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The Discursive Co-construction of Knowledge, Identity, and Difference: An Ethnography of Communication in the High School Mainstream

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This article describes the ethnography of communication as a viable, context- and culture-sensitive method for conducting research on classroom discourse. I first provide an overview of the method and its role in applied linguistics research and then present a study of discourse in mainstream high school classes with a large proportion of students who speak English as a second language. Drawing on social constructivist views of language learning and socialization that recognize the role of participation in language-mediated activities in people's development as fully competent members of sociocultural groups, I examine the macro- and micro-level contexts of communication within one content-area course. I focus on the discourse and interactional features associated with teacher-led whole-class discussions, examining the sequential organization of talk, including turn-taking and other features of participation, and explicit and implicit references to cultural identity and difference. The paper reveals the contradictions and tensions in classroom discourse and in a teacher's attempts to foster respect for cultural identity and difference in a linguistically and socioculturally heterogeneous discourse community. I conclude with a poststructural commentary on the ethnography of communication.

RESEARCH ON SOCIAL, LINGUISTIC, AND CULTURAL HETEROGENEITY IN CLASSROOM DISCOURSE

A topic of increasing concern in pluralistic societies, and especially in those undergoing rapid change, is how to create communities at school, work, and in the neighborhood that demonstrate social and ideological cohesiveness, harmony, and 'shared vision' for what can be accomplished collectively, yet also accommodate individuality, diversity, fundamental differences, and change. Issues of diversity and marginalization among adolescents attending public schools have recently been discussed widely in the mass media (e.g., 'the Columbine Effect,' *Time Magazine*, March 19, 2001), particularly since the highly publicized outbreak of violence at Columbine High School in 1999 in a relatively homogeneous, affluent, white suburban community in Colorado. Possibly more than years of earlier reports of bullying, violence, discrimination, suicide, and poverty among school-aged children, in and out of school,

that single incident, in which 13 people were killed by two students, was a dramatic reminder of the dangers and divisions in public institutions such as schools and in public discourse. It also revealed the pervasiveness of disgruntled and alienated students—individuals and groups who perceive themselves to be disenfranchised, unvalued, and different from the seemingly more popular, celebrated, and powerful mainstream.

However, in many classrooms, creating cohesive learning communities remains a worthy, albeit elusive, goal. Instead, some (dominant) voices and not others are valued and heard. Some students create constructive social and academic networks with other students and staff both inside and outside of class. Yet others are silent, marginal, and apparently disconnected and disengaged from peers, curriculum, activities, and discourse in the mainstream; or they are positioned by others in contradictory ways, as citizens and/or non-citizens, as model students and/or stigmatized, deficient students (Harklau 1994, 2000). These more silent students may face social exclusion as a result, perceived as intellectually inferior and socially inconsequential, a situation that carries with it serious risks, particularly for adolescents. Language-in-education scholars nonetheless maintain that classrooms can—and must—provide opportunities to create constructive, cohesive learning communities in which differences are accommodated and bridged, and where students and teachers negotiate their identities and subject-matter knowledge together in culturally respectful and equitable ways through social interaction (e.g., Cummins 1996; Faltis and Wolfe 1999; Wells and Chang-Wells 1992; Willett *et al.* 1999). The question is: How can this be accomplished?

Ethnographers of communication have been at the forefront of research examining communication patterns among groups at home and at school, as well as discontinuities or differences that may exist in behaviors across ethnolinguistic or social groups (e.g., Philips 1983). This article follows in that tradition. My goal is, first, to provide a methodological overview of the ethnography of communication (EC), and second, to examine data from my research on discourse in multilingual and multicultural classrooms using a form of EC. I focus on communication within high school classrooms, a site infrequently examined by applied linguists.

LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION, PARTICIPATION, AND IDENTITY

Language socialization refers to the linguistic and interactional processes that mediate newcomers' participation in routine cultural practices, such as language and literacy activities, and facilitate their developing competence and membership in discourse communities (Ochs 1990; Schieffelin and Ochs 1986). For example, in high school courses, recently arrived immigrant students, together with local students and teachers, encounter various discipline-specific sociolinguistic practices and activities in their L2. Students' participation in classroom activities such as discussions—perhaps peripherally

at first, through observation, and then more actively—becomes instrumental in their becoming fully fledged, more proficient members of a classroom or school speech community (Duff 1996; Morita 2000). Their participation, in turn, allows them to both reveal and develop aspects of their identities, abilities, and interests, in addition to their linguistic and content-area knowledge. However, variable levels of participation and mastery of local conventions may also accentuate differences among students and perhaps variable outcomes of language socialization. That is, being overly cooperative and vocal in class may be discouraged by certain peers but encouraged by teachers; and being overly uncooperative and vocal in class may be appreciated by some peers, but not by the teacher or by other classmates. Being too silent may also be evaluated in different ways. Students may choose to take an active part in classroom sociolinguistic events and practices—or not to—for various reasons, but they may also be prevented from fuller participation by the very practices and by the co-participants to which they seek greater access (Wenger 1998).

   Although language socialization models tend to imply that the appropriation of target culture norms and practices is *always* desirable, virtuous, inevitable, and complete, a greater range of possible intentions and outcomes actually exists, including non-conformity, partial and multiple community memberships and linguistic repertoires, and social exclusion. Seen in this way, knowledge and participation in educational activities are co-constructed and are crucially linked with issues of *identity*, *agency*, and *difference*—topics central to recent poststructural work in applied linguistics and social/cultural theory and also taken up here (Duff and Uchida 1997; McKay and Wong 1996; Norton 2000; Ochs 1993; Pennycook 2001; Rampton 1999; Toohey 2000; Wenger 1998; Woodward 1997).

THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF COMMUNICATION

Whereas language socialization provides a helpful theoretical perspective of the construction, negotiation, and transformation of knowledge, identity(ies), and difference(s) in and through educational discourse, the ethnography of communication (EC) provides a set of methods for conducting the research. First developed by Hymes (1974), EC is an 'integrative' method or framework for conducting qualitative, interpretive research in a variety of settings (Schiffrin 1994). Drawing on social and cultural anthropology, linguistics, sociology, and education, EC brings together etic and emic analyses of communication, and sometimes macro- and micro-level analyses of discourse as well, to examine 'patterns and functions of communication, [and the] nature and definition of speech community,' among other things (Saville-Troike 1989: 11). Whereas the emphasis in early EC research was 'ways of speaking' in and across different cultures,[1] EC now encompasses nonvocal verbal forms (e.g., written/signed language); nonvocal nonverbal forms (e.g., silence, gaze, graphics); vocal nonverbal forms (e.g., paralinguistic and

prosodic features, laughter); as well as vocal verbal forms (spoken language) (Saville-Troike 1989). EC studies did not initially deal with education and schooling. However, social and educational issues in schools in America in the 1970s and 1980s gave rise to seminal studies on language and literacy socialization in home versus school settings (e.g., by Heath 1983; Philips 1983; Scollon and Scollon 1981). Since then, EC has been conducted in educational settings in many other countries as well (Cazden 1986; Duff 1993; Farah 1997; D. Johnson 1992; K. Johnson 1995; Watson-Gegeo 1997).

Watson-Gegeo (1997) discusses four approaches to classroom ethnography, which she labels *ethnography of communication* (EC), *micro-ethnography*, *discourse analysis*, and *critical ethnography*; of these, she considers EC studies 'the most comprehensive in their treatment of community culture, values, and interactional norms' (1997: 137). Dividing studies into these categories can be problematic though, because most ethnographic classroom research involves a combination of ethnographic description, micro-analysis of events, and discourse analysis, and researchers themselves seldom character-ize their studies as just one or another type. Furthermore, various other related (and overlapping) approaches or labels exist, such as *constitutive ethnography* (Mehan 1979), *interactional ethnography* (Green and Dixon 1993a, b; Green *et al.* 2002), *sociolinguistic ethnography* (Heller 1999), and *interactional sociolinguistics* (Goldstein 1997; Green and Dixon 1993a; Gumperz 1982; Kantor *et al.* 1992; Rampton 1995; Roberts *et al.* 1992; Willett *et al.* 1999). The approaches differ not only analytically in some cases, but also ideologically in the degree to which they encourage a critical discussion of social and cultural processes. Perhaps for these reasons, and because of differences in researchers' primary goals and training for doing aspects of the work, many studies are simply described as 'ethnographic'[2] and not 'an ethnography' or '*the* ethnography of communication.'[3] Thus providing an 'exemplar' of EC for this special issue is admittedly rather presumptuous and problematic. Nevertheless, this composite of approaches I will refer to as EC shares some features with other applied linguistics research: (1) it attempts to identify 'what a second language learner must know in order to communicate *appropriately* in various contexts in that language, and what the sanctions may be for various communicative *shortcomings*' (Saville-Troike 1989: 9; emphasis added[4]); (2) a focus on *oral communication* and *social interaction* in learning and socialization (Gass 1997; Hall 1993; K. Johnson 1995); (3) an analysis of *speech events*, *activities*, or *tasks* as crucial sites for learning, speaking, and performing; and (4) a concern with *contexts* or *ecologies* of language learning, socialization and use (Duff 1995; Duranti and Goodwin 1992; Lantolf 2000). Two differences are that EC focuses on communication patterns across cultures, and data triangulation is frequently used to ascertain participants' perspectives of their own cultural practices.

ETHNOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS: MACRO VS. MICRO, ETIC VS. EMIC

Some EC incorporates both macro- and micro-levels of analysis in studies of classroom discourse. Obtaining a macroscopic perspective in EC requires studying the social, cultural, and historical contexts for communicative events, uncovering attitudes and patterns of communication, and understanding such macro-functions as the 'establishment or reinforcement of group identity' (Saville-Troike 1989: 14). Studies combined with interactional sociolinguistics or critical theory (e.g., Fairclough 1989) may address issues connected with ideologies of school reform, individualism, bilingualism, multiculturalism, racism, and power relations (e.g., Freeman 1996; Toohey 2000; Willett 1995; Willett *et al*. 1999). They may also explore the multiple, sometimes contested identities, perspectives, values, and practices of individuals and groups; the discourses and tensions associated with observed practices; and the sociohistorical factors that gave rise to them (Canagarajah 1993; Katz 2000; McKay and Wong 1996; Schecter and Bayley 1997; Thesen 1997).

   Macro-ethnographic studies of school settings are often far-ranging works that may or may not include discourse analysis or excerpts of recorded discourse, but examine the discourse contexts and ideological worlds in which members of a culture or group operate, often over a substantial period of time (e.g., Gibson 1988; Harklau 1994; Heath 1983). Full-length EC studies usually combine macro- and micro-analyses, noting the larger socio-educational and socio-political contexts and issues surrounding language education and use and academic achievement (Watson-Gegeo 1988). They may also analyze how the macro is constituted in or by micro exchanges and how points of tension between native and imported (or local vs. newcomer) orientations to schooling are manifested. For example, my EC research in Hungary (Duff 1993, 1995, 1996) revealed how a combination of macro- and micro-level analyses of communication within classrooms—and within schools and society—helped capture the evolution of discourse practices there and the tensions sometimes accompanying such changes at both the macro/societal and micro/classroom discourse levels. For the latter, I analyzed a pervasive, culturally significant instructional activity (*felelés*, or 'giving an account' of previous lesson content through recitation) that was being contested and modified in some school contexts, illustrating at a micro-level the changing discourses surrounding democracy and education taking place at the macro-societal level. Pertinent macro-level factors therefore included socio-educational and political democratization, changing language policies, curricular innovations such as dual-language education, and their implementation across schools in different regions of the country. Combining my outsider (or *etic)* and others' insider (or *emic)* accounts allowed me to identify the structural discursive attributes of certain classroom practices and also their ideological and practical significance for teachers and students. The triangulation or

comparison of different perspectives of changing sociolinguistic practices in EC studies such as this, through interviews in addition to observations, strengthens the credibility (or validity) of analyses and interpretations.

In some studies, the larger sociopolitical, cultural, and/or communicative context is implicated by a fine-tuned analysis of just one part of the whole situation even in the absence of extensive fieldwork or macro-analysis. This is done by means of a 'micro-ethnography' or 'ethnographic microanalysis of interaction' (Erickson 1992):

> Ethnographic microanalysis portrays immediate human interaction as the collective activity of individuals in institutionalized relationships who, as they enact daily life locally in recurrent ways, are both reproducing and transforming their own histories and that of the larger society within which they live (Erickson 1992: 222–3).

Micro-analysis in EC often focuses on the discursive elements shown in Table 1.

Bringing together macro- and micro-analyses and etic and emic perspectives can be very challenging logistically, in terms of data collection, analysis, and reporting. As in all empirical research, data reduction is necessary, often achieved by the principled selection of a limited number of representative activities, discourse samples, and focal research participants from a much larger study, sometimes in combination with a quantification of general

Table 1: Common foci for micro-level discourse analysis in EC

- Speech acts, questioning, turntaking, repair, cohesion, contextualization signals, thematic/information structure (e.g., Chaudron, 1988; Gee, 1996; Roberts *et al.*, 1992; Schiffrin, 1994; van Lier, 1988)
- Code-switching (e.g., Goldstein, 1997; Gumperz and Hymes, 1972; Rampton, 1995)
- Personal pronouns (e.g., *I/you*; *us/them*) and their sociolinguistic or discursive functions (e.g., Gumperz and Hymes, 1972; Poole, 1992; Toohey, 2000; Harklau, 1999; Wortham, 1992)
- Grammatical particles (e.g., *ne* in Japanese; Cook, 1999; Ohta, 1999), and their socio-affective content/function (Ochs, 1990)
- IRE (or IRF) analysis (Mehan, 1979): Initiation-Response-Evaluation interaction patterns (e.g., Cook, 1999; Gutierrez, 1994; Hall; 1998; Losey, 1995; Ohta, 1999; Poole, 1990; 1992); and role of the Evaluation move specifically (e.g., Cazden, 1986; Duff, 2000; Gutierrez, 1994; Hall and Verplaetse, 2000; O'Connor and Michaels, 1993; Wells, 1993)
- Silence and its significance (e.g., resistance, fear, sulking; Losey, 1997, Tannen and Saville-Troike, 1985)
- Recurring structures that signal boundaries between/within activities and their functions (Gumperz, 1982)

patterns across the data set and more macroscopic contextualization. One strategy is to track focal activities, participants, and types of discourse across time and settings (Green and Dixon 1993a, b). For example, McKay and Wong (1996), Toohey (2000), Willett (1995), and Harklau (1994) focused on the sociolinguistic practices, experiences, and identities (or 'discourses') of three to four immigrant students. Another strategy is to present data from a small number of lessons or activities from a much more extensive corpus, to address specific theoretical issues (e.g., Gutierrez 1994; Wortham 1992). Some studies focus on just the first days of exposure to and participation in new activities—that is, the critical, initial induction of students into new practices, situated within a larger ethnographic study (Brilliant-Mills 1994).

Examples of activities examined in L1/L2 research using a combination of ethnography/EC and discourse analysis include: oral academic presentations in graduate school seminars (Morita 2000); elementary school reading activities and other seat work (Ernst 1994; Toohey 2000; Willett 1995); quiz reviews (Poole 1990); journal sharing (Gutierrez 1994); class discussions (e.g., Hall 1998; Losey 1995; O'Connor and Michaels 1993; Wortham 1992); and literacy activities in various academic fields (e.g., Atkinson and Ramanathan 1995; Harklau 1994; Lemke 1990; Ramanathan and Atkinson 1999; Scollon *et al.* 1999).

In what follows, I combine EC with discourse analysis in my examination of the co-construction of knowledge, identity and difference in/through classroom discussion in high school classes. I will provide some layers of macro-level contextualization but will concentrate on events in two lessons (from a larger study) that illustrate issues of variable participation, socialization, and positioning in—and through—classroom discourse.

THE STUDY AND SCHOOL CONTEXT

This study focuses on language use and socialization in an ethnically mixed Canadian Social Studies 10 (SS10) course. Whole-class, teacher-led discussions constitute a common but sociolinguistically complex instructional activity. The analysis takes into account the teacher's overriding objective of creating a respectful, inclusive classroom culture and then examines the way classroom participation is organized, and the linguistic resources and behaviors that position participants in ways that foreground the differences as well as connections among them.

The research site was 'Westside High,'[5] a stately 60-year-old Western Canadian secondary school (grades 8–12) located in a large metropolitan area.[6] Approximately 50 per cent of its 1300 students were of Asian descent and 2 per cent were First Nations (aboriginal) students; the remainder were mainly white students with northern and western European backgrounds, including a sizable Jewish population. About 60 per cent of the school's students ($n = 831$ in 1998–99) were English-L1 speakers and most of the others ($n = 400$) were either Mandarin or Cantonese speakers (*Accreditation*

Report 1999). The average ESL population across elementary and secondary schools in the same very large school district is roughly 50 per cent. A fairly dramatic influx of Hong Kong Chinese and Taiwanese students had occurred over recent years; in the case of the former, because of the uncertainty about the impending return of Hong Kong to Chinese rule in 1997, and for the latter, for economic and social reasons such as entrepreneurial investment, better educational prospects, or the avoidance of compulsory military service for male children. Smaller numbers of other Asian newcomers arrived during that same period, e.g., Japanese, Korean, Filipino, and Punjabi, either for independent short-term international educational stays or, more commonly, family immigration. The 'ESL students' or 'non-native English speakers' (NNESs), terms I use synonymously here,[7] included what I will call 'newcomers' and 'oldtimers' (following, e.g., Gibson 1988; Harklau 1994; Wenger 1998)—typically, students who had been in the country for, say, 1–3 years vs. 6–10 years at the time of the study; I refer to Canadian-born students whose L1 is English as 'local' students. These are descriptive (etic) terms that capture students' origins and also their length of residence in Canada. Students generally did not use these terms themselves (*newcomers* was used by the teacher, as well as *ESL students*, *NNSs*, *Asian students*, etc.). Students used the terms *Whites*, *Caucasians*, ('*real*') *Canadians* and *English speakers*; and *Asians*, *Asian-background students*, *Chinese*, *Orientals*, *ESL students*, *the students who don't speak English*, and *the newer immigrants*.

  The local students, newcomers, and oldtimers were all in the process of negotiating their sociocultural identities and communication practices at school and in the community, while also trying to develop new social networks and academic skills in an English-dominant setting with a major Chinese presence. When the study began, the school administration was concerned about issues of *respect* and issues of the sociocultural *integration* of minority groups within the life of the school. This concern also surfaced in interviews with various school personnel and later in a school-wide program evaluation (*Accreditation Report* 1999). My interest in the mainstreaming and integration of newcomers in content classrooms and in classroom communication processes helped me obtain permission to do research at that school.

DATA COLLECTION

Westside High had a total of 70 teachers, mostly white, native English-speakers in their thirties to fifties, 12 of whom were Social Studies teachers. Over a two-year period, I attended SS10 classes offered by two teachers: a woman named 'Pam' ('Ms/Miss Smith') in 1997–98, and a man named 'Bill' ('Mr Jones') in 1998–99.[8] Both teachers, locally educated white Anglo-Canadians about 30 years of age, were recommended to me because they were open-minded, socially progressive, enthusiastic and committed teachers who had taught at the school for a few years already. I selected SS10 classes because (1) ESL students are mainstreamed into humanities courses at this

grade level; (2) social studies is considered a difficult subject for ESL students (Duff 2001); (3) SS10 deals explicitly with issues of Canadian culture, national identity(ies), narratives of the past, expository texts, and persuasive talk about current social issues, thus providing rich linguistic and propositional content;[9] and (4) the observed SS10 classes reflected the school's mixture of local, oldtimer and newcomer students.

My analysis here is restricted to Pam's SS10 class. After spending about half a year negotiating access to the site and completing various ethical review procedures, I observed and recorded Pam's classes from January to June, 1998. I also informally observed several other courses taught by her and her colleagues that year and the following year, and spoke with different teachers and administrators at the school, and also interviewed the students on different occasions. I observed SS10 classes approximately once a week, or every third lesson (generally Wednesday afternoons, Pam's preference). To understand the school culture better, I occasionally attended other school events, such as orientation evenings for parents, assemblies, and a school dance. I also had access to school and course documents, including certain curriculum guides, assignments, students' course notes, and exams.

Of the 28 students enrolled in the course, there were 17 non-native English speakers (NNESs). Of the total, 19 students (and their parents/guardians) consented to participate in the study,[10] which involved taking part in audio/video class observations and/or interviews: 10 local students, from First Nations, Punjabi-Canadian, Chinese, and mixed-European Anglo-Saxon ethnic backgrounds; 8 non-local NNESs; and 1 Canadian-born student, Kim, whose L1 status—Korean or English—was unclear[11] (see Table 2). Most of the native English speakers (NESs) were not members of visible minorities. There was only one Caucasian male in the class (Thomas), a pleasant, shy boy with diagnosed learning disabilities, who participated in the study but was mostly silent in class.[12] In addition to the Cantonese or Mandarin speakers in Pam's class (Bradley, Mark, Mary, Andrew, Ron, Anita, Carla), there was a fully English-proficient Korean–Canadian student named Kim, an ethnically Chinese Indonesian 'international' student on a student visa named Barb, an outspoken Punjabi girl (Janet), who referred to her background as 'East Indian,' and an aboriginal student (Caroline), who lived on a nearby Indian reserve.

CLASSROOM AND LESSONS

The SS10 classroom was a bright, wide, 2nd-floor room containing two parallel rows of desks (see Figure 1), and colorful anti-racist posters and student projects displayed on the walls. Students sat in self-selected groupings: the female Taiwanese students (Mary, Carla, Anita) sat next to each other on the left side of the front row; the male Chinese-background students from Hong Kong and Taiwan (Bradley, Mark, Ron, Alex and several non-research-participants or NRPs) sat in the same row to the right of the girls. On the far right in the back or along the side (near the door) sat a clique of animated,

Table 2: Student research participants in SS10

Student Name (pseudonym)	Home Language (L1)	NNES/ NES	Yrs/Generations (Gs) in Canada, if known	Status: local/ oldtimer, OT/ newcomer, NC	Ethnicity/ country of origin
Caroline	English	NES	indigen.	local	Musqueam First Nation
Lynn	English	NES	4G	local	Chinese/S.Africa
Janet	English	NES	3G	local	Punjabi/India
Susan	English	NES	2G+	local	AS/New Zealand
Liz	English	NES	2G+	local	AS/UK
Lori	English	NES	2G+	local	AS/UK
Thomas	English	NES	2G+	local	AS/New Zealand
Bev	English	NES	ind/2G+	local	Cree First Nation & AS
Glenda	English	NES	2G+	local	AS/UK
Eve	English	NES	2G+	local	AS/UK
Kim	Korean & English	?	1 gen.	local	Korean
Mark	Cantonese	NNES	10 yrs	OT	Chinese/Hong Kong
Bradley	Cantonese	NNES	8 yrs	OT	Chinese/Hong Kong
Ron	Cantonese	NNES	3 yrs	NC	Chinese/Hong Kong
Mary	Mandarin	NNES	2 yrs	NC	Chinese/Taiwan
Barb	Indonesian	NNES	2 yrs	NC/int'l student	Chinese/ Indonesia
Andrew	Mandarin	NNES	2 yrs	NC	Chinese/Taiwan
Anita	Mandarin	NNES	1.5 yrs	NC	Chinese/Taiwan
Carla	Mandarin & Cantonese	NNES	0.5 yr (+1 yr USA)	NC	Chinese/Taiwan

AS = Anglo-Saxon/Western European

talkative local girls (Caroline, Janet, Susan, Liz, Glenda). On the left side of the back row were several generally less outspoken local students (Thomas, Lynn, Lori, Bev, and Eve). In the center of that same row sat a few other Asian-background girls (Cantonese NRPs) and Barb. Because required courses at the school had multiple sections and students each had different timetables, they often knew only the classmates sitting nearest to them. Many still did not know their classmates' names, let alone other aspects of their identities, even toward the end of the academic year. Pam taught seven different courses and

saw 175–200 students each week, so was not very familiar with each student herself either. She had experimented with different seating plans to mix students a bit more, but they eventually returned to their own preferred arrangements. Thus identity and difference in this class were constituted by seating arrangements as well as by other classroom practices.

Classroom discussions were a very common format Pam used to explore the SS10 history curriculum, which she revealed, in interviews, was boring otherwise, a point with which local students concurred. Local students, in particular, said they enjoyed discussions during which they could exchange opinions and news items. Pam used various other activities to address the diverse learning styles and abilities of her students, such as group-based reading for which students read and reported on assigned pieces of larger texts, art work, drama, music, films, fieldtrips, and lectures (see Duff 2001). With few exceptions, students reported that they appreciated the variety of activities in this class, and that it was a refreshing change from the textbook-based lectures that had dominated their previous SS courses. But accommodating and integrating ESL students more fully into her class was something Pam conceded, both privately to me and publicly in one of the lessons, was a challenge.
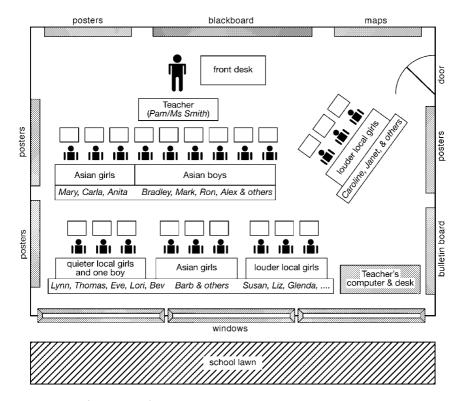

Figure 1: The SS10 Classroom

The concepts of culture, perspectivity, and positionality ran through Pam's course. She wanted to present issues from multiple perspectives and through different kinds of texts and media. The course outline emphasized that in her class 'respect for one another is the only rule.' In an interview, she explained that she was committed to creating an inclusive class in which all students were encouraged to share their perspectives and opinions about social issues; she wanted to elicit different student 'voices' or opinions, even if they disagreed with her; and she had a few 'very strong rules about homophobia, racism and sexism' and a 'hidden agenda' to 'make the curriculum inclusive when it comes to gender.' Dealing with aboriginal issues in interesting, innovative, and respectful ways was another of the school's and her own curricular priorities.[13]

FOCAL LESSONS

Excerpts from two hour-long lessons on April 15 and May 1, 1998 (hereafter Lessons 1 and 2) illustrate issues surrounding the integration and participation of ESL students in mainstream classroom discourse. In both classes, discussions were connected with films the class had just seen, days before, about aboriginal culture and history: *The Spirit of the Mask* in Lesson 1 and *Where the Spirit Lives* in Lesson 2 (see Table 3). Pam also referred explicitly to aspects of Chinese culture and several Chinese students were called on. Lesson 1 contained a longer preamble of current events discussion and a shorter film discussion, so three of the four excerpts come from Lesson 2, which dealt with issues of naming, cultural change, segregation, and participation in greater depth. In discussions in many other lessons, the involvement of NNES students was less evident and therefore less helpful in an analysis of global participation patterns. I have selected excerpts which show how Pam tried to make connections with and for the non-local students in particular; responses to her solicits; and a constructivist analysis of the interactions and their possible consequences. For student participants who are named in the following discussion, please refer to Table 2 for details about their ethnicity, L1, and length of residence in Canada.

SEQUENTIAL AND CONSEQUENTIAL TURN-TAKING: INTERACTIONAL DISPLACEMENT AND POSITIONING

The sequencing and distribution of turns among participants has been a central focus of much EC research because it is felt that the patterns of interactions (e.g., IRE) and different types of initiations, responses, and evaluations are connected with variable learning possibilities. Here I explore some of the tensions and dilemmas that emerged in the allocation of turns to students in this SS10 class (comparable patterns were also observed in Bill's class).

In large group discussions, students normally raised their hands to bid for a

Table 3: Overview of lessons 1 and 2

Lesson 1 (Wed. April 15, 1998, 1–2:05 pm)	**Lesson 2** (Fri. May 1, 1998, 9:55–11 a.m.)
1. Greeting by Teacher	1. Daily announcements (10 a.m.)
2. Management items	2. Brief greeting by Teacher
3. Current events	3. Management items
4. *The Spirit of the Mask*: Main lesson content	4. *Where the Spirit Lives*: Main lesson content
• significance of masks; connection to Chinese culture; naming, etc.; EXCERPT 2	• corporal punishment: EXCERPT 1;''turning White'' (EXCERPT 3); ''banana''; *Joy Luck Club* book/movie (EXCERPT 4); being ''caught in between'' cultures; participation.
5. Seatwork	5. Reading
6. Conclusion	6. Review sheet and test format
	7. Film clip of news

turn and only one student was supposed to speak at a time. However, newcomer and even oldtimer non-local students infrequently bid for turns themselves, particularly in whole-class discussions, despite the injunction in the course outline for students to 'come to class ready to participate in discussions, debates, conversations, group work and individual work.' Local students like Janet often blurted out comments or answers without raising their hands though, in which case they might be reminded to bid for and wait for their turns, especially if others were speaking or wanting to speak. Janet was, in fact, an exceptionally talkative student in this class. In Lesson 2, for example, whereas the teacher took 160 turns (6540 words), Janet alone took 65 turns, producing 1326 words. In contrast, Liz took 19 turns (247 words); Susan took 9 turns (186 words);[14] Lori took 7 turns (149 words total); and Bradley took 13 turns (42 words). A number of others who could be identified (e.g., Kim, Mary, Mark, Caroline, and Glenda) took 10 or fewer turns, totaling 4–132 words each.

To facilitate more active participation by NNES students, Pam often called on them by name to speak or indicated them nonverbally; she often asked Bradley and Mark for their input because she had taught both of them in her English course two years earlier and thus knew them and their abilities quite well. It was in this manner, in Excerpt 1, that she called on Mary for her reactions to the corporal punishment depicted in the film about life for aboriginal students in residential schools.[15] Prior to this excerpt, local girls (but no others) had taken 14 turns in which they had made utterances connected with their initial reactions to the film. For example, Lori had said: 'it's uh horrible how they thought that + they [teachers/school authorities] were doing the right thing except that + instead of + teaching them (xx) . . . they [aboriginal students] were like sexually assaulted.' This was followed by a

stretch of turns by Pam (4 turns) and local students (10 turns) dealing with another matter, conflicting views about aboriginal language use depicted in the film and whether their L1 use should be punished or permitted. Then in Excerpt 1, Pam returned to the topic of corporal punishment that she had introduced 19 turns earlier, when she had said: 'corporal punishment . . . happened in the 1930s . . . but in the 1980s or even the 1970s it's hard to even imagine . . .'.

Excerpt 1: Corporal Punishment (Lesson 2)[16]

1 Teacher: ((talking about role of L1)) . . . Um corporal punishment do you know what that means? Corporal punishment? It's when you're allowed to hit + kids as as a way of - as a way of punishing right? And I know that some of you have experienced that - in uh in Taiwan and Hong Kong and possibly Korea? Um - so - you know it's not something - it's a theory that's totally dead in the world but it's certainly something we saw there [in the film]. How did you feel when you saw the scene of corporal punishment? ((indicates unnamed and unidentifiable NNES student))

2 Student: Corporal punishment.

3 Teacher: (xx) how did you feel?

4 Mary: (xx)

5 Teacher: Yeah did it make you feel uncomfortable? Did you feel like oh it's okay it's normal or?

6 Mary: To me it's normal.

7 Teacher: Yeah? ++ Okay ++ and Lori? ((Lori appears to have her hand up))

8 Lori: I kind of felt ashamed + to see that I was watching + like what my ancestors did to people and + how they thought it was okay.

9 Teacher: Mhm + yeah + and actually that comment that you said too, I'll give you a hint about your essay question on the test + um remember that Sinead O'Connor song I played for you

10 Lori(?):   Mhm

11 Teacher: about coming to terms with our past? Sinead O'Connor. Right? And so Lori's comment has a lot to do with that like how do we feel about what our ancestors have done . . .

When Pam asked Mary for her reaction to the corporal punishment in the film, Mary gave a short inaudible response in Turn 4, then in Turn 6 said that corporal punishment was 'normal to her,' repeating something Pam has offered as a possible response. Then Lori volunteered that she felt 'ashamed' because of what her 'ancestors' had done, thinking it was 'okay' or normal. Picking up on this point, Pam linked what Lori said with the content of a

Sinead O'Connor song they had listened to about 'coming to terms with our past.' Several turns later (not shown), Janet expressed her disgust at the way children were abused at the schools.

However, being aligned with a normalized view of corporal punishment, as in Mary's case, positioned her and possibly other Asian-background students whose countries had been mentioned in two ways: (1) sympathetically, as people who had endured hardship, or (2) less sympathetically, as people whose cultures were backward and barbaric. This latter positioning was perhaps the more likely, in light of Lori's comments about the shamefulness of the abuse depicted in the film (especially sexual abuse), and Pam's expressed difficulty to 'even imagine' corporal punishment, because it was 'a theory that's totally dead in the world' (Turn 1). In these and later comments, Pam strongly repudiated the institutionalized physical abuse. Yet Lori chose to affiliate herself with the white perpetrators of the abuse ('her' ancestors) some 60 years earlier (Turn 8), a point and stance that Pam picked up on in Turn 11 about having feelings and a sense of responsibility for the past. Thus, various kinds of discursive positioning (cf. Harré and van Langenhove 1999) were being done by Pam and the students in this text (and in many others)—positionings of themselves and others' past and present roles and responsibilities in the world.

Not only did the content of teacher's and students' utterances play a role in positioning themselves and others in various ways (e.g., as insiders or outsiders, as empathetic or not), but so too did the sequencing, allocation, and distribution of turns in SS10 discussions. For example, sometimes when Pam asked a question of Chinese students, others such as Janet spoke *for* them, even about Chinese cultural traditions, indicating that knowledge of another culture was not confined to members of that cultural group or that they might not be capable of responding. For local students to take turns in this manner was also pragmatic: it reduced potential lag or wait- time between turns or the need for the teacher to negotiate the responses given by NNESs. In addition, it enabled certain local students to identify themselves with discussion topics and to have their voices heard. This phenomenon is illustrated in Excerpt 2, during a discussion about the film in Lesson 1. Seeking intercultural associations between First Nations and Chinese cultures again, Pam mentioned the word *connections* once in Turn 1 with respect to tributes to ancestors and three times in Turn 28, in relation to culture, discipline, and martial arts. She specifically tried to include some of the Chinese students in the discussion of masks, naming, and paying respect to ancestors, beginning with Turn 1.

Excerpt 2: Chinese Ancestors (Lesson 1)

1 Teacher: And also the idea that they [film] talked about um sh! ((to students who are chatting)) ++ ancestors and offerings and rituals to ancestors ++ well there's obviously a connection to

		Chinese culture there right? Is there? Uh offerings to your ancestors? Can anyone explain ++ the importance of ancestors or =
2	Janet:	= They tell you where you came from and um ++ what sort of how they were brought up and ((T: 'Caroline, sh!')) that they carried on like they paved the way for sort of some of the things you have today?
3	Teacher:	Right okay. What specifically though ((T tells Susan: 'sh!')) in uh Chinese culture ++ are there any specific things that are done for the ancestors?
4	Caroline:	Oh yeah they well ++ no I ++ all I remember is ++ um they ++ they do them like they burn stuff to . . . grow the spirits like (xx)
5	Kim:	Incense.
6	Teacher:	Kim can you tell any more about that?
7	Kim:	No.
8	SSS:	((laughter))
9	Teacher:	Can anyone help Kim and Caroline out? They're on the right track.
10	Janet:	(xx)
11	Teacher:	[Name of Chinese-background non-participant in research] can you help them out? ++ No? Anybody else? Bradley?
12	Bradley:	(xx) to (stop?) like burning money (xx)
13	Teacher:	Yeah?
14	Student:	(xx)
15	SSS:	((Students laugh—Chinese male students laugh loudly))
16	Teacher:	Anyone else?
17	Student1:	And (xx) when (xx) two days (xx) specially (the holidays) and the spring.
18	Teacher:	So what special days would that be? Like the day they died or are [they special
19	Student1:	[They not (xx) only necessarily two days in the year that have (xx) (September the ninth?). . .
20	Students:	Uh April the fifth.
21	Teacher:	So that one just passed then.
22	Student1:	No no. Yeah just passed.
23	Teacher:	And did you go and do it?
24	Student1:	(xx)
25	Student:	(xx)
26	Teacher:	Oh right so you would have had to go back [to that country] but somebody else was probably doing it for you? Right? And this is one reason that ++ it has to be a male ancestor right?
27	Student:	Uh no it doesn't have to be just as long as you respect (xx)
28	Teacher:	Okay. Interesting right? So there's another connection to ++ uh Chinese culture. I think um ++ there was another

> connection when they talked about discipline. . . . I think
> that there's obviously connections with martial arts there
> right?

In Turn 1, Pam asked the Chinese students in front of her to explain how Chinese culture shows respect for one's ancestors. However, before anyone else could answer, Janet uttered Turn 2 and Caroline provided additional information in Turn 4. In Turn 6, Pam followed up on something Kim had said in Turn 5 about incense. However, Kim chose not to elaborate on incense and rituals of ancestor worship (Turn 7), causing students to laugh, apparently at her noncompliance.[17] Pam again tried to solicit a response, suggesting that the two previous speakers, Kim and Caroline, obtain 'help' from their Chinese-background peers, Linda (an NRP) and Bradley, in Turns 9 and 11. All that could be picked up in the recording and transcription process were brief phrases and otherwise inaudible expressions in lines 12, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 24, and 25 from unidentified Chinese students at the front, providing little coherent information for the rest of the class. Pam did not rebroadcast the comments to the class in the way she responded to Lori's comment in Excerpt 1, and classroom decorum eventually disintegrated. Therefore, Pam's desire to make connections for and with the Chinese students may have been successful to a degree, but her attempts to engage them were also stymied by other more spontaneous local speakers in the class who spoke for them. The Chinese students' responses, moreover, were often incomprehensible or unforthcoming, suggesting that they were perhaps unable or reluctant to be aligned with ancestor worship through incense-burning, and thereby potentially positioned as Asian, alien, non-Christian, and so on.

In summary, Excerpts 1 and 2 reveal how in whole-class discussions such as these, non-local students' contributions tended to be short, muted, tentative, and often inaccessible to others. As a result, they forfeited—or resisted—opportunities to convey aspects of themselves, their knowledge, interests, and opinions to the class, or to make the personal connections for others, valued social and cognitive practices in SS10. Observed tensions in attempting to make cross-cultural and discursive connections were not unique to this class, of course. Teachers are often encouraged to draw on students' background knowledge, cultures, experiences, and opinions (e.g., Short 1999), even with controversial topics. However, the underlying cultural assumptions, identity issues, and ramifications of such attempts must be examined closely. Having students report on events, customs, and values in other countries or cultures in a personal, authoritative way can be counterproductive when students do not *want* to or are unable to speak about cultural practices with which they do not currently identify—or at least choose not to publicly identify in mainstream classroom contexts (see examples in Harklau 1999).

Variable turn-taking behaviors can have additional socio-affective consequences as well, a finding that became apparent during a long discussion of

naming in Lesson 1. This topic was selected because of the upcoming renaming of the school; it was to be given an aboriginal name as well as its English one, because of the original aboriginal ownership of the property. This was in turn linked with the spirituality of naming in aboriginal and other cultures, and the cruelty of forcibly renaming children in residential schools in the film. Students were then asked to tell each other and then the whole class about the meanings of their own names before a discussion of how they would feel if their names were taken away and replaced by numbers. The local students and Pam nearly all (except, e.g., Thomas) discussed publicly, over several turns each, the origins of their names, often adding humorous comments about what they or others had said about the selection of names. Therefore, on many occasions the local students and teacher displayed their identities, affiliations with others, and sense of humor, and Pam could respond to students' comments with friendly repartee as well. The non-local NNES students, on the other hand, only spoke after the long sequence of local classmates, again typically providing only minimal responses. Furthermore, since those who did respond usually sat very close to Pam at the front, this meant that she might be able to hear them but others sitting further away could not. Therefore, the participation patterns of non-local students had many contributing factors, most of which were mentioned by them in interviews, and not just linguistic ones related to proficiency: their previous educational socialization and cultural orientation toward in-class speech, psychological fears of criticism or of being singled out, content-related issues, such as a lack of familiarity with aboriginal issues, perhaps ambivalence about discussing their own names or joking about them (although there was some laughter among the Chinese students when some of the boys discussed their names), social status, as perceived ingroup vs. outgroup members, and interactional factors connected to other students' turn-taking behaviors and responses to their utterances. Unfortunately, these factors in turn made non-local students seem interactionally slower, silent, unknowable, and thus 'other.' This perception was also exacerbated by my difficulties hearing and transcribing softly spoken utterances and because half the NNESs in the class (especially newcomers) did not choose to participate in research interviews during which they could have provided perspectives on their own and others' classroom interaction patterns.

Students' identities are not static, however, despite their frequent representation as such and the use of categorical labels ascribed to them, including in this article (Duff and Uchida 1997; Spack 1997; Thesen 1997; note 8). Aware of this tendency and of the different waves of immigration represented in the school and community and issues of intercultural and intergenerational 'difference,' Pam broached the topic of 'identities in transition' in Excerpt 3. She began by exploring the term 'turning White' from the film in Lesson 2 and the adolescent aboriginal protagonist's predicament of being 'caught between cultures' as she negotiated her own Native cultural values, which the schools forcibly tried to eradicate, and the

cultural values and viewpoints of the Anglo/white majority imposed by the school. A discussion of the intercultural and racial term 'banana' followed:

Excerpt 3: 'Turning White,' Becoming 'Bananas' (Lesson 2)

1 Teacher: Um and the other - the last point I wanted to bring up uh 'You're turning White.' Remember they were talking about that?
((some intervening turns about what the phrase means and then . . .))

2 Teacher: Um - there is the sense that she can't win either way . . . The kids start to reject her and she's very much caught in the middle and can't win either way and I think that's a really important thing to remember for what happened to many First Nations people who went through the residential schools. They were *lost* because - if they succeeded at all - even if they didn't they were being brainwashed - in the residential schools . . . So she's really caught in between the two cultures and they think there are a full generation or more of people, they are caught in between. Not fully accepted in their own culture because they've they don't understand it - they don't - they reject quite a bit. They act differently and all that and certainly not accepted in the mainstream culture. So a really hideous position to be in. Maybe - some people can relate to that. I've heard the term um - banana. Anybody heard this? Bradley what does it mean?

3 Bradley: (I don't know?)

4 Teacher: Mary what does it mean?

5 Mary: It means um (xxx)

6 Teacher: Yeah? . . . And when someone calls you banana is it a compliment?
(5.0)

7 Student: (xx)

8 Teacher: No. Right?

9 Student: Banana?

10 Teacher: Okay.

11 Janet: What does it mean?

12 Liz: Usually refers to Chinese (xx) ((very quietly))

13 Teacher: And what is it? What do you? How does it (xx)?

14 Liz: (xx) ((too quiet to hear))

15 Teacher: You know I mean how do people call you that? What do they mean?

16 Susan: They're not saying in a good way

17 Teacher: No - what do they really mean? If they're not saying anything good but what are they saying?

18 Susan: They're saying that - you're not really - Chinese.
19 Teacher: Yeah. So you look Chinese - but you're not really Chinese so
                you're kind of being rejected by the people of your own
                culture. Right? And then on the other side - white people are
                being racist against you because you look different. So where
                are you ? You're totally caught in between. You're totally lost.

Pam produced a long turn (Turn 2) about how hard it must be for people like
the protagonists in the film as their identities and practices change after many
years of being 'brainwashed' and oppressed in the residential schools, and
with people from their own cultures then telling them they now do things in
a 'different,' 'weird,' and 'funny' way. She imagined it was a 'hideous
position' for them to be in. She then related this phenomenon to the term
'banana,' and turned to Bradley and Mary for an explanation. Unsatisfied
with the answers, in Turn 11 Janet asked for clarification about the meaning
of 'banana.' At last in Turn 18, Susan explained: 'They're saying that you're
not really Chinese.' Pam elaborated on this response in Turn 19, tying it in
with the notion of being 'caught in between cultures.'[18]

   Immediately following this, in Excerpt 4, Pam mentioned the movie/book
The Joy Luck Club, which dealt with intercultural and intergenerational issues
affecting Chinese-Americans, with which Susan, Caroline, and Janet
immediately aligned themselves favorably. (Later, when someone mentioned
Chinese food, they responded in a similarly positive manner.) But before a
Chinese student could respond to Pam's prompt at the end of Turn 4, Janet
offered her own narrative of alienation and *difference* (repeated several times)
from the 'East Indian' newcomers and oldtimers at her former school.

Excerpt 4: 'Caught in between Cultures' (Lesson 2)

 1 Teacher: Has anyone ever seen the film or read the book *The Joy Luck
               Club*?
 2 S,C: Yeah.
 3 Janet: Oh it's such a good movie.
 4 Teacher: Okay? Quite interesting because they explore that a little bit.
               There's this generation of - kids who are - born in the United
               States - take on American values - but - they're tied to their
               own ways too and so they're very caught in between . . . but
               the Chinese people aren't yellow . . . but this is the term.
               Right? . . . and it's an insult. Right? So really this sense of
               being caught in between. Did you guys [x ((directed toward
               Chinese students))
 5 Janet: [. . . I've uh + been through that. Actually + (xx) in grade nine
               + eight up. Okay so + I was I was East Indian by + because
               that's where my ancestors came from + but as far as they
               [newcomers/oldtimers] were concerned + I was + the

brownest white person they knew because I couldn't speak the language + um + like I was just so much different from them + according to them + I was just I was just different like. Okay they'd be friends with me + but they'd always see me + differently + . . . and I didn't know what to believe or + so it was it was it was tough because I went - it was a whole year of all that + and it was it was definitely a different feeling . . .

6   Teacher: Good. Mark. Um how about you? Have you ever experienced any of that?

7   Mark: Not really no

8   Teacher: You were born in Canada right?

9   Mark: No.

10   Teacher: Oh I thought you were. Okay is - I always assumed you were because you were in my grade 8 English class I guess. Um

11   Kim: I was born here.

12   Teacher: Okay Kim how about you? Have you experienced that?

13   Kim: No.

14   Teacher: No?

15   Kim: No.

16   SSS: ((some laughter))

17   Teacher: None of this complex stuff you've ever experienced?

18   Kim: No.

19   Teacher   Interesting.

By means of this narrative—and also her interactional behavior—Janet established the degree to which she was not only different from students at her former school, but also within this current discourse community; she differentiated herself from new immigrants (at both schools), but also revealed the alienation that resulted from being considered different. In fact, at this school, where there were relatively few Punjabi students, she was also 'different,' which may be why she moved back to her former school the following year. In Turn 6, Pam acknowledged Janet's very personal revelation with 'Good' and then immediately asked Mark about his intercultural status, assuming he was born in Canada. He explained that he was not born in Canada, nor had he experienced being caught between cultures. Kim, on the other hand, quickly volunteered in Turn 11 that she *was* born in Canada (i.e., was not an immigrant)—yet she persistently rejected being positioned as someone 'caught between two cultures' or perceived by self/others as 'a banana,' by uttering 'no' three times in response to Pam's questions along these lines, even to the point of causing some of her classmates to laugh in Turn 16 (as in Excerpt 2). In other words, Pam did not obtain the explicit connections or self-disclosures of biculturalism or intercultural anomie she sought from the non-local oldtimer students. Immediately following Excerpt 4 was a discussion of segregation in the classroom that dramatically illustrated the parallel co-construction and negotiation of identity/difference through

turn-taking behaviors and through the propositional content of turns (cf. Wortham 1992). A brief summary of that discussion follows: Pam stated that segregation existed in this SS10 classroom, a point indirectly related to the film, but Janet insisted that it was not based on language and culture, but was more a social phenomenon, reflecting the desire to sit with friends. But when Pam asked local students whether they had newcomer friends, they admitted that they *couldn't* have friends who didn't speak English well—frankly eliminating the majority of the class from their pool of potential friends. In other words, up to 17 non-local students were sidelined, removed from the discussion and now explicitly rejected from the social worlds of the local students. Paradoxically, this interaction occurred during Pam's attempt to raise awareness of the problem of segregation and, she later told me, her desire to foster greater social integration across groups.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The preceding examples illustrate how one teacher in two mainstream SS10 lessons implemented an official and personal ideology of respect for cultural diversity and difference, social justice, and empathy for others, and also attempted to engage both local and non-local students meaningfully in discussions related to culture. She did so by deliberately allocating turns to certain students and by including specific course content. In several cases described above, however, her attempts to have students make cultural connections based on their own backgrounds, cultures, and experiences did not yield the kind of revelations or commentary she sought. That is, the students did not take up the identity positions she attributed to them, or did not produce elaborated or highly personal, introspective responses. Instead, local students often seized the opportunities to talk, in a way that simultaneously revealed aspects of their identities and differences from others in their midst.

'Local' (NES) and 'non-local' (NNES) students, despite my binary categories, represented internally very heterogeneous groups; both included outspoken, less studious class members as well as more subdued, diligent students. Nevertheless, members of the class tended to see the groups as sociolinguistically and linguistically distinct entities—a phenomenon reinforced by classroom topics, seating arrangements, and interaction/participation patterns—based on easily perceived visible and audible cues (see Table 4). It became clear that a mantle especially difficult for the ESL students to shed was their 'hearable identities' or their apparent status as accented, not-fully proficient English speakers (Miller 2000). In a similar study, Miller observed that visible difference from the dominant population was less an obstacle for Chinese-Australians than was audible difference for integration into the mainstream, an observation strongly supported by my observations and interview data. Chinese-background students in my study seemed relegated interactionally to a second-class 'other(ed)' existence in the midst of a group of highly vocal local students, led principally by Janet and some of her friends.

Table 4: Paraphrased interview comments about in-class participation, socialization, and attitudes across groups

Comments from Local (NES) Students (*n* = 8)	Comments from Newcomer/Oldtimer (NNES) Students (*n* = 8)
''Oriental population'' doesn't want to say wrong thing; their English isn't very good; they're constantly told to ''speak up!'' (Janet)	''Asian Ss'' are afraid their English isn't good, they'll be laughed at, shunned. (Bradley)
''Cultural walls'' exist; people don't interact with those who are different; some are more talkative/ opinionated; ESL Ss are trying to comprehend; difficult for them to make spontaneous comments (Caroline)	''ESL Ss'' sometimes don't understand; younger (elementary) Ss can socialize more with people from other places; difficult for high school Ss (Mark)
''Asians'' aren't very social; they're very quiet; don't speak unless asked; shy. My friends are not ''newer immigrants''—they're more ''Canadian''; their English is very good and they're almost exactly like me (Susan)	English-speakers stick together; others do the same; it's not good; difficult to talk to others because of language; we are afraid, feel left out; they don't like us; children don't have the same problems with racism; some say we are ''freaks'' (Carla)
[ESL Ss] are doing their thing and we're doing ours; confident ''loudmouths'' speak but don't care about what they say; Asian Ss are shy (like me), don't participate much; language barriers are a problem; my friends were born here (Bev)	There's racism toward Ss who don't speak English well (Anita)
''Asian Ss'' participate less than others— they're shy speaking English; ''Caucasians'' stay with their own friends; cool, popular, loud Ss speak most in class; T gives everyone a chance (Eve)	It's hard to make friends with Canadians; the girls are mean (not SS10); Taiwan classes have 40–50 Ss; we don't talk or discuss (Mary)
T wants all Ss to participate; most don't. Major groups are ''Chinese'' and ''English;'' I'm Canadian-Chinese, not ESL. Female Ss speak more; males are still learning English. Ss don't like to interact with people with different L1. (Lynn)	My friends are mostly Korean and Japanese; in class I listen; some Ss like to give their opinions (Barb)
One S [mostly] speaks during discussions. Some Ss are shy; Ts shouldn't single out [quiet] Ss; big barrier between two totally separate groups in class (''Chinese'' and ''non-Chinese''); we don't socialize. (Glenda)	I don't like discussing; I'm not a good speaker; I'm shy. If Ss who've learned English a shorter time speak maybe people will laugh; better relations with own culture (Ron)
90% of Ss never speak, esp. ''Asian'' Ss; they're shy; they speak too much Chinese so can't understand English; my friends aren't Chinese (Lori)	When some of my friends speak (not SS10), Canadian boys laughed; if I speak, some ''White people'' won't understand; it's uncomfortable. (Alex)

(T = teacher; Ss = students)

Interview comments, combined with observations of in-class social interaction, provided further evidence of the social networks of students and their views of in-class participation and socialization (see Table 4). Non-local students said they were afraid of being criticized or laughed at in class because of their English. Silence protected them from humiliation. However, interactional withdrawal attracted disdain from local students (who confirmed this), for whom silence represented a lack of initiative, agency, or desire to improve one's English or to offer interesting material for the sake of the class. The NNES students were therefore caught between what appeared to be two unfavorable options: silence or mockery and hostility. As Janet admitted in Lesson 2, ''Cause we all like . . . stare right at that [ESL] person as soon as they're + called on to talk + and like I don't mind 'cause I'm loud and opinionated anyway + but for someone who isn't like that would be hard.' Silence and difference were therefore co-constructed phenomena with various root causes, interpretations, and reactions (Losey 1997; Tannen and Saville-Troike 1985).

Ironically though, seemingly reticent students who did not seem to have appropriated the 'local' norms of classroom interaction (e.g., as desired by Pam, Janet, Susan, and others), like Mark and Bradley, were academically superior in the course in terms of grades based on other kinds of performance which counted more than oral presentations and discussions, and they were seen as role models within the newcomer/oldtimer groups, including both Cantonese and Mandarin students, although both boys were Cantonese originally from Hong Kong. They were also well regarded by Pam, who had taught them in an earlier grade and seemed not to realize in Excerpt 4 that Mark was not born in Canada; she often called on them to speak about Chinese issues with some authority (e.g., her questions in Excerpt 2, Turn 11, and Excerpt 3, Turn 2, which she directed at Bradley). While not as forthcoming as Janet or Susan, who provided comments without being asked, they responded to Pam's requests in specific excerpts, albeit in a generally quiet and brief fashion. Thus, rather than be seen as purely passive participants, they were also exercising their agency, by participating to the extent that they thought was worthwhile and allowing others to have their say, knowing full well that those students were not necessarily 'good students.'

Conversely, local students like Janet and Caroline earned lower grades in SS10 and other courses because of relatively weak written performance on assignments and tests and were considered at some risk of failing the course, according to Pam and the students themselves, although they eventually passed. Both, for example, were required to attend a Study Skills class, for additional academic support. For them, oral discussions were a platform to express themselves and to gain some measure of public recognition, demonstrating their superiority in at least one area, oral English, and in their ability to speak about matters of personal and general knowledge or, in the absence of knowledge, at least active interest. Having no outspoken local male students to compete with also may have contributed to their confidence

in speaking so freely. These local students and some of their academically stronger friends wielded considerable power in the classroom by means of their oral participation: by aligning themselves with certain topics, stances, and people; by concurring with friends (thus also indicating who their friends were); by laughing appreciatively at funny comments made by one another; by joking with Pam; and by giving others content to respond to in positive ways. Because they volunteered more turns containing more content, they also provided more material for the teacher to respond to and potentially align herself with as well (e.g., Pam's response to Lori's comment at the end of Excerpt 1). Both in interviews said they valued Pam's consideration, fairness, and receptivity to their opinions, a comment repeated by others as well. Kim, on the other hand, was a student somewhere between these two extremes: academically gifted, somewhat defiant, undeterred from speaking in class when *she* chose to do so but not when called on or when positioned culturally in particular ways. In other words, Kim was a student with her own sense of agency *vis-à-vis* discourse socialization practices.

These students' contributions (or even resistance, as in Kim's case) made the class more interesting for one another, according to their respective interview comments and from their laughter and other responses in the transcripts. However, while they enjoyed countless opportunities to publicly display and negotiate their own interests, attitudes, and identities over the course of the year, both oldtimer and newcomer students remained relatively unidimensional in the eyes of other students, with identities as silent, attentive student (e.g., Mark, Bradley) or apathetic, absentee student (e.g., Alex, Ron). The 'Chinese' students, like their classmates, were simultaneously negotiating a number of different identities, discourses, and expectations—including expectations from their own peers about how they should behave and speak, and which language they should use and when, whether Mandarin, Cantonese, or English. Bradley and Mark, for example, had been learning Mandarin, informally, to communicate more easily with friends and classmates from Taiwan.

Therefore, one point that requires further consideration in an ethnography of communication such as this is the extent to which students actually *want* to display their identities and personal knowledge in class or to conform to dominant, normative local sociolinguistic behaviors—that is, whether they consider those behaviors and disclosures as signs of competence or incompetence, of strength or weakness—a community standard and ideology toward which they *choose* to become socialized, or rather something they just endure, resist, or circumvent by demonstrating their capabilities in other ways. Fully English-proficient and quite articulate, and always eager to offer her opinions, was Janet the community standard bearer for language socialization? If so, for whom? Some students, in interviews, indicated (without naming her) the most 'outspoken girl' in class was quite 'rude,' a 'loudmouth.' What about Kim, who was academically much stronger than Janet, participated in many additional extracurricular activities, and was more

fully literate? Language socialization models typically assume that 'novices' will learn to participate like 'experts' or more proficient peers, with time, mentoring, and experience. However, my observations revealed that the non-local students' interaction patterns during class discussions did not change markedly over the year, and students like Mark and Bradley who had been in Canada for nearly a decade didn't participate like Pam or Janet or other local classmates. They didn't seem to need to. Instead, they had other multilingual repertoires, literacies, expertise, and identities to draw on and use in the multiple discourse communities they belonged to locally and internationally. Local students in Pam's class, on the other hand, appeared to have fewer such resources or experiences to draw upon, despite what appeared to be their fairly successful socialization into English oral academic discourse in SS10. Academically, however, their prospects may have been more limited. Thus, the language socialization processes at work were more complex than those theoretically oriented to one dominant set of 'appropriate,' stable, mono-lingual (in this case L2 English) norms that novices aspire to and eventually master.

Further evidence of their multiple repertoires and the highly situated nature of linguistic practices is that in their ESL classes, newcomers said they participated very actively in class, freely revealing aspects of their cultural interests and identities. Others, such as Mark, Bradley, and Susan, said that in elementary school, but not high school, they had enjoyed having friends from diverse backgrounds and had co-mingled easily; but by high school, their interests and social affiliations had become more rigidly ethnocentric, for reasons they couldn't fully explain. Mark, for example, confided to me at the end of his interview that he regretted not being able to befriend local youth as he had when younger, while living in another Canadian city with fewer Chinese newcomers. Moreover, variable levels of active participation among local students also suggested that there are different ways of participating in class discourse and of being socialized, not all of them requiring immediate, active personal responses or self-disclosures. For some local students, shyness and not indifference was the reason for their participation style.

Regardless of their personal aspirations and preferences, some students did appear to be receiving greater social recognition in class than others. In the SS10 classroom discussions, turn-taking, alignments, taking sides and speak-ing for others created a local community or network of those who took an active role in co-constructing knowledge together about the same topics, and those who didn't (cf. Schiffrin 1993). The teacher's role in validating comments, rebroadcasting them, and aligning herself with students, topics, and stances also modeled and facilitated participation for students in some cases, including those less confident in English (Duff 2000; O'Connor and Michaels 1993), but in other cases positioned students in awkward ways: as having had difficulties of one type or another (e.g., because of experiences with corporal punishment, not having local friends, feeling segregated, intimidated, or caught between cultures, or simply being unable to speak

up for the rest of the class). Everyday interactions such as these positioned students within different communities—the very communities students may or may not have wished to venture out of. At the same time, identification with the sizable Chinese community in the school garnered Chinese students a degree of social, cultural, linguistic, and academic solidarity (albeit one not appreciated by their local classmates) and in the long run, their acceptance by these local peers might not have been important. In the short-term, however, some non-local students revealed (see Table 4) that they felt sociolinguistically both marginal and marginalized at school because of the attitudes and interactional behaviors of classmates. Thus, Pam's attempts to foster a cohesive, interconnected classroom discourse community in which students all were able to participate actively in discussions fell short of her goals and desires on a number of occasions, a theme she mentioned to me, with some regret, after many classes.

SOME CONCLUDING REMARKS: STRUCTURAL VS. POSTSTRUCTURAL DIRECTIONS IN EC

This study employed EC to consider how students' identities and interpersonal differences are created and manifested through interaction patterns during classroom discussions. Unlike many past EC studies, I did not provide an indepth structural analysis of the boundaries of the activity (beginning, middle, and end), or explicit instruction provided by the teacher about how to participate in different phases of one activity, or explicit sanctions for non-compliance. Nor does the analysis focus on just one type of linguistic structure or framing device. Rather, I combined content and interaction analyses of turn-taking in discussions as parallel manifestations of how knowledge, identities, and differences are established and maintained by members of a classroom 'community.' The excerpts I chose dealt intentionally with Chinese culture(s) or the experiences of Chinese students in Canada, and these topics were being intertextually and interculturally connected with the aboriginal content in films.

I conclude with several metamethodological comments, connected with both EC and my findings. Despite the advantages of EC as a culture- and context-sensitive method for conducting classroom research, a critical poststructural/postmodern reanalysis of ethnography has been underway for many years. At issue are aspects of authority and representation, researchers' perceived essentializing or objectivizing of people, cultures, and practices; unacknowledged power differentials between researchers and those researched; issues of cultural complexity and evolution within any speech community; issues of validity; and practical and rhetorical issues connected with publishing work in short articles and regarding the forms, voices, and genres of ethnographic writing (Athanases and Heath 1995; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Scollon 1995; van Maanen 1995; Edge and Richards 1998). The fundamental concepts of *culture* (Atkinson 1999; Bhabha 1994; Kubota 1999),

community (vs. 'communities of difference' and 'imagined communities' in sociolinguistics; e.g., Baynham 2000; Prinsloo 2000), and *communication* (Cameron 2000) so central to EC are also being re-examined, as are judgements about 'appropriate' ways of speaking, and the highly situated nature of *competence* and its development. These critiques of ethnography and its underpinnings are important but in my view should not detract from the need for applied linguists and other education researchers to examine communication patterns and problems facing members of society using both existing and emerging traditions. Large numbers of minority students in schools worldwide are at considerable risk of alienation, isolation, and failure because of the discourse and interactions that surround them on a daily basis. EC analyses can help uncover (potential) communication problems and suggest alternatives to existing practices.

A final comment concerns the need to reflect on one's positionality as researcher. As a university researcher, I entered this school as an outsider seeking to understand language socialization processes from various vantage points: those of administrators, teachers, and students, and from my own observations and analyses. The discussants and anonymous reviewers of an earlier version of this paper questioned my seemingly uncritical alignment with the teacher(s). This is a valid concern; note, for example, my use of 'Pam' rather than 'Ms Smith' (see note 8). My initial goal was to conduct a thick, contextualized description of speech events as they exist and not to find fault with the participants who, under no obligation to do so, tolerated my presence in their classes week after week and revealed their views and (sometimes) personal/professional struggles to me. Moreover, as a teacher myself, I understand the dilemmas and challenges teachers face trying to accommodate an ethnolinguistically diverse student body. Nevertheless, communication patterns I observed across lessons revealed the complexity and the contradictions connected with turn-taking and with positioning oneself and others in particular ways—patterns that I think are worth examining, considering, and critiquing, not only in others' classroom interactions, but also in one's own.

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NOTES

1 EC commonly analyzes communication using the 'SPEAKING grid' developed by Hymes, describing Setting and Scene; Participants; Ends; Act Sequences; Key(s); Instrumentalities; Norms of interaction and interpretation; and Genre(s) (Schiffrin 1994: 142).

2 Scollon (1995), like several other critics of 'ethnographic' research in applied linguistics research finds a 'miniaturization of the concept of culture' in some classroom research, which risks losing sight of the 'broader contextualizing goal' of true ethnographic research (1995: 382).

3 For a more complete discussion of ethnography/EC relevant to language education and applied linguistics, see Athanases and Heath (1995), Davis (1995), Duranti (1985), Green *et al.* (2002), Jacob (1987), Ramanathan and Atkinson (1999), Schiffrin (1994), Scollon and Scollon (1995), and Watson-Gegeo (1988, 1997). For earlier collections on EC, see Bauman and Sherzer (1974) and Gumperz and Hymes (1972).

4 This perspective assumes that the target language community's standards are fair and reasonable and that complete sociolinguistic conformity is both possible and desirable. However, many current educational ethnographers are more circumspect about the use of the terms (1) *appropriate* and (2) *shortcomings*, which assume that (1) what NSs or older peers and adults do is necessarily appropriate and there are shared views of what constitutes appropriateness; and (2) that the source of communication breakdown or other difficulties is novices or NNESs, rather than being a sociolinguistic/discursive coconstruction.

5 All names of teachers, students, and the school are pseudonyms.

6 This particular school was selected because it was comparable in many ways to another site in the same school district and vicinity at which my colleagues and graduate students were conducting parallel research on ESL classroom discourse; (immigrant) parent-school communication; and a variety of issues connected with the integration of language and content instruction in schools with large populations of ESL students.

7 I recognize that the use of terms and labels such as these, as well as 'native' and 'non-native,' 'Chinese,' and referring to 'culture' in the singular is problematic—that is, the labels can perpetuate the very marginalization or crude deterministic categorization that participants or researchers may wish to overcome; the use of 'mainstream' likewise is overly simplistic (Kubota 2001; Spack 1997). Furthermore, the use of the term *native* was ambiguous for some students, because of its use within the school to refer to aboriginal students. However, EC generally looks at the communication behaviors and values of cultural or ethnolinguistic groups and these terms had a kind of ecological or emic validity, based on observed practices and also on terms used by students and teachers in interviews (e.g., Table 4).

8 In and out of class, students at the school invariably referred to their teachers as Mr/Ms + Last Name (LN). My use of pseudonymous first names for the teacher simply reflects our reciprocal first-name (FN) use and the accepted naming practice among teachers at the school. I am aware that my use of teachers' first names reflects a certain alignment with them rather than reporting from the perspective of students with Title + LN. I have tried to represent students' views in other ways. Since my relationship with the teachers was a cordial, professional one and I was a guest in their classrooms, it was not my intention to provide a highly critical discourse analysis or ethnographic account of teachers and the way they talk to students. To do so would violate the spirit of the agreement we entered into when the teachers accepted me into their classes. (See also note 10.)

9 I did research in high school SS classes in Hungary for the same reason (Duff 1993).

10 Ethical guidelines and procedures for undertaking research in Canadian schools are very strict and increasingly difficult to negotiate, especially where videotaping is

involved. Formal written permissions must be obtained at various levels (university, school district, school, teacher, student, parent/guardian) in response to a written explanation about the nature of the research and the obligations of all parties. Other teachers I had approached declined to participate. At any time teachers or students may withdraw their participation. In this study, those who did not consent to participate ('non-research-participants', NRPs) were almost all ESL students from Chinese backgrounds, mostly recent immigrants from Hong Kong. Some of the NRPs were identified by Pam as academically stronger than those who agreed to participate (e.g., Alex, Ron). Doing EC-related classroom discourse analysis is very problematic, obviously, when so many students/parents choose not to be included in such a study. Fortunately, the NRPs tended to speak in class only when required to, which was not often. As per agreed procedures, I positioned the videocamera in such a way that NRPs were not filmed and explained that I would not use images or utterances that could be identified as theirs. Eventually, Pam requested that I use audio instead of video because, even after the study was well underway, Janet, Caroline, and others who sat closest to the camera were intentionally directing off-task, sometimes off-color, asides at the camera which Pam found distracting. For audio transcripts, identifiable utterances from NRPs have been eliminated; however, in some instances, it was impossible to distinguish among students' responses and occasional utterances from unnamed students may have unwittingly been included but not analyzed.

11 Pam told me that Kim was a Korean NNES, perhaps the brightest student in the class; her friends in the class thought she was Canadian-born. Although she had agreed to take part in an interview with me, she was the only one unable to do so despite several attempts; thus, my uncertainty about her L1. In Lesson 2, she declared that she was born in Canada.

12 Bill's class had a greater balance in numbers of male/female local students and fewer newcomers, and local males took a more active role; however, the NNES students

were no more vocal during class discussions in his class than in Pam's.

13 The school was situated on what had originally been aboriginal property. It also had a special program, including support services, for aboriginal students, partly in response to the high drop-out rate among this group (the majority did not graduate). During the same period, aboriginal land claims agreements were being negotiated in the province and there were ongoing attempts to honor and revitalize First Nations languages and cultures in the community, at the local university, and provincially.

14 Liz's and Susan's voices were quite similar and they usually sat together; thus, it was sometimes difficult to distinguish between their audiorecorded voices and turns.

15 These were the boarding schools that aboriginal students were often forcibly sent to in the late-19th and 20th centuries for the purposes of assimilation. They have been the subject of ongoing investigations into abusive practices and crimes against students.

16 Transcription conventions are as follows: [indicates overlap; a short unattached dash is a very brief pause; + is a pause of about half a second; ++ is a pause of about one second (I have not included the exact length of short pauses for reasons of transcript readability); other numbers refer to timed pauses; underlined words were spoken with emphasis; latching or the immediate continuation of talk from one turn to another is shown with =; ellipted material is shown with . . .; speakers are identified to the extent possible by their pseudonyms; T = Teacher (called 'Ms Smith' in class); comments about the interaction appear in doubled brackets (( )); unclear words appear in single brackets ( ); (x) refers to one unclear word; (xx) to two unclear words; [ ] provides a referent for a potentially ambiguous item.

17 Kim was considered a top student in the class by her friends and teacher—an observation that emerged from comments made when tests were returned, and privately by the teacher—but she seemed to contest the 'model minority' status conferred on her in a number of ways (e.g., by not answering

the teacher's questions, downplaying her grades, not participating actively in the research interviews or providing her class notes—which were excellent—after having agreed to do so, by not sitting with or doing projects with the academically strongest students in the class, and by other behaviors that were noted during the course of this study).

18 Although the term *banana* might seem to be racist and was used in derogatory ways in the past (Pam indicates in Excerpt 4 that it is an insulting term), it is now commonly used by Asian-Americans and Asian-Canadians to refer to their own hybrid identities (i.e., as being superficially or racially 'yellow' but culturally 'white' or westernized to varying degrees because of their upbringing in North America). In 2001, for example, a Vancouver-based publication called *banana magazine* (devoted to 'Asian Canadian lifestyle and culture') produced by and for young Asian-Canadian adults from various ethnic backgrounds was launched (see http://www.bananamag.com). In an article about the new magaine, Moscato (2001) reports that the title initially proved very controversial within the Asian-Canadian community, particularly among those over 30 years of age, but that older readers are now 'reclaiming the word' as well (2001: 2).

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