ways students respond to and engage in critical pedagogy. The recordings then were transcribed verbatim. The recordings

were durable and gave the scope for tracking the students' stances as and when necessary. As the course comprised 12 classes, each having 2 hours of duration, the transcripts of the recordings of the classes provided a major part of the data for the study (see *Appendix F* for excerpts from classroom interactions).

Documents. Documents covered writings of students on the issues discussed in the classroom (see the subsection entitled 'Instructional context' in Chapter 3). All the writings of the students were preserved as documents for analysis (see *Appendix H* for samples of students' writings). These types of documents are labeled as private documents (Cresswell, 2012).

Interviews. Participants of the study were interviewed one-on-one basis for understanding certain emotional, socio-economic and cultural phenomenon of their responses regarding criticality. A one-on-one interview gives the participants the environment to speak out their emotions and ideas without restraint. In a one-on-one interview the researcher asks questions to and records answers from only one participant at a time (Cresswell, 2012). Prompted by the study of the documents (i.e. students' writings), and classroom observations the questions in the interviews were open-ended. In open-ended questions the participants have options for responding and can best voice their experience unconstrained by the perspectives of the researchers or past research findings (Cresswell, 2012).

Interviews were conducted at the end of the course. An interview protocol was prepared (*Appendix D*). The questions in the protocol were tentative and were used as guidelines. Questions were set in three groups to elicit opinions related to the research questions. The first group of questions addressed the dimension of

facilitation of criticality. The second and third groups of questions focused on the dimension of routes to criticality. Here the second group looked into students' position-taking and the third group students' attitude to problematization in real life. Thus these two groups of questions probed into how far students were ready to attempt problematization in their real life. Apart from the questions in the protocol, other questions emerged from the context of the classroom interactions and the students' writings to probe the students' responses to problematization in the classroom. As the goal of the interviews was to tap the students' understanding, depending on the students' preference questions were asked in Bangla for some students and in English for some other students (see Appendix G for excerpts from interviews).

Teacher-researcher's post-lesson reflection reports. Reflections on the classroom interactions were journalled by the teacher-researcher immediately after each of the classes. Journals recorded the teacher-researcher's insights, hunches, or broad ideas or themes that emerged during the observation. The teacher-researcher reflected particularly on the teacher role, students' position-taking in the dialogue, students' emotional exposure, and students' reactions to the attempts of problematization in the class (see Appendix E for Teacher-Researcher's Post-Lesson Reflection Protocol). These reflections helped the teacher identify and avoid the impediments of dialogue in the classroom and attempts of problematization. These reflections also helped notice issues in the classroom to be probed during the interviews (see Appendix I for excerpts from post-lesson reflections).

As the teacher-researcher I was aware that the teacher and the students occupy different positions in the sociocultural and institutional hierarchy. The

students' interactions with the teacher, the students' interview data (interviewed by the teacher), and the students' academic writing (submitted to the teacher as assignments for a grade) are all potentially shaped by this power differential between the teacher and the students. In this context, it was possible that the teacher authority would motivate students to side with the teacher's opinion, and thus would shape students' stances. Therefore, my teacher role primarily was to facilitate the student discussion without exercising my authority and disclosing my position. However, my selection of certain voices to endorse in the classroom would be indicative of my own stance and position towards the topics being discussed. Thus, there was always the possibility of the teacher's positions to be channeled to the students. As a result, a motivation to please the teacher for its own sake or for better grades would shape students' positionalities. Anticipating this possibility, I clarified the grading policy to the class: grades would be awarded on the basis of substantial arguments in support of students' own positions, not on the basis on how far they were close to the teacher's opinions.

I was also aware that, in the context I work, students consider teachers' opinions as the only truth to be noted down and learnt. Therefore, I explained that all views are based on some perspectives, hence partial and biased. Teachers' opinions are also partial and biased. Therefore, the teachers' opinions are as questionable as that of any other interlocutors.

Freire (1970) maintains that the teacher as a critical pedagogue will try not to impose his position on the students. However, he cannot and does not need to hide his position from the students. What he needs to do is to create the environment where the teacher is considered as one of the co-interlocutors; he will not impose his

opinions on the students; but he will have his teacher authority to ensure learning in the classroom. Therefore, I tried to maintain such an environment in my class.

Another concern I had about the role of the teacher-researcher was regarding the teacher (authority) interviewing the students. It was possible that instead of giving genuine reflections on the lesson procedures the students would attempt to please the teacher. Therefore, I spent some time for counseling the students before each interview. I made it clear to them that their genuine reflections on the issues even if that goes against me, the teacher, will help me in the research. On the other hand, if they hide the truth and reflect to please the teacher, it would be harmful for the teacher in his research. In the culture I was teaching in it could be expected that the students would come out to help the teacher with their utmost effort.

To maintain a check and balance in the teacher-students power relations these issues were frequently considered and reconsidered in the teacher-researcher's post-lesson reflection reports, one of the data collection procedures. Thus, there was always self-reflexivity in the role of the teacher researcher.

Procedures for data analysis. The data collected from the sources mentioned above were read and explored several times to obtain a general sense of the data and memo ideas. The next stage of the data analysis procedure was to organize the data according to the research questions. The data were then coded and the codes were finally combined into themes. This is the general process of data analysis researchers use. The core elements of qualitative data analysis start with coding the data i.e. reducing the data into meaningful segments and assigning names for the segments. The codes are then combined into broader categories or themes. Finally, the data are compared and represented in discussion (Cresswell, 2007).

Research question one: Facilitation of criticality. As the focus of research question one was facilitation of criticality in the classroom, the classroom interactions in the instructional context (see subsection entitled ‘Instructional context’ in this chapter for details) provided data for the study of research question one. The analysis for research question one focused on all the students as a class. First of all, I read out the classroom interactions of all the 12 classes of the course (see subsection entitled ‘The course’ under ‘Instructional context’ in this chapter for details of the course) to identify the instances of epistemic violence (see ‘Background to the Problem’ in Chapter one for details about epistemic violence) and the attempts made to problematize the instances of epistemic violence. Students’ classroom interactions that aligned with established ideologies and discourses, and the taken-for-granted assumptions were identified as instances of epistemic violence, because oppressive power works through established ideologies and discourses to maintain the status quo, and assumptions taken for granted conceive social relationships of inequality, injustice and exploitation (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005). As classroom pedagogy addressed epistemic violence, the instances of epistemic violence were already identified and problematized in the classroom. As the focus of research question one was facilitation of criticality while addressing issues of epistemic violence, the analysis of data for research question one started with focusing on the interactions around the instances of epistemic violence. A chunk of interactions that incorporated a particular instance of epistemic violence and the responses to that instance was considered as an episode. Then I analyzed the episodes to explore how the attempts of problematization were facilitated. Thus, the data were coded and categorized to answer research question one. Data sources

namely the teacher-researcher's post-lesson reflection reports and interviews with students were used for triangulating the findings.

Research question two: Routes to criticality. The main sources of data for research question two were the recordings of classroom interactions and the documents i.e. the essays the students subsequently wrote. These two sources were chosen for exploring students' routes to criticality, because students' immediate responses to the issues were found in classroom interactions and their later responses were found in their writings. (As the writing of the drafts of essays followed the classroom interactions, while writing, students had the opportunity to reflect on the various opinions expressed by different interlocutors in the classroom interactions.) Another data source namely interviews with students was used for triangulating the findings.

The data were coded and categorized into themes focusing on students' positionalities on the issues (for details about the issues see *Selection and generation of issues* under *Instructional context* in this chapter). I analyzed all the positionalities adopted by students in the lessons. In this regard, first of all, I read the classroom interactions of a lesson aloud and identified each participating student's positions on the issue. Then I read the essays each student wrote in that lesson and identified their positions on the issue. The data coded in this way were finally categorized lesson by lesson focusing on each individual student to find the trajectory of the stances of each individual student. Stances that problematized the instances of epistemic violence were identified as critical stances (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2005). The findings were then triangulated with interview data in order to understand the influences that contributed to their positionalities. Thus, this analysis

exposed each individual student's progress towards criticality and routes to criticality answering research question two.

Research question three: How language mediates communication of criticality. Research question three explores how language mediates the communication of criticality. The unit of analysis for research question three, therefore, was the linguistic expressions namely the utterances and written texts the individual students used for communicating a particular stance. For stances in oral interactions in the classroom, utterances of each of the turns of argument put by a particular student related to a particular stance were chosen, while for stances expressed in the essays, written texts of arguments related to a particular stance of a particular student were chosen.

The linguistic expressions were then analyzed to identify the “socio-ideological voices” that “populate[d]” the expressions (Bakhtin, 1981). In line with Bakhtin (1981, pp. 304-5), I identified voices in students' utterances and written texts. Bakhtin (1981, p. 305) exemplifies an analysis of voices in the statement “But Mr. Tite Barnacle was a buttoned-up man, and *consequently*, a weighty one” from *Little Dorrit* by Dickens. He maintains,

The above sentence is an example of pseudo-objective motivation, one of the forms for concealing another's speech – in this example, the speech of “current opinion.” If judged by the formal markers above, the logic motivating the sentence seems to belong to the author, i.e., he is formally at one with it; but in actual fact, the motivation lies within the subjective belief system of his characters, or of general opinion.

Sperling (2005) employed both these dimensions for identifying voices while using Bakhtinian perspectives in language, literacy, and learning research. While analyzing a short turn by Sharon (S: Well, *we would do quizzes* for content. *That's standard.*) in an interview, Sperling (pp. 241-242) identified four voices:

[T]he first italicized portion represents, I would argue, three differing assertions about quizzes, or three differing voices. Certainly, the inclusive pronoun *we* encompasses what one would presume are the two differing voices of the teacher, on the one hand, and her students, on the other hand. One might surmise that these two voices are real enough, even though they are only implicit in Sharon's talk, in the sense that they are grounded in actual teacher and student experiences with quizzes. However, *we* also encompasses a third voice, which is a melding of the first two, the plural voice (*we*) that Sharon actually articulates. I would argue, following Bakhtin, that this articulated voice is not grounded in the same reality as the first two are. That is, this third voice synthesizes the experiences of the teacher, on the one hand, and her students, on the other hand, conflating the experiences for the purpose of the moment. In this respect, *we* is a convenient fiction, lumping the teacher and students together as if they were one and the same. Much inference takes place in this assertion. That is, Sharon infers that the students' experience with quizzes can – and may – be lumped with hers to convey something meaningful to me, her interlocutor. The moment of talk itself, then, works and conditions her message. The second italicized portion of [the turn] represents yet another voice that of the authority or classroom norm into which quizzes fit, the *standard.* In the

space of this one short turn, then, Sharon, represents at least four voices, and experiences past and present. (pp. 241-2)

Following these instances of identifying voices in language, I identified voices in the students' linguistic utterances and written texts.

It is argued that the Bakhtinian analysis of voices is rather vague. However, the relevant concepts of ~~inter~~discursivity' or ~~inter~~textuality'' (Fairclough, 1995) are not less vague, as the identification of the categories mainly depends on the readers' background knowledge and information. This study focused on the students' oral and written expressions based on their personal experiences. The researcher shared the same socio-economic and cultural background of the learners. This shared socio-economic and cultural background helped the researcher identify the voices that populated the students' linguistic expressions.

Once the data were coded in this way, they were categorized, in terms of power relations, into ~~authoritative~~ discourses'' and ~~internally~~ persuasive discourses'' (See Theoretical Framework' in Chapter 1 for details about Bakhtin's concept of voices, and authoritative and internally persuasive discourses). Then I examined the ~~inter~~relationship'' of the voices representing ~~authoritative~~ discourses'' and ~~internally~~ persuasive discourses'' in all the stances. Finally, I traced the interrelationship of the voices (representing ~~authoritative~~ discourses'' and ~~internally~~ persuasive discourses'') that populated the linguistic expressions used for communication of criticality. Thus this analysis answered research question three i.e. how language mediates the communication of criticality.

Figure 3.1 below shows the connection amongst the research questions, sources of data, participants, and analysis of data.

Research Questions	Sources of Data	Participants	Analysis of Data
RQ 1: How is criticality facilitated?	Classroom interactions, Post-lesson reflections, Interviews	Students & the teacher	Thematic analysis of the responses to attempts of problematization
RQ 2: What routes to criticality do the students take?	Classroom interactions, Documents, Interviews	Students	Thematic analysis of the positionalities in the instances of epistemic violence
RQ 3: How does language mediate the communication of criticality?	Classroom interactions, Documents	Students	Thematic analysis of voices in linguistic expressions from Bakhtinian perspective

Figure 3.1 Alignment of research questions, sources of data, participants, and analysis of data.

Trustworthiness

Multiple strategies of trustworthiness were employed, such as collection of data from multiple sources, triangulation of data from the diverse sources, and inter-rater reliability.

Multiple sources of data. Data were collected from multiple sources namely recordings of classroom interactions, documents, interviews and teacher-researcher's post-lesson reflections.

Triangulation. A triangulation of the data from these diverse sources ensured that the account was accurate and insightful. Data triangulation involved the convergence of multiple data sources in order to reveal the complete analysis of a subject (Merriam, 2009). I used the recordings of classroom interactions and the documents of students' writings as the main sources of data for the study. Findings revealed from the analysis of these main sources of data were matched with the interview data and teacher-researcher's post-lesson reflection reports. For example, analysis of the classroom interactions for research question one was triangulated with the teacher-researcher's post-lesson reflection reports and students' interviews (see the subsection entitled Discussion: Facilitation of criticality under Research Question One in Chapter 4 for details); the analysis of classroom interactions and documents of students' writing for research question two was triangulated with the students' interviews (see subsections Rima's reflections on the shifts in her stances, Reasons for Rima's position-taking, Tisha's reflections on the shifts in her stances, Reasons for Tisha's position-taking, Rupa's reflections on the shifts in her stances, and Reasons for Rupa's position-taking in Chapter 4 for details). The triangulation of data from multiple sources substantiated the findings and fleshed out insights into the issue.

Inter-rater reliability. In addition, the coding and the categorizing of the data were placed for inter-rater reliability. Responding to my request, two of my esteemed colleagues agreed to comment on the coding and categorizing. I handed the relevant data and my detailed analysis and arguments on the data along with the codes over to my colleagues. The rubrics/criteria used for coding were provided in terms of stances and voices. I requested them to give new coding in case of

disagreement with my coding. In about 90% cases they agreed with my coding and categorizing (see Appendix J for Inter-rater Reliability Report).

None of the raters disagreed with my identification of voices. However, there were some disagreements in terms of labeling the stances. Rater 1 disagreed with my labeling of one of Rupa's stances as "feeling of respect as well as a sense of inferiority." He could not see the sense of inferiority in this particular stance of Rupa. Rater 2 disagreed with my labeling of one of Tisha's stances as "favouring inequalities in society." According to Rater 2, Tisha was stating whatever the reality was, i.e. there was inequality in society. He could not see any act of favouring inequalities in society in this particular stance of Tisha.

Chapter 4: Analysis of Findings

This chapter reports the findings of the study on critical pedagogy conducted in an undergraduate EFL classroom at a university located in an urban area of Bangladesh. This study aimed at three research questions:

1. How is criticality facilitated while doing critical pedagogy for addressing issues of epistemic violence in an undergraduate EFL classroom in Bangladesh?
2. What routes to criticality do the undergraduate students take in the process of critical pedagogy in EFL classrooms?
3. How does language mediate the communication of criticality by undergraduate students in the EFL classroom?

Research question one explores how critical pedagogy plays out in the classroom to *facilitate criticality* while addressing issues of epistemic violence (see the section entitled ‘Criticality’ in Chapter 2 and the section entitled ‘Background to the Study’ in Chapter 1 for explanation of criticality and epistemic violence respectively). Therefore, it deals with the class as a whole. Research question two examines each individual student’s position-taking on the issues in their classroom interactions and in their essays (see ‘Instructional context’ in Chapter 3 for details) to shed light on the *routes to criticality*. And, in order to understand *how language mediates the communication of criticality*, research question three attempts to investigate the linguistic expressions (i.e. utterances and written texts) individual students used for articulating their respective positions. Thus, research question one deals with the class as a whole, research question two individual student’s positions in the classroom interactions and in their essays, and research question three

utterances & written texts used by the individual students for communicating their stances. Thus, research question one sets the stage for research question two while research question two paves the way for research question three. Hence, the three research questions of the study are nested within each other. The findings for the three research questions are presented in the following three sections.

Research Question One: How is Criticality Facilitated While Doing Critical Pedagogy for Addressing Issues of Epistemic Violence in an Undergraduate EFL Classroom in Bangladesh?

The key concept of research question one is ‘facilitation of criticality’ that refers to the classroom practices that promote attempts of problematization. Problematization or “problem posing” was formally framed in Paulo Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1968/1974) as problem-posing education (Luke, 2004; McLaren, 2000). Problematization is necessary for liberation and empowerment of the learners (Auerbach, 1995; Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1997, 2005; Kincheloe, 2004, 2008; Luke, 2013; McLaren, 1988, 1995; Smith & McLaren, 2010) from epistemic violence which refers to the dominance and imposition of Western ways of perceiving the world causing displacement of the non-Western ways of perceiving the world (Alatas, 1995; Fanon, 1952/1967; Kincheloe, 2008; Said, 1995; Spivak, 1995).

As the focus of research question one was facilitation of criticality in the classroom, classroom interactions in the instructional context of the study (see ‘Instructional context’ in Chapter 3 for details) provided data for the study. The analysis for research question one focused on all the students as a class. First of all, I read out the classroom interactions of all the 12 classes of the course (see the

subsection entitled ‘The course’ under ‘Instructional context’ in Chapter 3 for details) to identify instances of epistemic violence (see ‘Background to the Problem’ in Chapter 1 for details about epistemic violence) and the attempts made to problematize the instances of epistemic violence. Students’ classroom interactions that aligned with established ideologies and discourses, and the taken-for-granted assumptions were identified as instances of epistemic violence, because oppressive power works through established ideologies and discourses to maintain the status quo, and assumptions taken for granted conceive social relationships of inequality, injustice and exploitation (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005). As classroom pedagogy addressed epistemic violence, the instances of epistemic violence were already identified and problematized in the classroom. As the focus of research question one was facilitation of criticality while addressing issues of epistemic violence, the analysis of data for research question one started with focusing on the interactions around the instances of epistemic violence. A chunk of interactions that incorporated a particular instance of epistemic violence and the responses to that instance was considered as an episode. The episodes were then analyzed to explore how the attempts of problematization were facilitated. Thus, the data were coded and categorized to answer research question one. Data sources namely the teacher-researcher’s post-lesson reflection reports and students’ interviews were used for triangulating the findings.

I present the findings of research question one under three subsections namely attempts of problematization, discussion: facilitation of criticality, and conclusion. The first subsection illustrates attempts made to problematize instances of epistemic violence in the classroom. An analysis of the findings presented in this subsection reveals a number of issues involved in facilitation of criticality which are

discussed in the subsection *discussion: facilitation of criticality.*‘ The instances of epistemic violence in the first subsection also manifest, as a by-product of the study, new understandings about the nature of epistemic violence in the context of the study. Hence, the conclusion of this section, firstly, sums up the findings on facilitation of criticality, and then discusses the nature of epistemic violence in the context of the study. Thus, this section illustrates how criticality was facilitated while addressing issues of epistemic violence in the classroom.

Attempts of problematization. To illustrate attempts made to problematize the instances of epistemic violence, this sub-section analyses data from classroom interactions (see Appendix F for samples of excerpts from classroom interactions), the teacher-researcher’s post-lesson reflections (see Appendix I for excerpts from post-lesson reflections) and the students’ reflections on their classroom experience (see Appendix G for excerpts from interviews).

Classroom interactions addressing instances of epistemic violence. When I, the researcher, analyzed the classroom interactions transcribed verbatim, I identified a number of instances where attempts were made to problematize epistemic violence. Here I present three episodes of classroom interactions occurred over the semester (Episode 1 from week 3, episode 2 from week 7 and episode 3 from week 11) to illustrate some attempts made to problematize instances of epistemic violence. The episodes are presented in three sub-sections labeled with the theme of each of the instances of epistemic violence namely over-generalizing, buying into the metanarratives and privileging the west. Each of the themes is followed by two

opposing quotes from the students' responses, the first illustrating the act of epistemic violence and the second an attempt to problematize the act.

Over-generalizing: "Majority of the people are corrupted in Bangladesh."/
"I don't think so." An act of over-generalization extrapolates a claim about the entire population from an instance in a subset of the population. As a result, an act of over-generalization seems to ignore the alternative possibilities of the other subsets of the population. Thus, over-generalization is an *irrational form* of *rationalizing*, a form of epistemic violence or *epistemological violence*" (Kincheloe, 2008, p. 55).

Classroom interactions in Episode 1 below illustrate over-generalization as an instance of epistemic violence and how the class responded to the act of over-generalizing. It is taken from the classroom interactions in week 3 when the class was reflecting on the notion of the *"Bengali nation"* (*Banglali jati* in Bangla). The phrase *"Bengali nation"* as used in the interactions was a colloquial reference to the nation of Bangladesh. I introduced the issue with an anecdote I narrated from the facebook status of one of my friends. My purpose was to highlight an instance of over-generalization which was inherent in the facebook narrative (The facebook status is presented verbatim, even with punctuation left unchanged):

I was travelling by a city service bus with my friend. Along with another girl we were sitting on one of the three-seated rows reserved for women [Three three-seated rows in the front of all city service buses in Dhaka city are usually reserved for women, children, and the disabled]. As soon as the other girl got down at the next stop, a male passenger took the seat. After a few moments a woman with her baby got on the bus. She was standing, but nobody got up to offer her a seat. After a few moments I told the man beside me, *"You please get up, and let her sit here. This is reserved for women."* The man said, *"All seats are for women"* (i.e. women sit everywhere, not only on the ones reserved for them). I said, *"So what? The lady with her child is standing, won't you let her sit???"* Staring at me angrily and grunting unintelligibly the man stood up making room for the standing lady to sit. He got extremely resentful.....P
Will the Bengali nation remain so forever????????!!!!!!..‘

The concluding statement (–Will the Bengali nation remain so for ever????????!!!!!!”) may be read variously as a lament, a criticism or a note of regret. But more importantly it was an act of over-generalization, because it extrapolated a claim about the entire Bengali nation from a specific event on a city bus. Referring to the concluding statement I asked the class to discuss their takes on it in order to provide input for the curriculum unit I was teaching on Bengali nation. The students engaged in a heated discussion. Most of the students agreed with the over-generalization that the major problems of the nation originated in the characteristics of its people. They particularly claimed that the problem with Bangladesh was that *the people* of Bangladesh were corrupt. However, Tania (All the personal names are pseudonyms), one of the students, protested –these negative aspects do not apply to all the people.” As Tania’s protest was drowned in the loud voices of other students I, the teacher, attempted to draw the attention of the class to what Tania said.

Episode 1

Teacher: It’s a good point Tania has made that ... these negative aspects do not apply to all the people.

Shumi: (seated at the back of the class blurted out loudly) But sir, majority ... majority of the people are corrupted in Bangladesh.

5 Tania: I don’t think so. (drowned under the high voices)

Rima: Listen! If 90 percent of the high officials of a country ... 90 percent of the high officials are corrupt.

Teacher: It’s not of all, as she said (*referring to Tania*). We are [over]generalizing then. Why?

10 Shumi: But sir, majority accepts this [view].)...

Teacher: Are the corrupt people majority? ... Even if we suppose that all of our high officials are corrupt ... Do they represent the nation?

Students: (*in a voice*) No, sir.

Shumi: Sir, sometimes they ---

15 Rima: Sir, when Bangladesh becomes champion in corruption then other countries look at Bangladesh simply in this way.)

[*Very noisy and inaudible discussion*]

Teacher: ... As she said, people from other countries look at Bangladesh simply in this way. Have we then changed our eyes with foreign eyes? ...

20 Rima: Why should I take foreign eyes?

Teacher: I mean ...

- Rima: Sir, when I see in my own eyes, I am a victim of heavy corruption, shouldn't I feel discriminated against? Suppose, in spite of good performance in the admissions test one of my relatives could not manage to get admitted in
- 25 [a top public university]. But there were others who managed it with money in front of my eyes. When I see that shouldn't I feel discriminated against?
- Teacher: ... How many students get admitted in [the top public university]? And how many of them commit the corruption?
- Students: (*in a voice*) Sir, a lot of them do it.
- 30 Rima: People spend millions of Taka (Bangladesh currency) to obtain the question paper of medical college admission test.
- Tisha: (*had been silent so far*) How many people in Bangladesh afford to spend millions?
- Rima: Listen! To obtain a position in the medical colleges, people raise
- 35 money even by selling their land ...
- Tisha: How many students study medicine?
- Rima: A lot...
- [*Noisy and heated interactions; inaudible*]
- Teacher: The [point] is ---
- 40 Tania: Excuse me, why are you quarrelling?

Shumi and Rima strongly spoke in favour of the claim that *the people* of Bangladesh were corrupt. Challenged by Tania and me, the teacher, (L 1 & 5) they revised their supporting arguments (L4, 6 & 7: ~~majority of the people,~~ ~~90% of the high officials~~) for their claim. In reply to my question ~~We are [over]-generalizing then. Why?~~ (L8& 9), Shumi claimed that majority of the people possessed the view they were arguing for (L10: ~~majority accepts this [view]~~). Thus their responses illustrate an act of over-generalization as they extrapolated a claim about the entire Bengali nation from 90% of a subset of the entire population. This act of over-generalization ignored the alternative possibilities of majority of the people out beyond the ~~90% of high officials.~~ [The figure ~~90%~~ in Rima's claim ~~90% of the high officials are corrupt~~ could be questioned.]

Attempts were made to problematize the act of over-generalization. For example, Tania challenged it (~~these negative aspects do not apply to all the people~~). Tania's challenge was drowned in the loud voices like Rima and Shumi speaking in favour of the over-generalization (L6&10). As the teacher, I felt that the

drowned voice of Tania needed attention. Therefore, I drew their attention to Tania's comment in such a way that the teacher's authority is not imposed on them (L8-9). I referred to Tania, rephrased her statement, connected that to over-generalization and opened it for discussion. Challenged by the attempts of problematization made by Tania and me, Rima and Shumi revised their claim first to the statement that ~~majority~~ "of the people" were ~~corrupt~~ and further to apply the claim to a subset of ~~90%~~ "of high officials." I attempted to draw their attention to the fallacy that the ~~nation~~ "as a whole" cannot be equated with 90% of high officials (L8,11). However, they side-stepped my question. Shumi claimed her position to be that of the majority of the people (~~majority~~ "accepts this [view]") and Rima alluded to a report of a Berlin based international organization, Transparency International, which claimed that Bangladesh topped the list of most corrupt nations (L15-16).

Rima's reference to Transparency International and how ~~other~~ "countries look at Bangladesh" prompted me to think that she was looking at the Bengali nation from a western perspective. Therefore, I questioned ~~Have~~ "we then changed our eyes with foreign eyes?" (L19). In reply, Rima came out with her own feeling of deprivation as she found herself the victim of corruption in admissions test of public universities (L22-23: ~~I~~ "I am a victim of heavy corruption, shouldn't I feel discriminated against?"). Her voice and her repetition of ~~shouldn't~~ "I feel discriminated against?" indicate that her arguments were emotionally charged. However, I continued questioning her further references to corruption in [the top public university] admissions tests. I asked, ~~How~~ "many students get admitted to [the top public university?]" (L27-28) intending to draw attention to the fact that in comparison with all the people of Bangladesh the number of students getting admitted to [the top public university] through corruption was very small. However,

almost all the students replied (L29: ~~S~~ir, a lot of them do it.”) in support of Rima who continued to establish her position referring to the corruption in the admissions test to medical colleges (L30-31, 34). At this stage, Tisha, who had been silent so far, came up with her sharp questions (L32,36: ~~h~~ow many people ...” or ~~h~~ow many students...” which were attempts to challenge Rima’s attempt at over-generalizing her claims about *the people*.

Thus, Rima and Shumi claimed that *the people* of Bangladesh were corrupt. The assumption behind their claim was that 90% of the high officials represent the nation as a whole. However, both the claim and the assumption contributing to over-generalization were problematized with counter arguments and questions. The act of over-generalization was, at first, challenged, though meekly, by Tania and consequently, by Tisha, along with the intervention by the teacher. Though I attempted to connect Rima’s over-generalization to western influence, she, in turn, simply referred to her own feeling of deprivation. Thus, they faced the challenges, revised and counter-posed their arguments. Rima, even, demonstrated an aggressive stance in defending her over-generalized claim about the nation as a whole, though her feeble response (L37: ~~A~~ lot..”) did not convincingly rebut Tisha’s challenge. However, students engaged in the dialogue so spontaneously that the dialogue turned into a loud and heated discussion which made Tania to comment ~~W~~hy are you quarrelling?” (L40).

Buying into metanarratives: “How will the illiterate people know who is good or bad?”/ “big oppressors -- highly educated people”. Metanarratives are the ~~a~~uthoritative” discourses that tend to ~~s~~mother difference, opposition and plurality” (Barry, 1995, p.86). As the discourse associated with literacy tends to regard the

illiterate people as inferior, the literacy-illiteracy divide in society also constructs metanarrative (Bloome et al, 2008). The metanarrative associated with literacy sets up a dividing practice (Foucault, 1980) between the literate and the illiterate i.e. between those who read and those who do not, disadvantaging the latter. Though ~~there~~ there are many ways of reading and many ways of learning to read,” those who can read in the dominant literacy practice are considered to have common sense, be rational, and morally righteous, while those who do not lack common sense, are irrational, and morally bankrupt (Bloome, et al. 2008, p. 39). Thus, the metanarrative associated with literacy causes acts of epistemic violence.

I present episode 2 from the classroom interactions in week 7 to illustrate how the class responded to an instance of epistemic violence originated in the metanarrative associated with literacy. The interactions were triggered by an anecdote of one of my friend’s views about the illiterate people of Bangladesh I narrated to the class. My intention in narrating the anecdote in the classroom was to problematize an instance of epistemic violence inherent in the views of my friend. The anecdote went as follows:

Once I was engaged in a casual discussion with my friend. We were talking about the development and the democratic practice in Bangladesh. The discussion turned to the role of the illiterate people of Bangladesh in this regard. My friend said that as illiterate people can’t read and write, they pose a problem for the development of Bangladesh. They do not have the ability to distinguish between good and evil. As a result, they are unable to vote the right person during national polls. Therefore, he furthered his argument, as most of the people of Bangladesh are illiterate, democracy is not suitable here.

According to Bangladesh Literacy Survey 2010 (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2011) the national literacy rate is 57.53% amongst 11 to 45 year old population. Here literacy at initial level i.e. “limited use of literacy skills” is 13.3% and at advanced level i.e. “the ability to use the skills in everyday life” is 43.3%. Thus at the functional level i.e. advanced level almost 57% of the population is illiterate. It is well-known that the sectors mainly contributing to the development of the country are agriculture, readymade garments, and foreign remittance, and these sectors are mainly run by the vast majority of the illiterate people. In spite of all this contribution of the illiterate people of Bangladesh my friend referred to the illiterate people of Bangladesh as barriers to the development of the country, because, according to him, as they did not possess literacy they were devoid of the capabilities of distinguishing good and evil. Thus it appeared that the metanarrative associated with literacy led him to consider the illiterate people as devoid of the basic human capability of distinguishing good and evil. In casual comments in tea stall gossips and in TV talk shows in Bangladesh some educated people often appeared to subscribe to this metanarrative associated with literacy, and commit acts of epistemic violence downgrading majority of the people of the country, Bangladesh. Therefore, I felt the need for problematizing this attitude to humiliate the illiterate people.

Rima, Shumi and others immediately stood against the attitude that considered the illiterate people as barriers for the development of the country, while some of Saba, Tisha and Hashi’s comments sided with the attitude.

Episode 2

Rima: Sir, ... it should not be said in this way. ...

Shumi: It’s too much ---

- Rima: It’s too much that he said. ... Sir, the people ... we consider literate ... manage everything. It is they [the literate people] who beget destruction to
 5 our country. So we cannot say that illiterate people are the main problem.
 Saba:[During period of election] how will the illiterate people know who [i.e. which candidate] is good or bad?

- Rima: One does not need to be literate --- to know if someone is good or bad. This conscience [is something all] human beings [possess] ---
- 10 *[In the meantime Hashi was trying to say something, but because of the other students' emotionally engaged loud participation she was not getting the floor. So I turned the attention of the class to her]*
- Teacher: Now, Hashi, you say.
- Hashi: Sir, I'll say later.
- 15 Teacher: Why? You were attempting to say something just now! You were saying something.
- [Moushumi usually keep silent in the class. As Hashi recoiled, I focused on Moushumi to reflect on the issue.]*
- Moushumi: Plans are all done by people who are literate. So illiterate people
- 20 are not supposed to pose any problem. All necessary plans are made by some literate people. I mean, how to deal with a country.... So, illiterate people are not supposed to pose any problem. How can they be burden?
- Rima: If they are instructed properly they ...
- Shumona: Say, our prime minister --- but they are involved in corruption ...
- 25 We see in most cases the illiterate people cannot be involved in corruption. Certain literate people are involved. Here ---
- Sweety: Whatever the literate people present as good to the illiterate people, they simply follow that.
- Teacher: That's the problem ---
- 30 Rima: ... Sir, we are saying that literate people are persuading the illiterate people, and the illiterate are simply following them. That means, the literate people are not doing the right thing. --- We study basically ... for developing human values. We are studying but not developing human values. --- *[Rather we focus on]* how to fulfill my desire --- how to use the illiterate ...
- 35 Sweety: Sir, we are using them.
- Rima: That is our problem --- Problem of our mentality.
- Hashi: And sir, we are dependent on them, sir. Those whom we call illiterate.
- Tisha: Sir, ... the responsibility goes on them – the responsibility to recognize good from bad. In this regard, they should have the judgement ... power.
- 40 *(The class became very noisy as multiple students were speaking at the same time.)*
- Rubi: *(to Hashi who made a comment to her)* She said, they vote in exchange for money. But they know what is good or bad. Only for money they ...
- Hashi: Sir, they do not have any personality. They follow what others [other people] say or if they are bribed --- they are allured.
- 45 Rubi: Importance of the illiterate people rises during the time of elections ---
- Teacher: Not the illiterate are only allured to money.
- Students: *(in a voice)* Some literate people do it in greater rate.
- [Noisy and inaudible interactions]*
- Teacher: Why then we tend to consider the illiterate as burden --- we blame
- 50 the illiterate. What is the reason?
- Hashi: Because they don't have power.
- Sweety: Sir, we transfer our misdeeds on them. But ---
- Hashi: There is the saying --- might is right. I am educated --- I have money.
- Teacher: Then what do we turn to be?
- 55 Hashi: Tyrant, sir, tyrant
- Teacher: We are *zalem* [oppressors] then, --- *zalem* [oppressors]. --- Those who are doing it --- oppressors.

Students: Yeas, sir.
Teacher: Not oppressors? Aren't they called oppressors?
60 Rima: Sir, in each sector highly educated people [are the] big oppressors.

Some of Saba, Tisha and Hashi's comments (L6,38,43) echo the humiliating attitude to the illiterate people as expressed in the anecdote. For example, in the context of the interactions Saba's question "How will the illiterate people know who is good or bad?" (L6) indicated that illiterate people cannot distinguish between good and evil because of the lack of literacy. Thus she appeared to assume that literacy ensures the ability to distinguish between good and evil. A similar assumption seemed to drive Tisha's comment (L38-39: "In this regard, they should have the judgement ... power"). The word 'should' in Tisha's comment implied that the illiterate people were devoid of the capability to judge. Hashi clearly stated that "they do not have personality" so "they follow what others [other people] say" (L43). Moreover, they are "allured" to "bribes" i.e. inducements paid by certain parties to vote a particular candidate (L44). Thus, these exchanges of the students illustrate illiterate people as inferior beings. Though some of the literate people of Bangladesh often demonstrate the same limitations and flaws, as is disclosed in other students' views (discussed in the following paragraph), in the exchanges referred to above, the limitations and flaws were placed only on the illiterate people. Thus, it is the metanarrative associated with literacy (i.e. the assumption that only literacy ensures the ability to distinguish good and evil) that led the students to regard the illiterate people as inferior.

However, some of the students problematized the humiliating attitude to the illiterate people. Their questions had two dimensions: first, they questioned the claim that illiterate people are a barrier to the development of the country and second, they questioned the assumption underlying the claim. For example, Rima and Shumi (L1-

5) immediately questioned the claim and stood against the pejorative attitude to the illiterate people (L1: ~~It~~ should not be said in this way”). Rima argued that as some literate people ~~manage~~ everything” (L4) of the country, it is not the illiterate rather some literate people ~~who~~ beget destruction to the country” (L4-5). Moushumi’s argument also followed a similar thread (L19-22): as ~~all~~ plans and activities are controlled by people who are literate,” illiterate people cannot be a problem. Shumona furthered the argument saying that ~~corruption~~” was a problem for the country but that was committed by ~~certain~~ literate people” not the illiterate (L25-26). It was the literate people who were bribing the illiterate people during the election period, as was implied in Rubi’s comment (L45: ~~the~~ importance of the illiterate people rises during the time of elections”). Students’ supplement (L47: ~~Some~~ literate people do it in greater rate”) in response to my comment (L46: ~~Not~~ the illiterate are only allured to money”) also disclosed that some of the literate people were more prone to bribe. What is more, Sweety conspicuously stated that the misdeeds of the educated people were projected on the illiterate ones (L52: ~~Sir~~, we transfer our misdeeds on them. But---”). The use of first person pronoun ~~we~~” indicated that she identified herself with the literate people, as she was a student, part of the literate community. Other students also did the same with pronouns ~~we~~”, ~~I~~”, and ~~our~~.” This use of the first person pronouns reflected the self-criticism of the speakers. However, the tendency to project the misdeeds on the illiterate people, which Sweety exposed, echoes the colonial discourse that features the colonized as a sort of surrogate and even underground self^c (Said, 1978/1995). All the unpleasant aspects like cruelty, sensuality, decadence, etc. are, therefore, attributed to the non-Western Other^c (Barry, 1995).

In addition to questioning the claims and attitudes to the illiterate people, Rima questioned the assumption (i.e. literacy ensures the ability to distinguish between good and evil) behind the pejorative attitude to the illiterate people. She said that ~~human beings~~” generally possess the capability to distinguish between good and evil, so ~~one~~ does not need to be literate” to distinguish between good and evil (L8-9). Referring to the claims that illiterate people can be easily persuaded by the literate people and they ~~are~~ simply following” the literate people (L27-28), she employed logical inference (L31: ~~that means~~”) and unwrapped the hidden truth: ~~the~~ literate people are not doing the right thing” (L31). She further stated with emphasis that education was for ~~developing~~ human values,” but some of the educated people simply focused on fulfilling their desire by exploiting the illiterate people (L33-34: ~~rather we focus on~~ ~~how~~ to fulfill my desire --- how to use the illiterate ...”). By implication her statement questioned both education and educated people: it indicated that education does not necessarily ensure inculcating human values as some educated people were not developing the desired values, and it was the educated people who were initiating the disservice to the nation by exploiting the illiterate people. Thus, students questioned and unwrapped the mechanism of the epistemic violence originated in the metanarrative associated with literacy.

The first person and third person pronouns (e.g. I, we, our, they, them, their) used in the interactions signaled significant shifts in the responses of the interlocutors. The third person plural pronouns (they, them, their) were mainly used to refer to the illiterate people (L22,23,27,35,37,38,39,41,42,43,44,51,52). However, the literate people were mainly referred to with first person pronouns (I, we, our in L:35,37,49,52,54), except for only twice at the beginning of the episode when students used the pronoun ~~they~~” to refer to the literate people (L4: ~~It~~ is they [some

literate people] who beget destruction to our country”& L24: ~~they~~ are involved in corruption”). The use of ~~they~~”, in L4,22,23 & 24 for both the literate and the illiterate people placed both the groups of people as the third parties. However, L32 onwards, students adopted first person pronouns for the literate people and this carried the implication that they identified themselves with the literate people, maybe because as students they belonged to the community of people considered as literate, i.e. educated. Their use of the first person pronouns for the literate people appeared to question their own attitudes (i.e. the pejorative attitude to the illiterate people) that contributed to epistemic violence. Towards the end of the interactions I, the teacher, also used ~~we~~” (L49: ~~why~~ then ...we blame the illiterate?”) with an intention to critique the interlocutors’ i.e. the students’ involvement in the act of epistemic violence, to ~~name~~” the root of the act of epistemic violence, and to expose the interlocutors as ~~oppressors~~” (L56: ~~We~~ are oppressors then”). However, as I, the teacher, feared the critique to be too harsh for the students, I finally used the pronoun ~~they~~” (L59: ~~Aren’t~~ they called oppressors?”) to externalize the oppressive literate people, and thus, to lighten the burden of the critique on the students themselves and ~~name~~” the act of oppression itself.

Thus, the claim that contributed to epistemic violence was that illiterate people pose an obstacle to the development of Bangladesh and the assumption behind the claim was originated in the metanarrative associated with literacy (i.e. only literacy ensures the ability to distinguish between good and evil). Both the claims and the assumption were problematized in the interactions. My role as the teacher was to supplement and provoke further comments to challenge the instance of epistemic violence (L29,46,49,56,59). Students considered the opposing views, attempted to logically analyze them and put forward their own arguments (~~Sir~~, we

are sayingliterate people are persuading the illiterate people. ... That means, ... not doing the right thing...”). Thus, students freely interpreted the issue on their own and from their own perspectives. They were flexible and respectful to each other’s views. They engaged in the dialogue so spontaneously that the dialogue at times turned into loud and heated discussion (L10-11,40).

Privileging the west: “We must maintain a standard. ... Sir, lungi looks odd.”/ “Who has defined the standard?” Privileging the west as a point of reference for standard may result in epistemic violence displacing the non-western ways of perceiving the world. It arises, as postcolonial literature (Achebe, 1995; Larson, 1995) suggests, out of a colonial discourse which, as Ashcroft, Griffith, and Tiffin (1995) see it, is built on the assumption of universalism rooted in a Eurocentric view of the world operating through binarisms (self-other; civilized-native; us-them; west-non-west). In the binarisms, the former category, the construct of the ~~West~~,” seen as the universal ideal, is privileged. The latter category, the construct of the non-west ~~Other~~,” on the contrary, is viewed as inferior to the West as it lacked the so-called universal ideals (Alatas, 1977; Fanon, 1967; Said 1995). A consequence of this, as postcolonial scholar Alatas (1977) argues, is the destruction of ~~the~~ pride of the native; and the denigration of native character” (p. 29). Or inferiority is injected, as Aime Cesaire (2000) puts it. Therefore, ~~for~~ formerly colonized people” while perceiving themselves and others, the temptations of privileging the west as standard may have, as Said (1978/1995, p. 25) argues, ~~formidable~~ effects.”

Classroom interactions in Episode 3 below illustrate an instance of epistemic violence originated in privileging the west as the standard. It also illustrates how the class encountered the issue. The episode is taken from the classroom interactions in

week 11 when students were discussing the issue of the status of *lungi*, the indigenous dress for men in Bangladesh. The discussion was triggered by a vignette (also referred to in chapter one) where a renowned Bangladeshi writer, poet, columnist, environmentalist and human rights activist was denied entry into the Dhaka Club, because he went there in *lungi*, the indigenous dress of Bangladesh he usually wears as his signature dress, on invitation to attend a party.

Episode 3

Rupa: Sir, in a party or in a formal occasion we must maintain a standard.... Sir, if one comes normally to a place where everybody maintained a standard, --- it looks odd.

Rubi: Only for this [i.e. wearing a *lungi*] how come he won't be allowed in?

5 Shumi: Sir, this is strange. Who has defined the standard? --- Where will we go after this standard?

Teacher: Who has defined the standard?

Shumi: (*with an air of grudge against it*) Sir, this standard has come from the west. They have defined this dress code.

10 Sweety: Our dress is *lungi*.

Students: (*in a voice*) *Lungi, sari*.

Mahia: But – no -- if *lungi* --- When we get married, we don't ask why the bridegroom does not come in *lungi*. It will cause a violent chaos if the bridegroom goes to the wedding ceremony in *lungi*.

15 Rubi: Our standard dress was supposed to be *lungi* and *sari*, I mean, *lungi*. . . . But western influence has changed it... we have been western. And our *lungi* has been uncultured.

Teacher: Why has it been uncultured? Why do we consider it uncultured?

Rubi: If we think from the perspective of standard, as Rupa said, we need to

20 wear standard dress. But we should have worn *lungi* as standard.

Teacher: (*to Rupa*) What do you say? ---

Rupa: Sir, they are saying that colonialism, I mean, we are following the west. We cannot deny the fact that they ruled us for 200 years.... Whatever may be the cause, we cannot deny that we must maintain a standard. If we look at Africa they also

25 maintain a standard. This is common in all countries. Now, it looks odd. It feels –

Students: (*in a voice*) It feels odd.

Rubi: They ruled us only for 200 years. But before or after that we passed more than that time – in our own way. Isn't it? Why should we follow their 200 years' rule?

Rupa: Sir that was in the past. Now we are going forward in all spheres.

30 Rubi: We are going forward, but forgetting ourselves. Sir, actually we are not going forward, we forgot ourselves. Sir, she said, we are going forward. Where are we going? We are following their culture, not our own culture.

(*inaudible exchanges*)

Mahia: Well, sir. They say that we are following the west. Instead of thinking

35 in this way we can say that culture is changing. Suppose, we were in a savage age. Now we are not following that. Stage by stage, style is changing.

Sweety: How is it being changed? We are not doing the change. No, sir, whom are we imitating to make the change? It's right that our culture is changing. If we designed a dress from *lungi* by ourselves then probably our
 40 culture--- But the coat we wear, the tie we wear ----
 Rubi: Sir, we are always changeable, you know. Only once a year, I mean, on 1st Baishakh [the first day of Bengali New Year] we show up as Bengali.
 Mahia: (*laughing*) But not wearing *lungi*.

Rupa's statement (L1; ~~in~~ a formal occasion we must maintain a standard....") implied that *lungi* was not a standard dress suitable for formal occasions. Mahia's comment (L35-36: ~~Suppose~~, we were in a savage age. Now we are not following that,") placed *lungi* in the category of the savage i.e. uncivilized. Thus, they placed *lungi*, the indigenous dress for men in Bangladesh, in opposition to the standards, the formal, and the civilized. All these categories i.e. the standards, the formal, and the civilized were associated with the west, as Shumi stated with an air of grudge against it: ~~this~~ standard has come from the west" (L8). Thus *lungi* appeared as a symbol of indigenous culture but non- standard, and savage, and as a result, not suitable for formal situations. The interactions illustrate that the students' opinions regarding *lungi* were based on formal-informal, standard -non-standard, western-local/indigenous, and cultured-uncultured (in other words civilized - uncivilized i.e. ~~savage~~) binary polarities. In these binarisms the former categories, associated with the west, were privileged and considered superior while the latter categories, associated with the local culture were considered as inferior. Privileging the western culture as standard pushed the students' own culture and tradition into an inferior status (Thiong'o, 1986/2007). Hence, Rubi expressed her grudge against this attitude and problematized it: ~~western~~ influence has changed it.... And our *lungi* has been uncultured" (L16-17).

In their exchanges regarding the status of *lungi*, students sharply challenged each other. Sometimes they mocked each other and became ironic and sarcastic to

each other. For example, in reply to Rupa's stance for a standard, Shumi's challenging question (L5: ~~Who~~ has defined the standard?") attempted to problematize the core of Rupa's opinion that assumed west as the standard of taste. However, Mahia rebutted Shumi's challenge and Sweety's claim of *lungi* as ~~our~~ dress" (L10) by referring to the popular sentiment towards *lungi* (L12-14: ~~It~~ will cause a violent chaos if the bridegroom goes to the wedding ceremony in *lungi*"). Rubi, in reply, attributed the cause of this popular sentiment to the influence of the western culture that had driven the indigenous traditional dress to an inferior status (L17: ~~uncultured~~"). In response to Shumi and Rubi's allusion to western influence Rupa termed the ~~200~~ years" of British rule as a historical fact that cannot be denied. As part of India until 1947 Bangladesh shared the history of India's colonial legacy from 1757 to 1947 (Rahman, Hamzah, Meerah, & Rahman, 2010).

However, Rubi argued ~~we~~ passed more than that time – in our own ways" (L27-28) reminding that if British rule was a historical fact, the longer period of their own traditions before the British rule was also a historical fact. Thus, she problematized the tendency of following western culture instead of indigenous culture (L28: ~~Why~~ should we follow their 200 years' rule?"). Rupa in reply termed their own tradition as past events (L29: ~~that~~ was in the past") and emphasized that ~~now~~ we are going forward in all spheres" (L29). The phrase ~~now~~ we are going forward" implied that their pre-colonial periods were backward. Therefore, Rubi came up with an immediate reply with irony (L30-32): ~~We~~ are going forward, but forgetting ourselves" and blindly ~~following~~" the western culture. To counter this ironic rebuttal, Mahia went on to label their own tradition as ~~savage~~" and asked for considering ~~the~~ changes" of ~~style~~" and ~~culture~~" over the time (L34-36). Her reference to the ~~changes~~" was immediately questioned by Sweety who labeled the

change as an imitative one not a creative one based on their own culture (L37-39): ~~whom~~ are we imitating to make the changes?...”). To reinforce Sweety’s stance Rubi sarcastically put forward: ~~we~~ are always changeable, you know, only once a year, I mean, on 1st Baishakh [the first day of Bengali New Year] we show up as Bengali” (L41-42). The words and phrases ~~always~~”, ~~only~~ once a year” and ~~show~~ up” in Rubi’s comment indicated sarcasm. First Baishakh is the first day of Bangla New Year. On that day big attempts are made to display and talk about the national traditions of Bangladesh. Mahia’s comment with an ironic and laughing note (L43: But not wearing *lungi*) attempted to criticize Rubi’s stance in favour of *lungi*.

Thus, this instance of epistemic violence incorporated the claim that *lungi*, the traditional dress, was not standard, and the assumption that west was the standard of taste. There were arguments and counter arguments both for and against the claim and the assumption. With little intervention from the teacher, students interpreted the issue on their own. They were so spontaneous in the interactions that at times they were mocking each other, and sometimes their exchanges were ironic and sarcastic. However, they considered the opposing views, analyzed them, and put forward their own arguments.

The teacher’s reflections on attempts of problematization. I, the teacher, always encouraged my students to consider me as a co-interlocutor (see Appendix I for excerpts from post-lesson reflections). I told them not to hesitate to challenge my positions in the interactions, because in problem-posing education, as Freire (1970) maintains, ~~the~~ teacher is no longer merely the-one-who-teaches, but one who is himself taught in dialogue with the students, who in turn while being taught also teaches” (p.80). However, I was aware that to facilitate knowledge production in the

classroom, the class requires the teacher to use teacher authority. As the authority of the teacher in the class cannot be ignored (Freire & Macedo, 1996), Freire, further maintains that “in order to function, authority must be *on the side of* freedom, not *against* it” (1970, p. 80). However, Ellsworth (1992) finds that a teacher’s stance is likely to be constrained by his or her own race, class, gender, and other positions. ...Critical pedagogues are always implicated in the very structures they are trying to change.”

Therefore, throughout the lessons while doing critical pedagogy I faced a dilemma in playing my role as *critical pedagogue* (Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1997, 2005; Kincheloe, 2004, 2008; McLaren, 1995; Norton & Toohey, 2004; Pennycook, 2001). As a critical pedagogue my aim was to problematize the instances of epistemic violence. In the classroom interactions I was supposed to side with the students who posed challenges to acts of epistemic violence. But the pedagogical dilemma I was struggling with was: When should I intervene? If I join the discussion, would I run the risk of ‘silencing’ some because of my authority as teacher? Even if I lend support to the weaker voices in the dissenting minority, could I not be accused of stifling or strangling emergent student voices in the majority, and thus in the long run even contribute to indoctrination. The issue I was grappling with at that moment was: How do I problematize the instances of epistemic violence? Therefore, whenever I made attempts of problematization, I tried to do that in such a way that my authority as the teacher is not imposed on the students. Even sometimes I held myself back from making attempts of problematization.

As I have already mentioned I was always in a dilemma regarding my role as a critical pedagogue, lest my authority as the teacher influence the students’ positionalities. The dilemma became more piercing in week 9 when students were

discussing the issue of inequalities in society, because I found that the students were trying to know my view, as a teacher.

Tania: Sir, what's your view? What's your view?

Teacher: Everybody's position is my position. I mean my position is not important here.

Tania and others: (in a voice) No, sir. You'll have to disclose your position.

Hashi: Be with us, sir.

Teacher: Does it matter if I have any position or not? It does not matter. Each person may have different opinion. ...

Hashi and others: (in a voice) Right sir, we need to know your position on this issue.

Tania: (with a strong demanding voice) We want to know what your position is, sir.

Teacher: Well, eagerness to know is good for learning. But my position may stop you think in your own way.

The expressions say that students found the teacher's views crucial for meaning making. Thus I sensed the possibility of indoctrination in the classroom I was supposed to fight against. That's why the indication I gave here is that all opinions are important. Teacher's opinion is not a vital factor. Thus, I tried to problematize the teacher's position in the classroom. Even when the teacher problematizes, his/her problematization should also be problematized. As the students were requesting me again and again to expose my position, I referred to their potential. This triggered the following exchanges.

Rubi: Sir, only you recognized it, sir.

Sweety: And sir, all others [teachers] call us *Boni Israil*.

Teacher: What do they do it?

Rima: *Boni Israil*. Who question too much.

[*Boni Israil* refers to the community that followed Prophet Moses. As stories go, they used to ask excessive questions. Hence they had to suffer hardships as ordained by God.]

Rubi: Sir, all teachers excepting you call us *Boni Israil*. .

Thus, I always encouraged students to practice agency. I encouraged and highlighted their potentials for producing knowledge. In this backdrop of the teaching-learning situation, I, the teacher, feared to contribute to indoctrination.

Students' reflections on their classroom experiences. Though I, the teacher, was in a dilemma about my attempts of problematization in the classroom, students in their interviews said that they enjoyed freedom in the classroom (see Appendix G for excerpts from interviews). For example, Rupa, one of the students, reflected:

The freedom to speak and question in the class helped me to think. It grew self-respect in me. I have discovered that I can also think. ...

Tisha also reflected in the same line:

The freedom I enjoyed in the class helped me to express the ideas hidden in my mind.

She added that the attempts of problematization in the classroom helped her think deep into the issues. She said:

Problematizing is a very good practice. It prompted me to think more. ... it helped us to tease out the hidden mechanism of an idea.

The teacher role in the classroom did not pose any pressure on the students' thinking. They considered the teacher as one of the co-interlocutors in the classroom. Rima specifically commented on how she considered the attempts of problematization made by the teacher:

[Teacher's comments] sometimes influenced [me]. Not always. [But that was] logically.

Rima accepted the teacher's opinions only when she found that "logically" right. Thus, she considered the teacher as one of the interlocutors.

As I referred to Rima's classroom stance on Bengali nation in the lesson in week 3 where she was unwilling to consider opposing views, she smiled and expressed her reasons for that. She said:

You know, that [classroom stance] was the demand of the situation. I wanted to prove my position in the class.

Her reflection here implies that she wanted to win in establishing her position in the class, and so she ignored the attempts of problematization by the students as well as the teacher (see her claims and rebuttals in her classroom interactions in the subsection entitled *Over-generalizing: "Majority of the people are corrupted in Bangladesh."/ "I don't think so."* above). However, she said that she had considered the arguments posed by other students while she had been writing her essay:

However, later on before writing I considered the other views.

Thus, though in the classroom interactions some students were unwilling to consider opposing views, all of them considered those views later especially while writing. For example, Rupa said:

The classroom discussion helped me very much. I considered the views expressed by others later time especially at night. However, if other students' ideas were just I was ready to accept.

About their engagement in the classroom discussions, students said that it was easy for them to take part in the classroom interactions, because they discussed issues taken from their common knowledge. For example, Sweetie said:

We discussed issues chosen from our common experiences. So we could easily take positions and give our opinions.

Discussion: Facilitation of criticality. The interactions in the three episodes presented above illustrate the attempts made to problematize the instances of epistemic violence. A comparative analysis of the attempts of problematization in the three episodes exposes that in episode 1 (in week 3) attempts of problematization

were primarily negotiated by the teacher, while in episodes 2 (in week 7) and 3 (in week 11) attempts of problematization were made mainly by the students. Therefore, it may be argued that classroom environment gradually became more empowering. The classroom interactions around the attempts of problematization, triangulated with the teacher's and the students' reflections on attempts of problematization, reveal a number of issues involved in facilitation of criticality. The issues are related to two aspects namely teacher role and student role. They are discussed below.

Teacher role: The dilemma of a critical pedagogue. The interactions in the episodes and the teacher's reflections on attempts of problematization expose that I, the teacher, was shunting back and forth as a critical pedagogue. Sometimes I problematized the acts of epistemic violence while at other times I faced a dilemma lest my attempts of problematization strangle students' voice.

Episode 1 demonstrates that at the beginning I played the role of mediating the discussion and the attempts of problematization. As the teacher, I felt that the drowned voice of Tania needed attention. Therefore, I attempted to uphold Tania's drowned questioning voice. However, I faced a dilemma in playing my role as *critical pedagogue* (Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1997, 2005; Kincheloe, 2004; McLaren, 1995; Norton & Toohey, 2004; Pennycook, 2001). I was aware that the majority of the students led by Rima were over-generalizing. But the pedagogical dilemma I was struggling with was: If I join the heated discussion, would I run the risk of 'silencing' some in the majority because of my authority as teacher? Even if I lend support to the weaker voices in the dissenting minority, could I not be accused of stifling or strangling emergent student voices in the majority, and thus in the long run even contribute to indoctrination. The issue I was grappling with at that moment was:

How do I problematize this tendency of over-generalization? Finally, I referred to Tania, rephrased her statement, connected that to over-generalization and placed it in the form of an open point to discuss, so that the teacher's authority is not imposed on them.

However, my teacher role appears to be imposing in my next interventions. My question ~~“We~~ “We are over-generalizing then. Why?” (L8-9) sounds authoritative and so are my subsequent questions (L12: ~~“Do~~ “Do they represent the nation?”, L19: ~~“Have~~ “Have we ... foreign eyes?”, L27-28: ~~“How~~ “How many students ... corruption?”). Shumi and Rima, however, continued their over-generalization. Though while referring to ~~“...foreign eyes”~~ “...foreign eyes” I tried to make the question softer by using the pronoun we that aligned me with them, Rima appeared to be offended. Her sharp reply ~~“Why~~ “Why should I take foreign eyes?” puzzled me. However, she continued her arguments with reference to her personal suffering as a victim of corruption. Her voice was emotionally charged. The exchanges at that moment reveal that I was so insensitive at that time that I simply ignored her affective factors (Benesch, 2012). It appears that at that moment I put much emphasis on my role as a critical pedagogue and therefore my prime concern was to challenge the students' acts of over-generalization. So I immediately questioned her reference to the admissions tests (~~“How~~ “How many students ... corruption?”). This time other students replied in support of Rima and she continued her arguments. Therefore, it may be argued that my intervention, though imposing, authoritative and insensitive, did not throttle the flow of the interaction. In the interview, Rima appreciated the attempts of problematization in the classroom. The teacher's attempts of problematization influenced her only when she found that logical (see the subsection entitled Students' reflections on their classroom experiences above for details of students'

reflections). However, her further arguments were questioned by Tisha who so far had been silent. My questions might have encouraged Tisha to come up with questions as her questions (L32: ~~h~~ow many people ...” or L36: ~~h~~ow many students...” had the bearings similar to that of my last question (L27-28: ~~h~~ow many students ... corruption?”).

In Episode 2 also, my role as the critical pedagogue moved back and forth. My first two comments were to manage a floor for Hashi to speak (L13: ~~N~~ow, Hashi, you say”, L15-16: ~~W~~hy? You were ... something”). My comments ~~T~~hat is the problem...” (L29) and ~~n~~ot the illiterate are only allured to money” (L46) were to supplement and provoke further comments to challenge the instance of epistemic violence. However, in the later part of the interaction, as the students had already unwrapped the bankruptcy of literate people and the metanarrative associated with literacy, I attempted to draw the attention to the root cause of the pejorative way of perceiving the illiterate people (L49: ~~W~~hy then we tend to consider the illiterate as burden?”). In reply Hashi referred to power as the root cause behind considering the illiterate people as burden (L51: because they do not have power). She referred to the proverb, ~~m~~ight is right” (L53) where educated people possessed the might. As Sweety unwrapped ~~w~~e transfer our misdeeds on them” (L52), I attempted to ~~n~~ame” the people doing it i.e. the act of epistemic violence. Hence I asked ~~w~~hat do we turn to be” (L54) by so doing? Hashi in reply said, ~~T~~yrant, sir, tyrant” (L55). I used an equivalent Arabic word domesticated in Bangla zalem‘ (oppressor), a widely known and politically charged word in the context of Bangladesh, to make the cruelty and heaviness of the act conspicuous to the students. I repeated the word ~~z~~alem” in the form of question to drive students’ active thought on the matter (L54: ~~W~~e are zalem [oppressor] then ..?”). However, as it appeared to me that the critique might have

been too harsh for the students, I used the pronoun ~~they~~” (L59: ~~–Aren’t they called~~ oppressors?”) with an intention to otherize the oppressive literate people, and thus, lightened the burden of the critique on the students themselves and ~~named~~” only the act of epistemic violence itself. In response to the question Rima came up with her striking comment, ~~–Sir~~, in each sector the highly educated people [are the] big oppressors” (L60).

Episode 3 demonstrates that after setting the stage for discussion I simply stayed back, as I found that the arguments in the interactions were challenging each other. It appears that by then the students had been trained and had been used to attempts of problematization. I made only three interventions. The first intervention was simply to ask for an elaboration (L7: ~~–Who has defined the standard?~~”) after Shumi’s challenging question (L5: ~~–Who has defined the standard?~~”). My second intervention (L18: ~~–Why has it been uncultured? Why do we consider it uncultured?~~”) was meant to lead the students explore the colonial discourse in more detail. Though Rubi in reply simply repeated what she had already said, I made no further attempts to force them to go into the colonial discourse in more detail. Thus, my interventions here as a critical pedagogue were not imposing or authoritative rather they were provocative. However, my next intervention with the question ~~–What do you say?~~” (L21) was to invite Rupa to reflect on what Rubi said (L20: ~~–we should have worn *lungi* as standard~~”), because Rubi attempted to question Rupa’s opinion about standard. Thus, not only did I encourage problematizing the acts of epistemic violence, but I made space for arguments against the attempts of problematization as well.

Thus, this research exposes the role of the teacher doing critical pedagogy as a complex one, though critical practices often refer to the teacher in the critical

pedagogy as doing it simply by having been critical himself/herself (see Norton & Toohey, 2004). Teachers in the critical pedagogy classroom work to lead students to question ideologies and practices considered oppressive, and encourage libratory, collective and individual responses to the actual conditions of their own lives (Riasati & Mollaei, 2012). In this way, in critical pedagogy the teacher is placed ~~at~~ the centre of the consciousness-raising activity” (Ellsworth, 1992, p. 103). However, Ellsworth (1992) finds that a teacher’s stance is likely to be constrained by ~~his~~ her own race, class, gender, and other positions. ...Critical pedagogues are always implicated in the very structures they are trying to change.” Hence she questions the notion of the teacher as a ~~dis~~interested mediator on the side of the oppressed group” (p. 101). Aware of the baggage of the critical pedagogue Pennycook, however, considers a ~~way~~ in which teacher-educators can intervene in the process of practicum observation to bring about educational and social change” (Norton & Toohey, 2004, p. 10). He identified critical moments in the practicum and after the class he discussed the moments with the student teacher.

This study reveals a dilemma in the role of the critical pedagogue in the classroom. The interactions in the three episodes discussed above illustrate that my interventions as a critical pedagogue were sometimes imposing or authoritative and sometimes provocative. However, I was always haunted by the dilemma if I was contributing to indoctrination, a form of epistemic violence that I, as a critical pedagogue, was supposed to problematize. Therefore, at times I restrained myself in my attempts of problematization. But sometimes I felt the need for problematization so strongly that I appeared authoritative ignoring the dilemma. Thus, there was a back and forth movement in my role as a critical pedagogue exposing the complexity of the teacher role as a critical pedagogue in the classroom.

Student role: Student voice in dialogue. The episodes above expose students interacting with fellow students as well as the teacher. The interlocutors were involved in stating views and supporting or challenging the stated views. Students were freely and spontaneously involved in dialogue and they freely interpreted the issues.

In episode 1 Rima and Shumi faced the challenges, revised and counter-posed their arguments. Their voices were so loud that the opposing views posed by Tania were drowned. They seemed to hold an aggressive stance in support of their act of over-generalization. For example, though Rima's feeble response (—A lot..”) did not convincingly rebut Tisha's challenge, she was aggressive in defending her over-generalized claim about the nation as a whole. Rima and some other students were not willing to change their stance or to entertain opposing views. The exchanges turned into such a heated discussion that Tania remarked, —~~W~~hy are you quarrelling?” (L37). In episode 2, however, the students appeared respectful to each other's views. They considered the opposing views, attempted to logically analyze them and put forward their own arguments (L30-32: —Sir, we are sayingliterate people are persuading the illiterate people. ... That means, ... not doing the right thing...”). Similar environment of interactions is seen in episode 3 as well, though students were at times ironic and sarcastic with each other, and sometimes they were mocking each other, a feature peculiar to episode 3.

Though sometimes I, the teacher, was authoritative in attempts of problematization, most of the times I tried to arrange the stage for the students to play without inhibition. In episodes 2 and 3 students engaged in the interactions experiencing little intervention by the teacher. Though there were frequent

authoritative questions by the teacher in episode 1, students went on with their arguments and attempted to challenge the teacher (L15-16: –Sir, when Bangladesh becomes champion in corruption then ... in this way”). The teacher maintained the class in such a way that the students considered the teacher as one of their co-interlocutors (see the teacher’s & the students’ reflections in subsections ‘The teacher’s reflections on attempts of problematization’ and ‘Students’ reflections on their classroom experiences’ in this chapter). Hence, they interpreted the issues on their own and expressed their views freely. For example, in the interview Rupa reflected, –the freedom to speak and to question in the class helped me to think. It grew self-respect in me. I have discovered that I can also think.” In addition, students’ arguments were replete with allusions to their own experiences. Hence it can be argued that in addition to the democratic environment in the classroom the issues selected from students’ lived experiences also facilitated students’ engagement in the dialogue and interpretation of the issues on their own.

However, sometimes attempts to express views were seen to be stifled. In Episode 2, for example, while discussing the issue of the illiterate people of Bangladesh, students were so excitedly engaged in the discussion that the class was very noisy for a while (L10-12). In the noisy exchanges Hashi, usually outspoken in expressing her views in the class, was trying to say something but her voice was drowned in the noise. However, once she was formally given the floor (L13: –Now, Hashi, you say”) she recoiled and retreated (L14: –I’ll say later”). As Hashi hesitated to speak, I gave the floor to Moushumi. Moushumi usually kept silent in the class. She, however, this time took the chance and comfortably articulated her opinions (L19-22: –Plans are all done by ... how can they be burden?”). Hashi, however, in

the later part of the interactions was spontaneously involved in the discussion. Thus, student voice in the classroom appeared to be fluid and recursive.

In this regard, Ellsworth says that ~~social~~ agents are not capable of being fully rational and disinterested; and they are subjects split between the conscious and unconscious and among multiple social positionings” (1992, p. 108). As social beings, everybody in society is engaged in ~~the~~ changing, often contradictory relations of power at multiple levels of social life – the personal, the institutional, the governmental, the commercial” (Ellsworth and Selvin, 1986 qtd in Orner, 1992, p. 79). Hence sometimes students may find it safer to keep silent in a public space like the classroom, and as a result, may be unwilling to speak out their voices, as Hashi in the context of this study did in episode 2 in subsection *Buying into metanarratives: “How will the illiterate people know who is good or bad?”/ “big oppressors -- highly educated people”*“(L14: ~~I~~ll say later”). In this situation, emphasis on student voice may be sometimes repressive (Ellsworth, 1992). Therefore, Ellsworth argues that dialogue as propounded in critical pedagogy literature is both ~~impossible~~ and undesirable” (1992, p. 106). However, this study reveals that Hashi, in the later part of the interactions got spontaneously involved in the discussion. And, when Moushumi, who usually kept silent in the class, was given the floor, she took the chance and comfortably articulated her opinions. This indicates that if a space for equal opportunity and freedom of speech is maintained in the classroom students can speak or stay back as they like. Therefore, in spite of being aware of the repressive potential of the emphasis on student voice in dialogue, we recall Freire (1970) emphasizing that if the structure does not permit dialogue, the structure must be changed.

In the classroom interactions, students were sometimes ironic and sarcastic (episode 3), paid little attention to opposing views, spoke out loud to drown the other voices and obstinately adhered to their own opinions (episode 1), because at the moment of the exchanges their only aim was to win the debate, as Rima said, “that [classroom stance] was the demand of the situation. I wanted to prove my position in the class.” Ellsworth also finds that “oppositional voices do not speak in the spirit of sharing. Their speeches are a ‘talking back,’ a defiant speech that is constructed within communities of resistance and is a condition of survival” (1992, p. 102). About this type of situations, Freire (1970, p. 89) maintains that “[A] hostile, polemical argument between those who are committed neither to the naming of the world, nor to the search for truth, but rather to the imposition of their own truth” (Freire, 1970, p. 89) cannot be a “dialogue” that can generate “critical thinking” (p. 92). Freire (1970) further maintains about dialogic engagement that “founding itself upon love, humility, and faith, dialogue becomes a horizontal relationship of which mutual trust between the dialoguers is the logical consequence” (p. 91). In this regard, students must share an epistemological curiosity without which a dialogue turns into a conversation (Freire, 1970). Epistemological curiosity refers to the “curiosity about the object of knowledge” for “learning and knowing” (Freire & Macedo, 1996, pp. 202-206).

In the context of this study, though at the time of classroom discussion students sometimes made sarcastic comments and were unwilling to consider opposing views for the sake of winning in the argument, later on while writing their essays (see Chapter 1 for Instructional context) they considered the arguments posed by other students, as Rima said in her interview, “later on before writing I considered the other views” and went on to problematize epistemic violence in their essays (see

the report on Research Question Two for students' stances in their essays). In the same way, Rupa also considered the views expressed by other students –later time especially at night” (see the subsection “Students' reflections on their classroom experiences” for details). This argues for the notion that the students maintained “epistemological curiosity” (Freire & Macedo, 1996, pp. 202-206). Hence, it may be argued that besides reasonable and considerate exchanges, very emotional and apparently quarrelsome exchanges can also facilitate criticality, the consequence of a dialogue, if “epistemological curiosity” is maintained. Therefore, the findings of this study argue that the appearance of dialogue may be different in different situations.

Conclusion. The classroom interactions presented above manifest issues related to facilitation of criticality, the focus of research question one. The interactions also reveal, as a byproduct, the nature of epistemic violence in the context of the study. I conclude this section firstly summing up the issues related to facilitation of criticality, and then focusing on the nature of epistemic violence manifested in the study.

Facilitation of criticality. Critical interrogations in the classroom problematize the taken for granted assumptions (Chun, 2009; Freire, 1970; Ko, 2013; Pennycook, 1999). In this study, critical interrogations stirred the students' own experiences. As a result, they brought their own experiences to the class regarding the issues. As a result, students encountered multiple oppositional discourses on the same issue. This made students aware of multiple possibilities of perceiving the world. Thus, an encounter with multiple oppositional discourses helps problematize a single and fixed view of the world (Freire, 1970; Luke, 2004).

In critical pedagogy students engage in dialogue where multiple discourses and problematizations are negotiated. In this regard, Freire (1970, p. 89) maintains, “[A] hostile, polemical argument between those who are committed neither to the naming of the world, nor to the search for truth, but rather to the imposition of their own truth” cannot be a “dialogue” that can generate “critical thinking” (p. 92). The dialoguers are required to be rational, compassionate and considerate. They must possess the “epistemological curiosity” i.e. curiosity about “learning and knowing” (Freire & Mecedo, 1996, pp. 202-206). However, as students come from socio-economic and cultural backgrounds different from each other, students represent their own discourses and experiences different from each other. As a result, as this study reveals in line with Ellsworth (1992), students usually talk back, sometimes with a note of hostility towards each other. However, unlike Ellsworth, this study further reveals that finally students considered opposing views with a view to “learning.” And this consideration of opposing views helped them question the taken-for-granted assumptions. Thus, provided that epistemological curiosity is maintained, any form of exchanges may serve the aim of dialogue.

Dialogue in critical pedagogy requires equal opportunity for student voices. Like Ellsworth (1992), this study sees that too much emphasis on student voice may sometimes be repressive, as was seen in the case of Hashi (see the discussion in subsection ‘Student role: Student voice in dialogue’ above in this chapter). However, this study also finds that if a space for equal opportunity and freedom of speech is kept in the classroom, students can speak or stay back whenever they want. If for any reason students stay back, they can make a comeback with their voices when they find it suitable. For example, Hashi in the later part of the discussion spontaneously

took part in dialogue (see the discussion in subsection ‘Student role: Student voice in dialogue’ above in this chapter). Thus, a space for equal opportunity and freedom of speech can ensure student voice without being repressive.

Critical practices often refer to the teacher in the critical pedagogy as doing it simply by having been critical himself/herself (see Norton & Toohey, 2004). In critical pedagogy the teacher is placed “at the centre of the consciousness-raising activity” (Ellsworth, 1992, p. 103). However, Ellsworth (1992) finds that a teacher’s stance is likely to be constrained by “his or her own race, class, gender, and other positions. ...Critical pedagogues are always implicated in the very structures they are trying to change.” Hence she questions the notion of the teacher as a “disinterested mediator on the side of the oppressed group” (p. 101). This study reveals a dilemma in the role of the critical pedagogue in the classroom. I, the teacher, was always haunted by the dilemma if I was contributing to indoctrination, a form of epistemic violence that I, as a critical pedagogue, was supposed to problematize. Therefore, at times I restrained myself in my attempts of problematization. But sometimes I felt the need for problematization so strongly that I appeared authoritative ignoring the dilemma. Thus there was a back and forth movement in my role as a critical pedagogue exposing the complexity of the teacher role as a critical pedagogue in the classroom.

Epistemic violence. Though I had initially approached the study with a postcolonial concept of epistemic violence, the study illustrates instances of epistemic violence associated with the west as well as other moorings. The postcolonial concept of epistemic violence refers to the dominance and imposition of Western ways of perceiving the world causing displacement of the non-Western

ways of perceiving the world (Alatas, 1995; Fanon, 1967; Kincheloe, 2008; Said, 1995; Spivak, 1995). Therefore, I selected and placed the issues provocatively on the extremes to direct the students' attention to western ways of perceptions (see Chapter 3 for details of the Instructional context). However, the instances of epistemic violence as manifested in the classroom interactions appeared to have their moorings in assumptions connected not only with the west.

In episode 3, though the pejorative attitude to the traditional dress was directly connected to the west as students privileged west as the standard, the over-generalizing about Bengali nation in Episode 1 and the humiliating attitude to the illiterate people in Episode 2 appeared to be connected with the students' experiences in their society. I had an intention to link the arguments behind the over-generalized claim about Bengali nation (episode 1) with the western influence. The reference to the report of Transparency International, a Berlin based anti-corruption organization, and how the other countries look at Bangladesh gave me a thread to connect it with the western influence. I grabbed the thread and attempted to problematize it. However, students directed the focus of the discussion to their experiences in their own society. All the arguments and examples they posed were solely on the basis of the issues of their country (i.e. corruption of higher officials, university and medical college admissions tests etc).

Similarly, though modern education in the world is influenced by the western philosophy (Canagarajah, 1999), students' discourses around literacy expressed in episode 2 were all related to the local experiences, not to the west. The assumption that only literacy ensures the ability to distinguish between good and evil is the metanarrative associated with literacy prevalent all around the world (Bloome et al, 2008). Though, in the present world, experiences in one country, especially a

developing country like Bangladesh, might have connections with issues linked to other countries especially the developed west, my study did not have the scope to focus on the complexity of those connections.

Thus, the insights I have developed about epistemic violence in the course of this study say that besides the dominance and imposition of western ways of perceiving the world there are local varieties of dominance and imposition of perspectives that may cause epistemic violence in the post-colonial countries like Bangladesh.

Research Question Two: What Routes to Criticality Do the Undergraduate Students Take in the Process of Critical Pedagogy in EFL Classrooms?

The focus of research question two is individual student's 'routes to criticality.' Here criticality refers to a stance that problematizes acts of epistemic violence (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005). Hence, the phrase 'routes to criticality' refers to the trajectory of a student's stances towards positioning herself on a critical stance.

The main sources of data for research question two were the recordings of classroom interactions and the documents i.e. the essays the students subsequently wrote. These two sources were chosen for exploring students' routes to criticality, because students' immediate responses to the issues were found in classroom interactions and their later responses were found in their writings. (As the writing of the drafts of essays followed the classroom interactions, while writing, students had the opportunity to reflect on the various opinions expressed by different interlocutors in the classroom interactions.) Another data source namely interviews with students was used for triangulating the findings.

The data were coded and categorized into themes focusing on students' positionalities on the issues (for details about the issues see 'The instructional approach' in Chapter 3). I analyzed all the positionalities adopted by students in the lessons. In this regard, first of all, I read the transcribed classroom interactions of a lesson aloud and identified each participating student's positions on the issue. Then I read the essays each student wrote in that lesson and identified their positions on the issue. The data coded in this way were finally categorized lesson by lesson focusing on each individual student to find the trajectory of the stances of each individual student. The findings were then triangulated with interview data in order to understand the influences that contributed to their positionalities. Thus, this analysis exposed each individual student's progress towards criticality and routes to criticality answering research question two.

Stances of three students. In this section I present three cases of three individual students to illustrate their routes to criticality. These three cases represent individual trajectories of the stances of Rima, Tisha and Rupa, three students of the class. I have selected these three students because they participated more frequently in the class and played prominent roles in the discussions on some of the issues. Rima was outspoken. At times, she challenged the other participants. Tisha also showed a tendency to argue against other students' opinions. Rupa usually spoke less in the class but was adamant in her positions.

Rima's case has been illustrated from the lesson on 'Bengali nation' in week 3, Tisha's from the lesson on 'The Social System of Bangladesh' in week 9, and

Rupa's from the lesson on 'The Status of Indigenous Dress in Bangladesh' in week 11 (for details of the issues see 'Instructional context' in Chapter 3). These three lessons were chosen because in these lessons each of them demonstrated clear verbal positionalities. Moreover, in these lessons each of them had a movement towards some sort of criticality. As the study focused on routes to criticality, it needed to identify the verbal positionalities of the students and to trace the movement of the positionalities. I understand that it might have been more interesting and more challenging to look at students who were less prominent in the classroom interaction. However, it was quite impossible to trace the stances of the students who were reticent and not vocal. These three cases, on the other hand, were more responsive to the focus of the research question two. Therefore, as the aim of the study was to investigate the routes to criticality, I found the cases of these three students in these three lessons appropriate for illustrating the 'routes to criticality.'

The case of Rima. I present the case of Rima to illustrate her routes to criticality in the process of critical pedagogy in the classroom. The lesson on 'Bengali nation' in week 3 was one of the lessons where she played a prominent role in the classroom interactions and had a movement in her positionality towards a critical stance problematizing the notion of the west as superior.

1. In the classroom: Over-generalization of conclusions on a subset for the whole nation.

The lesson on 'Bengali nation' in week 3 addressed the tendency of over-generalization that derogatorily presented the nation of Bangladesh (see the Vignette in subsection entitled 'Over-generalizing: "Majority of the people are corrupted in Bangladesh."/ "I don't think so."' for details). I intended to problematize the

derogatory attitude to the nation. Once the issue was placed, most of the students led by Rima, the most outspoken student in the class, claimed that the problem with Bangladesh was that ~~the~~ *people* of Bangladesh were corrupt.” When Tania, one of the dissenting voices, meekly protested, ~~I~~ don’t think so’, the class engaged in a heated discussion on the issue where Rima played a dominant role and sharply retorted Tania’s protest.

Rima: Listen! If 90 percent of the high officials of a country ... 90 percent of the high officials are corrupt.

Teacher: It’s not of all, as she said (*I referred to Tania*). We are [over]generalizing then. Why?

5 Sumi: But sir, majority accepts this [view].)...

Teacher: Are the corrupt people majority? ... Even if we suppose that all of our high officials are corrupt ... Do they represent the nation?

Students: (*in a voice*) No, sir.

Sumi: Sir, sometimes they ---

10 Rima: Sir, when Bangladesh becomes champion in corruption then other countries look at Bangladesh simply in this way.

Over-generalization or generalization beyond justifiable limits was present when the students drew conclusions regarding the entire nation based on a subset of data. This was evident when they spoke for the entire nation by drawing on conclusions they had reached for a subgroup, that is, government officials (or ~~90%~~ of higher officials” as Rima referred to them). In speaking for the entire nation they had excluded the majority of the population comprising other subgroups such as farmers, garment workers, expatriate workers, and the day labourers.

I attempted to draw the students’ attention to the fallacy that the ~~the~~ nation as a whole” cannot be equated with 90% of higher officials (the figure 90% is also questionable). However, Rima attempted to establish her claim with reference to a report of the Berlin based anti-corruption organization, Transparency International, which claimed that Bangladesh topped the list of most corrupt states. This prompted me to think that Rima was looking at Bengali nation from a western perspective.

Therefore, I questioned, “Have we then changed our eyes with foreign eyes?” Rima, in reply, came out with her own feeling of deprivation as she found herself the victim of corruption in admissions tests of [a top public university].

Rima: Why should I take foreign eyes?

Teacher: I mean ...

Rima: Sir, when I see in my own eyes, I am a victim of heavy corruption, shouldn't I feel discriminated against? Suppose, in spite of good performance
5 in the admissions test one of my relatives could not manage to get admitted in [a top public university]. But I have seen there were others who managed it with money. When I see that, shouldn't I feel discriminated against?

Teacher: ... How many students get admitted in [the top public university]? And how many of them commit the corruption?

10 Students: (in a voice) Sir, a lot them do it.

Rima: People spend millions to obtain the question paper of medical college admission test.

Tisha: (Had been silent so far) How many people in Bangladesh afford to spend millions?

15 Rima: Listen! To obtain a position in the medical colleges, people raise money even by selling their land ...

Tisha: How many students study medicine?

Rima: A lot...

Tisha's (L13: “how many people ...” or L17: “how many students...”) and my questioning (L8: “How many students get admitted to [the top public university?]”) attempted to draw Rima's attention to the fact that in comparison with all the people of Bangladesh the number of students getting admitted to [the top public university] through corruption was very small. However, though unconvincing, Rima insisted on her aggressive stance in defending her over-generalized claim about the nation as a whole (L18: “A lot..”).

2. On the facebook: Over-generalization in binaries.

As the class delved into the problems of Bangladesh, they began to contrast Bengali nation with Western nations, seeing them as polar opposites or binary categories. “Western nations” was their composite category for the nations of the west, principally in Europe and North America. The class picked up the discussion

on the facebook page created for the writing course (see ‘Instructional context’ in Chapter 3 for details), where Rima, Tisha, and Fabiha were among the more outspoken participants (facebook comments are unedited).

Rima: bengali nation is more corrupted than the westernsss

Tisha: Bengali ppl [consider] that western ppl is the best idol....in evrythings

Fabiha: Western nation is much developed than the bengali nation, their culture, life style are different and they represent themselves very attractively
5 to us.so we want to follow them.

Rima: one of the gud features of the westerns is their sincerity nd dedication toward their proffession irrespective of every rank officers bt our higher rank officers r whimsical..... do what ever nd whn ever they wantttt..... so wht shud the others followw??????????

Reading through their facebook comments I was struck by the bifurcation between Bangladesh and the West, with Bangladesh representing all things bad and the west representing all things good.

My attention was drawn to *over-generalization in binaries* as evidenced in the discussion of “the Bengali nation” in contrast to “western nations” as polar opposites. This type of over-generalization is not merely a case of fallacy of logic. Rather, it arises out of a colonial discourse the residue of which is found in the excerpts above from a classroom in Bangladesh, a postcolonial nation.

Colonial discourse, as Ashcroft, Griffith, & Tiffin (1995) see it, is built on the assumption of universalism rooted in a Eurocentric view of the world (Achebe, 1995; Larson, 1995), which in itself is a form of over-generalization. In the binary Bengali nation versus the West, the construct of the “West”, seen as the universal ideal, was privileged. From a colonial lens, therefore, the construct of the “Bengali nation,” considered as the Other, was viewed as inferior to the West as it lacked the so-called universal ideals [Rima referred to “sincerity and dedication toward profession”] (Alatas, 1995; Fanon, 1967; Said, 1995). A consequence of this, as postcolonial scholar Alatas (1995, p. 29) argues, is the destruction of “the pride of the native; and

the denigration of native character.” Or inferiority is injected, as Aime Cesaire (2000) puts it. Colonial discourse thus operates through binarisms (self-other; civilized-native; us-them), violently pushing everything that is non-European to an inferior status (Ashcroft, Griffith, & Tiffin, 1995; Said, 1995). Therefore, ~~for~~ formerly colonized people, the... temptations of employing the structure [the over-generalization of the binarisms inherent in colonial discourse] upon themselves and upon others (Said, 1995, p. 25) needs to be interrogated and problematized (Achebe, 1995; Alatas, 1995; Said, 1995; Thiong’o, 1986/2007).

In order to problematize the students’ dichotomous ways of thinking I posted Shel Silverstein’s poem “Zebra Question” on the facebook page.

ZEBRA QUESTION

By *Shel Silverstein*

I asked the zebra,
Are you black with white stripes?
Or white with black stripes?
And the zebra asked me,
Are you good with bad habits?
Or are you bad with good habits?
Are you noisy with quiet times?
Or are you quiet with noisy times?
Are you happy with some sad days?
Or are you sad with some happy days?
Are you neat with some sloppy ways?
Or are you sloppy with some neat ways?
And on and on and on and on
And on and on he went.

The poem presents a dialogic interaction between the speaker, presumably a child, and a zebra. The exchange between them serves to trouble a fixed vantage point (Is the zebra black with white stripes or white with black stripes). I hoped that the zebra question would force students to revisit the over-generalization in the dichotomies or binaries they had constructed.

I had used the poem because the appeal of the poem matched with my intention of being non-directive and open-ended as I nudged students to rethink their claims. I was aware that a poem itself, as a literary work, carries its own authority, which itself needs to be problematized. Using the poem ‘Zebra Question’ had the potential for reinforcing my authority in that it was I who challenged and disrupted the views of the students. Hence the dilemma I was struggling with at that time was: once my intention is channeled through my problematization, won’t that have an influence on the students’ positionality? How then can problem-posing education or critical pedagogy be different from what Freire (1970) called the banking model of education?

However, as I felt the need for problematizing the over-generalization in binaries, I posted the poem. Two students, Samira and Rima, responded to the poem on facebook page (facebook comments are unedited).

Samira: i think both nations r unique in their own way n equally good. western nation n bangali nation both have some good n bad qualities. we should nt think of which nation is better bt should take the good qualities of boh n put it into use in our life

- 5 Rima: sir the poem above has an xcellent inner meaning..... may be i didnt get the whole bt it can be percieved easily that every nation posesses both good and dark sides.....bt as we have rationality or conscience , we hv to judge and come to a decision..... am i right sir????

Rima’s facebook status exposed her awareness about the problem of the dichotomies. She acknowledged that the dichotomy or the binary was problematic, that nations have both good and bad sides (L6: “it can be perceived easily that every nation posesses both good and dark sides”).

3. In her essay: Problematizing the exploitation by the west.

Rima’s essay written after the classroom discussion and the facebook exchanges demonstrated a shift in her positionality as she perceived the natural

differences between different nations. She wrote in the introductory paragraph of her essay:

It is easily perceivable that two nations cannot be the same when two persons vary from each other.

However, in the subsequent two paragraphs she argued in favour of the Bengali nation recognizing the strengths of the nation namely family bond and religiosity. First, on the basis of family bond she argued:

The people of Indian sub-continent are renowned for their strong family bond. Family bond comprises affection, responsibility etc. A distinctive difference can be observed in affection and responsibility between the parents of Bangladesh and those of the west. Bengali parents are more concerned about their children. They have a role in every sphere of their children's lives. But the scenario is often different in the west. In most cases parents are abandoned when their children are at their eighteen or vice versa.

Second, because of her personal affinity with religion as a Muslim she wrote in favour of the Bengali nation on the basis of religiosity:

Being a Muslim I heartily support religion. Bengali nation is way more concerned about their religion. We have keen inclination towards following the religious rituals and creeds. It may not be followed precisely but affinity can be observed by the attempts taken. But being religious in the west in this 21st century, the era of modernism, is unacceptable.

Thus she demonstrated her awareness about some of the favourable aspects of her own nation which she did not previously articulate in her classroom interactions and facebook exchanges. However, her expressions “Bengali parents are more concerned about their children” and “Bengali nation is way more concerned about their religion” appear to be over-generalizations, putting the west on the back foot. While she denounced her nation and praised the west in the classroom interactions and the facebook exchanges, in her essay she was in all praise for her nation and not supportive of the west. Thus, she shifted from one extreme to another extreme. It

may be argued that Rima, in her essay, demonstrated awareness of the favourable aspects of her own nation, although there is evidence of over-generalization in some of her claims.

In the final paragraph she referred to the exploitative acts of the west which she ignored in her classroom interactions and facebook exchanges.

The third aspect of difference is the domineering tendency of the west. Being the so called civilized and developed nation they are consistently trying to knock out other countries to suck their assets and natural resources. For example, we can mention Iraq invasion by America, and the inhuman destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in World War II. In the history of civilization, this sort of invasion and exploitation by the west can still be observed. However, this tendency can never be found in Bengali nation. Though we own very little and are a bit corrupt we never have the desire to take or exploit others.

She condemned the west for its exploitative acts such as the act of exploiting other countries' assets and natural resources, citing as examples the Iraq invasion by America and the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. She condemned the west to praise her own nation, but while praising her nation she was not unaware of its limitations as seen in its poor economic condition ("we own very little") and corruption ("we ... are a bit corrupt"). As discussed earlier, the framing of her argument in binary terms (Bangladesh versus the west) could be read as the influence of colonial discourse (Ashcroft, Griffith & Tiffin, 1995). Still, it appears that the denigrating aspects, such as corruption, which she previously attributed as an all-encompassing feature of the Bengali nation, were downplayed against the exploitation and destruction by the west. Thus she attempted to problematize the western exploitation.

Shifts in Rima's positionality. Rima's opinions in the classroom, in the facebook exchanges, and in her essay demonstrate her movement towards greater

awareness. As a result, finally, she attempted to problematize the exploitation by the west. In spite of the attempts of problematization by the other participants, Rima in the classroom discussion appeared stubborn in her over-generalization that the people of Bangladesh as a whole were corrupt. She attempted to rebut all doubts and questions posed by other students as well as the teacher. Though her aggressive rebuttals did not appear convincing, she did not seem to concede (“A lot”). She continued, in her facebook exchanges, her over-generalization in the binary of Bengali nation and the west, associating the former with all things bad and the latter with all things good. However, Rima’s shift in her stance became evident in her facebook exchanges after I, the teacher, had placed the Silverstein poem. After reading the Silverstein poem she became aware that a nation may “possess both good and dark sides.” Rima’s essay written after the classroom discussion and the facebook exchanges demonstrated her awareness as she perceived the natural differences between different nations. Moreover, she problematized the exploitation (“consistently trying to knock out other countries to suck their assets and natural resources”) and destruction done by the west in Iraq.

Rima’s reflections on the shifts in her stances. Rima, during her interview (see Appendix G for excerpts from interviews) with me, reflected on her position-taking on the issues taken up in the classroom. When I asked Rima about her stance in the classroom and the shifts in her positionality throughout the lesson, she reflected:

You know, that [classroom stance] was the demand of the situation. I wanted to prove my position in the class. However, later on before writing I considered the other views.

Her reflection implies that she wanted to win in establishing her position in the class and so she ignored the attempts of problematization by the students as well as the teacher (see her claims and rebuttals in her classroom interactions in the subsection The case of Rima above). Though in the classroom she appeared unwilling to consider the views by the other participants, while writing, she ~~considered~~ "the opposing ~~views~~" expressed by other participants.

She further reflected on what really happened when she encountered problematization.

[Problematization in the class] is really needed... [It helps to get] a strong basis ...of my position...Yes, [negotiating different perspectives in the classroom is] sometimes challenging. Sometimes we don't have enough reasons to refute that. That time, may be, I also change my mind, ok, she can also be right. That's what happens. You know, I get myself corrected by others' perspectives. I think, it's respecting them also.

Though problematization in the classroom was ~~sometimes challenging~~, it was enlightening and empowering for Rima, as ~~It helps to get] a strong basis ...of my position~~.

Reasons for Rima's position-taking. Rima's expressions ~~I~~ "am a victim of heavy corruption" in the admissions test [in a top public university] and ~~shouldn't I feel discriminated against?"~~ suggest that the effect of the corruption she personally experienced (i.e. the discrimination done to her) caused her to over-generalize the issue. Once she took the position she wanted to win in the arguments. Hence she shored arguments and examples to support her position. Rima said in the interview that because of ~~the~~ "demand of the situation," she argued ~~to~~ "prove her position," where she over-generalized that the people of Bangladesh as whole were corrupt. However, Rima further said in her interview (see the subsection Rima's reflections

on the shifts in her stances' above) that the attempts of problematization in the classroom helped her be aware of the various other sides of the issue and that influenced her stance while writing her essay. She considered the various other views and changed her position towards a critical stance.

The case of Tisha. Here I present the trajectory of Tisha's stances in the lesson in week 9 where the class discussed ~~In~~equalities in Society of Bangladesh (see 'Instructional context' in Chapter 3 for details of the selection of the issue). On this issue she made some significant comments that helped the whole class to go into the details of the issue. In addition, she demonstrated a movement in her positionality towards a critical stance problematizing injustice in society in the course of the lesson.

1. In the classroom: Favouring inequalities in society.

Once the issue of the social system of Bangladesh was taken up for discussion in the classroom, students identified instances of inequalities and analyzed the reasons for the inequalities in society. As the inequalities in the social system of Bangladesh were being discussed, Rubi, one of the students, immediately referred to the inequalities related to the treatment of the maid servants in the common family life. It is noteworthy here that the service of maid servants in the middle class and the elite class families in Bangladesh was a common phenomenon. It was also known that the servants received unfair treatment from their employers in terms of payment and attitude. In this social backdrop, Rubi's comment prompted the following exchanges where Tisha contributed as well (L8,10-13,17).

Rima: Everybody in society cannot live in luxury.

Rubi: Right. Everybody cannot live in luxury. But we are in a much better position than the house maids, bus driver or a rickshaw driver.

Rima: ... can you go without a maid? ...

- 5 Rubi: Ok. I need a maid servant. But I may maintain without a maid servant.
 Rima: (*in a challenging note*) How long?
 Rubi: There are households going without maid servants.
 Tisha: A maid servant needs to survive. She will have to meet her basic needs.
 Rima: The class will remain always.
- 10 Tisha: Inequalities remain always. You can never think of your maid servant in your position. We don't treat them equally in case of what we eat and wear. ... We won't let the servants to talk with us in the manner our friends talk with us. If they do that by mistakewe
 Rubi: This system will remain. It will remain.
- 15 Teacher: Then we'll have to accept it?
 Rupa: Yes.
 Tisha: We've been doing it. ... This is the way of the world.

Rima attempted to say that the phenomenon i.e. the inequalities must be accepted as the families cannot go without servants (L4). In reply, Rubi wanted the households to be without servants as they were unfairly treated (L5: ~~But~~ I may maintain without a maid servant"). At that stage of the exchanges, Tisha asked them to consider the servants' need for survival. She argued that to meet their basic needs i.e. to earn their meals the maid servants needed the job (L8: ~~A~~ maid servant needs to survive"). It is noteworthy that a large number of people of Bangladesh lived under the poverty line. Most of them lived from hand to mouth. They did not have enough scopes for earning. That's why, some of them worked in the household activities as servants. The elite and the middle class families, on the other side, found it difficult to run the household activities without the service of the servants. Tisha referred to this situation and confirmed that because of the need of both of the sides the phenomenon i.e. inequalities must continue. She then referred to some instances where they themselves treat the servants unequally and unfairly (L10-13). However, she referred to the unequal treatment as a common phenomenon, and concluded that ~~inequalities~~" in society ~~will~~ remain always." Assumptions and phenomena taken for granted in this way are the means by which power maintains its status quo and thus perpetuates injustice in society (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005). Power works

through the established discourses and ideologies of society that people consider belong to them (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005). This attitude in Tisha's arguments favoured inequalities in society. Critical pedagogy problematizes the assumptions and phenomena that contribute to perpetuating inequalities in society (Giroux, 2009, 2011; Kincheloe, 2004; McLaren, 1989/1995; Pennycook, 2001).

As an attempt to problematize the attitude I, the teacher, questioned if we would have to accept these inequalities in society (L15). My attempt was refuted by Tisha's reply, ~~th~~is [the society with inequalities] is the way of the world." Therefore, I further questioned if they supported injustice. This time students in a voice replied in the negative. As they said that they did not support the unjust social system, I attempted to lead the discussion towards changing of the system. I put the question, ~~ean~~'t we change it (the unjust social system)?" However, in response to my question they argued that the inequalities in society cannot be changed. A new class of exploiters would appear after it was changed.

Tabu: Sir, I think we should change it. ... But what will it be like after changed?

Rima: The inequalities will be created again. ... Haven't we seen in *Animal Farm*? ... This will always remain in us. ... Some are more equal, sir.

Tabu: All animals are equal, some are more equal than others. (*laughing*)

5 Teacher: So, we cannot get out of this circle, this vicious circle?

Rubi: If everybody becomes equal; if everybody becomes like us, then where will I get the service of the maid servant? Where will I get the service of the rickshaw puller?

Rima: Right. One can never go completely on his own. Somehow he depends
10 on others.

Sumi: Needs help.

Though Tisha made no comments in the above excerpt she seemed to support the views expressed by the other students as is evident in her essay where she wrote ~~a~~ new class of exploiters emerges after the termination of the old one" (detailed discussion later in this section). In the excerpt, students found it difficult to visualize a society without inequalities (L1: ~~B~~ut what will it be like after changed?").

Referring to George Orwell's *Animal Farm* Rima concluded that even if the system was changed, inequalities would be created again (L2: "the inequalities will be created again"). Though *Animal Farm* exposes and questions the power mechanism and the inequality it perpetuates in society, students paradoxically used the inequalities depicted in the novel ("Some are more equal") as the universal truth. Moreover, Rubi expressed her anxiety (L6-8): if there was equality where she would get the service of the maid servants. This represents the anxiety of losing the privileges they were enjoying.

2. In the classroom: Giving due worth to physical labour.

To problematize the students' examples showing the inevitability of inequalities in society I, the teacher, referred to Umar's regime (Umar was the second caliph of the Muslim world) where Umar himself, the head of the state, did not enjoy more privileges than the ordinary people. As in the case of placing the poem Zebra Question on the facebook page, while referring to the story of Umar I was aware that this reference also carries authority with it. I knew that the authority carried by the story may also be questioned, but thought that negotiation of two opposing narratives may bring good outcome. Therefore, I felt the need for bringing the story for problematizing the discourse taken for granted. Finally, I referred to a well-known event from Umar's life as an example.

During his regime, once the state treasury distributed some pieces of clothes amongst the people. Umar himself also received a piece of cloth as he was entitled for. However, the piece was not large enough to make a gown for a tall man like Umar. So, his son Abdullah gave his father the piece he had received as his portion. When Umar in that gown was addressing the people, a man called Salman challenged him that he would not listen to him until he

accounted for where he had got so much cloth for his gown. When Umar's son explained the matter the man expressed his satisfaction and said that now he would listen and obey him. Thus the head of the state was accountable to the common people. The power pattern –some are more equal than others” did not exist there.

This story caused a transition in the students' stances. They became critical of the people in the elite class and the leaders who, according to them, were doing everything to continue the inequalities in society. Inspired by the Umar vignette, Tania put a piercing question doubting their own honesty in positioning themselves against inequalities: –do we really want from the core of our heart [a society] without inequalities?” Rima replied, –We don't want.” Consequently, Rima, Toma and Sumi referred to the superiority of intellectual labour over physical labour to justify their stances. Tisha, however, problematized their attitude to physical labour. (In the excerpt below *belpuriwala* refers to the man who hawked a particular type of cake named *belpuri* around the university campus, the research site. Students used to address him as *mama* (i.e. uncle), hence *belpuri mama*.)

Tania: Sir, it's ok we are saying, but do we really want from the core of our heart [a society] without inequalities?

Rupa: If not possible completely, can't it be partially?

Tania: We ourselves don't want that. So we can't blame the elite.

5 Rima: (excited) Sir, we don't want --- we can't accept that a person without having education should enjoy the same privileges that I enjoy because of my hard earned education. I'll never accept it.

Toma: Sir, --- a person has to work hard to have education. Then they get a job and earn a salary of Tk. 50000/= per month. On the other hand, we see,

10 Belpuri mama (the man selling *belpuri*, a type of food) --- earns Tk. 60000/= per month. How strange?

Rima: No. Sir, this is his hard earned income.

Toma: The person doing a job bears much pressure on head. --- has to work hard. ... the physical pressure is nothing in contrast with his/her mental pressure.

15 Sumi: An officer is much valued. ... Even if he/she gets Tk 50000 or whatever, his/her value is unique. ... *Belpuriwala* will always remain *belpuriwala* --- even if he earns one hundred thousand.

...

Tisha: As Asa said, physical labour of a person is not equal to a person's
20 brain work. The person who works throughout the whole day exposed to scorching sun or heavy rain, his labour is not of less worth.

Rima (L5-7) was not willing to accept the situation where a person without education should get the same privileges as an educated person like her gets, though she mildly opposed Toma's reservation about the income earned by the *Belpuriwala* (L8-11). Apparently students' stances were rooted in a humiliating attitude to the physical labour against the intellectual labour. Tisha, however, problematized this attitude to physical labour (L19-21). She referred to some instances of physical labour ("The person who works throughout the whole day exposed to scorching sun or heavy rain") and looked at physical labour with dignity considering it different but ~~not~~ of less worth."

Thus, Tisha in the classroom discussion at first had the view that inequality in society was usual and a change in that system was impossible. She favoured the unequal treatment to the servants (who served by their physical labour). However, later on she attempted to ensure due worth to the physical labour.

3. In her essay: Appeal for equal rights and justice.

Though Tisha in her classroom interactions accepted the unjust social system as a common phenomenon, and opined that it cannot be changed, in her essay she acknowledged that a change of the unjust social system was possible. She started the introductory paragraph of the essay stating the aim of formation of society i.e. ~~to~~ ensure justice":

The main aim of society is to ensure justice for the people living in society. However, when people do not revolt against an unfair issue, with the passage of time that becomes [a part of] the principles or the system, though all people don't support that. In the long run it becomes impossible to change the unfairness without any revolt.

The introductory paragraph expressed her awareness about how injustice gets into the system of society (~~when~~ an act of injustice is not protested"). In the next paragraph she expressed her awareness about the existence of the oppressors and the oppressed in society, and the oppressors' mechanism for continuation of their oppression.

In every society two groups of people are noticeable. One is the oppressors and the other the oppressed. The oppressed are struggling in this system. Sometimes they sacrifice their life to get rid of the oppression. Moreover, in some cases a vast exploited population cannot change the existing injustice against them because of the powerful exploiters.

However, she held the view that the history of domination was cyclic where the oppressed after a successful revolution turned into oppressors (~~where~~ a new class of exploiters emerges after the termination of the old one"). This view echoes the opinions expressed by other students in the classroom discussion where they said that there would be always some people ~~more~~ equal than others":

However, the history of the world depicts a cyclical view of domination. Besides, it is also noticeable that this cycle moves from the oppressed to the oppressor. Russian revolution is an excellent example of this cycle of domination where a new class of exploiters emerges after the termination of the old one. Grasping the power is the main target of every class.

In the essay, she did not simply consider exploitation as ~~the~~ way of the world" as she did in the classroom interactions. She concluded the essay with an appeal to ensuring equal rights and justice in society. In this regard, she referred to religion that decrees equal rights and justice for everybody in society. She also referred to the responsibility assigned by religion on each individual human being to fight injustice:

As the best creation of God every man has equal right to live with honour. Our lives, wealth and privacy are equally sacred to each other. Moreover, we have no right to destroy other's value. Therefore, if any injustice exists in our society we have to challenge it strongly.

Shifts in Tisha's positionality. Thus, Tisha's consideration of the unfair treatment with the servants and the inequality in the social system as "the way of the world" favoured inequalities. However, when the discussion focused on the dignity of physical and intellectual labour, and some students were looking down upon physical labour, Tisha troubled the humiliating attitude to physical labour. Thus, though earlier she favoured the unequal treatment with the servants who served with physical labour, later on she gave due honour to physical labour. In her essay, she expressed her awareness of the mechanism of oppression in society. She demonstrated her awareness that revolutions only change persons in power not the oppression in society. However, she developed the essay towards an appeal to ensure justice in society and fight injustice ("if any injustice exists in our society we have to challenge it strongly").

Tisha's reflections on the shifts in her stances. When I interviewed the students to tap in their experience in the writing course, I asked Tisha about her stance in the classroom and her shifts in her stances throughout the lesson. While reflecting on changing of her positions, she said:

Other students' views in the classroom interactions especially the attempts of problematization in the classroom had a great effect on changing my views...because it is not the case that my ideas will be right always.

Her belief in religion played a vital role in forming her mindset to attempt for a change in favour of justice in society. She said:

I am a Muslim girl. My religion means peace. It aims justice in society. So I like to work for peace and justice in society. ...

Reasons for Tisha's position-taking. At the beginning of the classroom interaction, Tisha favoured inequalities in the society for two reasons. First, she accepted the phenomenon as granted (~~–~~This is the way of the world”). Her everyday experiences (~~–~~We’ve been doing it This is the way of the world”) influenced her in this regard. Her conviction about the inevitability of the inequalities in society was influenced by her reading of Orwell’s *Animal Farm* (all the students of the class had read Orwell’s *Animal Farm* in another course). Hence they quoted ~~–~~some are more equal.” Though *Animal Farm* critiqued the inequalities and the power mechanism, students paradoxically read the mechanism as an inevitable truth. Second, she herself was getting benefited from the system. This became evident when the unequal treatment of the servant as exposed in ~~–~~we won’t let the servants to talk” was supported by Rubi’s comment ~~–~~if everybody becomes equal... where will I get the service of the maid servant?”

As the class delved into discussing the worth of physical labour and mental labour, she recognized the dignity of physical labour. This marked a shift in her stance, because earlier she favoured unequal treatment with the servants who use physical labour. Moreover, Tisha’s awareness about the oppression in society in her essay was not the same as it was in her first stance in her classroom interactions. In the classroom interactions her awareness of the injustice led her to conclude that ~~–~~this is the way of the world.” However, in her essay her awareness led her to an appeal to challenge all injustice in society (~~–~~if any injustice exists in our society we have to challenge it strongly”). The reason for this shift in her stance may be attributed to the views expressed in the attempts of problematization in the classroom, as she reflected in the interview, ~~–~~problematizing in the classroom had a great effect on changing my views.” It is noteworthy that the attempt of

problematization in the classroom with reference to the vignette from the life of Umar, the second caliph of Islam, was connected with Islam, the religion of the Muslims. She herself was a committed Muslim: “I am a Muslim girl ... So I like to work for peace and justice in society.” And this was reflected in the conclusion of her essay. She referred to God in the conclusion (“As the best creation of God”) and made an appeal for equal rights and justice in society (“Therefore, if any injustice exists in our society we have to challenge it strongly”).

The case of Rupa. Here I present Rupa’s case from the lesson on the status of indigenous dress in Bangladesh in week 11 (see ‘Instructional context’ in Chapter 3 for details of selection of the issue). In this lesson she articulated her position in the classroom and demonstrated some sort of movement towards criticality in her essay.

1. In the classroom: Privileging the west as standard.

In week 11 students discussed the status of indigenous dress of Bangladesh to write an essay on the same topic. *Lungi*, the lower part, and *Panjabi*, the upper part, are men’s traditional dress in Bangladesh, while *sari* or *salwar* and *kamiz* are women’s traditional dress, with variations in the dresses of the tribal groups of Bangladesh. Though women still wear *sari* or *salwar* and *kamiz*, the educated modern men have now been habituated to wearing Shirts and Pants, known as western dress. In addition, a sort of despise has been grown towards *lungi*, the indigenous dress for men. Regarding the attitude to the traditional dress of Bangladesh, I referred to the *lungi* vignette (see the vignette in chapter one for details) where a renowned person was not allowed to enter the Dhaka club in *lungi*, the indigenous dress for men in Bangladesh, he always wears as his signature dress.

Students emotionally engaged in the discussion on the issue. Rupa and some other students strongly spoke in favour of formal and modern dress while some few dissent voices spoke in favour of the traditional dress. As the discussion started with reference to *lungi*, the traditional dress for man, students mainly focused on men's dress, though they made some occasional comments on the women's dress as well.

Rupa: Sir, in a party or in a formal occasion we must maintain a standard... Sir, if one comes normally to a place where everybody maintained a standard, --- it looks odd.

...

- 5 Rubi: Our standard dress was supposed to be *lungi* and *sari*, I mean, *lungi*. . . . But western influence has changed it... we have been western. And our *lungi* has been uncultured.

Teacher: Why has it been uncultured? Why do we consider it uncultured?

- Rubi: If we think from the perspective of standard we have reached a stage, as Rupa
10 said, we need to wear standard dress. But we should have worn *lungi* as standard.

Teacher: (*To Rupa*) What do you say? ---

- Rupa: Sir, they are saying that colonialism, I mean, we are following the west. We cannot deny the fact that they ruled us for 200 years. ... Whatever may be the cause, we cannot deny that we must maintain a standard. If we look at Africa they also
15 maintain a standard. This is common in all countries. Now, it looks odd. It feels – Students: (in a voice) It feels odd.

Rubi: They ruled us only for 200 years. But before or after that we passed more than that time – in our own way. Isn't it? Why then we will follow their 200 years' rule?

Rupa: Sir that was in the past. Now we are going forward in all spheres.

Rupa expressed her reservation about men wearing *lungi* in formal situations. In her opinion “~~Lungi~~ looks odd” because it did not meet the standard (L2). The standard she assumed was western, as she acknowledged, “We cannot deny the fact that they ruled us for 200 years” (L12-13). It appears that she used the western influence (L12: “they are saying that we are following the west”) and the colonial influence (L13: “they ruled us for 200 years”) interchangeably. It may be mentioned here that as part of India until 1947 Bangladesh shared India's colonial legacy from 1757 to 1947 (Rahman, Hamzah, & Rahman, 2010). Therefore, Rupa found western/colonial influence in the idea of standard as a historical “fact” and, as a result, undeniable. Hence, she overruled all negative associations of western

influence implied in Rubi's comment (L6: ~~western~~ influence has changed it ... we have been western") and said, ~~Whatever~~ may be the cause, we cannot deny that we must maintain a standard" (L13-14) implying that she found no alternative to western standard. Thus western standard of norms and values came out as the only point of reference for standard of taste. Therefore, it may be argued that her attitude to *lungi* was influenced by the Eurocentric standard of taste. As a result, she considered *lungi*, the indigenous dress of Bangladesh, as non-standard and inferior to the western dress.

2. In her essay: Feeling of respect for as well as a sense of inferiority to *lungi*.

In her essay on the status of indigenous dress in Bangladesh, Rupa felt the need for respecting *lungi*, the traditional indigenous dress for men in Bangladesh. In the introduction to the essay she wrote:

Every country has a traditional dress. Our traditional dress for men is *lungi* and *punjab* and for women *sari*. I agree with the argument that we should respect our traditional dress. No matter if we wear the indigenous dress, but we should respect our own dress because our dress represents our culture.

However, the expression ~~No~~ matter if we wear the indigenous dress, but we should respect our own dress" exposed her reservation she still possessed about wearing the traditional dress, apparently because that was not standard as she expressed in the classroom interactions (L2-3: ~~it~~ looks odd").

Then she pointed to the dress of the girls who, following western fashion, wear jeans, shirts or other dresses. However, she found these dresses, i.e. jeans, shirts, etc., objectionable from three grounds: first, they were not flexible and comfortable, and second, they didn't cover the body properly, and third, they were western fashions. In addition, she drew on the religious prescriptions on dress to support her argument.

It is said that flexible dress can be worn by people. I also agree with this view. The dress should be flexible and not worst. People should cover themselves by dress, but most of the girls do not do so. They should wear dress for covering themselves. Moreover, I also think it. Many people of our country follow western fashion. Girls wear jeans, shirts, or other dresses. It is not right. Our country is a Muslim country. As Muslims we should follow the rules of Islam, and this may be done with *sari* or *salowar-kamis*.

In the next paragraph she referred to the *lungi* vignette where a renowned person was not allowed to enter the Dhaka Club in *lungi*, the indigenous dress for man in Bangladesh, he always wears as his signature dress. She denounced the irrational treatment with the renowned columnist and human rights activist because of wearing *lungi*, the dress of majority of the people in Bangladesh.

Another thing is if a person wears *lungi* in any occasion, he should not be prohibited to that occasion because our 80% people are village people and in villages their main dress is *lungi* and we should respect it.

Thus, she problematized the humiliating attitude to *lungi* (—we should respect it”). Her argument was driven by the concept of majority. She recognized *lungi* as the dress of the majority of the people. Therefore, she felt the need for respecting *lungi*, the —main dress” of —80% of the people of Bangladesh living in villages.” The exact figure of people living in the villages in Bangladesh may not be 80%, but it was right that majority of the people of Bangladesh lived in the villages. Hence her argument —it represents our culture” put *lungi* as the symbol of the culture of the majority of the people of Bangladesh. Thus, her stance exposed the irrational treatment of the culture of majority of the people by a handful of educated people. Therefore, she concluded:

In conclusion, I can say, I should respect my own country’s dress and wear it wherever I go. If another dress is needed to maintain standard I should wear that and then place our own dress over that dress.

Though she expressed her feeling of the need for respecting the traditional dress, her doubt about the traditional dress as standard was still prevalent in her suggestion to wear a “standard” dress with the indigenous traditional dress on it as a sign of showing respect to the indigenous dress (“If another dress is needed to maintain standard I should wear that and then place our own dress over that dress”).

Thus, she intended to respect the indigenous culture by placing the indigenous dress on a standard dress, the standard in this context being western. This attitude echoes the pattern aimed at by the colonial education in India that intended to mould the mindset of the people of this country in such a way that they would think and live like the English people (*inside*), though in colour (*outside* appearance) they were Indians (Fanon, 1967).

Shifts in Rupa’s positionality. Rupa in the classroom discussion considered the indigenous dress as non-standard (“It [lungi] looks odd”), because she accepted west as standard (L13-14; they ruled us for 200 years. ... we must maintain a standard). Though there were strong counter-arguments, she strictly adhered to her position. However, in her essay she changed her position. With reference to culture of majority of the people she argued for respecting the indigenous dress. However, she still expressed her doubt of the traditional dress as standard, as she wrote “If another dress is needed to maintain standard I should wear that and then place our own dress over that dress.” Her attempt neither could give up west as standard, nor could totally ignore her own culture. Thus, she developed a sort of ambivalent attitude towards the indigenous dress. She simultaneously felt the need for respect for as well as an inferiority complex to the indigenous dress.

Rupa's reflections on the shifts in her stances. As I attempted to tap in the students' experience of the lessons through interviews, Rupa reflected about her position-taking and her arguments for her positions (see Appendix G for excerpts from interviews):

I tried to persuade others to agree with me if my argument was just. ...I felt irritated if they did not accept the right opinion. ...When I was right I did not change my position.

Though she refuted the views expressed by other students in the class, she considered the other views at a later time and gave a thought over them and accepted them if they were just:

The classroom discussion helped me very much. I considered the views expressed by others later time especially at night. However, if other students' ideas were just I was ready to accept.

Reasons for Rupa's position-taking. Rupa in the classroom considered the western dress as the standard. It was because the people were practicing this dress code in formal situations and that caused her to think that the indigenous dress was non-standard against the standard western dress (L15: "This is common to all countries"). However, as she said in the interview, the counter discourses presented by other students in the classroom had significant role in taking her position in her writing. Therefore, she considered the "own" culture, "our" "standard" referred to in the classroom by other students (L5 & 9-10) against her arguments for standard dress. As a result, she felt the need for respecting the indigenous dress. However, the influence of western standard was so strong on her that she was still haunted by her doubt about the traditional dress as standard ("if another dress is needed to maintain standard I should wear that and then place our own dress over that dress").

Discussion. The three cases presented above show some differences as well as similarities amongst them regarding their positionalities. Rima took a position and wanted to win in establishing her position in the classroom. Hence, she did not change her position in the class, as she reflected in the interview. Tisha, however, changed her position in the class without thinking of winning or losing. Rupa, on the other hand, strictly adhered to her stance in the class. However, all of the cases revealed one identical pattern that each of them had some shifts in their positions finally moving towards making attempts of problematization. And religion came up as a common aspect that helped them moving towards criticality. Thus a comparative study of the three cases reveals the routes to criticality.

Shifts in positionality in the three cases. All the three cases presented above illustrate a movement of stances towards criticality. Rima, for example, at the beginning of the lesson, was over-generalizing a subset of the population of the country (“90% of higher officials”) for the whole nation of Bangladesh. Her classroom stance apparently was critical of corruption in Bangladesh, but she was over-generalizing the corruption of a subset of the population for the whole nation. Then she over-generalized in binaries. In the process of critical pedagogy in the classroom, she, however, became aware of the other realities of the issue. Therefore, finally, in her essay she problematized the exploitation by the west. Tisha, on the other hand, favoured inequalities in society in the classroom interactions. However, she recognized the dignity of physical labour while other students were considering physical labour inferior to intellectual labour. Though in the classroom she favoured inequalities in society, she changed her position in her essay. She critiqued the inequalities in society and expressed a strong appeal to change the unjust social

system. As for Rupa, in the classroom she considered the indigenous dress non-standard and, as a result, inferior to the western dress. However, in her essay she attempted to strike a balance where she made the need for respecting the indigenous dress, the feeling of inferiority complex about the indigenous dress, and her loyalty to western standard co-exist.

Reasons for the positionalities and the shifts. The movement of their stances was caused, as they claimed in the interviews, by the various other views expressed in the attempts of problematization in the classroom. However, the reasons for their positionalities, and the reasons for accepting other students' views and consequently shifting their positions were also found in the arguments they used for their positions

When Rima over-generalized, it appeared that it was because she got the bitter experience of corruption in the admissions test in the top public university. In the setting of Bangladesh where resources were limited and where access to higher education was a privilege, middle class students who gained access to university education aspired to have a better life than their parents' generation and to catch up with the upper classes. Corruption pushed Rima back in her move towards developing her desired career. That's why she was expressing her grudge against her nation. So, it can be argued that, the damage, caused by corruption, to her personal as well as class interest was the sole cause of her position in the classroom. Her over-generalization in binaries was influenced by the colonial discourse, as has been seen in the section On the facebook: Over-generalization in binaries. However, because of the attempts of problematization in the classroom she changed her position. In addition, there were socio-cultural and historical influences as well. Culturally

people of Bangladesh are religious. They maintain a strong family bond. And historically Bangladesh experienced exploitation of British colonial rule for about 200 years. The demolition of Iraq by the west caused a bruise to the Muslims of different countries like Bangladesh. Therefore, her views regarding family bond, religiosity and exploitation had their roots in the socio-cultural and historical context she was in. Thus her stances were connected with her personal, social and class interests.

Tisha favoured inequalities in society because that was the common practice in society. Moreover, she was the beneficiary of the social system (L11-12: ~~“We~~ won’t let the servants”). The class she belonged to commonly practiced it. The literature she studied also helped her consolidate her stance regarding inequalities in society. However, her attempt to give due worth for physical labour must have been influenced by her roots in her rural agriculture based family, as she came of a rural family. In her essay, her appeal to ensure justice in society and fight injustice was influenced by the attempts of problematization in the classroom where religious references had been made. These views from other participants found a favourable soil in her, because she had a strong belief in religion. In addition, religion played an important role in the socio-cultural context of Bangladesh she lived in. Therefore, she expressed her conviction of challenging all injustice in society.

Rupa, in the classroom interactions, considered the indigenous dress as non-standard and, therefore, inferior to that of the west. However, with reference to culture of majority of the people she felt the need for respecting the traditional dress, though she was still haunted by the doubt about the indigenous dress as standard. She was oriented by the western norms and values. Her struggle for a better life in the context of Bangladesh aligned her with the western norms, as that is the practice in

the post-colonial countries like Bangladesh to ~~maintain~~ “the privileged position” in society (Altbach, 1995, p. 454). That’s why, western standard was so important for her. Her acceptance of the respect for culture of majority of the people exposed her alignment with the tradition and culture of the country. However, she could not ignore the necessity of western culture and its dominance in society for upgrading her status in society. Therefore, she attempted to paradoxically strike a balance. This represents a middle class crisis in Bangladesh. The middle class in the post-colonial countries like Bangladesh finds that better life may be ensured if western culture is followed, because the elite class is closely aligned with the west (Altbach, 1995). However, a paradox lies in the fact that the middle class cannot completely ignore its alignment with the tradition and culture.

Thus, this study reveals routes to criticality as connected with and influenced by multiple issues such as the individual’s personal, socio-cultural and class interests. Attempts of problematization influenced an individual to move towards some sort of criticality when they shared some interests (e.g. personal, socio-cultural and class interests) of the said individual.

Conclusion: Routes to criticality. Criticality is a stance that problematizes ~~the~~ “the injustice of a particular society or public sphere in society” (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 305). It is ~~always~~ “interested in uncovering social structures, discourses, ideologies and epistemologies that prop up both the status quo and variety of forms of privilege” (p. 306). In this regard, an individual at first perceives the injustice, and then problematizes the injustice (Freire, 1970, pp. 54-55). Problematization of a particular discourse is facilitated as individuals become aware of ~~multiple~~ “discourses” (Luke, 2004, p. 26). The three cases of this study reveal, in

line with Freire (1970) and Luke (2004), that “multiple discourses” brought to the class by the students and the teacher facilitated the students to perceive injustice, and consequently, they problematized the injustice.

Luke (2004) maintains that criticality “entails an epistemological Othering and “doubling” of the world – a sense of being beside oneself or outside of oneself in another epistemological, discourse, and political space than one typically would inhabit” (p. 26). This study reveals that routes to criticality were connected with multiple issues such as the individual’s personal, socio-cultural and class interests. Attempts of problematization influenced an individual to move towards some sort of criticality when they shared some interests of the said individual. Hence, it can be argued that individuals “otherized” certain ideas and beliefs taking resort to certain other interests inside them. Othering of certain epistemological space occurred with the help of certain other epistemological spaces already existing in the individual. The external discourses presented in the attempts of problematization had their effect on an individual and facilitated the dormant internal discourses of the individual to rise up, when the external discourses shared some aspects of the internal discourses of the individual. Hence, the external discourses that helped evoke criticality were not completely external to the person. Rather they were within the person as well, but dormant. Therefore, it can be argued that criticality of a person develops through a struggle between various discourses inherent in the person through a mediation of outside discourses.

Research Question Three: How Does Language Mediate the Communication of Criticality by Undergraduate Students in the EFL Classrooms?

Research question three explored how language mediates the communication of criticality. The unit of analysis for research question three, therefore, was the linguistic expressions namely the utterances and written texts the individual students used for communicating a particular stance. For stances in oral interactions in the classroom, utterances of each of the turns of argument related to a particular stance of a particular student were chosen, while for stances expressed in the essays, written texts of arguments related to a particular stance of a particular student were chosen.

The linguistic expressions were then analyzed to identify the “socio-ideological voices” that “populate[d]” the expressions (Bakhtin, 1981). In line with Bakhtin (1981, pp. 304-5) I, the researcher, identified voices in students’ utterances and written texts with the help of discourse markers as well as with reference to the tones, intentions, and accents. Once the data were coded in this way, they were categorized, in terms of power relations, into “authoritative discourses” and “internally persuasive discourses” (See subsection ‘Theoretical Framework’ for details about Bakhtin’s concept of voices, and authoritative and internally persuasive discourses in language). Then I examined the “interrelationship” of the voices representing “authoritative discourses” and “internally persuasive discourses” in all the stances. Finally, I traced the interrelationship of the voices (representing “authoritative discourses” and “internally persuasive discourses”) that populated the language used for communication of criticality. Thus, this analysis answered research question three i.e. how language mediates the communication of criticality.

Exploration of the interrelationship of voices in the communication of stances required identification of individual student's stances prior to the identification of voices in the stances. Therefore, to directly present the interrelationship of voices, here I focus on the utterances and the written texts of Rima, Tisha, and Rupa's stances, because their stances have already been illustrated and discussed in details in the section entitled Research Question Two. Focusing on the interrelationship of voices in the utterances and the written texts by Rima, Tisha, and Rupa, I illustrate, in this section, how language mediates the communication of criticality.

Voices in Rima's stances. Here I present the findings regarding the identification of voices and the pattern of the interrelationship of the voices in the trajectory of Rima's stances where at first she over-generalized, then she over-generalized in binaries, and finally, expressed greater awareness and problematized western exploitation (for details of Rima's stances see "The case of Rima" under Research Question Two).

Over-generalizing. Rima over-generalized when she spoke for the entire nation by drawing on conclusions she had reached for a subgroup, that is, government officials (or "90% of high officials" as Rima referred to them). [Rima's turns of arguments are underlined in the excerpts].

Rima: Listen! If 90 percent of the high officials of a country ... 90 percent of the high officials are corrupt.

Teacher: It's not of all, as she said (I referred to Tania). We are [over]generalizing then. Why?

Sumi: But sir, majority accepts this [view]....

Teacher: Are the corrupt people majority? ... Even if we suppose that all of our high officials are corrupt ... Do they represent the nation?

Students: (*in a voice*) No, sir.

Sumi: Sir, sometimes they ---

Rima: Sir, when Bangladesh becomes champion in corruption then other countries look at Bangladesh simply in this way.

As Rima's reference to the report of Transparency International, which claimed that Bangladesh topped the list of most corrupt states (~~when~~ Bangladesh becomes champion in corruption"), was questioned (~~Have~~ we then changed our eyes with foreign eyes?") she retorted, and pointed to her own feeling of deprivation because of corruption.

Rima: Why should I take foreign eyes?

Teacher: I mean ...

Rima: Sir, when I see in my own eyes, I am a victim of heavy corruption, shouldn't I feel discriminated against? Suppose, in spite of good performance in the admissions test one of my relatives could not manage to get admitted in a public university. But I have seen there were others who managed it with money. When I see that should not I feel discriminated against?

Voices in Rima's over-generalizing. The arguments of Rima's act of over-generalization were populated with a number of voices. Though she over-generalized, it is clear that her arguments were triggered by a critique of the corruption of high officials in some public sectors in Bangladesh (~~90~~ percent of the high officials are corrupt"). Thus, her argument was populated with the voice of the critics of corruption. Her next turn ~~Sir, when Bangladesh becomes champion in corruption then other countries look at Bangladesh simply in this way...~~" contained an implied reference to a report of Transparency International, a Berlin based international organization, where Bangladesh topped the list of most corrupt countries of the world. Hence, her argument echoed the voice of the Berlin based international organization, Transparency International. The first part of this argument (~~when~~ Bangladesh becomes champion in corruption") is frequently uttered by the critics of corruption in Bangladesh. Therefore, this argument bore the voice of the

critics as well. The next turn of her argument included her own feeling of deprivation as the victim of corruption (“I am a victim of heavy corruption, shouldn’t I feel discriminated against?”). Therefore, the voice of the victims of corruption was heard in her expression, the interrogative form of which makes the argument strong and piercing. As these experiences of the victims are often referred to by the critics of corruption, the utterance included the voice of the critics as well.

Interrelationship of the voices. Thus, three voices namely the voices of the critics of corruption, the authority of Transparency International, and the victims of corruption populated Rima’s stance of over-generalization. The authoritative expression ‘listen!’ and the shift from the conditional sentence to an assertive statement in the first turn of Rima’s high pitched argument (“Listen! If 90 percent of the high officials of a country ... 90 percent of the high officials are corrupt”) indicates authority. As the voice of the critics refers to the voice of the International organization (“when Bangladesh becomes champion in corruption then other countries look at Bangladesh simply in this way..”) it appears that it was influenced by the voice of the authority of the international organization. As Rima referred to the report of Transparency International in response to the question “We are over-generalizing then. Why?” it may be argued that the voice of the authority of Transparency International triggered her act of over-generalization. Finally, the voice of the victims (“I am a victim of heavy corruption, shouldn’t I feel discriminated against?”) and the critics also supported the voice of the authority of Transparency International. Thus, all these voices contributed towards the act of over-generalization.

Over-generalization in binaries. Rima's act of over-generalization got a new dimension in her next stance in the facebook comments where she over-generalized in binaries. She contrasted Bengali nation with Western nations, seeing them as polar opposites or binary categories with Bangladesh representing all things bad and the west representing all things good. (~~Western nations~~" was their composite category for the nations of the west, principally in Europe and North America.) (facebook comments are unedited and Rima's arguments are underlined).

Rima: bengali nation is more corrupted than the westernss

Tisha: Bengali ppl seems that western ppl is the best idol....in evrythings

Fabiha: Western nation is much developed than the bengali nation, their culture, life style are different and they represent themselves very attractively to us. so we want to follow them.

Rima: one of the gud features of the westerns is their sincerity nd dedication toward their proffession irrespective of every rank officers bt our higher rank officers r whimsical..... do what ever nd whn ever they wantttt..... so wht shud the others followw??????????

Sarah: Bangali culture teaches an individual to respect others, be sober and sense of togetherness. Western culture is more materialistic and to a certain extend vulgar.

Voices in Rima's over-generalization in binaries. In the binary Bengali nation versus the West the construct of the ~~West~~", seen as the universal ideal, was privileged. This is a residue of colonial way of looking at the world as colonial discourse operates through binarisms (self-other; civilized-native; us-them), violently pushing everything that is non-European to an inferior status (Ashcroft, Griffith, & Tiffin, 1995; Said, 1978/1995). Colonial discourse, as Ashcroft et al (1995) see it, is built on the assumption of universalism rooted in a Eurocentric view of the world (Achebe, 1995; Larson, 1995), which in itself is a form of over-generalization. From a colonial lens, therefore, the construct of the ~~Bengali nation~~", considered as the Other, was viewed as inferior to the West as it lacked the so-called universal ideals [Rima referred to ~~sincerity and dedication toward profession~~"] (Alatas, 1995;

Fanon, 1952/1967; Said, 1978/1995). A consequence of this, as postcolonial scholar Alatas (1995, p. 29) argues, is the destruction of ~~the~~ pride of the native; and the denigration of native character.” Or inferiority is injected, as Aime Cesaire puts it (2000). Hence, it can be argued that Rima’s over-generalization in binaries was primarily populated with the voice of the colonial discourse where the west was depicted as all good and the non-west i.e. Bangladesh as all bad, and as a result, Bangladesh was viewed as inferior. As this view was adopted by some students receiving higher education, this view also represented the voice of a section of educated people. Moreover, as it contained the criticism of corruption (~~more~~ corrupted”), it included the voice of the critics of corruption as well.

Interrelationship of the voices. Rima’s stance of over-generalization in binaries was populated with the voices of colonial discourse, a section of modern educated people, and the critics of corruption. The view of the colonial discourse was adopted by the voice of a section of modern educated people. The voice of the critics (~~more~~ corrupted”) also spoke within the paradigm of colonial discourse (~~bengali~~ nation is more corrupted than the westernss”). Therefore, the authority of the colonial discourse prevailed and led the argument towards over-generalization in binaries.

Problematizing the exploitation. In her essay Rima demonstrated her greater awareness of the positive aspects of Bengali nation and problematized the acts of exploitation by the west, the reversal of what she had done in her classroom interactions and facebook exchanges. The following excerpt from her essay

illustrates the voices in her arguments where she problematized the exploitation by the west.

The third aspect of difference is the domineering tendency of the west. Being the so called civilized and developed nation they are consistently trying to knock out other countries to suck their assets and natural resources. For example, we can mention Iraq invasion by America, and the inhuman destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in World War II. In the history of civilization, this sort of invasion and exploitation by the west can still be observed. However, this tendency can never be found in Bengali nation. Though we own very little and are a bit corrupt we never have the desire to take or exploit others.

Voices in Rima's problematization of exploitation. The phrase “civilized and developed nation” referred to the west (as is already mentioned in “domineering tendency of the west”). In the colonial discourse the image of the west is created as civilized while the other nations are uncivilized (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1995). Therefore, this phrase echoed the voice of the colonial discourse. However, the phrase “so called” placed a doubt to the claim that the west is “civilized and developed” and this is what anti-colonial discourses do (Ashcroft et al, 1995). Therefore, this sentence “Being the so called civilized and developed nation ... and natural resources” contained the voice of the anti-colonial discourse. The clause “they are consistently trying to knock out other countries to suck their assets and natural resources” echoed the feeling of the nations exploited by the west. As in the case of other postcolonial nations (Fanon, 1963), it is said that Bengal full off riches had been plundered by the East India Company during the British colonial rule. Therefore, this phrase contained the voice of people of the exploited countries. As the rights organizations and the critics denounce exploitation, the expression “Iraq invasion by America, and the inhuman destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki...” represented the voices of the rights organizations and critics of exploitation. Finally, the expression “though we own very little and are a bit corrupt we never have the

desire to take or exploit others” demonstrated the speaker’s awareness of the bad and the good sides of her own nation. She wrote that Bangalis (~~we~~) didn’t possess the desire to exploit other nations while she did not forget the poor economic condition (~~we~~ own very little”) and the corruption (~~we~~ ... are a bit corrupt”) in Bangladesh. Therefore, this was the voice of a comprehensive attitude to look at something.

Interrelationship of the voices. Thus, Rima’s stance problematizing the exploitation by the west was populated with a number of voices namely the colonial discourse, the anti-colonial discourse, the people of the exploited countries, rights organizations, the critics of exploitation, and a comprehensive viewpoint. The voice of the anti-colonial discourse doubted the voice of the colonial discourse. The voices of rights organizations, the critics of exploitation, and the comprehensive viewpoint, all denounced the exploitation by the west. Though the voice of the colonial discourse was heard, the other voices interacted outside of the colonial discourse. They disclosed the exploitation and destruction done by the west (e.g. ~~Iraq~~ invasion by America”) and questioned the authority of the colonial discourse (~~so~~ called‘). Against the exploitation and destruction done by the west (e.g. ~~Iraq~~ invasion by America”) the denigrating aspects (e.g. ~~corrupt~~”) considered in the classroom interactions as all-encompassing features to Bengali nation became negligible. Thus, exploitation by the west was problematized.

Voices in Tisha’s stances. Here I present the findings regarding the identification of voices and the pattern of the interrelationship of the voices in the trajectory of Tisha’s stances where at first she favoured inequalities in society, then she spoke for equal worth to physical labour and intellectual labour, and finally, for

rights and justice (for details of the stances ‘The case of Tisha’ under Research Question Two).

Favouring inequalities in society. While discussing inequalities in the social system of Bangladesh, Tisha favoured inequalities in society as a common phenomenon (Tisha’s turns of arguments are underlined).

Rubi: There are households going without maid servants.

Tisha: A maid servant needs to survive. She will have to meet her basic needs.

Rima: The class will remain always.

Tisha: Class division will remain always. You can never think of your maid servant in your position. We don’t treat them equally in case of what we eat and wear. ... We won’t let the servants to talk with us in the manner our friends talk with us. If they do that by mistakewe

Rubi: This system will remain. It will remain.

Teacher: Then we’ll have to accept it?

Rupa: Yes.

Tisha: We’ve been doing it. ... This is the way of the world.

Voices in Tisha’s stance favouring inequalities in society. In the first turn of her argument (–A maid servant needs to survive. She will have to meet her basic needs”) Tisha benevolently felt for the servants’ needs to meet their basic needs. Therefore, the expression represented the voice of the benevolent superior. As in the context of Bangladesh a large number of people lived under the poverty line having little scope for earning, this expression carried the voice of the people expressing their own necessity. However, the first sentence –Class division will remain always” in the second turn of her argument asserted that the phenomenon would remain always. Her attitude to the unjust social system as the common phenomenon favoured injustice in society. Assumptions and phenomena taken for granted are the means by which power maintains the status quo and thus perpetuates injustice in society (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005). Therefore, this expression represented the

voice of the status quo about the way of the world i.e. inequalities in society. However, the pronouns ~~you~~” and ~~we~~” in the phrases ~~You~~ can never think of” and ~~We~~ won’t let the servants” referred to the voice of the class of people i.e. middle class the students belong to. The phrases ~~can~~ never” and ~~won~~’t let” rejected equal rights to the servants. Therefore, they further sounded the voices of the people dealing unfairly with the servants. The simple present indicator ~~don~~’t in the expression ~~we~~ don’t treat them equally” carried the note that unequal treatment is a common phenomenon. However, it also read the voice of the critic, as it exposed the unequal treatment. An undercurrent of the voice of the servants was also heard, as it evoked a demand for equal treatment. However, ~~This~~ is the way of the world” restated the voice of the status quo. It also sounded the voice of the servants when they resignedly accept inequality as the way of the world.

Interrelationship of the voices. Tisha’s stance favouring inequalities in society was populated with the voices of the benevolent superior, the servants, the status quo, and the people dealing unfairly with the servants. The voice of the benevolent superior and the voice of the servants expressing their needs together tended to legitimize the voice of the status quo (~~In~~equalities will remain always”). In addition, the voice of the people dealing unfairly with the servants (~~You~~ can never think of” and ~~We~~ won’t let the servant” ~~can~~ never” and ~~won~~’t let”) rejected equal rights to the servants sustaining the status quo i.e. unequal treatment as the way of the world (~~we~~ don’t treat them equally”). This voice of the people dealing unfairly with the servants subdued the voice of the critic exposing unequal treatment and the voice of the servants demanding equal treatment (~~don~~’t treat them equally”). Finally, the voice of the status quo gave the final seal (~~This~~ [inequality] is the way

of the world”) that the voice of the servants resignedly accepted (~~–This is the way of~~ the world”). The voice of the people dealing unfairly with the servants subdued the counter voice of the critics and the servants with reference to the authority of the voice of the social status quo. The voices of the benevolent superior and the servants expressing the need for their job as servants upheld the benevolence of the authority of the status quo. Thus, the voices interacted with each other accepting the authority of the status quo and legitimized inequalities in society.

Giving due worth to physical labour. Tisha later on in the classroom attempted to give due worth to illiterate people’s physical labour against educated people’s intellectual labour. She referred to some instances of physical labour and looked at physical labour with dignity considering it different but ~~–not~~ of less worth. (Tisha’s turns of arguments are underlined.)

Tisha: As Toma said, physical labour of a person is not equal to a person’s brain work. The person who works throughout the whole day exposed to scorching sun or heavy rain, his labour is not of less worth.

Voices in Tisha’s views about physical labour. Tisha’s stance started with reference to Toma (L13: ~~–physical~~ labour of a person is not equal to a person’s brain work” in the excerpt in In the classroom: Giving due worth to physical labour‘ in The Case of Tisha‘ under Research Question Two). The authoritative expression ~~–is~~ not equal” in Toma’s opinion, referred to by Tisha, suggested the voice of the narrative of superiority of intellectual labour (~~–brain~~ work”) over physical labour in society. As the intellectual labour is connected with the literate people, it also suggested the voice of the literate people. However, the phrase ~~–is~~ not of less worth” with examples of physical labour in the second sentence (~~–works~~ throughout the whole day exposed to scorching sun or heavy rain”) highlighted physical labour

mounting a critique on the narrative of superiority of intellectual labour. Hence, this expression suggested the voice of the critics of the narrative that downgrades physical labour. As the expression “works throughout the whole day exposed to scorching sun or heavy rain” calls forth the image of the workers doing hard labour, the statement further suggested the voice of the workers as well.

Interrelationship of the voices. Tisha’s stance giving due worth to physical labour was populated by the voices of the narrative of superiority of intellectual labour over physical labour in society, the literate people, the critics of the narrative that downgrades physical labour, and the workers. The voices of the workers and the critics (“his labour is not of less worth”) contradicted the voices of the narrative of superiority of intellectual labour over physical labour and that of the literate people (“physical labour of a person is not equal to a person’s brain work”). The phrases “throughout the whole day”, “exposed to scorching sun”, “heavy rain” in the voices of the workers and the critics contributed to the argument in favour of the worth of physical labour. However, the voices in favour of physical labour did not tend to suppress or ignore the voices favouring the worth of intellectual labour. Rather they simply argued for the recognition of the worth of the physical labour (“is not of less worth”). Thus, the unfair attitude to physical labour was problematized.

Appeal for equal rights and justice. Though in the classroom Tisha, first of all, favoured inequalities in society as “the way of the world,” in her essay, she placed an appeal for ensuring equal rights and justice in society. In this regard, she referred to religion that decrees equal rights and justice for everybody in society and

assigns the responsibility on each human being to fight injustice. For example, in the conclusion of her essay she wrote:

As the best creation of God every man has equal right to live with honour. Our lives, wealth and privacy are equally sacred to each other. Moreover, we have no right to destroy other's value. Therefore, if any injustice exists in our society we have to challenge it strongly.

Voices in Tisha's appeal for equal rights and justice. The argument started with an allusion to God (~~as~~ the best creation of God"), and the sentences after the allusion referred to the dictates of religion. Therefore, they sounded the voice of religion speaking for justice in society (e.g. ~~equal~~ rights to live with honour"). The pronoun ~~our~~" in the expression ~~Our~~ lives, wealth and privacy are equally sacred to each other" suggested the voice of everyone concerned about equality. It also suggested the voice of the people whose rights, lives, wealth, privacy, and values are violated. However, ~~we~~" in ~~We~~ have no right to destroy other's value" suggested the voice of the critics, as the critics denounce the activities of the people who destroy other people's values. The pronoun ~~we~~" in this expression also suggested the voice of the people who destroy other people's values, but are now oriented by the religious dictum. Finally, ~~we~~" in ~~We~~ have to challenge it strongly" refers to the activists fighting injustice. Therefore, this expression bore the voice of the activists fighting injustice.

Interrelationship of the voices. Tisha's stance placing an appeal for equal rights and justice, and against injustice in society was populated with the voices of religion, the voice of everyone concerned about equality, the people whose rights, lives, wealth, privacy, and values are violated, the violators of other people's rights, the critics of injustice and activists fighting injustice. The voice of religion exerted

the moral duty on every individual to fight injustice (‘‘Therefore, if any injustice exists in our society we have to challenge it strongly’’). All the voices spoke for equal rights, security of wealth and privacy, values, and justice (‘‘Our lives, wealth and privacy are equally sacred to each other’’). Even the voice of the people violating other people’s values was oriented by the sense of religious morality (‘‘we have no right to destroy other’s value’’). The voice of religion, though usually considered as a metanarrative, here stood for equal rights and justice. Thus, the voice of religion, the voice of the people whose rights are violated, the voice of violators of rights and the voices of the critics and activists together contributed to the appeal for equal rights and justice.

Voices in Rupa’s stances. Here I present the findings regarding identification of the voices and examine the pattern of the interactions of the voices in the trajectory of Rupa’s stances where at first she privileged the west as standard, and then she moved towards a feeling of respect as well as a sense of inferiority towards the indigenous dress (for details of the stances see ‘‘The case of Rupa’’ under Research Question Two).

Privileging the West as standard. While discussing the humiliating attitude to *lungi*, the indigenous dress for men in Bangladesh, Rupa privileged the west as standard as she spoke in favour of formal and modern dress referring to *lungi* as non-standard and odd (Rupa’s turns of arguments are underlined).

Rupa: Sir, in a party or in a formal occasion we must maintain a standard....
Sir, if one comes normally to a place where everybody maintained a standard,
--- it looks odd.

Rubi: Only for this how come he won’t be allowed in?

Sumi: Sir, this is strange. Who has defined the standard? --- Where will we go after this standard?

Teacher: Who has defined the standard?

Sumi: Sir, this standard has come from the west. They have defined this dress code.

Sweety: Our dress is lungi.

Students: Lungi, sari.

Mahia: But – no -- if lungi --- When we get married, we don't ask why the bridegroom does not come in lungi. If the bridegroom came in lungi then uncontrollable event would happen.

Rubi: Our standard dress was supposed to be *lungi* and sari, I mean, *lungi*. . . . But western influence has changed it... we have been western. And our *lungi* has been uncultured.

Teacher: Why has it been uncultured? Why do we consider it uncultured?

Rubi: If we think from the perspective of standard we have reached a stage, as Rupa said, we need to wear standard dress. But we should have worn *lungi* as standard.

Teacher: (To Rupa) What do you say? ---

Rupa: Sir, they are saying that colonialism, I mean, we are following the west. We cannot deny the fact that they ruled us for 200 years. . . . Whatever may be the cause, we cannot deny that we must maintain a standard. If we look at Africa [we see that] they also maintain a standard. This is common in all countries. Now sir, it looks odd. It feels . . .

Voices in Rupa's privileging of the West as standard. The word “must” in her expression “Sir, in a party or in a formal occasion we must maintain a standard” indicates the necessity of maintaining a fixed standard. Therefore, arguably this expression referred to the voice of the discourse of a fixed standard. As the word “we” in the same expression referred to the community the speaker belonged to, the utterance sounded the voice of a section of the literate people. Her next expression “Sir, if one comes normally to a place where everybody maintained a standard, --- it looks odd” alluded to the *lungi* vignette (see chapter one for details) where the Dhaka Club, an elite club, did not allow a renowned columnist and human rights activist to enter the club in *lungi*. Thus, this expression implied the attitude of the club authority, i.e. the elite class, to *lungi*. Therefore, this expression represented the voice of the elite people. In the next turn of her argument she refuted the other students' arguments that denounced the onslaught of western influence on the indigenous culture (“they are saying that colonialism, I mean, we are following the west”). The

other students' arguments (Rubi grudgingly said: ~~W~~Western influence has changed it" and Sumi resentfully said: ~~W~~Who has defined the standard?") ingrained her statement carried a note of resistance to the tendency of following the west. This resistance refers to the anti-colonial/anti-imperialist discourse of resistance. Therefore, Rupa's expression here was populated with the voice of anti-colonial/anti-imperialist discourse. However, her next expression ~~W~~We cannot deny the fact that they ruled us for 200 years ... we must maintain a standard" where western influence (~~t~~hey are saying that we are following the west") and colonial influence (~~t~~hey ruled us for 200 years") were used interchangeably, indicates that she was referring to the west as standard. Therefore, it may be argued that the voice of the discourse of west as standard spoke in this expression. The word ~~w~~e" in the expression ~~I~~f we look at Africa [we see that] they also maintain a standard" refers to the group of modern literate people the speaker belonged to. Hence, this expression represented the voice of the group of modern literate people supporting the west as standard with reference to the practices in other countries.

Interrelationship of the voices. Rupa's stance that considered *lungi*, the indigenous dress of men in Bangladesh, as non-standard was populated with the voices of the discourse of a fixed standard, the community of modern literate people, the elite people, the anti-colonial discourse, and the discourse of west as standard. The voice of the discourse of a fixed standard and the voice of the elite people were aligned (if one comes normally to a place where everybody maintained a standard, -- - it looks odd"). The voice of the literate people also procured the voice of the discourse of a fixed standard. The phrase ~~i~~t looks odd" in the voices of both the elite people and the literate people indicates that the discourse of a fixed standard caused

them to find *lungi* odd. However, the voice of the discourse of a fixed standard later on turned out to be the voice of the discourse of west as standard (~~they~~ are saying that we are following the west”, ~~they~~ ruled us for 200 years”). With the expression ~~Whatever~~ may be the cause, we cannot deny that we must maintain a standard” the voice of the discourse of west as standard overruled all negative associations of western/colonial influence placed by the voice of anti-colonial/anti-imperialist discourse, and claimed that there was no alternative to western standard (~~we~~ cannot deny that we must maintain a standard”). The voice of the literate people again came up to support the discourse of west as standard (~~If~~ we look at Africa [we see that] they *also* maintain a standard”). Thus, all the other voices interacted in the paradigm of colonial discourse while the voice of anti-colonial discourse was subdued by the colonial/imperialist discourse. Therefore, *lungi*, the indigenous dress of Bangladesh, was exposed as non-standard and therefore, inferior to the western dress.

Feeling of respect for as well as a sense of inferiority to indigenous dress.

However, in her essay on the attitude to indigenous dress, she expressed a mixed feeling of respect for and a sense of inferiority towards *lungi*, the indigenous dress for men in Bangladesh. She wrote in the introduction to the essay:

No matter if we wear the indigenous dress or not, but we should respect our own dress because our dress represents our culture.

In spite of her feeling of obligation to respect the dress (~~we~~ should respect our own dress”), the expression ~~No~~ matter if we wear the indigenous dress or not” indicates that she still possessed her reservation about accepting the indigenous dress as standard, as is evident in her concession to wearing it (~~No~~ matter”). In another

paragraph, she again expressed the need for respecting *lungi*, the “main dress” of majority of the people of Bangladesh living in villages:

Another thing is if a person wears *lungi* in any occasion, he should not be prohibited to that occasion because our 80% people are village people and in villages their main dress is *lungi* and we should respect it.

In addition to this argument, her assertion “it represents our culture” in the introductory paragraph put *lungi* as the symbol of the culture of majority of the people (“80% of the people of Bangladesh”). Thus, her stance condemned the irrational humiliating attitude to the culture of majority of the people. She concluded:

In conclusion, I can say, I should respect my own country’s dress and wear it wherever I go. If another dress is needed to maintain standard I should wear that and then place our own dress over that dress.

Though she expressed her feeling of the need for respecting the traditional dress, her doubt about the traditional dress as standard was still evident in her suggestion to wear a standard dress (“If another dress is needed to maintain standard I should wear that”) with the indigenous dress on it as a sign of showing respect to the indigenous dress (“then place our own dress over that dress”).

Voices in Rupa’s feeling of respect for as well as a sense of inferiority to indigenous dress. The phrase “No matter” in the expression “No matter if we wear the indigenous dress or not” gave concession to wearing the indigenous dress, and this indicated that Rupa still possessed her reservation about accepting the indigenous dress as standard. This type of reservation is always evident in the colonial discourse (Alatas, 1977; Ashcroft, Griffith, & Tiffin, 1995; Fanon, 1967; Kincheloe, 2008). Hence, it may be argued that the voice of the colonial/western discourse was present here. The word “we” in “we should respect our own dress”

referred to the community of the modern literate people the speaker belonged to. Therefore, this expression represented the voice of a community of the literate people. The cause placed for respecting the own dress was one of indigenous values and culture ~~“because our dress represents our culture”~~. Therefore, this may also be the voice of the indigenous values and culture.

In the next paragraph, the expression ~~“if a person wears *lungi* in any occasion, he should not be prohibited to that occasion”~~ was a critique of the derogatory attitude to *lungi*. Therefore, this referred to the voice of the critics of derogatory attitude to *lungi*. The reason for this critique was rooted in the idea of majority (~~“because our 80% people are village people and in villages their main dress is *lungi*”~~). In addition to this argument, her statement ~~“it represents our culture”~~ in the previous paragraph put *lungi* as the symbol of the culture of the majority of the people of Bangladesh. Hence, the voice of the culture of the majority of the people was heard here. Thus, all these voices here functioned towards respecting the dress.

In the final turn, the ~~“I”~~ in ~~“I can say”~~, and ~~“I should respect”~~ referred to the speaker. So, the need (~~“should”~~) to respect the indigenous dress in ~~“I should respect my own country’s dress and wear it wherever I go”~~ carried the voice of the community of the literate people the speaker belonged to. However, the marker ~~“but”~~ in ~~“but if another dress is needed to maintain standard I should wear that and then place our own dress over that dress”~~ placed a contradictory discourse. ~~“If another dress is needed to maintain standard”~~ implied that the indigenous dress was not sufficient to maintain standard. The phrase ~~“to maintain *standard*”~~ in the context referred to the west as standard. So, western dress must be worn to maintain standard. Thus, this expression represented the colonial/imperial discourse of west as standard. However, ~~“and then place our own dress over that dress [standard western~~

dress]” restated the obligation of wearing indigenous dress over the western standard dress. Therefore, the voice of the indigenous culture was present here. As this obligation was felt by the speaker, and the speaker belonged to a community of literate people, it also spoke out the voice of a community of the modern middle class literate people.

Interrelationship of the voices. Rupa’s stance expressing a mixed feeling of respect for and a sense of inferiority towards *lungi*, the indigenous dress for men in Bangladesh, was populated by the voices of the discourse of west as standard, a community of literate people, the indigenous values, and the critics of the derogatory attitude to *lungi*. In the first turn of the argument, the voice of the colonial discourse and the voice of the indigenous values spoke against each other. However, the voice of the colonial discourse with the phrase “no matter” insulated the force of the voice of the indigenous values. Therefore, the respect seemed to be external only. In the next turn, the voice of the critics of the derogatory attitude to *lungi* and the voice of indigenous values, and the voice of the literate people (“we should respect it [our own dress]” functioned towards respecting the dress. The voice of the colonial discourse (“If another dress is needed to maintain standard”) validated the voice of the community of the modern middle class literate people (“I should ... wear it wherever I go”) in the name of standard. Then the voice of indigenous values reappeared (“and then place our own dress over that dress”) restating the need for wearing indigenous dress, and the voice of the literate people wanted to see it [the indigenous dress] placed on the western dress that was standard.

Thus, in the interaction of the voices, because of the strong presence of indigenous discourse, the colonial discourse recoiled at first. But it still stayed

standard. The authority of the western discourse remained unquestioned, though the indigenous dress was permitted (as an *outside* appearance) with the colonial dress *inside* it. This echoes the pattern aimed at by colonial education in India that intended to mould the mindset of the people of this country in such a way that they would think and live like the English people (*inside*), though in colour (*outside* appearance) they were Indians (Fanon, 1967). Thus, the voice of the colonial discourse pervaded all the other voices giving the impression that it was respecting the indigenous culture. The other voices were respected because of majority, not as a standard. All the voices ultimately spoke within the colonial paradigm. Finally, as standard the western discourse superseded everything.

Discussion: Interrelationships of authoritative and persuasive discourses.

The interrelationships of the voices in the different stances of Rima, Tisha and Rupa illustrate the issue of power relations of two types of voices. In each of the stances of Rima, Tisha and Rupa, some of the voices were present with authority while some other voices were present with beliefs and experiences of personal life. Bakhtin (1981) termed the discourses represented by the former type of voices as “the authoritative discourses” and the discourses represented by the latter type of voices as “the internally-persuasive discourses” (p. 342). The authoritative discourse refers to the discourse “of tradition, of generally acknowledged truths, of the official line, and other similar authorities” while the internally-persuasive discourse refers to the discourse of personal beliefs and ideas (p. 344).

Hence, the interrelationships of voices in the stances as illustrated above are the interrelationships of voices representing authoritative and persuasive discourses. For example, in Rima’s stance of over-generalization, the voices of the critics, the

authority of Transparency International, and the victims of corruption interacted. The voice of the authority of Transparency International appeared as the authoritative discourse while the other two voices represented internally persuasive discourses. However, they (i.e. internally persuasive discourses) interacted within the paradigm of the authoritative discourse. In the same way, her stance of over-generalization in binaries was populated with the voices of the colonial discourse, the literate people, and the critics of corruption. The voice of the colonial discourse represented the authoritative discourse, while the other two voices represented internally persuasive discourses and interacted within the paradigm of the authoritative discourse. However, in her stance problematizing exploitation by the west, though the voice representing the authoritative discourse i.e. colonial discourse was present, the other voices namely the voices of anti-colonial discourses, the people of exploited countries, rights organizations, critics, and the indigenous culture representing internally-persuasive discourses interacted outside the paradigm of the authoritative discourse.

In Tisha's stance that favoured inequalities in society, the voice of the status quo represented the authoritative discourse. The other voices namely the benevolent superiors, the servants, and the people violating other people's values represented internally persuasive discourses and interacted within the paradigm of the authoritative discourse. However, in her stance giving due worth to physical labour, the voice of the narrative of superiority of intellectual labour represented the authoritative discourse. The other voices namely the voices of the literate people, the critics and the workers represented the internally persuasive discourses. The voice of the literate people worked within the authoritative discourse while the voices of the critics, and the workers worked outside of the authoritative discourse. The opposing

groups of voices contradicted but did not suppress each other. Therefore, it can be said that they were dialogized i.e. both the groups of voices were equally valued (Holquist, 1981, p. 427). Tisha's stance placing an appeal for equal rights and justice, on the other hand, was populated with the voices of religion, everyone, the violated, and the violators, the critics of injustice and the activists fighting injustice. The voice of religion represented the authoritative discourse. All the other voices represented the internally persuasive discourses and interacted within the authoritative discourse. However, the voice representing the authoritative discourse was oriented towards justice and equal rights.

Rupa's stance privileging the west as standard was populated with the voices of the discourse of west as the standard, the literate people, the elite, and the anti-colonial discourse where the voice of the discourse of west as the standard represented the authoritative discourse. The voices of literate people and the elite represented the internally persuasive discourses and interacted within the authoritative discourse. However, the voice of the anti-colonial discourse representing an internally persuasive discourse was overruled by the authoritative discourse. Her later stance expressing the feeling of respect for and the sense of inferiority towards *lungi* was populated with the voices of the discourse of west as standard, literate people, indigenous values, and the critics. The voice of the discourse of west as standard represented the authoritative discourse while the other voices represented internally persuasive discourses. The voices of the indigenous values and the critics interacted outside the authoritative discourse, while the voices of the literate people interacted simultaneously within and outside the authoritative discourse, and thus produced an ambivalent attitude.

Interactions within the paradigm of authoritative discourse. Thus, in all the stances of Rima, Tisha and Rupa the voices of the authoritative discourses were present. However, the pattern of interactions of the voices representing internally persuasive discourses with the voices of the authoritative discourses was different in different stances. In the stances of over-generalizing (Rima), over-generalizing in binaries (Rima), favouring inequalities in society (Tisha), and privileging the west as standard (Rupa), the voices representing internally persuasive discourses interacted within the paradigm of the authoritative discourse. The opposing voices were overruled or subdued by the voice of the authoritative discourse.

Interactions within as well as outside the paradigm of authoritative discourse. In Rupa's stance where she expressed the feeling of respect as well as the sense of inferiority towards *lungi*, while some of the voices interacted outside the authoritative discourse, some of them simultaneously interacted within and outside of the authoritative discourse.

Interactions outside the paradigm of authoritative discourse. However, in Rima's stance that problematized western exploitation, the voices representing internally persuasive discourses interacted outside the paradigm of the authoritative discourse. In Tisha's stance that gave due worth to physical labour, one voice representing internally persuasive discourses worked within the authoritative discourse while the other three voices worked outside the authoritative discourse. In the interactions, both the groups of voices were equally prominent, i.e. they were "dialogized" (Holquist, 1981, p. 427)

Interactions within the paradigm of authoritative discourse oriented towards justice. However, in Tisha's stance placing an appeal for equal rights and justice in society, the voice of religion represented the authoritative discourse. The other voices namely the voices of everyone concerned about equality, the people whose rights, lives, wealth, privacy, and values were violated, the people who violated other people's values, the critics of injustice and activists fighting injustice represented the internally persuasive discourses. All these voices worked within the authoritative discourse when the authoritative discourse was oriented towards justice.

Conclusion: How language mediates communication of criticality.

Therefore, it can be argued that language mediated the communication of criticality when it was populated with voices that interacted outside the authoritative discourse (for example, Rima's problematizing of the western exploitation). Voices interacting within the authoritative discourse also led towards criticality when the authoritative discourse was oriented towards ensuring justice (Tisha's appeal for equal rights and justice). The dialogical interaction of the voices within the authoritative discourse and the voices of counter discourses outside the authoritative discourse also mediated criticality (Tisha's stance giving due worth to physical labour).

Critical theory questions the use of language for ~~domination~~ and regulation" (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 310). Through ~~linguistic~~ analysis" and ~~intertextual~~ analysis"(Fairclough, 1995, p. 188) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) describes, interprets and explains ~~why~~ and how discourses work" (Rogers, 2004, p. 2) and ~~how~~ power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimised by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions" (Gee, 2004; van Dijk, 1996, p. 84). However, the

role of language as mediator of communication of criticality among EFL learners has not been given adequate coverage in the literature.

Bakhtin, in his writings, examines the different forms of interrelationship of voices in the individual's ideological becoming that refers to how we develop our way of viewing the world, our system of ideas, what Bakhtin calls an ideological self (Ball & Freedman, 2004). While Bakhtin examines the different forms of interrelationship of voices, in other words, the interactions of authoritative and internally persuasive discourses in the ideological becoming that refers to any sort of idea formation, this study traces the interrelationship of voices that mediated the communication of criticality i.e. critical ideological becoming. Thus, this study identifies the fabric of the linguistic expressions that mediate the communication of criticality.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

In this chapter, I present the summary of findings, implications, reflections on epistemic violence, critical pedagogy in the classroom: an example, limitations of the study and directions for further research.

Summary of Findings

As the study was framed under three research questions, the findings of the study fall in three broad categories related to the research questions. The categories are namely facilitation of criticality, routes to criticality, and the ways language mediates the communication of criticality. As the instructional context of the study addressed issues of epistemic violence, new understanding regarding epistemic violence came up as a byproduct of the study.

Facilitation of criticality. Research question one focused on how criticality was facilitated in the classroom. The classroom interactions around critical attempts i.e. the attempts of problematization manifested a number of issues involved in facilitation of criticality. The issues were related to aspects namely teacher role and student role.

Teacher role: The dilemma of a critical pedagogue. The findings reveal a dilemma of the teacher as a critical pedagogue regarding critical attempts in the classroom. Critical practices expose that teachers are doing critical pedagogy simply by having been critical themselves. They usually do not take into account of the possible impact of the authority of the teacher (see Norton & Toohey, 2004). Teachers in the critical pedagogy classroom work to lead students to question

ideologies and practices considered oppressive, and they encourage students to bring the outcomes into practice in the actual conditions of their own lives (Riasati & Mollaei, 2012). Thus, the teacher in the practice of critical pedagogy is positioned at the centre. The teacher is the prime mover of the process of critical practice in the classroom. (Ellsworth, 1992). However, Ellsworth (1992) finds that a teacher's stance is likely to be constrained by his or her own race, class, gender, and other positions. ...Critical pedagogues are always implicated in the very structures they are trying to change." Aware of the baggage of the critical pedagogue Pennycook, however, considers a way in which teacher-educators can intervene in the process of practicum observation to bring about educational and social change" (Norton & Toohey, 2004, p. 10). He identified critical moments in the practicum and after the class he discussed the moments with the student teacher. Thus, he intended to make awareness about the events.

This research exposed the role of the teacher doing critical pedagogy as a complex one. It reveals a dilemma in the role of the critical pedagogue in the classroom. The interactions in the classroom discussed in the subsection 'Classroom interactions addressing instances of epistemic violence' under Research Question One in Chapter 4 illustrate that my interventions as a critical pedagogue were sometimes imposing or authoritative and sometimes provocative. However, I was always haunted by the dilemma if I was contributing to indoctrination, a form of epistemic violence that I, as a critical pedagogue, was supposed to problematize. Therefore, at times I restrained myself in my attempts of problematization. But sometimes I felt the need for problematization so strongly that I appeared authoritative ignoring the dilemma. Thus, there was a back and forth movement in

my role as a critical pedagogue and this exposes the complexity of teacher role as a critical pedagogue in the classroom.

Student role: Student voice in dialogue. The findings reveal that, as I, the teacher, attempted to ensure student voice in the classroom, sometimes some outspoken students like Hashi (in episode 2 in *Buying into metanarratives: How will the illiterate people know who is good or bad?/ big oppressors – highly educated people*“ under Research Question One in Chapter 4) recoiled when they were formally given the floor to speak out what they had attempted to say but was drowned in the noisy interactions, while some other students who were usually reticent grabbed the offer and articulated their views. This echoes the findings of Ellsworth (1992). Ellsworth and Selvin (1986) maintain that human beings are engaged in power relations *at* multiple levels of social life - the personal, the institutional, the governmental, the commercial” (qtd in Orner, 1992, p. 79). Hence, sometimes students may find it safer to keep silent in a public space like the classroom, and as a result, may be unwilling to speak out their voices, as Hashi in the context of this study did. Therefore, Ellsworth (1992) argues that emphasis on student voice may be sometimes repressive. As a result, dialogue as propounded in critical pedagogy literature is both *impossible and undesirable*” (1992, p. 106). However, this study reveals that Hashi, in the later part of the interactions got spontaneously involved in the discussion. And, when Moushumi, who usually kept silent in the class, was given the floor, she took the chance and comfortably articulated her opinions. This indicates that if a space for equal opportunity and freedom of speech is kept in the classroom, students can speak or stay back as they like. Therefore, in spite of being aware of the repressive potential of the emphasis on

student voice in dialogue, we recall Freire (1970) emphasizing that if the structure does not permit dialogue, the structure must be changed.

However, in the dialogue students were sometimes ironic and sarcastic (episode 3 under Research Question One in Chapter 4), paid little attention to opposing views, spoke out loud to drown the other voices and obstinately adhered to their own opinions (episode 1 under Research Question One in Chapter 4), because at the moment of the exchanges their only aim was to win the debate, as Rima said, ~~that~~ [classroom stance] was the demand of the situation. I wanted to prove my position in the class.” This findings support Ellsworth who finds that ~~oppositional~~ voices do not speak in the spirit of sharing. Their speeches are a ~~talking back,~~” a defiant speech that is constructed within communities of resistance and is a condition of survival” (1992, p. 102). About this type of interactions, Freire (1970, p. 89) maintains that ~~[A]~~ hostile, polemical argument between those who are committed neither to the naming of the world, nor to the search for truth, but rather to the imposition of their own truth” (Freire, 1970, p. 89) cannot be a ~~dialogue~~” that can generate ~~critical thinking~~” (p. 92). Freire (1970) further maintains about dialogic engagement that ~~founding~~ itself upon love, humility, and faith, dialogue becomes a horizontal relationship of which mutual trust between the dialoguers is the logical consequence” (p. 91). In this regard, students must share an ~~epistemological~~ curiosity” without which a dialogue turns into a conversation (Freire 1970). ~~Epistemological curiosity~~” refers to the ~~curiosity~~ about the object of knowledge” for ~~learning and knowing~~” (Freire & Macedo, 1996, pp. 202-206).

In the context of this study, though at the time of classroom discussion students sometimes made sarcastic comments and were unwilling to consider opposing views, later on while writing their essays (see Chapter 3 for Instructional

context') they considered the arguments posed by other students, as Rima said in her interview, ~~later~~ on before writing I considered the other views." Consequently, she went on to problematize epistemic violence in her essays (see Research Question Two in Chapter 4 for students' stances in their essays). In the same way, Rupa also considered the views expressed by other students ~~later~~ time especially at night" (see subsection Students' reflections on their classroom experiences' under Research Question One in Chapter 4 for details). These instances argue that though students were apparently hostile with each other in terms of arguments, they maintained ~~epistemological curiosity~~" (Ferire & Macedo, 1996, pp. 202-206). Hence, data indicate that besides reasonable and considerate exchanges, very emotional and apparently quarrelsome exchanges can also facilitate criticality, the consequence of a dialogue, if ~~epistemological curiosity~~" is maintained. Therefore, it may be argued that the appearance of dialogue may be different in different situations.

Routes to criticality. Criticality is a stance that problematizes ~~the~~ injustice of a particular society or public sphere in society" (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 305). It is ~~always~~ interested in uncovering social structures, discourses, ideologies and epistemologies that prop up both the status quo and variety of forms of privilege" (p. 306). Routes to criticality' refers to the trajectory of individual student's stances toward criticality. In this study, three cases namely Rima, Tisha and Rupa were presented to illustrate routes to criticality. Each of them had some shifts in their positions, finally moving towards stances make attempts of problematization.

Rima, for example, at the beginning of the lesson on Bengali nation (Week 3), was over-generalizing a subset of the population of the country for the whole nation of Bangladesh. Then she over-generalized in binaries. In the process of critical

pedagogy in the classroom, she, however, became aware of the other realities of the issue. Therefore, she finally problematized the exploitation by the west. On the other hand, Tisha, in the lesson on the social system of Bangladesh (Week 9), first of all, favoured inequalities in society. However, later on she changed her stance and attempted to give due worth to physical labour while other students were considering physical labour inferior to the intellectual labour. Finally, in her essay, she critiqued the inequalities in society and expressed a strong appeal to change the unjust social system. As for Rupa, in the classroom interactions on the status of indigenous dress in Bangladesh (Week 11), she considered the indigenous dress non-standard and, as a result, inferior to the western dress. However, in her essay, she attempted to strike a balance where she made the need for respecting the indigenous dress, the sense of inferiority about the indigenous dress, and her loyalty to western standard to co-exist.

The movement of their stances was caused, as they claimed in the interviews, by the various other views expressed while problematizing in the classroom interactions. Thus, each ~~individual~~ at first perceive[d] the injustice, and finally problematize[d] the injustice (Freire, 1970, pp. 54-55). And the process of problematizing a particular discourse was facilitated as they became aware of ~~multiple discourses~~” (Luke, 2004, p. 26). Thus, the three cases of this study reveal that ~~multiple discourses~~” brought to the class by different students facilitated the students to perceive injustice, and consequently, they problematized injustice.

However, the reasons for the students’ position-taking and the reasons for shifting of positions accepting the views expressed by other students reveal routes to criticality as more complex and fluid. The stances of all of the three cases were connected with their personal, social and class interests where religion played an important role (see Reasons for the positionalities and the shifts’ under Research

Question Two in Chapter 4). Thus, this study reveals routes to criticality as connected with and influenced by multiple issues such as the individual's personal, socio-cultural and class interests. Attempts of problematization influenced an individual to move towards criticality when they (i.e. attempts of problematization) shared some interests of the said individual. Luke (2004) maintains that criticality "entails an epistemological Othering and "doubling" of the world – a sense of being beside oneself or outside of oneself in another epistemological, discourse, and political space than one typically would inhabit" (p. 26). This study reveals that "Othering" of certain epistemological space was possible with certain other epistemological spaces already existing in the individual. The external discourses presented by the attempts of problematization had their effect on an individual only when they shared some aspects of the internal discourses of the individual. Problematization facilitated the dormant internal discourses of the individual to rise up. Hence, the external discourses that helped evoke criticality were not completely external to the person. Rather they were within the person as well, but dormant. Therefore, it can be argued that criticality of a person emerges through a struggle between various discourses inherent in the person through a mediation of outside discourses.

How language mediates communication of criticality. The role of language in the mediation of communication of criticality was investigated through Bakhtin's concept of language as "heteroglossia" (1981) that says that each of the utterances of an individual is populated with multiple socio-ideological voices. The findings of the study reveal that the voices in utterances and the written texts each of the individuals used for communication of a particular stance were of two types in

terms of power relations: some of the voices were present with authority while some other were present with beliefs and experiences of the persons. Bakhtin (1981) termed the discourses represented by the former type of voices as the authoritative discourses and the discourses represented by the latter type of voices as the internally-persuasive discourses (Landay, 2004; Sperling, 2004). However, the pattern of interactions of the voices representing internally persuasive discourses with the voice of the authoritative discourse was different in different stances: sometimes the internally persuasive discourses interacted within the paradigm of authoritative discourse; sometimes they interacted simultaneously within and outside the authoritative discourse; while at other times they interacted outside the authoritative discourse (see Research Question Three in Chapter 4 for a detailed discussion).

It was found that language mediated communication of criticality when it was populated with voices that interacted outside the authoritative discourse (for example, Rima's problematizing of the western exploitation). Voices interacting within the authoritative discourse also led towards criticality when the authoritative discourse was oriented towards ensuring justice (Tisha's appeal for equal rights and justice). The dialogical interaction of the voices within the authoritative discourse and the voices of counter discourses outside the authoritative discourse also mediated criticality (Tisha's stance giving due worth to physical labour). Thus, this study traces the linguistic expressions that mediate communication of criticality.

Bakhtin, in his writings, examines the different forms of interrelationship of voices in the individual's ideological becoming that refers to how we develop our way of viewing the world, our system of ideas, what Bakhtin calls an ideological self (Ball & Freedman, 2004). While Bakhtin examines the different forms of

interrelationship of voices, in other words, the interactions of authoritative and internally persuasive discourses in the ideological becoming that refers to any sort of idea formation, this study traces the interrelationship of voices that mediated the communication of criticality i.e. critical ideological becoming.

Epistemic violence. Though I initially approached the study from a postcolonial concept of epistemic violence that refers to the dominance and imposition of the western ways of perceiving the world causing displacement of non-western ways of perceiving the world (Alatas, 1995; Fanon, 1967; Kincheloe, 2008; Said, 1995; Spivak, 1995), the findings revealed instances of epistemic violence originated in the western ways of perceiving the world as well as the ways of perceiving the world not distinctly associated with the west.

In episode 3 (see the details of the analysis of the episodes of classroom interactions in *Classroom interactions addressing instances of epistemic violence* under Research Question One in Chapter 4), though the pejorative attitude to the traditional dress was directly connected to the west as students privileged west as the standard, the over-generalizing about Bengali nation in Episode 1 (presented under Research Question One in Chapter 4) and the humiliating attitude to the illiterate people in Episode 2 (presented under Research Question One in Chapter 4) appeared to be connected with the students' experiences in their society. I had an intention to link the over-generalized claim about Bengali nation (episode 1) with the western influence. The reference to the report of Transparency International, a Berlin based anti-corruption organization, and how the other countries look at Bangladesh gave me a thread to connect it with the western influence. I grabbed the thread and attempted to problematize it. However, students directed the focus of the discussion

to their experiences in their own society. All the arguments and examples they posed were solely on the basis of the issues of their country (i.e. corruption of higher officials, university and medical college admissions tests etc).

Similarly, though modern education in the world is influenced by the western philosophy (Canagarajah, 1999), students' discourses around literacy expressed in episode 2 were all related to the local experiences, not to the west. The assumption that only literacy ensures the ability to distinguish between good and evil is the metanarrative associated with literacy prevalent all around the world (Bloome et al, 2008). Though, in the present world, experiences in one country, especially a developing country like Bangladesh, might have connections with issues linked to other countries especially the developed west, my study did not have the scope to focus on the complexity of those connections.

Thus, the insights I have developed about epistemic violence in the course of this study say that besides the dominance and imposition of western ways of perceiving the world there are local varieties of dominance and imposition of perspectives that may cause epistemic violence in the post-colonial countries like Bangladesh.

Implications

The findings of this study have implications for education polity of Bangladesh, critical pedagogy in the classroom, and critical writing pedagogy.

Implementation of critical Pedagogy in the classrooms for addressing epistemic violence in Bangladesh. Power is unequally and unfairly distributed in society (Auerbach, 1995). All social systems nurture discrimination and injustice in

terms of race, class, or gender (Giroux, 1983; 2001). As a social system, education reproduces injustice of society through perpetuating epistemic violence that imposes the dominant discourses on the learners. This study reveals instances of epistemic violence in the claims and assumptions of the students in the classroom (see Classroom interactions addressing instances of epistemic violence under Research Question One in Chapter 4 for details). The findings ascertain that like many other postcolonial countries (Alatas, 1977; Altbach, 1995; Ashcroft, Griffith & Tiffin, 1995; Fanon, 1967; Said, 1995; Thiong'o, 1986) Bangladesh is haunted by epistemic violence of different forms. The colonial form of epistemic violence ensures the dominance of western ways of thinking, pushes everything that is non-western or non-European to an inferior status, destroys ~~the~~ pride of the native" (Alatas, 1995, p. 29), and injects inferiority (Cesaire, 1950/2000; Fanon, 1967). Other forms of epistemic violence impose certain particular dominant social discourses brushing away the possibilities of other discourses in society. Therefore, epistemic violence is a threat towards formation of an innovative and democratic society.

Bangladesh, emerged as an independent state in 1971 and still in the formation period of nation-building, needs its people to contribute towards an innovative as well as democratic society. One of the aims of the national education policy 2010 of Bangladesh is to inculcate ~~to~~ tolerance for different ideologies for the development of a democratic culture and to help develop life-oriented, realistic and positive outlook" (Ministry of Education, 2011, p. 1). Therefore, the insights into epistemic violence from this study suggest that education policy of Bangladesh address the issue of epistemic violence. It is possible, because national education policy 2010 of Bangladesh already embodies the spirit of addressing epistemic violence. For example, the education policy aims at, among other things, removing

–socio-economic discrimination irrespective of race, religion and creed‘ and –eradicate[ing] gender disparity” (Ministry of Education, 2011, p. 1). All these discriminations and disparities are originated in epistemic violence of some sorts. Therefore, it is necessary that education policy of Bangladesh puts epistemic violence in education within its lens.

However, the traditional model of education cannot address the issue of epistemic violence. Rather, it helps to regurgitate the dominant knowledge and reproduce epistemic violence (Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1988, 1997; Kincheloe, 2004, 2008; McLaren, 1989, 2002). Education system of Bangladesh right from class one to the tertiary level of education encourages students to memorize and reproduce the existing knowledge. The curriculum is prepared by the experts. The experts take consultation from the foreign experts. However, neither the teachers nor the students are consulted in the process. The curriculum designers decide on certain knowledge to be imparted to the students. That knowledge is considered as the valid knowledge. The possibilities of other sources of knowledge are neglected.

In this system students go to schools for receiving knowledge. The system considers them as the knowledge receivers. Students are not treated as knowledge producers. Students also do not consider themselves as the knowledge producers. Students consider the teachers as the dispenser of true knowledge. They simply take notes of what the teachers teach, memorize the notes and reproduce them in the exams. The more accurately one can reproduce a text the better student they are.

The teacher is considered as the technician to transmit the curriculum prepared by the curriculum designers. The teachers are considered as unable to decide on their own techniques suitable for the students. The techniques and methods are specified by the curriculum designers in the textbooks. The teachers cannot go

beyond the specified techniques. As a result, day by day they are being deskilled. They do not try to produce knowledge. Nor do they have the opportunity to produce knowledge. Thus, education in Bangladesh is following Banking model of education.

Whereas, National Education Policy 2010 of Bangladesh, besides removing inequalities, aims at inculcating “thoughtfulness, imagination, and curiosity” (Ministry of Education, 2011, p. 1). The model of education that addresses issues like social discrimination and injustice, and attempts to empower the learners, is critical pedagogy. Critical pedagogy problematizes all forms of epistemic violence in society in order to ensure justice (Freire, 1970; Giroux, 2011; Kincheloe, 2004, 2008). There are instances of implementation of critical pedagogy in the classrooms in different contexts of the world. As the “socio-cultural conditions always influence our cognitive activity, mediating how we perceive and interpret the world around us,” critical pedagogical procedures developed in other contexts especially in Europe may not be suitable for periphery contexts (Canagarajah, 1999, p. 14).

The implementation of critical pedagogy in the classroom for this study illustrates an example of implementing critical pedagogy in the classroom where students appreciated and welcomed critical pedagogy as empowering (see ‘Students’ reflections on their classroom experiences’ under Research Question One in Chapter 4). The study also reveals that attempts of problematization in the classroom opened possibilities of communication and thinking for the students and developed the students’ critical faculty. Therefore, it can be argued that critical pedagogy is suitable in the context of Bangladesh. The existence of epistemic violence in education in Bangladesh and students’ reception of critical pedagogy in the classroom evidence the necessity and suitability of critical pedagogy in education in Bangladesh. Hence, the findings suggest that the education policy of Bangladesh adopt critical pedagogy

in education. Replacing the traditional banking model of education with critical pedagogy can contribute to empowering the future generation of the country and ultimately to nation-building.

Critical pedagogy in the classroom. This study ascertains that incorporation of multiple discourses along with critical interrogations in the lessons is an effective practice of critical pedagogy in the classroom. In addition, the findings of this study have implications related to dialogue, student voice, and problematization. While doing critical pedagogy in the classroom teachers may utilize multiple discourses along with critical interrogation, and enjoy flexibility regarding dialogue. In addition, teachers should keep space for equal opportunity and freedom, and facilitate continuous problematization of problematization.

Multiple discourses along with critical interrogations. Critical pedagogy in the classroom problematizes the taken-for-granted assumptions that perpetuate injustice in society (Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1997, 2005; Kincheloe, 2004, 2008; McLaren, 1988, 1995). Students are introduced with multiple oppositional discourses on the same issue. This makes students aware of multiple possibilities of perceiving the world. This study shows that students produced different discourses in response to the critical interrogation i.e. problematization in the classroom interactions. They brought in those discourses from their personal experiences. As they came from different backgrounds of society, they looked at the issues from different perspectives and thus produced multiple competing discourses. The exposure to multiple discourses made students more aware of their realities, though different students responded to multiple realities differently.

Thus, an encounter with multiple oppositional discourses helps problematize a single and fixed view of the world (Freire, 1970; Luke, 2004). Besides multiple oppositional discourses, critical interrogations also problematize the taken for granted assumptions (Chun, 2009; Freire, 1970; Ko, 2013; Pennycook, 1999). Multiple discourses and critical interrogations facilitate students' engagement in dialogue that leads towards criticality that "entails an epistemological othering" (Luke, 2004). This study reveals that the attempts of problematization helps students otherize the dominant discourses by reclaiming certain other internal discourses in favour of justice. An individual's internal discourses are connected with issues such as the individual's personal, socio-cultural and class interests. Therefore, it is required that attempts of problematization be linked with students' lived experiences, as is propounded in literature (Freire, 1970; Monchinski, 2008; Shor, 1996).

Flexibility regarding dialogue. In critical pedagogy, students engage in dialogue where multiple discourses and problematizations are negotiated. In this regard, as Freire (1970, p. 89) maintains, "[A] hostile, polemical argument between those who are committed neither to the naming of the world, nor to the search for truth, but rather to the imposition of their own truth" cannot be a "dialogue" that can generate "critical thinking" (p. 92). The dialoguers are required to be rational, compassionate and considerate. They must possess the "epistemological curiosity" i.e. curiosity about "learning and knowing" (Freire & Mecedo, 1996, pp. 202-206). However, as students come from the socio-economic and cultural backgrounds different from each other, students represent their own discourses and experiences different from each other. As a result, this study reveals in line with Ellsworth (1992) that students usually talk back, sometimes with a note of hostility towards each other.

However, unlike Ellsworth this study further reveals that students finally considered opposing views in order to learn. And this consideration of opposing views helped them question the taken-for-granted assumptions. Thus, provided that epistemological curiosity is maintained, any form of exchanges may serve the aim of dialogue. This finding relieves the teacher doing critical pedagogy from the restriction of maintaining a particular shape of dialogue in the classroom.

Keeping space for equal opportunity and freedom. However, dialogue in critical pedagogy requires equal opportunity for student voices. Like Ellsworth (1992), this study sees that too much emphasis on student voice may sometimes be repressive. However, this study also finds that if a space for equal opportunity and freedom of speech is kept in the classroom, students can speak or stay back whenever they want. If for any reason students stay back, they can make a comeback with their voices when they find it suitable. Thus, a space for equal opportunity and freedom of speech can ensure student voice without being repressive.

Continuous problematization of problematization. The pedagogical dilemma of the teacher doing critical pedagogy in the context of this study exposes, in line with Ellsworth (1989), the possibility that interactions *intended by the teacher* as problem-posing education or critical pedagogy may in actuality be read *by students* as banking education because those interactions are invested with the authoritative voice of the teacher. Therefore, the challenge for the teacher as critical pedagogue is to work towards creating spaces in classrooms where the teacher is regarded as a co-interlocutor, difficult as this may sometimes be, given the contexts in which I work. Thus, this study reveals that instead of being a mere practice in the

classroom, problematization embodies complexities that the teacher encounters in the classroom.

Pennycook (2004) maintains that the critical work that has come to dominate TESOL and applied linguistics incorporates 'explicit social critique and ... overtly aim[s] toward trying to change inequitable social conditions and people's understanding of them' (p. 392). Ironically however, as Pennycook (2004) argues, the exercise of critique is potentially problematic (Ellsworth, 1989; Gore, 1992; Lather, 1992; Luke, 1992; Oner, 1992; Pennycook, 2004). The very questions that may be used to disrupt or destabilize assumptions may themselves be 'products of the same system that gives rise to those very problems that [critical pedagogy] aims to critique' (Pennycook, 2004, p. 392). Hence, problematizing practice in critical pedagogy 'insists on casting far more doubt on the categories we employ to understand the social world and on assumptions about awareness, rationality, emancipation, and so forth' (Pennycook, 2004, p. 392). Critical pedagogy 'is thus constantly remade' (Freire, 1970, p. 84). This calls for a self-reflexive problematization in the classroom by both teacher and students.

This study demonstrates the self-reflexivity of problematization that evolved in the classroom context of the study. The teacher's awareness of the dilemma and living with the dilemma regarding the role of a critical pedagogue helped the teacher do critical pedagogy without being authoritative and causing indoctrination. Students' reflections on problematization in the classroom shed light on the dimensions of problematization.

For example, in Rima's case, Rima problematized the challenges posed by other students and the teacher. She over-generalized that the Bengali nation was corrupt as a whole. To support her claim she referred to the report of Transparency

International, a Berlin-based organization. As a teacher I attempted to problematize her stance connecting this reference to inclination to the western perspective. This seemed to have offended her. She came up with own personal experience of corruption in the admissions test in a top public university. She continued her arguments with reference to her personal suffering as a victim of corruption. Her voice was emotionally charged. The exchanges at that moment reveal that I was so insensitive at that time that I simply ignored her affective factors (Benesch, 2012). It appears that at that moment I put much emphasis on my role as a critical pedagogue and therefore my prime concern was to challenge the students' acts of over-generalization. So I immediately questioned her reference to the admissions tests (–How many students ... corruption?"). This time other students replied in support of Rima and she continued her arguments. Therefore, it may be argued that my intervention, though imposing, authoritative and insensitive, did not throttle the flow of the interaction. In the interview, Rima appreciated the attempts of problematization in the classroom. The teacher's attempts of problematization influenced her only when she found that logical. However, her further arguments were questioned by Tisha who so far had been silent. My questions might have encouraged Tisha to come up with questions as her questions (L32: –how many people ...") or L36: –how many students...") had the bearings similar to that of my last question (L27-28: –how many students ... corruption?").

Rima problematized the authority of the teacher by considering him as a co-interlocutor. She reflected in the interview: –[Teacher's comments] sometimes influenced [me]. Not always. [But that was] logically." She problematized the problematizations by the students as well as the teacher (see the interactions in Classroom interactions addressing instances of epistemic violence under Research

Question One in Chapter 4). She was also ready to be problematized by other students, as she said, “If I question other’s perspectives, why wouldn’t I be questioned?” (see Appendix G for excerpts from interviews). Sometimes she problematized her own problematization as well, as in her essay on Bengali nation (see ‘Problematizing the exploitation by the West’ in ‘The case of Rima’ under Research Question Two in Chapter 4). Thus, there was *incessant problematizing* of problematizations in the lessons. This analysis supports a view of problematization in classroom contexts that is multidimensional and self-reflexive. It also maintains that only continuous problematization of problematization may save critical pedagogy from the possibility of contributing to indoctrination, and thus, from the possibility of becoming banking education.

Critical writing pedagogy. Traditional writing pedagogy falls to “banking pedagogy” that attempts to reproduce the taken-for-granted assumptions and form identity that favours the status quo (Freire, 1970). However, as with critical pedagogy (Freire, 1970; Giroux, 2005; Kincheloe, 2008; Luke, 2013; Smith & McLaren, 2010), critical writing pedagogy attempts to develop students’ criticality, a stance that problematizes assumptions that perpetuate injustice in society (Berlin, 1991). The findings of this study indicate that critical writing pedagogy can effectively use problematization as a pre-writing activity, and work for awareness of critical language while ensuring “actual teaching of writing.”

Problematization as a pre-writing activity. This study reveals that critical interrogation excited each of the students’ own experiences. For example, in the lesson on Bengali nation Rima’s over-generalization about her own nation to be

corrupt as a whole was critically interrogated. In response, the interlocutors brought examples of corruption of “90% of the high officials,” the report of Transparency International, corruptions in public university and medical colleges admissions tests, etc. There were interactions of all these discourses in the classroom. In the lesson on “Illiterate People of Bangladesh” when the humiliating attitude to the illiterate people was critically interrogated, students referred to examples of illiterate people’s contribution to economy, literate people’s misdeeds, the role of education, etc. All these examples brought in by the interlocutors negotiated and exposed the discourse of oppression by the literate people. In the lesson on the status of indigenous dress of Bangladesh when Rupa referred to western dress as standard, students brought in multiple opposing discourses with examples from history and from their personal experiences, and tried to problematize the tendency of privileging the West as standard. Thus, students brought to the discussion their own discourses regarding the issue. They came up with multiple oppositional discourses. The ideas students encountered in the interaction in the classroom made their ways into their writing. At the beginning students were in dearth of ideas. However, after the discussion they seemed to have wealth of ideas to write on the prescribed issues. Moreover, the problematization and the multiple discourses prompted by the problematization helped them adopt critical stance.

Thus, critical interrogations helped students encounter multiple discourses which provided them with ideas for writing argumentative essays. Literature (Freire, 1970; Luke, 2004; Norton & Toohey, 2004; Pennycook, 1999) says that multiple oppositional discourses open possibilities for thinking critically. Therefore, in addition to the use of critical interrogations, critical writing pedagogy employs reading and reflecting on texts to engage multiple discourses in the classroom.

Critical writing pedagogy is usually “based on reading assigned texts and then having problem-posing discussions” (Fulkerson, 2005, p. 661). This study reveals that multiple oppositional discourses prompted by problematization on the same issue in the prewriting activity can facilitate criticality and generate ideas for writing. Therefore, though students supported the taken-for-granted assumptions in the classroom interactions, they took a critical stance in their writings. For example, Rima became aware about her over-generalization about Bengali nation. Further, in her essay, she problematized the oppressive activities of US in Iraq. Tisha changed her support for the inequality in society. She could analyze the power mechanism in society. And finally, in her essay, she placed an appeal to ensure equality in society. Though Rupa strongly spoke in favour of western dress as the standard, in her essay she attempted to strike a balance between the western dress and the indigenous dress and emphasized the necessity of respecting the indigenous dress. (see the section entitled ‘Research Question Two’ in Chapter 4 for details of the students’ stances). Thus, problematization as a prewriting activity gives students space for thinking and negotiating multiple discourses and consequently, students’ writings problematize the taken-for-granted assumptions.

Awareness of critical language. Fairclough emphasizes the necessity of learners’ critical awareness of power’s dominance and regulation in discourse (1995). As this study reveals particular types of interrelationships of voices in the linguistic expressions for communication of criticality, lessons can include exercises to analyze the voices that populate different discourses. These exercises can familiarize students not only with how discourse propagates power’s dominance and regulation, but also with the type of language that mediates communication of

criticality. As a result, they can attempt to produce discourse that incorporates language mediating communication of criticality.

In the classroom, for example, we may include the language awareness tasks in the pre-writing activities as well as in the post-writing activity. The tasks in the pre-writing activities will help them in the while writing activities. As a pre-writing activity we may analyze a text related to the issue they are writing about, or it may be a text selected from their classroom interactions on the issue. We may select a text that supports the status quo and expose how voices interact in the text to maintain the status quo. We should also choose a text that questions the status quo and expose how the voices struggle to question the status quo.

In this respect, I will, first of all, draw their attention to the text they have orally produced. For example, let us take the following text from the lesson on the social system of Bangladesh and focus on the voices in the Tisha's expressions. The text has been taken from classroom interactions where students were discussing inequalities in the social system of Bangladesh. Tisha favoured inequalities in society as a common phenomenon (Tisha's turns of arguments are underlined).

Rubi: There are households going without maid servants.

Tisha: A maid servant needs to survive. She will have to meet her basic needs.

Rima: The class will remain always.

Tisha: Class division will remain always. You can never think of your maid servant in your position. We don't treat them equally in case of what we eat and wear. ... We won't let the servants to talk with us in the manner our friends talk with us. If they do that by mistakewe

Rubi: This system will remain. It will remain.

Teacher: Then we'll have to accept it?

Rupa: Yes.

Tisha: We've been doing it. ... This is the way of the world.

Once I have presented the text, I will ask the students to identify the voices in this excerpt. As the students have not got the orientation of Bakhtinian concept of

language they may simply refer to the participants in the dialogue. However, at this stage, they are right in their endeavour.

Then I will ask the students to look into only Tisha's arguments and see if they hear voices from different groups of people of society speaking through the voice of Tisha. I will explain, as an example, Tisha's first argument in this excerpt: Here Tisha has uttered it. I will ask the students: Have you ever met any people in society speaking out this type of ideas? Do the benevolent people in society speak like this about the needs of the poor? Do the poor people themselves express their own necessity in this way? Do you find any other group of people in society speaking like this? If yes, their voices are getting through Tisha's voice.

Now I will tell my students to take Tisha's second turn of arguments, and to analyze the arguments sentence by sentence. I will tell them to keep the following questions in mind: Have you ever met any people in society speaking out something the first sentence? Do the benevolent people in society speak like this about the needs of the poor? Is it based on how the society is going on, I mean, the status quo? In the next stretch of sentences, what do the ~~you~~" and ~~we~~" refer to? Primarily they refer to you, the students present here. However, is this attitude also possessed by the people of the class you belong to? If yes, it is the voice of the class you belong to. If any other people possess this attitude, it is their voices as well. Do the critics, and servants themselves or other people also refer to this condition? Look at the present indicators used in this argument: What do the present indicator ~~don't~~ refer to?

Thus, the above activities will help students find the following voices in Tisha's expressions:

In the first turn of her argument (~~A~~ maid servant needs to survive. She will have to meet her basic needs") Tisha benevolently felt for the servants' needs to meet

their basic needs. Therefore, the expression represented the voice of the benevolent superior. As in the context of Bangladesh a large number of people lived under the poverty line having little scope for earning, this expression carried the voice of the people expressing their own necessity. However, the first sentence “Class division will remain always” in the second turn of her argument asserted that the phenomenon would remain always. Her attitude to the unjust social system as the common phenomenon favoured injustice in society. Therefore, this expression represented the voice of the status quo about the way of the world i.e. inequalities in society. However, the pronouns “you” and “we” in the phrases “You can never think of” and “We won’t let the servants” referred to the voice of the class of people i.e. middle class the students belong to. The phrases “can never” and “won’t let” rejected equal rights to the servants. Therefore, they further sounded the voices of the people dealing unfairly with the servants. The simple present indicator “don’t” in the expression “we don’t treat them equally” carried the note that unequal treatment is a common phenomenon. However, it also read the voice of the critic, as it exposed the unequal treatment. An undercurrent of the voice of the servants was also heard, as it evoked a demand for equal treatment. However, “This is the way of the world” restated the voice of the status quo. It also sounded the voice of the servants when they resignedly accept inequality as the way of the world.

Once students have found the voices, I will draw their attention to the relationship of the voices. I will ask them to look into how do the voices act and react with each other to legitimize the status quo. Once they finish working on the interrelations, I will show them how I would look at it:

Tisha’s stance favouring inequalities in society was populated with the voices of the benevolent superior, the servants, the status quo, and the people dealing

unfairly with the servants. The voice of the benevolent superior and the voice of the servants expressing their needs together tended to legitimize the voice of the status quo (~~–In~~equalities will remain always”). In addition, the voice of the people dealing unfairly with the servants (~~–You~~ can never think of” and ~~–We~~ won’t let the servant” ~~–can~~ never” and ~~–won~~’t let”) rejected equal rights to the servants sustaining the status quo i.e. unequal treatment as the way of the world (~~–we~~ don’t treat them equally”). This voice of the people dealing unfairly with the servants subdued the voice of the critic exposing unequal treatment and the voice of the servants demanding equal treatment (~~–don~~’t treat them equally”). Finally, the voice of the status quo gave the final seal (~~–This~~ [inequality] is the way of the world”) that the voice of the servants resignedly accepted (~~–This~~ is the way of the world”). The voice of the people dealing unfairly with the servants subdued the counter voice of the critics and the servants with reference to the authority of the voice of the social status quo. The voices of the benevolent superior and the servants expressing the need for their job as servants upheld the benevolence of the authority of the status quo. Thus, the voices interacted with each other accepting the authority of the status quo and legitimized inequalities in society.

Thus, students may be made aware with the interrelationship of voices in any discourse. Students should be also made familiar with the interrelationship of voices in a critical stance. It may be a post-writing activity. I will choose a part of their writings where they express critical stance and tell them to analyze the voices and examine the interrelationship of voices. As they have already been familiar with how to read voices in a text, they can do the analysis on their own. I will arrange the class so that students can explain their analysis to the whole class. It may be an individual or group work. I would prefer a group work. This may go with my feedback on their

writing. I will give my interpretation of the interrelationship of voices and place that for students' evaluation.

For example, I may refer to the interrelationship of voices in the excerpt from Rima's essay on Bengali nation where she demonstrated her greater awareness of the positive aspects of Bengali nation and problematized the acts of exploitation by the west:

The third aspect of difference is the domineering tendency of the west. Being the so called civilized and developed nation they are consistently trying to knock out other countries to suck their assets and natural resources. For example, we can mention Iraq invasion by America, and the inhuman destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in World War II. In the history of civilization, this sort of invasion and exploitation by the west can still be observed. However, this tendency can never be found in Bengali nation. Though we own very little and are a bit corrupt we never have the desire to take or exploit others.

The phrase "civilized and developed nation" referred to the west (as is already mentioned in "domineering tendency of the west"). In the colonial discourse the image of the west is created as civilized while the other nations are uncivilized (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1995). Therefore, this phrase echoed the voice of the colonial discourse. However, the phrase "so called" placed a doubt to the claim that the west is "civilized and developed" and this is what anti-colonial discourses do (Ashcroft et al, 1995). Therefore, this sentence "Being the so called civilized and developed nation ... and natural resources" contained the voice of the anti-colonial discourse. The clause "they are consistently trying to knock out other countries to suck their assets and natural resources" echoed the feeling of the nations exploited by the west. As in the case of other postcolonial nations (Fanon, 1963), it is said that Bengal full of riches had been plundered by the East India Company during the British colonial rule. Therefore, this phrase contained the voice of people of the exploited countries. As the rights organizations and the critics denounce exploitation,

the expression “Iraq invasion by America, and the inhuman destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki...” represented the voices of the rights organizations and critics of exploitation. Finally, the expression “though we own very little and are a bit corrupt we never have the desire to take or exploit others” demonstrated the speaker’s awareness of the bad and the good sides of her own nation. She wrote that Bangalis (“we”) didn’t possess the desire to exploit other nations while she did not forget the poor economic condition (“we own very little”) and the corruption (“we ... are a bit corrupt”) in Bangladesh. Therefore, this was the voice of a comprehensive attitude to look at something.

Thus, Rima’s stance problematizing the exploitation by the west was populated with a number of voices namely the colonial discourse, the anti-colonial discourse, the people of the exploited countries, rights organizations, the critics of exploitation, and a comprehensive viewpoint. The voice of the anti-colonial discourse doubted the voice of the colonial discourse. The voices of rights organizations, the critics of exploitation, and the comprehensive viewpoint, all denounced the exploitation by the west. Though the voice of the colonial discourse was heard, the other voices interacted outside of the colonial discourse. They disclosed the exploitation and destruction done by the west (e.g. “Iraq invasion by America”) and questioned the authority of the colonial discourse (“so called”). Against the exploitation and destruction done by the west (e.g. “Iraq invasion by America”) the denigrating aspects (e.g. “corrupt”) considered in the classroom interactions as all-encompassing features to Bengali nation became negligible. Thus, exploitation by the west was problematized.

Thus, the students will be aware that the texts they produce in speaking or in writing actually represent the society. They will be aware if all concerned voices are

properly represented or some of the voices are suppressed. Students' awareness of the representation of multiple socio-ideological voices in the texts will help them ensure equal and just representation of all the concerned voices in the texts they produce. This will ultimately help them to avert the forces that perpetuate injustice in society. Thus, they will practice democracy in their use of language and produce a democratic language.

In this way, the idea of democratic language in Giroux becomes more specified here. Giroux (2011) advocated for a democratic language through critical pedagogy. This language refers to the discourses that critique the undemocratic forces in society and speaks for democratic norms for social justice. In this respect, the whole body of literature on critical pedagogy represents democratic language. However, with the findings of this study, critical and democratic language can be identified by focusing on the interrelationship of the voices in the linguistic expressions. CDA also goes on to identify the language that serves the status quo and how the power uses the language to continue its dominance. Critical language awareness in CDA focuses on the students' understanding of the power's use of the discourse in its favour. However, looking into the language that supports the status quo and the language that questions the status quo through Bakhtin's concept of language as heteroglossia is a unique approach. This will help the language learners closely analyze the language they are learning and using.

Critical pedagogy and "actual teaching of writing." The study also reveals that once the students organized the ideas generated by attempts of problematization and drafted their essays, I, the teacher, gave feedback on each individual student's writings. The teacher's feedback on students' writings included instruction on the

technique of organizing the ideas into an essay, and on the accuracy of language (grammar, vocabulary and discourse) they used in their essays (see ‘Lesson procedures’ in Chapter 3 and Appendix B d. Instruction on Writing).

As my students were to learn how to write argumentative essays, I, first of all, introduced them with the techniques of developing an argumentative essay. In this regard, first of all, I encouraged them to develop their arguments around the prescribed proposition in the way they liked, because they might have developed their own techniques to establish their arguments. When I checked their first draft, I found that some of them developed their arguments quite effectively, while some of them organized their ideas in a way that was difficult for me to make out. Hence I felt the need for introducing them with the technique of organizing ideas into an argumentative essay. I gave them a sample essay of argumentative technique. Once they read the essay I focused on the introduction and let them identify the elements of an introductory paragraph of an essay.

Introductory Paragraph

- A general statement for introducing the topic
- A thesis statement (stating clearly the writer’s main premise)
- A preview of the (here three) subtopics you will discuss in the body paragraphs (describing how the essay will be structured)

Then I focused on the first body paragraph and identified and explained the following elements of a body paragraph.

First Body Paragraph

- Topic sentence which states the first subtopic and opens with a transition
- Supporting details (examples or arguments)
- An explanation of how this example proves your thesis

I told the students to identify the elements of the remaining body paragraphs of the essay I provided. They identified the elements almost the same as the first paragraph. Then I asked them to analyse the concluding paragraph of the essay. They came up with an analysis which was as follows:

Concluding paragraph

- Concluding Transition, and restatement of thesis.
- Rephrasing main topic and subtopics.
- Global statement or call to action.

Finally, it appeared that the overall structure of a five paragraph essay looks something like this:

Introductory Paragraph

- A general statement for introducing the topic
- A thesis statement (stating clearly the writer's main premise)
- A preview of the (here three) subtopics you will discuss in the body paragraphs (describing how the essay will be structured)

First Body Paragraph

- Topic sentence which states the first subtopic and opens with a transition
- Supporting details (examples or arguments)
- An explanation of how this example proves your thesis

Second Body Paragraph

- Topic sentence which states the second subtopic and opens with a transition
- Supporting details (examples or arguments)
- An explanation of how this example proves your thesis

Third Body Paragraph

- Topic sentence which states the third subtopic and opens with a transition
- Supporting details (examples or arguments)
- An explanation of how this example proves your thesis

Concluding paragraph

- Concluding Transition, and restatement of thesis.
- Rephrasing main topic and subtopics.
- Global statement or call to action.

I also introduced them to some of the discourse markers for various purposes like listing, example, comparison, contrast, etc.

Discourse markers for listing:

First,/ Firstly,/First of all,
Second,/ Secondly,
Third,/ Thirdly,
Fourth,/ Fourthly,
Moreover,
and
also

Discourse markers for example:

For example,/ For instance
Another example,/ Another instance,

and
also

Discourse markers for comparison:

Similarly,
In the same way,/ In the same manner,
Likewise,
Like
also

Discourse markers for contrast:

However,
but
On the other hand,/ On the other side,
While
Whereas

As each individual student had problems of different types regarding language in grammar, vocabulary and coherence, I marked them in their writings and addressed the issues individually. For example, the concluding paragraph of the first draft of Rima's essay on Bengali nation was as follows (the underlines are marked by the teacher).

It is well acknowledged and claimed that the western nations are way developed than the Bengalis. It may be that, in terms of education technology and life style they may be in a lead. There is a concealed fact that they possess an emulating propensity, the tendency to invade, grasp others. But, the Bengali nation are not in such a status. In fact, though we lack of basic needs we don't possess such tendency of conquering others. Though, being the so called ~~–humane~~” and ~~–civilized~~” nation they cannot put a curve on such heinous intention. And the Bengali nation should utilize it's own resources to a greater extent.

I referred to the underlined parts of Rima's writing to her, and explained the linguistic errors she made in those places. Once she identified the mistakes, she wrote a second draft of the essay where she rewrote the paragraph as under:

The third aspect of difference is the domineering tendency of the west. Being the so called civilized and developed nation they are consistently trying to knock out other countries to suck their assets and natural resources. For example, we can mention Iraq invasion by America, and the inhuman destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in World War II. In the history of civilization, this sort of invasion and exploitation by the west can still be observed. However, this tendency can never be found in Bengali nation. Though we own very little and are a bit corrupt we never have the desire to take or exploit others.

Thus, in my instance of critical pedagogy the students simultaneously developed their linguistic competence and their critical stance. Therefore, it can be argued that though Fulkerson (2005, p. 665) maintains that critical writing pedagogy is ~~un~~likely to leave room for any actual teaching of writing," this study demonstrates that, besides facilitating criticality (see the analysis of findings for Research Question One in Chapter 4 for details), critical writing pedagogy can integrate ~~actual~~ teaching of writing."

Teacher-Researcher's Reflections on Epistemic Violence

Whatever may be roots of the epistemic violence, as I now reflect now, I find that the acts of epistemic violence manifested some forms in the classroom interactions of my students. I can also see the dynamics of the play of claims and assumptions in an act of epistemic violence.

Forms of epistemic violence. As I, the teacher-researcher, went on with the classes I encountered a number of ways of perceiving the world employed either for suppressing certain group of people or labeling people what they were not. The forms are described and discussed below.

Discrimination in applying reference points. It was the first class. Students were involved in a discussion on the criteria of a modern person to tease out some ideas for writing the composition titled *‘Are you a modern person? Why?’* They spelt out different criteria for a modern person. Rima mentioned *‘having minimum required knowledge’* as an important criterion i.e. reference point for being a modern person. The subsequent interactions exposed the vagueness of the idea *‘minimum required knowledge’*. I wanted to see what she meant by *‘minimum required knowledge’*. Therefore, in line with the thread of the discussion I asked, *‘How long does it take paddy to mature?’* Rima agreed that this is minimum required knowledge in the context of Bangladesh, an agricultural country, where rice is the staple food. All the students admitted that as citizens of an agricultural country like Bangladesh they were supposed to know this information, though they did not know. However, they acknowledged that farmers knew this very well. This triggered the following exchanges.

Excerpt 1 (From Class 1)

Teacher: ... Is a farmer modern or not?

Students: (in a voice) Modern.

Hashi: Modern

Students: (some students in a voice) Hey! Are farmers modern?

Hashi: No, farmers ---

Rima: Farmers are also modern in your eyes!

Hashi: No, farmers are not modern.

As farmers meet the criterion set for being a modern person, students agree in the force of the argument that farmers are modern. However, students’ subsequent

jerking question –Hey! Are farmers modern?” incorporates both exclamation and alert. It is meant for themselves as well as Hashi. Its exclamatory note implies that they did not mean their earlier response accepting the farmers as modern. Rather it poses a doubt if the farmers are modern. Rima’s sharp, sarcastic and penetrating exclamation –Farmers are also modern in your eyes!” implies that farmers cannot be modern. So Hashi becomes puzzled and gets ready to retreat and finally refuses to accept farmers as modern.

Here it appears that when the students themselves meet the criterion set for being a modern person they are modern. But when the farmers meet it they refuse to recognize the farmers as modern. Thus farmers are discriminated against. It is an instance of making discrimination in applying a criterion i.e. reference point. Therefore, this biased way of perceiving the world is an instance of sheer injustice.

Marginalizing while giving recognition. The continuation of exchanges in Excerpt 1 exposes a different dimension of epistemic violence. While other students were reluctant to apply the reference point equally and recognize the farmers as modern, Rupa expressed an alternative possibility.

Excerpt 2 (From Class 1)

Rupa: (low voice almost inaudible) May be in the field of farming. Because he knows that well.

Teacher: (pointing to Rupa) She said that they may be modern in the field of farming, because he knows that well.

Hashi: Right, Sir

In a very low voice she expresses an alternative possibility to recognize the farmers as modern. As the farmers know about farming and thus meet the reference point i.e having minimum required knowledge, they are modern in respect of farming. Thus she tries to avoid the discrimination in applying the reference point. However, the apparent recognition is tuned with marginalization, as her statement

“Farmers may be modern in the field of farming” puts the farmers away from the mainstream. Thus this pseudo-generous recognition contains a form of epistemic violence.

Looking at the different as deficient The same type of pseudo-generosity appeared to bag another form of epistemic violence when the class was discussing the issue of ‘illiterate people of Bangladesh’ in week 5. The discussion was triggered from a vignette I narrated where one of my friends reflected on the illiterate people of Bangladesh as the problem for the country. My students right away disagreed saying that it was unjust to look at the illiterate people in this way, because illiterate people comprise the majority of the population of the country. Their exchanges were full of generosity towards the illiterate people.

Excerpt 3 (From Week 5)

Rima: If they are instructed properly they ...

Sweetie: Whatever the literate people present as good the illiterate people simply follow them.

Tisha: Sir, ... the responsibility goes on them – the responsibility to recognize good from bad. In this regard, they should have the ability ...to judge.

The comments here are sympathetic towards the illiterate people. However, the implication is that the illiterate people are unable to recognize the right path as Rima and Sweetie emphasize that illiterate people do as the literate people guide them. Thus the assumption that illiterate people are deficient in reasoning is active under the generosity. The word ‘should’ in Tisha’s comment “they should have the ability ...to judge” reinforces the assumption by implying that illiterate people do not have the ability to distinguish good from bad. They do not have the ability to act. They are to be acted upon by the literate people as Rima goes “if they are instructed properly, they ---.” Therefore, it is literacy that makes the difference. As illiterate people do not share the same reference point, i.e. literacy, they are considered as deficient in reasoning. However, one of the students posed this notion as faulty.

Excerpt 4 (From Week 5)

Rubi: (to Hashi who made a comment to her) She said, they accept money and vote. But they know what is good or bad. Only for money they ...

Therefore, considering someone not sharing the same reference point as deficient is a form of epistemic violence.

Projecting the negative sides of the dominant on the dominated. The stretches of dialogue following the exchanges in excerpt 3 and 4 further exposes a different form of epistemic violence. Though the students were sympathetic towards the illiterate people and counted the contribution of the illiterate people to the economy, some of the negative sides of the illiterate people during the election period were so evident that they could not ignore.

Excerpt 5 (From Week 5)

Hashi: Sir, they do not have any personality. They follow what others [other people] say or if they are bribed --- they are allured.

Rubi: Importance of the illiterate people rises during the time of elections...

Teacher: Not the illiterate are only allured to money.

Students: (in a voice) Some literate people do it in greater rate.

Nobody denied the facts Hashi mentions here. She makes two points: (1) illiterate people do not have the sense of dignity, as (2) they are prone to be bribed; they work in exchange for money. As a result, Hashi's comment implies, they are doing a disservice to the nation. However, Rima and Sweety shift the focus from the illiterate to the literate people. They say,

Excerpt 6 (From Week 5)

Rima: ... Sir, we are saying that literate people are persuading the illiterate people, and the illiterate are simply following them. That means, the literate people are not doing the right thing. --- We study basically ... for developing human values. We are studying, but not developing human values. --- [Rather we focus on] how to fulfill my desire --- how to use the illiterate ...

Sweety: Sir, we are using them.

What is ignored in Hashi's comment is addressed here. Riman argues that saying that illiterate people are easily persuaded by the literate people towards wrongdoings means ~~the~~ "the literate people are not doing the right thing." It is the educated people who are initiating the disservice. They are using the illiterate people to fulfill their wrongful desires. It is they who are bribing the illiterate people during the election period. Moreover, educated people are more prone to bribe, as the students said in reply to my question:

Excerpt 7 (From Week 5)

Teacher: Not the illiterate are only allured to money.

Students: (in a voice) Some literate people do it in greater rate.

Thus focus on the negative sides of the illiterate people simply ignores the wrongdoings of the educated people. Moreover, it projects the misdeeds of the educated people on the illiterate ones. As Sweety conspicuously spells out,

Excerpt 8 (From Week 5)

Sweety: Sir, we transfer our misdeeds on them. But ---

Refusing equal treatment to differences. Another form of epistemic violence based on the reference point was manifested when students were discussing the social system in week 9. At one point of the discussion the question of treatment of the educated and the illiterate people was the issue. They refused equal treatment to the two groups because of their different labour paradigms. (In the excerpt below *belpuri wala* refers to the man who hawked a particular type of cake named *belpuri* around the university campus, the research site. Students used to address him as *mama* (i.e. uncle), hence *belpuri mama*.)

Excerpt 9 (From Week 9)

Rima: (excited) Sir, we don't want --- we can't accept that a person without having education should enjoy the same privileges that I enjoy because of my hard earned education. I'll never accept it.

Toma: Sir, --- a person has to work hard to have education. Then they get a job and earn a salary of Tk. 50000/= per month. On the other hand, we see, Belpuri mama (the man selling belpuri, a type of food) --- earns Tk. 60000/= per month. How strange?

Rima: No. Sir, this is his hard earned income.

Toma: The person doing a job bears much pressure on head. --- has to work hard. ... the physical pressure is nothing in contrast with his/her mental pressure.

Sumi: An officer is much valued. ... Even if he/she gets Tk 50000 or whatever, his/her value is unique. ... Belpuriwala will always remain belpuriwala --- even if he earns one hundred thousand.

Rima clearly states that she cannot accept that the illiterate people should enjoy equal privileges with the educated people, though she recognizes the hard physical labour employed by *belpuri mama*, an illiterate man. (The contrast made by Toma of the *belpuri mama* with the educated people implies that the *belpuri wala* was illiterate.) Like Rima, Toma also cannot accept that an illiterate person should be earning the same amount of money as that of an educated person.

The discussion exposes that illiterate people earn by physical labour and the educated people earn by mental labour. The physical labour by the illiterate people is not informed by 'hard earned' modern education while the mental labour by the educated people is. The investment of hard work behind the physical labour of illiterate people remains unnoticed in the interactions. The reference point here is literacy, i.e. education. The paradigm around physical labour does not share the reference point. As a result, physical labour is deficient and inferior to mental labour. Consequently, the labour not informed by modern education is denied equal rights to earn. Even if someone illiterate earns more than the educated people, their earning is treated as inferior, as, according to Sumi, the 'value [of the educated people] is unique' in society. That means power, prestige, and superiority always go with the

educated. Thus disregarding equal rights to earn and refusing equal worth to different labour categories work together.

Over-generalizing. Over-generalizing combines some of the forms of epistemic violence mentioned above. It was manifested in week 2 of the course. I asked the class to discuss their takes on the nation, Bangladesh, to provide input for the curriculum unit in argumentative writing. Students were speaking all negatives about the country. When a counter argument was given many students in the class claimed the problem with Bangladesh was that its people were corrupt.

Excerpt 10 (From Week 2)

Teacher: It's a good point Tania has made that ... these negative aspects do not apply to all the people.

Sumi: (seated at the back of the class blurted out loudly) But sir, majority ... majority of the people are corrupted in Bangladesh.

Tania: I don't think so. (drowned under the high voices)

Rima: Listen! If 90 percent of the high officials of a country ... 90 percent of the high officials are corrupt.

Teacher: It's not of all, as she said (*referring to Tania*). We are [over]generalizing then. Why?

Sumi: But sir, majority accepts this [view]....

Teacher: Are the corrupt people majority? ... Even if we suppose that all of our high officials are corrupt ... Do they represent the nation?

Students: (*in a voice*) No, sir.

Sumi: Sir, sometimes they ---

Rima: Sir, when Bangladesh becomes champion in corruption then other countries look at Bangladesh simply in this way.)

When challenged to support their initial assertion that ~~the~~ nation as a whole was corrupt," Sumi and Rima revised their claim. They asserted first that ~~majority~~ of the people was corrupt" and revised it further to apply the claim to a subset of ~~90%~~ of higher officials." I attempted to draw their attention to the fallacy that the ~~nation~~ as whole" cannot be equated with 90% of higher officials. However, Rima side-stepped my question. She alluded to a report of an international organization, Transparency International, which claimed that Bangladesh topped the list of most corrupt nations. This prompted exchanges about the controversy surrounding the validity and the

reliability of the report. However, Rima continued her over-generalization by citing instances of corruption she had experienced personally. She referred to her own feeling of deprivation caused by the corruption in the admissions test in medical colleges.

Thus students' responses were replete with over-generalization. They extrapolated a claim about the entire Bengali nation from 90% of a subset of the entire population. This over-generalization disapproved the alternative possibilities of majority of the people out beyond the 90% of high officials. Moreover, saying that the nation as a whole is corrupt projects the negative sides i.e. corruption of the high officials on those who are victims of the corruption. Thus over-generalizing is a form of epistemic violence that incorporates certain other forms as well.

Accepting the social system as natural and unchangeable. While the class was talking about the social system in week 9, another form of epistemic violence manifested itself. In the course of the discussion students talked about the economic classes in society. It was recognized that there is oppression in society. However, they took this oppression in society as the way of the world.

Excerpt 11 (From Week 9)

Tisha: We've been doing it. ... This is the way of the world.

Sumi: Sir, this is a package system of our society. ...

Rubi: Yes, here someone is prime minister, some are middle class like us, and some are lower class --- I mean, this is a chain.

Sumi: Even in a class we see ---

Teacher: And we cannot change it?

Tabu: Sir, I think we should change it. ... But what will it be like after it is changed?

Rima: The division will be created again. ... Haven't we seen in *Animal Farm*? ... This will always remain in us. ... Some are more equal, sir.

Tabu: All animals are equal, some are more equal than others. (*laughing*)

As the students find the social system a chain, Tabu says, ...we should change it. However, she poses a double-edged question, But what will it be like after it is changed? The question, firstly, expresses her inability to visualize a

society different from the present one. Secondly, it poses a doubt if the new society will be devoid of the chain. However, Rima comes up with an assertive statement that the system will take the same pattern. The same system of oppression will always be there. She referred to George Orwell's *Animal Farm* quote 'All animals are equal. But some are more equal than others' and Tabu repeated it. If the changed society also takes the same system of oppression, the discussion implies, it is meaningless to change. Therefore, the oppressive social system is taken as natural. When, with reference to their essays, asked to reflect on the issue again in week 9, Sumi reflected,

Excerpt 12 (From Week 9)

Sumi: ... We are always experiencing the same system, being informed with the same system, --- we cannot think of a system beyond it, I mean a new. ... we have taken it as natural.

Thus this way of perceiving the world promotes indifference to the oppressive social system, consequently helping perpetuate injustice in society.

Ignoring the holistic view. Ignoring the holistic view also has the potential to perpetuate injustice in society as the interactions in week 1 suggest. While talking about modernity Hasi took the use of technology as the main aspect of a modern person. However, in addition to the use of technology Rupa referred to economic equality as another aspect to be considered for being modern. She said, a country where 'poor people are growing poorer and rich people growing richer day by day' cannot be called modern. Bristi reacted to this view.

Excerpt 13 (From Week 1)

Hashi: ... Sir, she has referred to some points of moral value. Some[thing] like 'poor people are growing poorer and rich people growing richer day by day'. But I think it's not a [matter for being] modern ... in modern age. Because [that] ... just sounds like ... capitalism's.

Rupa: Ok. Capitalism. But if we think [of] the whole situation ---

Rupa emphasizes on considering the social context as a whole. However, Hashi questions the component of Rupa's views about being modern, i.e. economic inequality expressed in 'poor people are growing poorer and rich people growing richer day by day'. She labels the economic inequality as a "moral value". Her rejection "But I think it's not a [matter for being] modern ... in modern age" bears the note that moral values are not necessary to be considered in the case of modern. Moreover, she brushes it aside by saying that 'it sounds like a critique of capitalism', as if critique of capitalism is a cliché.

Thus she considered the use of technology as the only modern feature. She simply attempted to ignore economic inequality, a major phenomenon in society. Thus her compartmentalized way of looking at the world ignored oppression on vast majority of people caused by economic inequality. Therefore, ignoring the holistic view for a compartmentalized view is a form of epistemic violence.

Accepting the west as the standard. A form of epistemic violence directly connected with the west emerged when in week 11 students engaged in a discussion on *lungi*, a traditional dress for men in Bangladesh. Triggered by the *lungi* vignette the students were emotionally talking about *lungi*, the indigenous dress for man in Bangladesh.

Excerpt: 14 (From Week 11)

Rupa: Sir, in a party or in a formal occasion we must maintain a standard....
Sir, if one comes normally to a place where everybody maintained a standard,
--- it looks odd.

Rubi: Only for this [i.e. wearing a *lungi*] how come he won't be allowed in?

Sumi: Sir, this is strange. Who has defined the standard? --- Where will we go after this standard?

Teacher: Who has defined the standard?

Sumi: (*with an air of grudge against it*) Sir, this standard has come from the west. They have defined this dress code.

Sweety: Our dress is *lungi*.

Students: (*in a voice*) *Lungi, sari*.

Mahia: But – no -- if *lungi* --- When we get married, we don't ask why the bridegroom does not come in *lungi*. It will cause a violent chaos if the bridegroom goes to the wedding ceremony in *lungi*.

Rubi: Our standard dress was supposed to be *lungi* and *sari*, I mean, *lungi*. . . . But western influence has changed it... we have been western. And our *lungi* has been uncultured.

Teacher: Why has it been uncultured? Why do we consider it uncultured?

Rupa: Sir, they are saying that colonialism, I mean, we are following the west. We cannot deny the fact that they ruled us for 200 years.... Whatever may be the cause, we cannot deny that we must maintain a standard. If we look at Africa they also maintain a standard. This is common in all countries. Now, it looks odd. It feels –

Students: (*in a voice*) It feels odd.

Mahia: Well, sir. They say that we are following the west. Instead of thinking in this way we can say that culture is changing. Suppose, we were in a savage age. Now we are not following that. Stage by stage, style is changing.

Lungi is here considered as non- standard, odd and lowly, and as a result, not suitable for formal situations, as Rupa and Rima put it. Referring to the unavoidable change of culture when Mahia says, –Suppose we were in a savage age. Now we are not following that, ‘ *lungi* falls in the category of the savage. On the contrary, western dress, –suit- coat” is considered as standard, as a result, of high class and beautiful. All this is validated in the name of unavoidable change of culture. Thus acceptance of the west as standard pushes the students’ own culture and tradition into an inferior status as Rubi puts it, –western influence has changed it.... And our *lungi* has been uncultured.”

Play of claims and assumptions in acts of epistemic violence. Whatever forms it may take in the expressions of epistemic violence, opinions or statements are always based on some assumptions branched out from the fixed reference point. As the students were engaged in discussion they expressed various opinions on the same issue. If we look into the assumptions behind the opinions around the acts of epistemic violence we see that they were engaged in a play.

In the three episodes displayed under research question one students problematized either the claims/views that contributed to epistemic violence or the

assumptions behind the claims/views or both the claims and assumptions. The claims and assumptions that contributed to epistemic violence in episode 1 were related to the overgeneralization that majority of the people in Bangladesh were corrupt (The claim being majority of the people of Bangladesh were corrupt and the assumption being 90% of the high officials represent the nation as whole). Both the claims and assumptions were problematized with counter arguments and examples. The claim that contributed to epistemic violence in episode 2 was that illiterate people pose an obstacle to the development of Bangladesh and the assumption behind the claim was originated in the metanarrative associated with literacy (i.e. only literacy ensures the ability to distinguish between good and evil). Both the claim and the assumption were problematized in the interactions. The claim that contributed to epistemic violence in episode 3 was that *lungi*, the traditional dress, was not standard and the assumption behind the claim was the Eurocentric idea that western culture is the standard of taste. As a result, the counter arguments i.e. problematizing practice were pointing to both the claims and the assumptions.

However, sometimes multiple assumptions appeared to play in a hierarchy at a moment of discussion. The episode below taken from the classroom interactions in week 5 on English and development (Appendix F for detail) illustrates this phenomenon.

Sumi: Sir, Tania said that English is necessary for developing the tourism sector. I agree with her. ... many people are involved here. Well? It's like, the rural people will work here as guides. Various types of people will come here. We cannot employ the higher officers to guide them – speaking English. ... We see in India, in Sri Lanka, in Malaysia --- For example --- in India – like we see in *Slumdog Millionaire* that tourists come from western countries. Whom do they find as guide there – they find the slum children. And they are proficient in English. ... A guide will not be higher educated. So, naturally rural people ... in English --- English is very important if you want to develop the tourism sector in Bangladesh.

Rima: I think English proficiency is not necessary at this position where Bangladesh is now. After arriving at a level --- if we emphasize English

proficiency ... then Bangladesh will make more advancement. ... What we need to do ... are. ...First, communication facilities ... must be improved. Then ... we will have to eradicate superstition. We will have to remove the superstitions, the religious bigotry. And we will have to make people more and more aware of how to live a standard life. For living a standard life you don't need proficiency in English. As for corruption, awareness must be grown among people at all levels. We will have to persuade people to take a stand against corruption.

Sumi: She said, she thinks that proficiency at the root level is not necessary at this moment. But I think development of a country depends on the economy. ...The main sector of our economy is the garment sector. So we need to communicate with the buyers from overseas countries. So we need proficiency though at a low level.

Both Sumi and Rima expressed their views that English is necessary for development. However, Sumi claimed that English was an immediate necessity for the development of Bangladesh, while Rima claimed that English would help promote development after Bangladesh achieved good governance. Two apparent assumptions about development seem to have been at work in their claims. First, development trickles down from the developed countries, hence Sumi's emphasis on the need for "communication with other countries." Second, development primarily emerges from internal management, i.e. good governance, hence, Rima's emphasis on good communication system and awareness building. It appears that the former led Sumi to claim that English was a must for development, because they needed to communicate with the developed countries. On the other hand, the latter led Rima to claim that not English rather the mother tongue could serve the purpose better. However, both the assumptions were further oriented by a pivotal assumption that development is solely related to economy as Sumi says, "I think development of a country depends on the economy" which the other interlocutors did not oppose.

The interactions illustrate that both Rima and Sumi questioned each other's claims and the assumptions immediately associated with their claims. However, none of them challenged the pivotal assumption (i.e. development is solely connected with

economic factors). I, as the critical pedagogue, could make out that connecting development solely with economy was a partial concept of development. It echoes the notion that “economic factors dictate the nature of all aspects of human existence” which is “undialectical”, as there are multiple other socio-cultural factors along with economic factors related to development (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, 208). Hence this notion of development was unacceptable. Therefore, I felt the need for problematizing it. However, as the point of discussion was English in development and the students were focusing on that, I found it two steps away to question the pivotal assumption, and as a result it appeared to me abrupt to bring the pivotal assumption upfront. Therefore, I let the discussion go in its own flow.

Thus it appeared to me, as a teacher, that in an instance of epistemic violence a number of claims and assumptions were hierarchically at play where, though the other assumptions challenged each other, the pivotal assumption remained unchanged. Therefore, it was necessary to problematize the pivotal assumption to destabilize the act of epistemic violence associated with that assumption. However, it was a challenging task for the teacher to lead the discussion to problematize that assumption.

Critical literature continuously refers to epistemic violence and urges for destabilizing it. However, critical literature never attempted to focus on the dynamics of the play of the assumptions. I have examined the dynamics of the play of assumptions at a point of dialogue in the classroom. An understanding of the dynamics of play of claims and assumptions working in an instance of epistemic violence will help critical pedagogy to address the issue effectively.

Pedagogical implications of the dynamics of play of claims and assumptions around an act of epistemic violence. When a number of assumptions are at play in a discussion, it becomes challenging for the teacher to identify the pivotal assumption on the spur of the moment and lead the discussion to question it. Even when identified, in most cases it seemed to be so far away from the thread of discussion that it appeared abrupt to bring that upfront. Therefore, I let the discussion go in its own flow for the other assumptions to destabilize each other. However, in the written tasks it was easy to identify the central assumption, as I got enough time to think and make a critique to point to that assumption. As for the essays, it was possible to identify the pivotal assumptions and comment on them, though that was once and for all. The facebook conversations also provided enough scopes in this regard.

An Example of Critical Pedagogy in the Classroom

The context of the lesson. It was a writing lesson involving undergraduate students in a private university in Bangladesh. Although the university was located in an urban area, most of the students came from neighbouring rural areas, from communities with strong religious values. The majority of the students came from middle income homes. In a setting where resources were limited and where access to higher education was a privilege, students who gained access to university education aspired to have a better life than their parents' generation. As with other postcolonial societies, the 'upper classes' in Bangladesh showed an affinity with aspects of western culture. Middle class students also nurtured a fascination for the west as they aspired to 'catch up' with the upper classes.

The semester-long, intermediate-level undergraduate course the students were enrolled in emphasized argumentative writing. The topic of the lesson that was the focus of this class was ‘Bengali Nation’ (or *Bangali Jati* in Bangla) which invited students to discuss and write about issues facing the nation. As the students were Bangladeshi nationals, the topic was connected with their lived experiences (Kanpol, 1999), allowing them to draw on their own experiences while engaging with the topic. The lesson comprised classroom interactions, facebook discussions, and a written essay where classroom interactions and facebook exchanges were exploited as pre-writing activities for generating ideas and developing concepts for writing the essay.

I, the teacher of the course, had epistemological perspectives to question the status quo for social justice through acts of problematization. As a Bangladeshi national, I was intimately familiar with the background of the students as well as the communities they came from, and had worked closely with them. This example of the lesson captures some of our deliberations on what transpired in the lesson and some of the complexities involved in acts of problematization. It focuses on the teacher’s reflections as well as the students’ with reference to one student’s, i.e., Rima’s, encounters with problematization throughout the lesson. In this narrative of the example of critical pedagogy in the classroom I focus on the whole cohort of the class. However, particular focus will be on Rima, because she happened to be the most outspoken student in the heated discussion on the Bengali nation in the class. Rima was by no means “typical” of the students in this class, but I focus on her largely because other students tended – perhaps in view of her outspokenness -- to use her as a point of reference to respond to her contributions and to express ‘their take’ on the issues discussed. Collectively, the voice of Rima and the voices of her

other classmates and those of her teacher present the nuances of the give-and-take in the discourse of the classroom.

The trigger. I narrated an anecdote to my students from the facebook status of one of my friends. My purpose was to highlight an instance of over-generalization in the facebook narrative (All names in the original have been changed and the punctuation in the original has been preserved):

I was travelling by a city service bus with my friend. Along with another girl we were sitting on one of the three-seated rows reserved for women [Three three-seated rows in the front of all city service buses in Dhaka city are usually reserved for women, children, and the disabled]. As soon as the other girl got down at the next stop, a male passenger took the seat. After a few moments a woman with her baby got on the bus. She was standing, but nobody got up to offer her a seat. After a few moments I told the man beside me, ‘You please get up, and let her sit here. This is reserved for women.’ The man resented it, ‘All seats are for women’ (i.e. women sit everywhere, not only on the ones reserved for them). I said, ‘So what? The lady with her child is standing, won’t you let her sit???’ Staring at me angrily and grunting unintelligibly the man stood up making room for the standing lady to sit. He got extremely resentful.....:P

Will the Bengali nation remain so forever????????!!!!!!!.’

The concluding statement (‘Will the Bengali nation remain so for ever????????!!!!!!!’) may be read variously as a lament, a criticism or a note of regret. But more importantly it was an over-generalization, because it extrapolated a claim about the entire Bengali nation from a specific event on a city bus. The phrase

‘Bengali nation’ as used in the facebook status is a colloquial reference to the nation of Bangladesh.

Classroom interactions. The anecdote triggered a heated discussion in my class. The students in my undergraduate writing class were hotly engaged in discussion. The discussion on the state of their nation, Bangladesh, led them to explore the contention that *the people* of Bangladesh as a whole are corrupt. ‘90% of the high officials are corrupt,’ declared Rima, one of the most outspoken students in the class, to argue for the notion that *the people* of Bangladesh as a whole are corrupt. The majority of the students in the class seemed to agree with her. The small minority who disagreed struggled to voice their counter arguments, as they were drowned in the high pitched, exuberant voices of the majority.

As the teacher, I faced a dilemma in doing *critical pedagogy* (Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1997, 2005; Luke, 2004, 2013; McLaren, 1989; Norton & Toohey, 2004; Pennycook, 2001) in my class. I was aware that the majority of the students led by Rima were over-generalizing. As critical pedagogy advocates problematizing ‘unjust assumptions’ (Darder, Baltodano, & Torres, 2003; Kincheloe, 2008; Luke, 2013), I felt the need for problematizing the act of over-generalization. But the pedagogical dilemma I was struggling with was: When should I intervene? If I join the heated discussion, would I run the risk of ‘silencing’ some in the majority because of my authority as teacher? Even if I lend support to the weaker voices in the dissenting minority, could I not be accused of stifling or strangling emergent student voices in the majority, and thus in the long run even contribute to indoctrination? If so, my acts of problematization would contradict the goal of problematization in critical pedagogy that attempts to move learners so that they empower and liberate themselves against all injustice (Freire, 1970; Luke, 2004). Hence the issue I was

grappling with at that moment was: How do I problematize this tendency of over-generalization?

Problematization or *‘problem-posing’* was formally framed in Paulo Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) as problem-posing education (Luke, 2004; McLaren, 2000). Problematization is necessary for liberation and empowerment of the learners (Auerbach, 1995; Freire, 1970; Giroux 1997, 2005; Luke, 2013; McLaren, 1988, 1995). Research on critical pedagogy in the classroom identifies issues related to gender, race, class, identity etc. and problematizes them. Research explores different ways of problematization in the classroom. For challenging an unjust view or assumption one may use, as the literature suggests, intriguing questions (Chun, 2009; Ko, 2013; Pennycook, 1999), examples from the learners’ own experiences (Morgan, 2004; Shor, 1992), narratives from their personal life (Pavlenko, 2004), ethnographic playwriting and performing (Goldstein, 2004), pictures and comic books (Norton & Vanderheyden, 2004; Pierce, 1989), etc. However, *the teacher’s* dilemma regarding problematization and the learners’ experience with it in a classroom context exposed a complexity of problematization to me.

Referring to the concluding statement I asked the class to discuss their takes on it in order to provide input for the curriculum unit I was teaching on overgeneralization in argumentative writing. Surprisingly for me, most of the students agreed with the over-generalization that the major problems with the nation were the characteristics of its people. As the classroom discussion proceeded many students in the class claimed the problem with Bangladesh was that its people were corrupt.

Over the last few years Bangladesh has been placed amongst ~~the~~ most corrupt countries of the world” by the Berlin-based anti-graft organization Transparency International (Bangladesh 14th most corrupt countries). Corruption in this context refers to bribery, rent-seeking, inappropriate use of government funds, excessive lobbying, long delays in service performance, pilferage, irresponsible conduct from the government officials, bureaucratic intemperance etc. Transparency International identifies the public sectors like police departments, fire departments, water supply, electricity, gas supply, education, waste disposal, health, transportation, administration, etc. as the most corrupt sectors of Bangladesh.

Studies on corruption in Bangladesh reveal that ~~corruption~~ affects almost everyone” in Bangladesh (Knox, 2009; Zaman, 2005, p. 23). Transparency International Bangladesh reports that ~~some~~ 67.8% [of] households became victims of corruption” in the year 2015 in service sectors like immigration, law enforcement agencies, education, BRTA (Bangladesh Road Transport Authority), land administration, judicial services, and health (Corruption in Service Sectors: National Household Survey 2015). Thus, it is the public sectors of Bangladesh that are corrupt, while most of the people of the country are the victims of that corruption. Therefore, the country or the nation *as a whole* cannot be labeled as corrupt.

As the students were referring to the people in the nation as a whole to be corrupt, I asked the class, Is the Bengali nation as a whole corrupt? This question provoked the following response, replete with further over-generalizations.

Excerpt 1

Shumi: (seated at the back of the class blurted out loudly) But sir, majority ... majority of the people are corrupted in Bangladesh.

Tania: I don't think so. (Drowned under the loud voices of her classmates)

Rima: Listen! If 90 percent of the high officials of a country ... 90 percent of the high officials are corrupt.

Teacher: It's not of all, as she said (referring to Tania). We are [over]generalizing then. Why?

Shumi: But sir, majority accepts this [view].)

Teacher: Are the corrupt people majority? ... Even if we suppose that all of our high officials are corrupt ... Do they represent the nation?

Students: No, sir.

Shumi: Sir, sometimes they ---

Rima: Sir, when Bangladesh becomes champion in corruption then other countries look at Bangladesh simply in this way.

When challenged to support their initial assertion that the nation as a whole was corrupt, Shumi and Rima revised their claim. They asserted first that the majority of the people are corrupt and revised it further to apply the claim to a subset of 90% of higher officials. I attempted to draw their attention to the fallacy that the nation as a whole cannot be equated with 90% of higher officials. However, Rima side-stepped my question. She alluded to a report of a Berlin-based international organization, Transparency International, which claimed that Bangladesh topped the list of most corrupt nations. This prompted exchanges about the controversy surrounding the validity and the reliability of the report. Rima's reference to the Transparency International report and other countries' attitudes to Bangladesh prompted me to think that Rima was looking at the Bengali nation from a western perspective. Therefore, I questioned, Have we then changed our eyes with foreign eyes? Rima, in reply, came out with her own feeling of deprivation as she found herself the victim of corruption in admissions tests to public universities.

‘Corruption’ in this context refers to the use of monetary inducement in order to gain admission to a university.

Excerpt 2

Rima: Why should I take foreign eyes?

Teacher: I mean ...

Rima: Sir, when I see in my own eyes, I am a victim of heavy corruption, shouldn't I feel discriminated against? Suppose, in spite of good performance in the admissions test one of my relatives could not manage to get admitted to [a top public university]. But I have seen there were others who managed it with money. When I see that should not I feel discriminated against?

Teacher: ... How many students get admitted to [a top public university]? And how many of them commit the corruption?

Students: Sir, a lot them do it.

Rima: People spend millions [of Taka, the Bangladeshi currency] to obtain the question paper of medical college admission test.

Tisma: (who had been silent so far) How many people in Bangladesh afford to spend millions?

Rima: Listen! To obtain a position in the medical colleges, people raise money even by selling their land ...

Tisma: How many students study medicine?

Rima: A lot...

Access to higher education was a privilege in Bangladesh. Education from a public university was considered a guarantee for the students from middle income home to gain a better life than their parents' generation; it would help fulfill their

desire to catch up with the ~~upper~~ classes.” In this context Rima’s expression “I am a victim of heavy corruption, shouldn’t I feel discriminated against?” implied that corruption pushed her back in her move towards developing her desired career. Therefore, she was expressing her feeling of deprivation.

However, I continued questioning her claims about corruption in university admissions tests (‘How many students get admitted to [a top public university]?’) intending to draw attention to the fact that in comparison to all the people of Bangladesh the number of students getting admitted to a top university through corruption was very small. At this stage, Tisma, who had been silent so far, started challenging Rima’s attempt at over-generalizing her claims about *the people* (‘how many people ...’ or ‘how many students...’). Despite her aggressive stance in defending her claim about the nation as a whole, Rima’s feeble response (‘A lot..’) did not convincingly rebut Tisma’s challenge.

Over-generalization or generalization beyond justifiable limits was present when the students drew conclusions regarding the entire nation based on a subset of the evidence. This was evident when they spoke for the entire nation by drawing on conclusions they had reached for a subgroup, that is, government officials (or ‘higher officials’ as Rima referred to them). In speaking for the entire nation they had excluded the majority of the population comprising other subgroups such as farmers, garment workers, expatriate workers, and day labourers. This instance of over-generalization thus involved a fallacy in logic.

Facebook exchanges. As the class delved into the problems of Bangladesh they began to contrast the Bengali nation with Western nations, seeing them as polar opposites or binary categories. ‘Western nations’ was their composite category for the nations of the west, principally in Europe and North America. The class picked

up the discussion on the facebook page created for the writing course, where Rima, Tisma, and Fabiha were among the more outspoken participants (facebook comments are unedited).

Excerpt 3

Rima: bengali nation is more corrupted than the westernss

Tisma: Bengali ppl seems that western ppl is the best idol....in evrythings

Fabiha: Western nation is much developed than the bengali nation, their culture, life style are different and they represent themselves very attractively to us. so we want to follow them.

Rima: one of the gud features of the westerns is their sincerity nd dedication toward their proffession irrespective of every rank officers bt our higher rank officers r whimsical..... do what ever nd whn ever they wantttt..... so wht shud the others followw??????????

Sarah: Bangali culture teaches an individual to respect others, be sober and sense of togetherness. Western culture is more materialistic and to a certain extend vulgar.

Reading through their facebook comments I was struck by the bifurcation between Bangladesh and the West, with Bangladesh representing all things bad and the west representing all things good, although Sarah offered a view which differed from her peers.

My attention was drawn to *over-generalization in binaries* as evidenced in the discussion of *'the Bengali nation'* in contrast to *'western nations'* as polar opposites. This type of over-generalization, we suggest, is not merely a case of fallacy of logic. Rather, it arises out of a colonial *'order of discourse'* (Fairclough,

1992) the residue of which is found in the excerpts above from a classroom in Bangladesh, a postcolonial nation.

Colonial discourse, as Ashcroft, Griffith & Tiffin (1995) see it, is built on the assumption of universalism rooted in a Eurocentric view of the world (Achebe, 1995; Larson, 1995), which in itself is a form of over-generalization. In the binary Bengali nation versus the West the construct of the 'West', seen as the universal ideal, was privileged. From a colonial lens, therefore, the construct of the 'Bengali nation,' considered as the Other, was viewed as inferior to the West as it lacked the so-called universal ideals (Alatas, 1977; Ashcroft, Griffith & Tiffin, 1995; Fanon, 1967; Said, 1995). A consequence of this, as postcolonial scholar Alatas (1977) argues, is the destruction of 'the pride of the native; and the denigration of native character' (p. 29). Colonial discourse thus operates through binarisms (self-other; civilized-native; us-them), violently pushing everything that is non-European to an inferior status (Ashcroft, Griffith & Tiffin, 1995; Said, 1995).

Therefore, 'for formerly colonized people, the... temptations of employing the structure [the over-generalization of the binarisms inherent in colonial discourse] upon themselves and upon others' (Said, 1995, p. 25) needs to be interrogated and problematized (Achebe, 1995; Alatas 1977; Said 1995; Thiongo 1995).

In order to problematize the students' dichotomous ways of thinking I posted a part of Shel Silverstein's poem 'Zebra Question' on the facebook page.

ZEBRA QUESTION

By *Shel Silverstein*

I asked the zebra,

Are you black with white stripes?

Or white with black stripes?
 And the zebra asked me,
 Are you good with bad habits?
 Or are you bad with good habits?
 Are you noisy with quiet times?
 Or are you quiet with noisy times?
 Are you happy with some sad days?
 Or are you sad with some happy days?
 Are you neat with some sloppy ways?
 Or are you sloppy with some neat ways?
 And on and on and on and on
 And on and on he went.

The poem presents a dialogic interaction between the speaker, presumably a child, and a zebra. The exchange between them serves to 'trouble' a fixed vantage point (Is the zebra black with white stripes or white with black stripes). I hoped that the 'zebra question' would force students to revisit the over-generalization in the dichotomies or binaries they had constructed. Two students, Samira and Rima, responded to the poem on facebook page.

Excerpt 4

Samira: i think both nations r unique in their own way n equally good. western nation n bangali nation both have some good n bad qualities. we should nt think of which nation is better bt should take the good qualities of boh n put it into use in our life

Rima: sir the poem above has an xcellent inner meaning..... may be i didnt get the whole bt it can be percieved easily that every nation posesses both

good and dark sides.....bt as we have rationality or conscience, we hv to judge and come to a decision..... am i right sir????

Both Samira and Rima acknowledged that the dichotomy or the binary was problematic, that nations have both good and bad sides. However, in recognizing the positive and negative aspects of the nation, Rima was also of the view that one cannot remain detached or neutral, but should, on balance, be able to take a stand (‘we [have] to judge and come to a decision’).

Students’ writings. The classroom interactions and the facebook exchanges were meant to generate ideas for writing an argumentative essay on the same issue. Students‘ picked up ideas and information each of them individually found necessary. Then they organized the ideas into an argumentative essay. It should be mentioned here that they had already been taught about the organizing techniques of writing an argumentative essay. Following the techniques students wrote essays. Once they submitted the essays I gave my feedback regarding some linguistic, i.e. grammar and appropriate vocabulary, and discourse errors. Then they made a second draft of the essay and submitted for evaluation. As a sample, I here present Rima’s essay (the second draft) on Bengali nation.

Bengali Nation and Western Nations

It is easily perceivable that two nations cannot be the same when two persons vary from each other.

The people of Indian sub-continent are renowned for their strong family bond. Family bond comprises affection, responsibility etc. A distinctive difference can be observed in affection and responsibility between the parents of Bangladesh and those of the west. Bengali parents are more concerned about their children. They have a role in every sphere of their children’s lives. But the scenario is often different in the west. In most cases parents are abandoned when their children are at their eighteen or vice versa.

Being a Muslim I heartily support religion. Bengali nation is way more concerned about their religion. We have keen inclination towards following the religious rituals and creeds. It may not be followed precisely but affinity can be observed by the attempts taken. But being religious in the west in this 21st century, the era of modernism, is unacceptable.

The third aspect of difference is the domineering tendency of the west. Being the so called civilized and developed nation they are consistently trying to knock out other countries to suck their assets and natural resources. For example, we can mention Iraq invasion by America, and the inhuman destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in World War II. In the history of civilization, this sort of invasion and exploitation by the west can still be observed. However, this tendency can never be found in Bengali nation. Though we own very little and are a bit corrupt we never have the desire to take or exploit others.

Analysis of the lesson. The participants in the classroom discussion and the facebook exchanges problematized each other's views and assumptions in a number of ways. In excerpt 1 above the act of over-generalization by a majority of the students led by Rima was questioned, though meekly, by Tania (I don't think so). Tania posed a doubt to the claim that the majority of the people are corrupt. As her voice was drowned by the loud voices of her classmates, I, the teacher, drew the attention of the class to what Tania said (It's not of all, as she said. We are [over]generalizing then. Why?). When Rima and other students were further emphasizing their over-generalization, I again stepped in to problematize the over-generalization (Do they represent the nation?). In the same way, in excerpt 2 the questioning by me (Have we then changed our eyes with foreign eyes?, How many...) and Tisma (How many people..., How many students...) attempted to problematize Rima's further over-generalization. In the facebook exchanges I placed the poem Zebra Question by Shel Silverstein to trouble Rima's position.

In spite of the attempts of problematization by the other participants, Rima in the classroom discussion remained steadfast in her over-generalization that the people of Bangladesh as a whole were corrupt. She attempted to rebut all doubts and questions posed by other students as well as the teacher. Though her aggressive rebuttals did not appear convincing, she did not seem to concede (A lot). She continued, in her facebook exchanges, her over-generalization in the binary of

Bengali nation and the west associating the former with all things bad and the latter with all things good. However, after reading the Silverstein poem she became aware that a nation may ‘possess both good and dark sides’, though she still appeared to be thinking in the dichotomy as she opined that she could not remain neutral, rather she would take a particular stand using her rationality ([but] as we have rationality or conscience, we [have] to judge and come to a decision..... am i right sir????’).

Rima’s essay written after the classroom discussion and the facebook exchanges demonstrated the shift in her awareness as she perceived the differences between different nations. She wrote in the introductory paragraph of her essay:

Excerpt 5

It is easily perceivable that two nations cannot be the same [just as] two persons vary from each other.

However, in the subsequent two paragraphs she argued in favour of the Bengali nation recognizing the strengths of the nation namely family bond and religiosity. First, on the basis of family bond she argued:

Excerpt 6

The people of Indian sub-continent are renowned for their strong family bond. Family bond comprises affection, responsibility etc. A distinctive difference can be observed in affection and responsibility between the parents of Bangladesh and those of the west. Bengali parents are more concerned about their children. They have a role in every sphere of their children’s lives.

But the scenario is often different in the west. In most cases parents are abandoned when their children are at their eighteen or vice versa.

Second, because of her personal affinity with religion as a Muslim she wrote in favour of the Bengali nation on the basis of religiosity:

Excerpt 7

Being a Muslim I heartily support religion. Bengali nation is way more serious about their religion. We have keen inclination towards following the religious rituals and creeds. It may not be followed precisely but affinity can be observed by the attempts taken. But being religious in the west in this 21st century, the era of modernism, is unacceptable.

Thus she demonstrated her awareness about some of the favourable aspects of her own nation which she did not previously articulate in her classroom interactions and facebook exchanges. However, her expressions ‘Bengali parents are more concerned about their children’ in excerpt 6 and ‘Bengali nation is way more serious about their religion’ appear to be over-generalizations, putting the west on the back foot. While she denounced her nation and praised the west in the classroom interactions and the facebook exchanges, in her essay she was all praise for her nation and not supportive of the west. Thus she shifted from one extreme to another extreme. It may be argued that Rima, in her essay, demonstrated awareness of the favourable aspects of her own nation, although there is evidence of over-generalization in some of her claims.

In the final paragraph she referred to the exploitative acts of the west which she ignored in her classroom interactions and facebook exchanges.

Excerpt 8

The third aspect of difference is the domineering tendency of the west. Being the so called civilized and developed nation they are consistently trying to knock out other countries to suck their assets and natural resources. For example, we can mention Iraq invasion by America, and the inhuman destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in World War II. In the history of civilization, this sort of invasion and exploitation by the west can still be

observed. However, this tendency can never be found in Bengali nation.

Though we own very little and are a bit corrupt we never have the desire to take or exploit others.

She condemned the west for its exploitative acts such as the act of exploiting other countries' assets and natural resources, citing as examples the Iraq invasion by America and the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. She condemned the west to praise her own nation, but while praising her nation she was not unaware of its limitations as seen in its poor economic condition ('we own very little') and corruption ('we ... are a bit corrupt'). As discussed earlier, the framing of her argument in binary terms (Bangladesh versus the west) could be read as the influence of colonial discourse (Ashcroft, Griffith & Tiffin 1995). Still, it appears that the denigrating aspects, such as corruption, which she previously attributed as an all-encompassing feature of the Bengali nation, were downplayed against the exploitation and destruction by the west (e.g. 'Iraq invasion by America'). Thus she attempted to problematize western exploitation.

My reflections on the lesson as a teacher. It can be argued that Rima's reflections in the classroom, in the facebook exchanges, and in her essay demonstrate her movement towards greater awareness. However, the question throughout the lesson I was haunted by was: Was this movement towards greater awareness somehow influenced by the *authority* of the teacher? Freire & Macedo (1996) argue that even though a lesson may require the teacher to use teacher authority in order to facilitate knowledge production in the classroom, "arguments based on ~~authority~~" are no longer valid" in critical pedagogy (Freire, 1970, p. 80). Therefore, "in order to function, authority must be *on the side of freedom*, not *against it*" (1970, p. 80).

Even so, Ellsworth (1989) has drawn our attention to the complexity of this enterprise of being on the side of freedom, not against it. She argues from her experience that a teacher's stance is inevitably constrained by his or her vantage point. ~~–~~Critical pedagogues are always implicated in the very structures they are trying to change," rendering it almost impossible for a teacher to ~~–~~play the role of disinterested mediator on the side of the oppressed group" (Ellsworth, 1989, p. 309). I attempted – or at least tried to – maintain a democratic environment in the class so that students can consider me as a co-interlocutor and not hesitate to question my position in the discussion. Still, along with Ellsworth (1989), I was often troubled by the question of silencing or strangling other voices, and by the apprehension of inadvertently committing indoctrination (Freire, 1970).

At the beginning of excerpt 1, I, the teacher, played the role of a mediator to run the discussion smoothly and to question unjust assumptions. As the teacher, I felt that the drowned voice of Tania needed attention. Therefore, I attempted to uphold Tania's drowned voice. I was cautious lest my intervention as a teacher stifle the natural flow of the interaction. Hence I referred to Tania, rephrased her statement, connected it to over-generalization and opened it for discussion (It's not of all, as she said. We are [over]generalizing then. Why?'), so that the teacher's authority is not imposed on them. However, on reflection, I found that We are [over]generalizing then may appear imposing, and so were my subsequent questions (Do they represent the nation?, Have we ... foreign eyes?). Though I tried to make the question softer by using the pronoun we that included me with them, Rima applied it to herself. She referred to her personal suffering as a victim of corruption in the admissions test of a top public university (I am a victim of heavy corruption, shouldn't I feel discriminated against?). Her voice and her repetition of shouldn't I

feel discriminated against?’ indicated that her arguments were emotionally charged. However, I continued questioning her claims about corruption in university admissions tests (‘How many students get admitted in the university?’). With hindsight, the analysis of the interactions of that moment reveals that I, the teacher, may have been insensitive at that time that I simply ignored her emotions about being discriminated against in the admissions test (Benesch, 2012). My sole attention, as the critical pedagogue, at that moment was to challenge her over-generalization about the nation though the use of logic. Still, Rima did not seem to move. With support from other students (‘Sir, a lot of them do it’) she continued to stick to her position. Here, we recall Ellsworth’s (1989) poignant observation about critical pedagogy. The discourses of critical pedagogy cannot be viewed solely in terms of the rationalist assumption of the student as “ideal rational person” (p. 304). One must also take into account the intimate and sometimes stubborn tie between knowledge construction and “interest, the latter being understood as a “standpoint” from which to grasp “reality”.

However, as became evident in her facebook exchanges after I had placed the Silverstein poem, Rima experienced a shift in her position. I had introduced the poem, ‘Zebra Question’ so that students would not feel the pressure of my authority as the teacher. As a critical pedagogue I had the intention to destabilize (Kincheloe, 2008; Luke, 2013; Pennycook, 2004) the over-generalization in binaries, while at the same time being careful not to impose my point of view. Because of the open-ended, non-directive nature of my intervention, Rima probed the intention of the teacher in using the poem. In acknowledging that “every nation possesses both good and dark sides,” in her facebook posting she threw a question back to the teacher: “Am i right sir????.” This pointed question may be indicative of the centrality of the teacher in

her learning experience. While she had her own opinions, she needed also to relate and possibly affirm her positions in relation to those of the teacher. As I, the teacher, was a male figure and Rima, a female student, it was possible that, as Lewis & Simon (1996) illustrate, the privileges of the male figure over the female figure in a male dominated society like Bangladesh reinforced the teacher authority. Although issues of gender were not explicitly raised in class, with hindsight, I cannot help but wonder whether asymmetries in power relations – accruing out of the authority position of the teacher and also possibly his gender – shaped the course of classroom discussion.

Even so, I had used the poem because the appeal of the poem matched with my intention of being non-directive and open-ended as I nudged students to rethink their claims. I was aware that a poem itself, as a literary work, carries its own authority, which itself needs to be problematized. Using the poem ‘Zebra Question’ had the potential for reinforcing my authority in that it was I who challenged and disrupted the views of the students. Hence the dilemma I was struggling with at that time was: once my intention is channeled through my problematization, won’t that have an influence on the students’ positionality? How then can problem-posing education or critical pedagogy be different from what Freire (1970) called the banking model of education?

Students’ reflections on the lesson. The solution to the dilemma (‘How then can problem-posing education be different from banking model of education?’) was found in the students’ reflections on the practice of problematization in the classroom. I interviewed the students to know about their classroom experience in this writing course. I asked Rima about her stance in the classroom and her shifts in position throughout the lesson. She responded,

Excerpt 9

You know, that was the demand of the situation. I wanted to prove my position in the class. However, later on before writing I considered the other views.

Her reflection implies that she wanted to establish her position in the class and so she attempted to problematize the problematizations by the students as well as the teacher (see her claims and rebuttals in excerpts 1 and 2). Though in the classroom she appeared unwilling to consider the views by the other participants, when writing she considered the opposing views expressed by other participants. In doing so, she problematized the problematizations by other participants, as well as her own. She said that she did not even hesitate to problematize the views of the teacher.

Excerpt 10

[Teacher's comments] sometimes influenced [me]. Not always. [But that was] logically. If it's logically right I tend to accept my companions' comments.

Her comment not always' indicates that she did not always accept the problematization by the teacher. In this regard she did not discriminate between her fellow students and the teacher, despite the authority of the teacher. Hence the question of stifling or silencing or indoctrinating becomes void in the case of Rima.

As Rima put it:

Excerpt 11

[The practice of problematization in the class] is really needed... [It helps to get] a strong basis ...of my position... Yes, [negotiating different perspectives in the classroom is] sometimes challenging. Sometimes we don't have enough reasons to refute that. That time, may be, I also change my mind, ok,

she can also be right. That's what happens. You know, I get myself corrected by others' perspectives. I think, it's respecting them also.

I felt ok [when my viewpoint was questioned]. If I question other's perspectives why wouldn't I be questioned?

When Rima claimed that the problematization [helps to get] a strong basis ... of my position,' she was actually asserting that eventually it empowered her, thus ruling out the possibility that she was strangled or indoctrinated. Crucially also, engaging in acts of problematization she ensured space for other participants to problematize her positions (If I question other's perspectives why wouldn't I be questioned?).

Conclusion. The pedagogical dilemma of the teacher doing critical pedagogy in the context of this study exposes, in line with Ellsworth (1989), the possibility that interactions *intended by the teacher* as problem-posing education or critical pedagogy may in actuality be read *by students* as banking education because those interactions are invested with the authoritative voice of the teacher or the texts (e.g. the poem). Therefore, the challenge for the teacher as critical pedagogue is to work towards creating spaces in classrooms where the teacher is regarded as a co-interlocutor, difficult as this may sometimes be, given the contexts in which we work. Thus the article reveals that instead of being a mere practice in the classroom, problematization embodies complexities that the teacher encounters in the classroom. Pennycook (2004) maintains that the critical work that has come to dominate TESOL and applied linguistics incorporates *explicit social critique* and ... overtly aim[s] toward trying to change inequitable social conditions and people's understanding of them' (p. 392). Ironically however, as Pennycook (2004) argues, the exercise of critique is potentially problematic (Ellsworth, 1989; Lather, 1992; Luke, 1992; Gore, 1992; Oner, 1992; Pennycook, 2004). The very questions that may be used to disrupt

or destabilize assumptions may themselves be products of the same system that gives rise to those very problems that [critical pedagogy] aims to critique' (Pennycook, 2004, p. 392). Hence problematizing practice in critical pedagogy insists on casting far more doubt on the categories we employ to understand the social world and on assumptions about awareness, rationality, emancipation, and so forth' (Pennycook, 2004, p. 392). Critical pedagogy is thus constantly remade' (Freire, 1970, p. 84). This calls for a self-reflexive problematization in the classroom by both teacher and students. This article demonstrates the self-reflexivity of problematization that evolved in the classroom context of the study. Students' reflections on problematization in the classroom shed light on the dimensions of problematization. Rima problematized the authority of the teacher. She problematized the problematizations by the students as well as the teacher. She was also ready to be problematized by other students. Sometimes she problematized her own problematization as well. Thus there was *incessant problematizing* of problematizations in the lesson. This analysis supports a view of problematization in classroom contexts that is multidimensional and self-reflexive. It also maintains that only continuous problematization of problematization may save critical pedagogy from the possibility of contributing to indoctrination and thus from the possibility of becoming banking education.

Limitations of the Study

In this study the teacher-researcher was a male figure and the students were female, it was possible that, as Lewis & Simon (1996) illustrate, the privileges of the male figure over the female figure in a male dominated society like Bangladesh reinforced the teacher authority. Although issues of gender were not explicitly raised

in class, with hindsight, I cannot help but wonder whether asymmetries in power relations – accruing out of the authority position of the teacher and also possibly his gender – shaped the course of classroom discussion. As the issues of gender were not explicitly raised, the data did not allow me to focus on this issue.

In the lesson on Bengali nation I questioned when one of the students referred to how other countries look at Bangladesh in terms of corruption. I understand that more might also have been made of the outside gaze (i.e. how will we look to outsiders?). It was possible that this may have exerted an influence, but it was not possible from the data to definitively ascertain the actual evidence of its influence.

Further Directions for Research

This research focused on critical pedagogy in an undergraduate EFL classroom where the researcher played the role of a teacher-researcher. It explored the facilitation of criticality in the context of undergraduate students in Bangladesh. It also explored individual student's routes to criticality and the role of language in the communication of criticality.

Teachers in Bangladesh are familiar with the traditional banking pedagogy. Hence, implementation of critical pedagogy in education requires teacher education to introduce the teachers with critical pedagogy. This triggers the question how it influences the classroom practice, when a teacher familiar with the banking pedagogy is introduced with critical pedagogy. Research may also explore the interplay of critical pedagogy and traditional pedagogy when a teacher attempts critical pedagogy in a classroom habituated to banking pedagogy.

As the study reveals particular types of interrelationships of voices in the linguistic expressions for communication of criticality, it implies that, like critical

discourse awareness is in education (Fairclough, 1995), an analysis of the voices that populate different discourses may be incorporated in the teaching. This implication arouses the question how it plays out in the classroom and affects students' writing when critical pedagogy in the language classroom strives to focus on the voices in language.

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