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RESISTANT-DISCOURSE-BASED PEDAGOGIES: IMPLICATIONS FOR SOUTH AMERICAN TEACHERS' PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract

Discourses of resistance have emerged in South America as an alternative to challenge the monolingual, hegemonic, and hierarchical structures to construct knowledge. As a result, new pedagogies have been developed following the resistance-inspired perspective at the educational level. Although challenges that teachers from different communities face have been widely documented, research also indicates that teachers' professional development (TPD) programs oriented by discourses of resistance, deserve deeper scrutiny. This paper aims, first, at synthesizing the extant literature to develop an evidence-based framework of resistant TPD and, second, at analyzing the possible implications of this resistant-discourse in the educational settings of South America. Data was collected through a systematic online literature review process of the major South American peer-reviewed journals published between 2000 and 2018, and was evaluated using content and interpretative analysis. Results suggest that although pedagogies driven by discourses of resistance promote teachers' empowerment, they also lean towards diminishing teachers' voices and professional growth.

1 Introduction

South American teacher education is characterized by vastness and complexity due to the uniqueness of the various communities and populations that interact in this ample territory through different languages and dialects. However, education in South America has been framed on the coexistence of different languages and cultures in the same territory; yet, the educational models do not seem to be balanced, as some structures enjoy a privileged position over others due to the fact that they are grounded on *monolingual*, *hegemonic*, and *hierarchical* approaches of teaching and learning (Estacio & Camargo, 2018).

Consequently, the widely applied model has established vertical relationships between participants, has restrained linguistic and cultural practices to standardized and colonial canons, and it has confined culture to essentialist perspectives that scarcely recognize the influence of ideology and the marginalization of non-Western cultural realities (Holliday, 2011). In this context, having a standardized model of education rooted in economic, political, and cultural issues has not only had implications in the linguistic field (Estacio, 2017), but also, on a purposeful and monolithic vision of culture (Nuñez-Pardo, 2018), and on teachers' professional development (hereafter TPD).

Thus, South American studies have shown that a linear view of pedagogical methodologies has taken root, disregarding the individual experiences and realities of the population in which educational processes are conducted (Estacio & Camargo, 2018). Moreover, TPD research has mostly reported on proposals for improving institutional practices and has described experiences in treating specific problems of professional training events, typically from the perspective of only one department or language program director (Allen & Negueruela-Azarola, 2010).

As a response to widespread conventional approaches, discourses of resistance have emerged in South America aiming at challenging the taken-for-granted structures by regaining and valuing ethnic, linguistic, and cultural identities with a view to reducing inequalities. Though several TPD programs advocating teachers' reflective praxis and their voices within curriculum and material design have followed the resistance-inspired perspective, it seems necessary to dig deeper into the concept of resistance within the educational setting and teachers' discourses towards it.

The present study is intended to contribute to the field by synthesizing the extant literature to develop (from the literature) an evidence-based framework for resistance in South American TPD. Conjointly, it strives to gain a deep understanding of resistance-focused TPD developed locally and from the perspective of current South American research and outlook.

2 Theoretical background

2.1 Definition of key terms

In order to unveil the way *discourses of resistance* have been enacted in South American contexts, it is crucial to conceptualize the terms *discourses of resistance* and *professional development* to establish a common understanding of how those concepts inform the present research.

2.1.1 Discourses of resistance

Discourses, in Gee's (1999) view, can be understood as an amalgamation of human language and non-language; that is, symbols, feelings, thoughts, behaviors, and objects that represent a part of the world and portray different identities, activities, and meanings. As a result, they are developed, transformed, and either legalized or discarded by constantly moving contexts and realities. Given this characteristic, discourses, or systems of knowledge as established by Foucault (2005), circle under pre-established circumstances aiming at shaping societies and exercising control through educational systems and policies.

Indeed, language per se, as the vehicle to perpetuate *naturalized discourses* (Fairclough, 2003), has been condemned under the *New Capitalism* to be uniform and unique as the emphasis is on the global economy expansion (Humes, 2000). Consequently, notions such as powerful and powerless countries, native and non-

native speakers or poor and rich cultures have arisen and have impacted on TPD as they serve as foundations for shaping the view of the world and their inhabitants' identities. Considering this, over the years attempts have been made to reconstruct and deconstruct naturalized discourses rooted in hegemonic, colonial and monolingual notions by different scholars who address tensions, critiques, and trends in the educational field to redefine understandings and contemplate new alternatives in terms of approaches and methodologies, constituting a discourse of resistance.

To analyze this kind of discourse, scholars have mainly used critical discourse analysis as it focuses on the study of power and dominance in relationships within day-to-day social interactions (Fairclough, 2003), from two main aspects: (a) top-down, relations of dominance and (b) bottom-up relations of resistance. One the one hand, top down discourses have been acknowledged as the ones depicted by Western cultures who disseminate their power over other territories using their privileged position in the socio-cultural and economic spheres of society.

On the other hand, bottom-up discourses of resistance have emerged since 1980 as a rising trend of radical pedagogical models which study tensions and conflicts that non-favored populations have faced over the years, in order to empower them in the development of educational practices and policies (Singh, 2001). Hence, scholars such as Giroux and McClaren (1986), Hickling-Hudson (1998), Luke and Gore (1992), and Maher and Thompson Tetreault (1997) have united their efforts to analyze these tensions in different spheres such as post-structural pedagogies, feminist pedagogies, pedagogies of hope and pedagogies of whiteness.

Nonetheless, even if scholars have recognized the existence of these two aspects, top-down and bottom-up, some of them have focused their studies on understanding the top-down discourse as a key element in discourse analysis. Such is the case of van Dijk (1983), who argues that in spite of the necessity of an arising analysis of resistance in a wider theory of power, his approach has, as a core, the elites and their discursive strategies for the maintenance of inequality.

Based on the aforementioned, within the field of critical pedagogies research, advancement has been acknowledged as successful based on the rate of inclusion of new voices in the creation of policies of differences. As a result, a considerable number of pedagogies that are expected to adjust to the membership of education have arisen under the premise of involving all actors so that all voices and differences can be heard and taken into account in the decision-making processes. Thus it becomes relevant for us as teacher-researchers first to create an understanding of the way bottom-up resistant discourses are portrayed in the educational field and second, to analyze how these critical pedagogies have been addressed in recent years in South American educational contexts in terms of TPD. With this in mind, different perspectives of TPD are explored.

2.1.2 Teachers' professional development

According to Ferrer and Poole (2018), professional development programs (TPD) can emerge due to *intrinsic* or *extrinsic* motivation. The first one reflects teachers' desire to improve their practices and gain individual satisfaction; while the second one responds to the idea of maintaining a position, obtaining a better salary or a promotion. Within the educational field, both motivations seem to be present: the aim of improving oneself by expanding one's knowledge and expertise, and the expectation of being promoted.

As reported by Camargo (2018), TPD has mostly dealt with the concept of training teachers under the *Transmission Model*, which focused its efforts on providing educators with formal education programs about methodologies, materials and didactics that have been copied and applied in different countries regardless of the

actors' needs and backgrounds. Under this model, teachers' voices and needs are not heard, and rigorous social truths transmitted through the curriculum (Abrahams & Farias, 2010) and hegemonic and colonial discourses are spread (Estacio & Camargo, 2018).

Because of this, both teachers and scholars have expressed the need to conceive TPD as a process aiming at assessing and re-exploring educational approaches, methodologies and perspectives, and the way these are carried through in local contexts and realities (Camargo, 2018). Olaya (2018) states that by embracing TPD from a reflective and critical perspective, both teachers and students are empowered and are able to underline the importance of coping with constraints such as time, resources, and the social situation present in many educational contexts. Likewise, Questa-Torterolo, Rodríguez-Gómez and Meneses (2018) reported that the importance of collaboration among teachers goes beyond the ideal of transforming and designing a society that is in constant change, but means developing an organizational culture of collaborative work that allows them to interact and propose initiatives to guarantee quality in the educational system.

With respect to this matter, Evans (2002) identified both attitudinal and functional development as key elements of TPD and states that the former, as its name implies, "is concerned with the process through which teachers modify their attitudes towards their profession while the second one deals with the process through which teachers' professional work may be improved" (p.251). In this sense, it can be argued that the need to renew pedagogical practices is a response grounded not merely in the professional sphere, but on both personal and communal claims.

Considering the above, the purpose of TPD, in a collaborative and reflective model, is to enact pedagogical strategies that effectively meet the needs of the institutions, programs, teachers, students, keeping in mind their contexts. To do so, researchers have focused on (a) intercultural-language variations and the use of L1; (b) curricultum renewal-linked professional development programs, (c) peer coaching.

3 Methods

The present study is part of a two-year investigation about resistance in South American teacher education. This paper focuses on resistant-discourse based TPD and it follows a theoretical-reflective research approach with a view to proposing a framework informed by current research in the field. The study started with a review of TPD resistant literature in order to establish common understandings of resistance in TPD and to identify key elements and/or features of resistant-based pedagogies.

3.1 The corpus

The systematic review process included an online literature search of major databases (Google académico, Eureka, SAGE, Science Direct and Taylor & Francis) and journals on language teaching and applied linguistics in eleven countries of South America (Appendix A) (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Ecuador, Guyana, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela) with the following criteria:

- Keywords, and/or title and/or abstract including 'professional development', 'resistance' or 'resistant discourse' and 'discourses of resistance'
- Focusing on resistance of practicing and pre-service teachers in South America
- Year of publication between 2000 and 2018
- Peer reviewed journal articles and chapters from edited books

A set of 130 texts resulted from the online literature search; the texts comprised 25 book chapters and 85 peer-reviewed journal articles. Texts were organized in an Excel file and classified according to their country.

3.2 Data analysis

With the intention of understanding the possible implications of resistant-discourse based pedagogies on South American teachers' professional development, three main rounds of data analysis were conducted with the dataset. The first round focused on content analysis. A careful examination of the abstracts was conducted by the three researchers, who worked independently examining at least four countries each. Criterion Sampling (Patton, 2002) was used as the researchers concentrated on the aim of the paper, the methodology, the participants and the data sources in order to examine their relevance and compatibility with the research topic. The initial examination enabled us to keep 36 texts, which were organized in an Excel file and classified according to their country. Then, general themes among the corresponding countries were established and socialized during a debriefing session, which according to Davis (1995), allows researchers to share and examine information in order to identify commonalities. By doing this, it was possible to agree on a list of elements that were common across countries (see Appendix B).

With these elements in mind, a second round of analysis was conducted. This phase aimed at examining the body of these texts through the discourse tradition of *Qualitative Content Analysis*, which explores the relationships among the concepts found in a text (Schreier, 2012), allowing researchers to go beyond the purpose of merely describing and interpreting sequential patterns within discourses, and to analyze these discourses within a context (Patton, 2002). In order to identify different understandings and key elements of resistance in South American TPD programs, the authors were able to define the list of elements emerging from the first round of analysis, and look at data using the color-coding scheme. The elements were then quantified and grouped according to the density each one had so as to be able to understand and visualize the relationships among them (See appendix B).

After this, it was relevant to problematize and examine in depth the emerging features in the second round; thus a third round of analysis was conducted using critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1994, 2003) procedures. The three researchers worked together and were able to establish complex relations among concepts that were apparently unlinked and after a process of sorting and grouping understandings of resistant-discoursed based pedagogies, two main categories emerged: (1) Including bottom-up realities, (2) Promoting over-and-above collaboration and reflective practice.

4 Results and discussion

The results that are presented in this section have emerged from the analysis of different TPD programs developed in South America; thus, they are the accounts of local experiences in teacher training and education. Since this study is not fuelled by concerns of generalization, the findings should be examined with caution; they are partial and non-exhaustive, as it is difficult to provide a complete picture of the whole vast extension of the South American context. In this paper, the authors have translated all quotations from French, Portuguese and Spanish into English; due to limitations of space only the English versions are provided. As mentioned above, the analysis of the collected data resulted in two main categories: (1) including bottom-up realities and (2) promoting over-and-above collaboration and reflective practice.

4.1 Including bottom-up realities

This category describes how South American resistant TPD programs found their roots in the need to build their own schools, 'escuelas propias', such as schools for indigenous people or minority groups. The aforementioned necessity is grounded on bottom-up discourses, which lead to a careful examination of contexts and realities in order to build up educational proposals with particular methodologies that respond to the circumstances of the setting.

As examples, Jaramillo and Carreon (2014), in their analysis of the pedagogy of living well (buenvivir) in Latin America, emphasized how this multi-layered approach recognizes and addresses the entanglement of social realities as well as visions, values and traditions of communities to shape its aims. Additionally, García-Carrión, Gómez, Molina and Ionescu's (2017) seminal work across schools in Colombia, Peru and Brazil, indicates that their TPD programs based on Learning Communities accounted for "the needs and realities of each school and community to ultimately improve [teachers and] students' learning and development" (p.54). Another example is the Ecuadorian university program for indigenous people (Intercultural Bilingual Education), which was designed to assure the continuity of community languages, knowledge systems and values as well as the final goal of a liberating educational process (Villagómez, 2018).

In order to give value, different South American authors such as Freire (2001), Rodríguez (2008), and Villagómez (2018) have focused their studies on the empowerment of South American educators and students, as they are placed as the key actors of education processes all over the continent. Likewise, Santos (2007) has shared an optimistic view in which globalization allows emergent discourses and actors from underdeveloped countries to take their places and participate in a human change, in which not only knowledge is valued but the human being itself as an essential part of society. Thus, to grasp how human change can be possible, it is imperative to analyze on-site realities as proposed by Paraquett (2009). She states that learning a foreign language is a process that requires an awareness of one's own context; then, when students know themselves, their own culture and idiosyncrasies, they can understand what a foreign speaker and culture is like.

Similarly, the inclusion of bottom-up realities has also facilitated the revitalization of ethnic, cultural and linguistic sources; promoting the deliverance of cultural identities and traditions of diverse populations. For instance, the model of the Bolivian Indigenous University Guaraní and of the Lowlands Peoples "Apiaguaki Tüpa" (UNIBOL) constructs their 'own education' aiming at conducting research and creating science and theory using various indigenous languages. Students at UNIBOL are encouraged to elaborate and theorize from their own linguistic code, for their own purposes and through their own voices (Delgadillo, 2018).

This finding is not only in line with Barrett, Byram, Lázár, Mompoint-Gaillard and Philippou's (2014) ideas about the important role that language plays in constructing cultural agency, but it also brings into focus the possibilities favored by the inclusion of bottom-up realities by giving student-teachers a voice. This voice is a non-conventional one (Kramsch & Lam, 1999) that is connected to personal purposes and is not governed by subordination and powerlessness regarding their native culture. Rather, it offers "the opportunity for personal meanings, pleasure and power [...]. [student-teachers] construct their personal meanings at the boundaries [of] their own everyday life" (Kramsch, 1993, p.238).

Indeed, in-context educational discourses have emerged not only with teachers and students as the main actors, but have also influenced educational policies. That is the case of the Brazilian documents *Lei de Diretrizes* [Law of Guidelines and Bases] (1996) and the [Parâmetros curriculares nacionais] [National curricular parameters]

(2006), which "suggest action and ideologies according to the Brazilian local context and define their pedagogical practices" (Paraquett, 2009, p.2). This shows that local actions, such as the ones carried out by students and educators, can have large scale results and change the status quo of a traditional society.

In this sense, TPD programs that include bottom-up realities do not merely observe contextual factors and address diversity in isolation; most importantly, they tend to adopt them as a field of research and a target for knowledge construction. This has allowed TPD to be endowed with additional specificity and meaningfulness that are often absent from regular teacher educational approaches. According to Villagómez (2018), resistant pedagogies not only embrace the analysis of realities as problematic fields and targets of knowledge, but also serve as measures to delimit observations and interventions

Although careful reading of contextual aspects, surroundings and frames of reference is a *sine qua non* to offer alternative pedagogies as previously displayed, it equally conveys ideas of distinctiveness and otherness. Based on principles of pedagogical sovereignty (Vergara, 2011), resistance-focused pedagogies have also perpetuated the hierarchical schema inherited from the colonial model (Weinberg, 1995) by insisting on the differentiation between 'own pedagogies' and Hispanic ones. On this account, including bottom-up realities can be said to disguise or hide hegemonic and colonial discourses.

On the one hand, it is essential to point out that in addition to enforced differentiation, partial and unbalanced revalorization also arose in resistant TPD. Indeed, the recognition of excluded populations is at the core of resistance-discourse based pedagogies, but the latter hardly include historicity and holistic perspectives, with the result that communities are still presented in fragmented, simplistic and unconnected fashions. In fact, linguistic perceptions of citizens who live in places where different languages converge are clear examples of a fragmented perspective in which the resistant-focused discourses seem to be overshadowed by the ideas of distinctiveness created by colonial discourses. Such is the case of a study reported by Rojas Molina (2008), who highlighted the linguistic situation of a border area located in the edges of Brazil, Colombia and Peru, where the inhabitants do not recognize their vernacular linguistic varieties as socially accepted, but instead privilege the standard varieties of Spanish and Portuguese spoken in the capital cities of these countries as the model to be followed.

Although the first questions of the interview generated low levels of recognition of local speaking varieties, through further inquiry and observation, all interviewed participants showed high levels of awareness and recognition of their local varieties; however, this recognition is revealed through a continuous comparison and stigmatization between their local variety (vernacular area) and the varieties used in the main cities (Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Bogotá and Lima), which still enjoy higher social and linguistic prestige in their area. (Rojas Molina, 2008, pp.260-261) [authors' translation from Spanish]

Thus, despite the fact that this situation shows that resistant discourses have emerged and empowered speakers of vernacular varieties of language to use those varieties freely and recognize them as part of their cultural wealth, they still position the standardized linguistic forms at a superior level, and their own variety is stigmatized and marks the speakers' otherness as a colonial discourse perpetuated by colonized citizens. Thus, it is evident not only that colonialism is perpetuated by powerful countries, but also that colonized citizens enrich those discourses when they disregard their own local varieties.

Following the same trend of thought, Chinellato Díaz (2016) explains a similar phenomenon in a border area located in the Venezuelan and Brazilian territories where its inhabitants use a vernacular linguistic variety called *Portuñol*, which is a mixture of Spanish and Portuguese linguistic structures and is used mainly to carry out business between the dwellers of this border area. In his article, he gave an example of linguistic distinctiveness created by a resistant-based discourse, taking into consideration that Venezuelan citizens label the Portuguese language as the prestigious one when it is compared with their own language.

A glance at the linguistic attitudes of the Venezuelan border area citizens regarding the Portuguese language, shows that there still exists a favorable tendency towards the Brazilians' language, which is expressed through opinions that position the Portuguese language, on a cognitive level as a "necessary" and "important" language; and on the affective level as a "beautiful" and "pleasurable" language. (Chillenato, 2016, p.221) [authors' translation from Spanish]

Hence, resistant-based discourses have made Venezuelan citizens aware of the importance of using both languages as a translanguaging representation in which these languages play an important role in the interaction of the citizens of that border area. However, this discourse is overshadowed by the linguistic attitudes of Venezuelan citizens, in which their own language is underrated and under-positioned; this is a clear example of how colonial discourses are still implicit but concealed in resilient discourses.

To sum up, in this category the inclusion of bottom-up realities has emerged from the necessity to recognize contexts and contents as appropriate for specific instructional settings and as a way to verbalize painful experiences with the dominant authorities. As a result, resistant TPD programs have advocated for empowerment and revitalization of ethnic, cultural and linguistic resources as well for alternative voices for minority groups. However, recognition of particularities has also insisted on differentiation, otherness and segmentation of populations; and even though fragmentation may represent a solution to the controversy of social representativeness; cultural complexity and broader rationalities should not be disregarded; nor should the intrinsic tension produced by historical epistemological racism (González, 2011) and intelligence inequalities (Delgadillo, 2018). The following category has also developed in this context of tension.

4.2 Promoting over-and-above collaboration and reflective practice

This second category includes TPD programs driven by principles of diversity, multiculturalism, and multilingualism, which seem to support linguistic coexistence and collaboration among plural groups. This is the case of the Guyanese initiative called mother tongue participant (ILM-Intervenants en Langue Maternelle), formerly bilingual cultural mediators (MCB-Mediateurs Culturels Bilingues). Their main goal is to support the transfer of competences between languages as well as to open a full-fledged place for every single Guyanese language in the region (Launey & Lescure, 2017).

In addition to collaborative linguistic coexistence, elements in this category designate the pedagogical practices and actions taken not only to apparently resist hegemonic and colonial discourses, but also to be empowered and engaged in critical praxis (González, 2007). Hence, their goal is to facilitate encounters between various people belonging to different communities as well as people who have different education, to embrace their professional and linguistic background while validating their knowledge and expertise. As for instance, in a K-12 school in Colombia involving both EFL and content-area teachers:

[...] it was displayed that teachers resisted somehow these discourses by being involved in a community of teachers as they were encouraged to reflect, question, and vision new alternatives for bilingual education withstanding of learners, teachers, and school' needs. By doing so, they made decisions, contributed, and assumed responsibilities through dialogue and peer coaching; tools that served as an opportunity for de-privatizing their pedagogical practices while supporting the group's individual and collective professional development. (Camargo, 2017, pp.106-107)

On top of this, it was revealed that when professional expertise and knowledge among peers were endorsed, positive feelings such as trust, self-confidence and willingness were fostered, having a direct impact on the teacher's personal and professional identities and naturally, on their pedagogical practices. Even though the examination of teacher identity is beyond the scope of the present paper, resistant TPD calls on various memberships and affiliations that many teachers never realized they had. Consequently, professional identity may be problematic, since it can either be dysfunctional or not actively considered at all by the setting (Servage, 2009). In other words, professional identity may be fraught with diffuse, implicit and unexamined assumptions that offer, "few opportunities to openly express, test, and refine beliefs and practices" (Servage, 2009, p.153). The following excerpt taken from a Brazilian context reveals the issue previously discussed:

Interestingly, the majority of the student teachers agreed that their different backgrounds, especially their diverse teaching experiences, were an enriching component that allowed them to function complementarily. Because of this diversity, they were able to supplement each other in their weaknesses. (Vacilotto & Cummings, 2007, p.156)

Bearing this in mind, it can be asserted that further collaborative structures seem to encourage the disclosure of personal opinions and convictions with a view to looking at them afresh through reflective practice. This requires a process of observation, analysis, and collection of further evidence about various aspects pertaining to individuals per se, in order to allow for a more critical perspective and facilitate teachers' understanding about their roles and pedagogical practices (Richards & Farrell, 2005). The following excerpt from a resistant TPD program exemplifies this issue:

Constructing collective knowledge relies upon the strengthening of class-consciousness that reinforces the class character of social actors [...]. But in *buenvivir*, critique is accompanied by a radical questioning outside of developmentalist paradigms. [...] Constructing collective knowledge through dialogue strengthens political identities and sets forward a liberating practice based upon the rubric of living well as opposed to living better at the expense of others and nature. (Jaramillo & Carreon, 2014, p.398)

This finding reveals the heavy expectations that collaborative and reflective practice may bring to the process of teacher training. Although enrichment informed by reflection seems to be a valid improvement motivated by resistant TPD, it has also encapsulated teacher training within an unaccomplished and 'in-renovation' structure. In other words, resistant pedagogies have also been considered as emergent and uncompleted products that always require further reflection and development as their effectiveness is being measured with standardized and often foreign-constructed tests taken by the learners. That is, they are expected to have

immediate effects on the learner's learning process, as reported in Majerowicz and Montero's (2018) study of a large-scale national teacher coaching program in Peru:

We find that this kind of program, which provides continuous support to teachers over the entire school year focusing on practical classroom skills, has large, positive effects of between 0.24 and 0.34 SD on student learning outcomes measured in standardized test scores. Moreover, we find that all students along the test score distribution are benefiting from the program. (Majerowicz & Montero, 2018, p.30)

Bearing this in mind, what may be problematic here is, first, the minimization of populations through perpetual recreation and the 'under construction' label allocated to non-Western rationalities and, second, the limited acknowledgment given to TPD programs carried out in South America based on the constant comparison between western and non-western concepts of the world and societal development. The text cited below helps better illustrate this issue:

In some cases, teacher training is dismissed for the purposes of educational policies reforms. [...] It is necessary to promote teacher training as a core aspect of education but teachers' own expertise and praxis should not be disregarded. [...] Teachers' professional development is more than simple training, it is the product of pedagogical development, experience, knowledge, and a deep understanding of individual emotions and feelings of teachers as influential agents of educational processes. (Aguavil & Andino, 2019, p.85) [authors' translation from Spanish]

Supplementary to the aspects presented above, it has to be noted that *colonial* discourses with regard to knowledge construction are perpetrated by colonized citizens, meaning that TPD programs in most, if not all South American countries take the form of *peer coaching programs* where different educators reflect, interchange, and re-examine their practices (Rodríguez, 2008; Abad 2013; Alliaud & Vezub, 2014; García-Carrión et al., 2017; Questa-Torterolo et al., 2018). *Coaching* is understood mainly as a transfer process where an expert teacher (in terms of age, studies, experience) and a novice revise methodologies and approaches to a specific subject. Consequently, the idea of legitimizing knowledge still depends on vertical relations:

The newly qualified teacher (NQT) and the novice teacher both require someone to advise and support them [...] someone with whom to engage in the ongoing reflective discussion about the teaching-learning process. Novice teachers need a mentor teacher, who knows how to support, guide and supervise them [...] similarly; NQTs need a friendly knowing hand that will provide them with awareness, support, and company. This accompanying figure is the mentor. [...] The [...] 'wise counselor', guide, and adviser to younger or newer colleagues. (Abrahams & Farias, 2010, pp.114-115)

From the previous citation, it is possible to assert that relationships such as expert-novice, mentor-mentee, counsellor-counselled are established from the very beginning. Even though reflective and collaborative practice is promoted, this practice might disregard trainees' background, previous knowledge and experience. In addition, it hardly facilitates partnership where mutual relationships between equals take shape and where each participant contributes and learns from the other. Thus resistant-discourse based pedagogies, as elaborated in this category, are heavily grounded on an inequality axiom though they are based on reflective and collaborative practice.

This is due to the fact that there are obvious inequalities among languages and communities as well as unbalanced relationships between participants.

In addition, it is important to note that the inequality axiom of South American resistant pedagogies has been favored by a historical context of tension. In fact, these initiatives were born between subjugation and liberation, negation and valorization, exclusion and integration, and between autonomy and dependency. Those latent tensions are deeply rooted in feelings of ethnic and linguistic shame that ultimately play a central role in the establishment of collaborative relations. Consequently, positive aims connected to collaboration are in contrast with the prevalent sense of ethnic shame and linguistic self-devaluation inherited over generations and thus, they enable us to uncover the remarkable influence of painful colonial violence and segregation throughout history in the promotion of collaborative structures. The following excerpt supports this statement:

It is too early to predict the outcomes of the national bilingualism program set by the MEN, but it is worrisome to see how this project is repeating the same patterns of inequality, discrimination, marginalization, and segregation that were used to impose Spanish more than five hundred years ago. It is easy today to associate indigenous peoples and most Afro-Colombians with poverty and backwardness and to blame them for that, but if we look closer and carefully, we can see that the causes of their disadvantaged situation have profound roots embedded in our history and in an ideology of superiority vs. inferiority. (Guerrero, 2009, p.21)

Summing up, the continuous collaborative and reflective process, supported by resistant-discourse based pedagogies, suggests the need to apprehend and validate linguistic and cultural encounters, in order to provide for educators an opportunity to rethink, acknowledge and legitimize the use of the many languages spoken in South American territories. Nonetheless, it also conveys ideas of emergent and uncompleted pedagogies, which result in the minimization of populations and the perpetuation of vertical relationships deeply grounded in an axiom of inequality prompted by a historical context of tension and segregation.

5 Conclusions

In an attempt to summarize the results of this study, it is important to highlight that our main purpose was to depict and understand the *discourses of resistance* that have emerged in South America within a professional development context so as to obtain a general overview of the current state of this educational field and the way it has been spread in this territory over the last decades. Taking into account the categories previously discussed, it can be asserted that the discourses addressed here deal with the notions of both the *bottom-up* and *top-down* aspects (Fairclough, 1994), which produce a complex network of intertwined routes leading in many different directions.

At the outset, the bottom-up realities are said to be grounded in painful experiences and rooted in the desire to be recognized and valued as a legitimate context where different linguistic, socio-cultural, and ethnic realities converge. In this way, the population becomes empowered and minority groups' voices get to be heard. However, these bottom-up realities also implicitly perpetuate colonial ideas of differentiation and otherness because history is left aside and people go on being divided, leading to a fragmentation that still exists. In addition, it was evidenced that colonized citizens help in the perpetuation of colonial discourses (e.g., stratification of linguistic forms, inherent feelings of shame and inferiority).

Alternatively, the top-down discourses of resistance in TPD that have arisen in the diverse communities in South America are based on plurilingual and multicultural principles and plead for collaboration and critical reflection. This has favored encounters between people and has allowed teachers' identities to be revealed when observing, analyzing, and revising mutual pedagogical practices and approaches. Nevertheless, it was also noted that the notion of collaboration is based on an inequality axiom promoted by a historical context of tension and segregation. Besides, these pedagogies are labeled as emergent or unfinished because of two factors: (a) minimization of populations and (b) establishment of external canons and western realities as the only existing ones.

Finally, it was found that the resistant-discourse-based pedagogies studied here are also fuelled by movements that aim to defy hegemonic and homogeneous structures. For this reason the content of TPD programs should be problematized because they are often unconsciously associated with a certain set of long established - and in some cases mandated-ideas that reinforce limited visions of teachers, schools and classrooms. Mainstream TPD should be committed to a critical consideration of teacher education in order to continue to address the important challenge of endowing TPD with critical approaches that allow teachers to examine issues from multiple perspectives, to de-centre from personal orientations and recognize TPD as dynamic sites where previous knowledge, praxis and ideologies correlate.

6. Pedagogical implications and suggestions for further research

Based on the characteristics and understandings of resistant TPD presented above, the findings presented here not only helped us to clarify meanings about resistant discourses applied to TPD but also enabled us to create awareness about some issues that have been overlooked in the Latin American context.

To start with, the findings of this study provide evidence that the content of resistant-discourse based TPD is centered on cultural and linguistic identities as well as contextual characteristics responding to bottom-up dynamics. Moreover, the inclusion of contextual realities in teacher training in general could be prompted by the need for a deep understanding of a particular community, and even more by the desire to comprehend how individuals from that community conduct themselves, fulfill actions and use socio-cultural knowledge to manage local situations (Arens, 2010). As a result, the "new unit of teaching can no longer be the word, sentence, paragraph, icon or sign, [...] instead our target for teaching and learning needs to be the field of action and agency of an individual within [...] communities" (Arens, 2010, p.322).

In this same vein, including bottom-up realities may be a way to go beyond a mere presentation of minority groups, and cover a wide range of contexts. For instance, the option of giving voice to teachers-in-trainings' home cultures (which are generally absent from instructional materials) is regarded as an opportunity to access particular discourses of personhood and rationalities. Consequently, designers of TPD programs may also want to re-examine instructional content, approaches and assessments to ascertain that objectives in the areas of bottom-up discourses are met.

Although this paper did not aim to identify a definite cause-and-effect relationship between collaborative-reflective practice and resistant TPD, some of the findings give an indication of areas that may be helpful in understanding the role collaboration and reflection can play in teacher education. First, it would be worth favoring flexible and horizontal configurations for participation. Hence, teacher trainees could take their places as legitimate "users and producers of theory in their own right, for their own means and as appropriate for their own instructional contexts" (Johnson, 2006, p.240).

Secondly, more opportunities for collaborative and reflective practice, under the same conditions, are also needed so that teachers-in-training can develop real partnership with others. Furthermore, the results of this study draw attention to the value of extended collaborative and reflective partnerships in teacher training.

Even though bottom-up realities and collaborative-reflective practice seem almost too easy to defend, their inclusion into general teacher education should entail a high degree of planning because this change needs to be modeled, explicitly planned and controlled throughout the process of training. Collaboration and reflection, then, need to be closely monitored and supported by well-defined guidelines, clear goals and above all by well-trained teacher trainers. In this way, the inclusion of bottom-up realities and collaborative-reflective practice in teacher education presupposes not only the planning of activities and syllabi but also the training of the trainers.

Finally, the effects of resistant TPD programs need to be studied further. It would be useful to conduct qualitative studies with teachers to reveal whether and how they apply resistant models and practices in their own classrooms. Therefore, future research on the issue would require formal follow-up in order to provide further evidence for the outcomes presented here. In addition, it would also be useful to record retrospective perceptions of positive and negative aspects of resistant TPDs from the point of view of practicing teachers and learners, in order to substantiate the findings of the current paper.

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APPENDIX A

List of South American journals consulted

COUNTRY	JOURNAL
COLOMBIA	 Colombian Applied Linguistics Íkala Revista de lenguaje y cultura Matices en lenguas extranjeras Revista electrónica Lenguaje Profile Folios
VENEZUELA	 Entre lenguas Lengua y habla Revista clave Boletín de Lingüística
EQUATOR	ChakiñanAlteridadComhumanitas
PERU	• Lexis
BOLIVIA	Bolivian Studies JournalPunto CeroTinkazosPágina y Signos
ARGENTINA	 AJAL Anclajes Nueva Revista de Lenguas extranjeras Revista Lenguas Vivas Signo y seña

CHILI	Revista de lingüística teórica y aplicada Revista Signos Onomazein Literatura y Lingüística Lenguas Modernas Estudios Filológicos Cogency
URUGUAY	LingüísticaCuadernos de Investigación EducativaRevista Humanidades
BRAZIL	 Boletimdo Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi:Ciencias Humanas Calidoscopio Machado de Assis em Linha Cadernos de Linguagem e Sociedade - Papers on Language and Society Espaco Plural Revista Brasileira de Linguistica Aplicada Texto Livre BELT
PARAGUAY	 Acción, Revista Paraguaya de Reflexión y Diálogo Suplemento Antropológico: Revista del Centro de Estudios Antropológicos Revista de estudios paraguayos Revista paraguaya de sociología Población y desarrollo Revista Paraguaya de Educación Revista Paraguaya de ciencias sociales Revista Internacional de Investigación en Ciencias Sociales Revista científica Estudios e investigaciones
GUYANA	Langue et cité (Bulletin de l'observatoire des pratiques linguistiques) Repositorio de tesis Amerindia Faits de langue Liste des publications et communications 2017 (sedyl) Africultures Revue française de linguistique appliquée

APPENDIX B

Data reduction (second round of analysis)

MAIN PATTERNS	COMMONALITIES ACROSS COUNTRIES	DESCRIPTION OR STATEMENT OF MEANING	DENSITY
Resistance as alternative and differentiated pedagogies	Based on context and particular realities	Reads and takes into account setting and contextual realities	49
		Adopts context as a field of research and target for knowledge construction	12
		Aims at invigorating ethnic, cultural and linguistic sources and resources	17
		Aims at revitalizing cultural identities and traditions	14
	Unbalanced revitalization of ethnic, cultural and linguistic sources	Recognizes populations in a fragmented, simplistic and unconnected way (no historicity or holistic perspective for cultural complexity)	11
		Conveys ideas of distinctiveness and otherness (enforce differentiation)	18
		Colonial discourses perpetrated by colonized citizens	20
		Perpetuates hierarchical schema inherited from the colonial model (e.g. vertical relations)	70
	Activist-oriented	Validates resistance within educational settings	0
		Political training of Teachers	15
		Grounded on a painful experience of colonial violence	11
		Influenced by a deep desire to defy the power of the hegemonic and homogeneous state	24

In motion and unfinished pedagogies	Driven by principles of diversity, multiculturalism and multilingualism	Based on encounters among diverse populations	29
		Knowing own culture by recognizing the otherness	0
		Support Linguistics coexistence	30
	Grounded on collaboration and reflective practice	Promotes collaboration among plural groups (it might affect teachers' identity; it fosters positive feelings/emotions such as trust, confidence, etc.).	53
		Requires observation, analysis and collection of further evidence	0
		Promotes reflection on pedagogical practices (to be aware, to change) and it is expected to have an incidence on Ss' learning	39
	Minimization of populations	Minimization of populations on the behalf of perpetual recreation and 'under construction' label allocated to non-Western rationalities.	29
		Unaccomplished and 'in- renovation' structures	1
		Emergent and uncompleted products	8

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