

TABLE OF CONTENTS



QUARTERLY

Volume 31, Number 3 - Autumn 1997

*A Journal for Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages
and of Standard English as a Second Dialect*

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Advertising arranged by Ann Perrelli, TESOL Central Office, Alexandria, Virginia U.S.A.

Typesetting by Capitol Communication Systems, Inc., Crofton, Maryland U.S.A.

Printing and binding by Pantagraph Printing, Bloomington, Illinois U.S.A.

Copies of articles that appear in the *TESOL Quarterly* are available through *The Genuine Article*®, 3501 Market Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104 U.S.A.

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Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, Inc.

US ISSN 0039-8322



QUARTERLY

CONTENTS
SPECIAL-TOPIC ISSUE: LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY PRINT PDF pp.

ARTICLES

- Language, Identity, and the Ownership of English** 409 (10-30)
Bonny Norton
- Identity and Intonation: Linking Dynamic Processes in an ESL Classroom** 431 (32-51)
Brian Morgan
- The Negotiation of Teachers' Sociocultural Identities and Practices in Postsecondary EFL Classrooms** 451 (52-87)
Patricia A. Duff and Yuko Uchida
- Voices, Discourse, and Transition: In Search of New Categories in EAP** 487 (88-112)
Lucia Thesen
- Language Socialization Practices and Cultural Identity: Case Studies of Mexican-Descent Families in California and Texas** 513 (114-142)
Sandra R. Schecter and Robert Bayley
- The Idealised Native Speaker, Reified Ethnicities, and Classroom Realities** 543 (144-161)
Constant Leung, Roxy Harris, and Ben Rampton

THE FORUM
Theorizing Social Identity

- What Do We Mean by Social Identity? Competing Frameworks, Competing Discourses** 561
Tim McNamara
- Social Identity and Language: Theoretical and Methodological Issues** 567
Jette G. Hansen and Jun Liu

TEACHING ISSUES

- The Identity of the Nonnative ESL Teacher**
- On the Power and Status of Nonnative ESL Teachers** 577
Cecilia Tang
- Race and the Identity of the Nonnative ESL Teacher** 580
Nuzhat Amin

BRIEF REPORTS AND SUMMARIES

- English Is My Native Language . . . or So I Believe** 585
Shondel J. Nero
- Language and Cultural Identity: A Study of Hmong Students at the Postsecondary Level** 593
Susan Boshier

Multiple Perceptions: Social Identity in a Multilingual

Elementary Classroom 603

Judy Hunter

Communities of Resistance: A Case Study of Two Feminist

English Classes in Japan 612

Cheiron McMahill

Identity Formation for Mixed-Heritage Adults and Implications for
Educators 622

Dana L. Pao, Shelley D. Wong, and Sharon Teuben-Rowe

Reconstructing the Professional Identity of Foreign-Trained Teachers
in Ontario Schools 632

Hanne Mawhinney and Fengying Xu

REVIEWS

Ngugi wa Thiong'o: An African Vision of Linguistic and Cultural Pluralism 641

Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature

Moving the Centre: The Struggle for Cultural Freedoms

Petals of Blood

Ngugi wa Thiong'o

Reviewed by Sonia MacPherson

Taking Back the Future: Identity Construction, Power, and
Critical Pedagogy 645

Negotiating Identities: Education for Empowerment in a Diverse Society

Jim Cummins

Two Languages at Work: Bilingual Life on the Factory Floor

Tara Goldstein

Critical Pedagogy: Notes From the Real World

Joan Wink

Reviewed by Sue Starfield

The Native Speaker in Applied Linguistics 650

Alan Davies

Reviewed by John C. Maher

Crosswords: Language, Education and Ethnicity in French Ontario 652

Monica Heller

Reviewed by Celia Roberts

Social Justice and Language Policy in Education: The Canadian Research 653

David Corson and Sylvia Lemay

Reviewed by Jill Burton

Information for Contributors 655

Editorial Policy

General Information for Authors

Publications Received 663

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Advertising in all TESOL publications is arranged by Ann Perrelli, TESOL Central Office, Suite 300, 1600 Cameron Street, Alexandria, Virginia 22314-2751 U.S.A., Tel. 703-836-0774. Fax 703-836-7864. E-mail tesol@tesol.edu

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Editor's Note

■ This issue, devoted to examining the relationship between language and social identity, explores how language learning and teaching are affected by such factors as gender, race, class, and ethnicity. Because of the tremendous response to the call for papers, the issue is longer than usual with all of the sections of the issue devoted to this topic. I want to thank Bonny Norton for her outstanding work in guest editing the issue. She has carefully and creatively selected articles, brief reports, and book reviews that highlight the complexity of the relationship between language and social identity. On behalf of the *TESOL Quarterly* readership, I thank her for the many hours she has devoted to this task.

The autumn 1998 special-topic issue, guest edited by Donald Freeman and Karen E. Johnson, will be devoted to English Language Teacher Education. This issue includes the call for abstracts for the 1999 special-topic issue on Critical Approaches to TESOL, guest edited by Alastair Pennycook.

With regret I announce that Graham Crookes and Kathryn A. Davis are unable to continue in their posts as editors of Brief Reports and Summaries. On behalf of the readership, I thank them for their valued service. I am grateful that Rod Ellis and Karen E. Johnson have agreed to take on the responsibilities of editing this section of the journal.

Sandra McKay

In This Issue

■ When the *TESOL Quarterly* Editorial Board invited me to guest edit a special-topic issue on language and identity, my excitement was mixed with trepidation. However, the 60 submissions I received from 12 countries on five different continents was encouraging evidence of the extensive interest in this topic in different parts of the world. Determining the grounds for selecting articles and brief reports was challenging because all of the submissions were interesting in their own right. Given TESOL's international mandate and my own interest in diverse perspectives, I have included

five full-length articles that address research on language and identity in five different countries: Canada, Japan, South Africa, the U.S., and England, respectively. The brief reports reflect a wide variety of participants, topics, and research methodologies.

- My article serves as an introduction to the issue. I discuss my own interest in language and identity, focusing on those theorists who have been influential in my work; highlight particularly distinctive aspects of the five articles in the issue; and discuss the similarities and differences among the researchers with respect to conceptions of identity. I also examine the issue as a whole to address a question implicit in many of the contributions: Who owns English internationally?
- Brian Morgan draws on his reflections as a teacher-researcher in a community-based adult ESL classroom in Toronto, Canada, to explore the relationship between identity and intonation, a topic that has received little attention in the L2 literature. He provides an insightful account of his teaching of intonation to a group of predominantly Chinese immigrant women and uses Halliday's sociocultural theory of language to bring a rich theoretical framework to his analysis. Furthermore, Morgan raises important questions about the status of teacher-research, arguing persuasively that teachers who choose not to interview, tape-record, or externalize the emic voices of their students should not be excluded from contributing to the knowledge base of the TESOL profession.
- Patricia A. Duff and Yuko Uchida address the following questions: How are teachers' sociocultural identities, understandings, and practices negotiated and transformed over time? What factors are associated with these changes? In reporting their ethnographic study of four EFL teachers and their classes in a large, cosmopolitan Japanese city, they analyze the complex relationship between language and culture, between teachers' sociocultural identities and their teaching practices, and between teachers' explicit discussions of culture and their implicit modes of cultural transmission in their classes. They argue that the cultural underpinnings of language curricula and teaching must be examined further, particularly in contexts where both teachers and students are negotiating their sociocultural identities as well as the curriculum.
- Lucia Thesen examines the discrepancy between the conventional categories by which her English for academic purposes students are identified—"disadvantaged," "underprepared," "second language"—and the way they identify themselves. Based on biographical interviews with five Black South African English language learners in their 1st year at a historically White, Anglophone tertiary institution, she describes the participants' struggle to negotiate the expectations of the institution with regard to such practices as plagiarism and the way these practices conflicted with the learners' identities. She concludes

that current critical discourse theory does not do justice to the human agency of individuals and that the categories used to identify language learners should be constructed in a joint process with them.

- Susan Schecter and Robert Bayley investigate the relationship between language and cultural identity as manifested in the language socialization practices of four Mexican-descent families in the U.S.—two in California and two in Texas. They found that the two California families, unlike the two in Texas, followed an aggressive Spanish maintenance strategy in the home. Schecter and Bayley argue that the differences between the California and Texas participants in their study can be partly explained by the sociocultural ecologies of the two respective communities and the depth of their ties to the U.S.
- Constant Leung, Roxy Harris, and Ben Rampton seek to integrate theory, research, and practice with respect to questions of language and identity for adolescent bilingual and multilingual learners within urban classrooms in contemporary England. They argue that a disjuncture exists between the experiences of the learners and the linguistic and ethnic categories imposed upon them. They use recent research in cultural theory to better understand the complex relationship among ethnicity, identity, and language use in the context of the postcolonial diaspora and offer a framework for analysis to address what they call the “paralysis” experienced by TESOL practitioners and mainstream teachers in responding to the language needs of their students.

Also in this issue:

- The Forum: Tim McNamara examines disparate approaches to the study of social identity. A complementary perspective by Jette G. Hansen and Jun Liu follows.
- Teaching Issues: Cecilia Tang reports on research on the power and status of nonnative ESL teachers in Hong Kong, and Nuzhat Amin examines race and identity among nonnative ESL teachers in Canada.
- Brief Reports and Summaries: Shondel Nero addresses the position of Anglophone Caribbean students; Susan Boshier reports on a study of the acculturation of 101 Hmong students at the postsecondary level in the U.S.; Judy Hunter examines the relationship between a young writer’s identity and his literacy development in a multilingual elementary classroom; Cheiron McMahill reports on a case study of two feminist English classes in Japan; Dana L. Pao, Sharon Teuben-Rowe, and Shelley D. Wong examine the identity formation of mixed-heritage adults; and Hanne B. Mawhinney and Fengying Xu report on a study of the recertification of foreign-trained teachers in Canada.
- Reviews: Sonia MacPherson provides a comparative review of three texts by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o, and Sue Starfield’s comparative review examines three books that deal with identity construction and critical pedagogy.

I would like to thank all the contributors to this issue, who have made a remarkable contribution to an understanding of language and identity. Sandra McKay and members of *TESOL Quarterly's* Editorial Advisory Board provided perceptive reviews of earlier drafts of articles and reports. My colleagues in the Department of Language Education at the University of British Columbia provided much intellectual and moral support throughout the project, and Ellen Garshick's contribution as Assistant Editor was invaluable. The project was undertaken when I held a Spencer Postdoctoral Fellowship from the National Academy of Education in the U.S. I gratefully acknowledge this support.

Bonny Norton, Guest Editor

Language, Identity, and the Ownership of English

BONNY NORTON

University of British Columbia

This article serves as the introduction to the special-topic issue of the *TESOL Quarterly* on Language and Identity. In the first section, I discuss my interest in language and identity, drawing on theorists who have been influential in my work. A short vignette illustrates the significant relationship among identity, language learning, and classroom teaching. In the second section, I examine the five articles in the issue, highlighting notable similarities and differences in conceptions of identity. I note, in particular, the different ways in which the authors frame identity: social identity, sociocultural identity, voice, cultural identity, and ethnic identity. I explore these differences with reference to the particular disciplines and research traditions of the authors and the different emphases of their research projects. In the final section, I draw on the issue as a whole to address a prevalent theme in many of the contributions: the ownership of English internationally. The central question addressed is the extent to which English belongs to White native speakers of standard English or to all the people who speak it, irrespective of linguistic and sociocultural history. I conclude with the hope that the issue will help address the current fragmentation in the literature on the relationship between language and identity and encourage further debate and research on a thought-provoking and important topic.

Just as, at the level of relations between groups, a language is worth what those who speak it are worth, so too, at the level of interactions between individuals, speech always owes a major part of its value to the value of the person who utters it. (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 652)

The relationship between language and identity is an intriguing one, partly because debates on theories of language are as inconclusive and indeterminate as debates on theories of identity. However, whereas some linguists may assume, as Noam Chomsky does, that questions of identity are not central to theories of language, we as L2 educators need

to take this relationship seriously. The questions we ask necessarily assume that speech, speakers, and social relationships are inseparable. Such questions include the following: Under what conditions do language learners speak? How can we encourage language learners to become more communicatively competent? How can we facilitate interaction between language learners and target language speakers? In this view, every time language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with their interlocutors; they are also constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. They are, in other words, engaged in identity construction and negotiation.

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY: THEORY AND PRACTICE

Identity in Theory

As McNamara (this issue) and Hansen and Liu (this issue) demonstrate, there is much interest in language and identity in the field of language learning. Different researchers, drawing on different sources and using a variety of methodologies, have brought diverse perspectives to this relationship. In my own work, I use the term *identity* to refer to how people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how people understand their possibilities for the future. As I outline below, theorists who have been influential in helping me to develop an understanding of identity include Cornel West, Pierre Bourdieu, Chris Weedon, and Jim Cummins.

I take the position, following West (1992), that identity relates to desire—the desire for recognition, the desire for affiliation, and the desire for security and safety. Such desires, West asserts, cannot be separated from the distribution of material resources in society. People who have access to a wide range of resources in a society will have access to power and privilege, which will in turn influence how they understand their relationship to the world and their possibilities for the future. Thus the question “Who am I?” cannot be understood apart from the question “What can I do?” According to West, it is people’s access to material resources that will define the terms on which they will articulate their desires. In this view, a person’s identity will shift in accordance with changing social and economic relations.

Bourdieu’s (1977) work complements West’s because it focuses on the relationship between identity and symbolic power. As the epigraph to this article indicates, Bourdieu argues that the value ascribed to speech

cannot be understood apart from the person who speaks, and the person who speaks cannot be understood apart from larger networks of social relationships—many of which may be unequally structured. His position is that the linguist (and, I would argue, many applied linguists) take for granted the conditions for the establishment of communication: that those who speak regard those who listen as worthy to listen and that those who listen regard those who speak as worthy to speak. I have argued, however (Peirce, 1995), that it is precisely such assumptions that must be called into question. Bourdieu (1977) argues persuasively that an expanded definition of competence should include the “right to speak” or “the power to impose reception” (p. 75).

Because the right to speak intersects in important ways with a language learner’s identity, I have used the term *investment* to signal the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language and their sometimes ambivalent desire to learn and practice it. Central questions in my own work are not “Is the learner motivated to learn the target language?” and “What kind of personality does the learner have?” Instead, my questions are framed as follows: “What is the learner’s investment in the target language? How is the learner’s relationship to the target language socially and historically constructed?” The construct of investment conceives of the language learner as having a complex history and multiple desires. An investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner’s own social identity, which changes across time and space.

Unlike West and Bourdieu, Weedon (1987) has worked within a feminist poststructuralist tradition. Whereas West’s work has focused on the relationship between identity and material relations of power, and Bourdieu’s on the relationship between identity and symbolic power, Weedon has sought to integrate language, individual experience, and social power in a theory of subjectivity. In this theory, the individual is accorded greater human agency than in Bourdieu’s theory, whereas the importance of language in constructing the relationship between the individual and the social is given greater prominence than in West’s theory. Three defining characteristics of subjectivity have been influential in my work: (a) the multiple, nonunitary nature of the subject; (b) subjectivity as a site of struggle; and (c) subjectivity as changing over time. In this theory, subjectivity is produced in a variety of social sites, all of which are structured by relations of power in which the person takes up different subject positions—teacher, child, feminist, manager, critic. The subject, in turn, is not conceived of as passive; she or he is conceived of as both subject of and subject to relations of power within a particular site, community, and society: The subject has human agency. Furthermore, and of central importance, subjectivity and language are theorized as mutually constitutive.

In drawing a distinction between coercive and collaborative relations of power, Cummins (1996) complements the work of West, Bourdieu, and Weedon. He maintains that coercive relations of power refer to the exercise of power by a dominant individual, group, or country that is detrimental to others and serves to maintain an inequitable division of resources in a society. Collaborative relations of power, on the other hand, can serve to empower rather than marginalize. In this view, power is not a fixed, predetermined quantity but can be mutually generated in interpersonal and intergroup relations. As Cummins observes, "The power relationship is additive rather than subtractive. Power is created with others rather than being imposed on or exercised over others" (p. 15). By extension, relations of power can serve to enable or constrain the range of identities that language learners can negotiate in their classrooms and communities.

There is growing interest among L2 educators in the negotiated, constructed, and conflicted nature of identity. The work of Bourdieu (1977), Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), and Bakhtin (1981) has been used to frame innovative sociolinguistic and ethnographic research on language and identity (Canagarajah, 1993; Corson, 1993; Goldstein, 1996; Martin-Jones & Heller, 1996; May, 1994; Morgan, 1995/1996; Walsh, 1987). Drawing on a different tradition, Peirce (1995), McKay and Wong (1996), and Siegal (1996) have found the feminist poststructuralist theory developed by Weedon (1987) productive for understanding language learners' multiple and changing identities, and McKay and Wong have expanded on the construct of investment, drawing on a different group of learners than Peirce does.

Identity in Practice: Mai's Story

It is not only theorists and researchers who find the relationship between language and identity interesting and important. To demonstrate the relevance of this relationship for learners and teachers, I relate a story of classroom resistance that is best understood with reference to learner identities and investments. The story is a short vignette in the life of Mai, one of the participants in my longitudinal study of five immigrant women in Canada (Peirce, 1993).

After completing a 6-month ESL course offered to adult immigrants in Canada, Mai, a young woman from Vietnam, continued taking ESL courses at night in order to improve her spoken and written English. Mai had to make great sacrifices to attend these courses. After a long day at work, she rushed home, made dinner, and rushed out again to take public transportation to her class. At night, she came home exhausted,

with some dread that potential assailants were “chasing” after her while she was walking from the bus stop to her home at 10:30 p.m.

Given the sacrifices that Mai made to attend these evening courses, she expressed great frustration with one particular course she was attending. In an interview with Mai, I questioned her more closely about her experience in this course. Mai explained that it was centered around students’ presentations on life in their home countries. She described how frustrating it was to sit for a whole lesson and listen to one student speak:

I was hoping that the course would help me the same as we learnt [in the 6-month ESL course], but some night we only spend time on one man. He came from Europe. He talked about his country: what’s happening and what was happening. And all the time we didn’t learn at all. And tomorrow the other Indian man speak something for there. Maybe all week I didn’t write any more on my book.

After struggling through this course for a number of weeks and coming to feel that she “didn’t learn at all,” Mai never returned to the class.

It could be argued that the Mai’s ESL teacher was attempting to incorporate the lived histories of the students into the classroom by inviting them to make public presentations about their native countries. The teacher was giving students the opportunity to practice speaking in the classroom and inviting them to share their heritage with the rest of the class. This approach, however, did not have a desirable pedagogical effect—at least as far as Mai was concerned. She was convinced that she did not “learn at all” when she sat mute, listening to fellow classmates discuss their native countries.

Although I cannot provide a definitive interpretation of the course of events, it is possible to argue that the teacher’s methods did not do justice to the complexity of learner identities. Whereas immigrant learners’ experiences in their native country may be a significant part of their identity, these experiences are constantly being mediated by their experiences in the new country, across multiple sites in the home, workplace, and community. At that stage in the course, the teacher had not provided learners with the opportunity to critically examine experiences in their native countries in the light of more recent experiences in Canada or to critically examine their experiences in Canada in light of experiences in the native country. As a result, Mai had little investment in the presentations of her fellow classmates, and a potentially rich opportunity for language learning and teaching had been lost.

This story is a simple illustration of the view that the relationship between language and identity is not only abstract and theoretical but

also has important consequences for positive and productive language learning and teaching.

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY: A WINDOW ON THE WORLD

Having introduced theories of language and identity that have been influential in my own work and illustrated their importance for classroom teaching, I now highlight what for me were particularly noteworthy aspects of the five articles in this issue. Thereafter, I reflect on the authors' collective contribution the authors provide to theorizing the relationship between language and identity. My comments do not provide a definitive analysis; they invite readers to explore each of the articles in greater depth.

It's Not What You Say, It's How You Say It

In an innovative and thought-provoking article on identity and intonation, Morgan (this issue) draws on his reflections as a teacher-researcher in a community-based adult ESL classroom in Toronto, Canada. His topic, the relationship between identity and intonation, has received little attention in the L2 literature. Whereas there has been increasing interest in communicative approaches to the teaching of pronunciation (Morley, 1991), the ways in which intonation engages the speaker's sense of self have been little explored. Morgan presents a fascinating account of his teaching of intonation to a group of predominantly Chinese immigrant women. A particularly engaging part of the lesson takes place when Morgan teaches his learners that the different intonation patterns used to realize the word *Oh* can have very different social meanings and presuppose disparate social relationships. With reference to the lesson as a whole, he writes,

What stands out most in this activity is how the foregrounding of social power and identity issues seemed to facilitate greater comprehension of sentence-level stress and intonation as strategic resources for (re)defining social relationships.

Morgan does not, however, exclusively describe a language lesson. In drawing on Halliday's (1985) sociocultural theory of language, Morgan brings a rich theoretical framework to his analysis. He contends that new meanings arise from the tension between text and context within the larger context of culture. Furthermore, looking to critical research, he

investigates how a common subject area such as pronunciation can have what he calls “emancipatory potential.” This investigation is consistent with his view, and that of many other ESL teachers working within a critical tradition, that ESL teachers need to conceive of their students as having social needs and aspirations that may be inseparable from linguistic needs. Morgan also raises important questions about the status of teacher-research. Drawing on his experience as both a teacher and a researcher, he takes issue with the view that teacher-research can be a benign and politically neutral activity. He argues persuasively that teachers who choose not to interview, tape-record, or externalize the emic voices of their students should not be excluded from contributing to the knowledge base of the TESOL profession.

Those Who Can, Teach

Duff and Uchida (this issue) take readers to another country on a different continent and to a new set of issues pertaining to language and identity. The country is Japan, the participants are teachers of English as a foreign rather than a second language, and the questions are as follows: How are teachers’ sociocultural identities, understandings, and practices negotiated and transformed over time? What factors are associated with these changes? To address these questions, Duff and Uchida conducted an ethnographic study of two American and two Japanese EFL teachers and their classes in a private language institution in a large, cosmopolitan Japanese city. One of the American teachers was male; the remaining three were female. Data were collected over a 6-month period by means of teacher/student questionnaires, journals, audio- and videotaped observations, life-history interviews, and Uchida’s participant-observer research journal.

In taking on this ambitious task, Duff and Uchida tackle a number of perennial questions in the field of TESOL: How should researchers theorize culture in the field of language learning and teaching? To what extent are teachers of English teachers of culture? What emerges from their research is a tapestry that is no less complex than the object of research, a tapestry that challenges any simplistic analyses of the relationship between language and culture. Drawing on Britzman (1991), Clifford (1986), and Kramsch (1993), Duff and Uchida’s central insight is that culture is not just a body of knowledge; it comprises implicit assumptions, dynamic processes, and negotiated relationships. The two Japanese teachers, for example, although sharing a similar cultural history, had different understandings of language and culture, which were implicated in their identities and practices as teachers. Miki saw herself as a teacher of language, not culture (a “linguistically oriented

Japanese teacher”) and believed that the transmission of culture was best left to native speakers of English. Kimiko, on the other hand, believed that language and culture were inseparable and dedicated her teaching to raising learners’ cross-cultural awareness. Such data highlight interesting disparities among teachers with respect to theories of language and culture and the relationship between native and nonnative teachers of English.

Long Walk to Freedom

Thesen (this issue) takes the reader to southern Africa, a region in which the English language has had a turbulent history. Her research on identity and transition provides a window on the vibrant changes taking place in postapartheid South Africa and the concomitant effects on language learners’ identities in that society. *Transition* has multiple referents. At its broadest level, it refers to the transitions taking place in South Africa at this time, in which White minority rule has been displaced by a multiracial, multilingual democracy. In this context, the identities of institutions and those of learners and teachers of language are in a state of intense flux. Transition also refers to the changes that Thesen’s participants faced as they transferred from secondary school to a tertiary educational institution. What were their expectations for the future? How did these intersect with their histories and experiences and with their relationship to the acquisition of academic literacy? Transition also refers to the research process—the complexity of conducting research in a context of rapid change and one in which conclusions drawn at one time may have only transitory relevance. Whereas Thesen suggests that a research context in transition may raise problems for interpretation, I believe it also provides a unique opportunity to gain insight into language and identity at the very juncture—in time and space—at which learners’ identities are being contested and renegotiated.

Thesen’s analysis is based on biographical interviews with five Black, English language learners in their 1st year at a historically White Anglophone tertiary institution. The research elicited a rich corpus of data that effectively challenge some dominant assumptions about identity and English for academic purposes (EAP). Thesen examines the discrepancy between the conventional categories by which her students are identified—“disadvantaged,” “underprepared,” “second language”—and how they identify themselves. Robert and Faith, for example, although both framed as “disadvantaged” with respect to the institution, appeared more invested in relationships with peers. With reference to the development of academic literacy, Thesen describes how the participants struggled to negotiate the expectations of the institution with

regard to such practices as plagiarism and how these practices conflicted with the learners' identities. As Mkhululi said, "Sometimes you come up with what you feel is your personal feeling and then you're told that you're plagiarising some White guy who happened to be fortunate enough to get information and to jot it down." A central argument Thesen makes is that current critical discourse theory does not do justice to the human agency of individuals and that greater attention to the voices of learners generates unexpected consequences and new understandings.

Where the Heart Is

Schecter and Bayley (this issue) transport the reader out of classrooms and educational institutions into the domestic sphere of the home. The authors investigate the relationship between language and cultural identity as manifested in the language socialization practices of Mexican-descent families in the U.S. They see their research as a response to the challenge by Zentella (1996) that researchers explore the diversity of Latino communities in the U.S., given that such diversity is little recognized by much of the educational community.

The research is based on a larger study of 40 families (20 in California and 20 in Texas) that sought to investigate the relationship between home language socialization practices and the development of bilingual and biliterate abilities by Mexican-descent children. In this article Schecter and Bayley richly and comprehensively describe the home language practices of four of the eight families—two in northern California and two in south Texas—that were selected for an intensive case study. Among their findings are that all four focal children and their parents defined themselves in terms of allegiance to their Mexican heritage, that they all viewed bilingualism as a positive attribute, and that they all accorded Spanish a substantial role in the formation of cultural identity. The families in each respective state differed, however, in the extent to which they actually used Spanish to affirm identity and in the way they saw the idealized role of the school in relation to Spanish language maintenance and cultural identity. These differences are examined at length in the article. Schecter and Bayley assert that the differences between the California and Texas participants in this sample can be partly explained by the sociocultural ecologies of the two respective communities and the depth of their ties with the U.S.

Schecter and Bayley's analysis is supported by a remarkable corpus of data including audio- and videotaped observations, interviews with the focal child in each family, samples of the child's writing, and home observations. One of the questions addressed to both parents and focal

children is central to the article: “We’d be interested to know how you see yourself. Let’s say someone asked you about your cultural identity. What would you call yourself?” Schecter and Bayley note, however, that additional insights into language and cultural identity were gleaned throughout the research process.

Rule Britannia?

In the final article in this issue, Leung, Harris, and Rampton seek to integrate theory, research, and practice with respect to questions of language and identity within urban classrooms in contemporary England. The purpose of their article is threefold. First, the authors challenge dominant understandings of classroom realities in multilingual urban schools in England. Based on biographical data from adolescent bilingual and multilingual learners, they argue in particular that a disjuncture exists between the experiences of the learners and the linguistic and ethnic categories imposed upon them. They take the position that the needs of ESL students cannot be simplistically portrayed in terms of fixed categories of ethnicity and language. Second, they draw on recent research in cultural theory to better understand the complex relationship between ethnicity, identity, and language use in the context of the postcolonial diaspora. The theorists they have found most useful in this regard include Bhabha (1994), Gilroy (1987), Hall (1988), and Hewitt (1991). They cite in particular Hall’s notion of *translation*, which addresses what Hall calls the *cultures of hybridity* characteristic of late modernity. Third, the authors claim that attempts to address the diverse needs of contemporary school populations in England have lacked analytic clarity.

To address what the authors call the “paralysis” experienced by TESOL practitioners and mainstream teachers in responding to the language needs of their students, Leung, Harris, and Rampton develop Rampton’s (1990) earlier work to offer a framework for analysis. They argue that the terms *native speaker* and *mother tongue* should be replaced with the notions *language expertise*, *language inheritance*, and *language affiliation*. Thus the central questions teachers need to ask are not “What is the learner’s mother tongue?” and “Is the learner a native speaker of Punjabi?” Rather, the teacher should ask, “What is the learner’s linguistic repertoire? Is the learner’s relationship to these languages based on expertise, inheritance, affiliation, or a combination?” These constructs, which are clearly explained in the article, are highly productive for understanding the relationship between language and ethnic identity.

Theorizing Language and Identity

In reflecting on the central themes relating to language and identity within these five articles, I am intrigued by the similarities and differences among them. The juxtaposition of the articles provides a unique opportunity for intertextual analysis. With respect to the similarities, the authors appear to have very consistent conceptions of identity. First, they all see it as complex, contradictory, and multifaceted and reject any simplistic notions of identity. As Schecter and Bayley write,

The diversity of meanings ascribed by the participants to the ideas of Mexican and Mexican American identity reinforces critiques of essentialist descriptions, based on reductionist categories, as aids to understanding the backgrounds and aspirations minority children bring with them to classrooms.

Second, the authors see identity as dynamic across time and place. Indeed, a recurring theme in the articles is that of transition. Most of the participants in the five research projects were undergoing significant changes in their lives, whether moving from one country to another (Duff & Uchida; Morgan; Schecter & Bayley); from one institution to another (Thesen); or from one community to the next (Leung, Harris, & Rampton). As Morgan notes,

Identity is not so much a map of experience—a set of fixed coordinates—as it is a guide with which ESL students negotiate their place in a new social order and, if need be, challenge it through the meaning-making activities they participate in.

Third, all the authors point out that identity constructs and is constructed by language. Leung, Harris, and Rampton argue that “language use and notions of ethnicity and social identity are inextricably linked”; Duff and Uchida examine the “inseparability” of language and culture; and Schecter and Bayley conceive of language as embodying in and of itself “acts of identity.” Fourth, most of the authors note that identity construction must be understood with respect to larger social processes, marked by relations of power that can be either coercive or collaborative. Morgan demonstrates how issues of language, power, and identity might be approached in ESL pedagogy; Thesen draws on theorists who see “profound links” between literacy and social processes; and Schecter and Bayley acknowledge the “relevance of ideological and power relations.”

Finally, all the authors seek to link identity theory with classroom practice. Leung, Harris, and Rampton stress that it is of “utmost importance” for TESOL pedagogy to explicitly recognize and address

societal inequalities among ethnic and linguistic groups. Duff and Uchida, who take the position that teaching is itself a cultural practice, assert that the cultural underpinnings of language curricula and teaching require further examination. Thesen describes the innovative EAP courses at her institution that explicitly focus on writing, identities, and transition; and Morgan observes that “identity work in an ESL classroom is not just descriptive but fundamentally transformative.”

With respect to the differences among the authors, I was struck by the fact that the authors framed identity in different terms. The focus of Morgan’s research was on “social identity,” Duff and Uchida’s on “sociocultural identity,” Thesen’s on “voice,” Schecter and Bayley’s on “cultural identity,” and Leung, Harris, and Rampton’s on “ethnic identity.”

I have always been interested in social identity as distinct from cultural identity (see Peirce, 1995). As I have understood it, social identity refers to the relationship between the individual and the larger social world, as mediated through institutions such as families, schools, workplaces, social services, and law courts. I have asked to what extent this relationship must be understood with reference to a person’s race, gender, class, or ethnicity. Cultural identity I have understood to refer to the relationship between individuals and members of a group who share a common history, a common language, and similar ways of understanding the world. I have tended not to draw on theories of cultural identity because I have debated whether they could do justice to the heterogeneity within the groups I have encountered and the dynamic nature of identity I have observed. As I have reflected on these five articles, however, I have seen the difference between social identity and cultural identity as fluid and the commonalities more marked than the differences.

Morgan, for example, who is particularly interested in social identity, nevertheless explores the relationship between intonation and identity with reference to the dominant cultural practices of a particular group of Chinese immigrants in Canada. He does not, however, reify these cultural practices but seeks to understand them in relation to the dynamics of ethnicity and gender. Schecter and Bayley, who are particularly interested in cultural identity, nevertheless seek to understand their research with reference to larger social debates over the terms of Latino participation in U.S. society. Furthermore, within their sample of four families, they reflect on the discrepancies in their participants’ understanding of Spanish maintenance. They note, for example, that

Enrique and Mariana Villegas, from an upper-middle-class background in Guadalajara, equated Spanish maintenance with preservation of the cultivated Spanish of the educated Mexican elite, a social dialect that was never spoken by the adults in the other families studied.

Such an analysis suggests that social relations of class are important in understanding the relationship between language and identity. Duff and Uchida, indeed, collapse the distinctions between the social and the cultural.

Sociocultural identities and ideologies are not static, deterministic constructs that EFL teachers and students bring to the classroom and then take away unchanged at the end of a lesson or course Nor are they simply dictated by membership in a larger social, cultural, or linguistic group, the way many scholars approach the topic of language and social identity Rather, in educational practice as in other facets of social life, identities and beliefs are co-constructed, negotiated, and transformed on an ongoing basis by means of language.

The apparent differences between the theoretical orientations of the authors might be explained in terms of the disciplines and research traditions that inform their work and the different emphases of their research projects. At the risk of oversimplification, my tentative observations are as follows. Morgan, working within an institutional context and committed to social change, adopts a more sociological approach to his conception of identity; Schecter and Bayley, whose research focuses on the language socialization of a particular group of people with a common linguistic heritage, adopt a more anthropological approach to their analysis of identity; Duff and Uchida, working within an institutional context but addressing differences between American and Japanese teachers, find both social and cultural theories of identity useful; Leung, Harris, and Rampton, who are interested in the extent to which schools in England are adapting to an increasingly bilingual and multilingual student population, find theories of ethnicity helpful in addressing identity; and Thesen, who is interested in the life histories and biographies of students in transition and seeks to give greater prominence to human agency in theorizing identity, finds the social theory of Bakhtin (1988), particularly the notion of *voice*, relevant:

I also use the term in Bakhtin's sense (1988), referring to the *speaking consciousness*—the individual speaking or writing, at the point of utterance, always laden with the language of others, from previous contexts, and oriented towards some future response.

IDENTITY AND THE OWNERSHIP OF ENGLISH INTERNATIONALLY

Having focused in depth on the five articles in this issue, I now draw on the contributions in the issue as a whole to address questions

concerning language, identity, and the ownership of English in the field of TESOL. I arrived at this decision after reflecting on the diverse contributions to the issue. Whereas all of the contributions are framed with reference to a given time and place, many of them, implicitly or explicitly, address the larger question, "Who owns English internationally?" In other words, the authors raise questions about whether English belongs to native speakers of English, to speakers of standard English, to White people, or to all of those who speak it, irrespective of their linguistic and sociocultural histories. Although these questions are more frequently asked in the context of language planning (Kachru, 1990; Lowenberg, 1993; Ndebele, 1987; Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1986; Peirce, 1989; Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996; Swales, 1997; Tollefson, 1991; Widdowson, 1994), they have a direct bearing on the relationship between language and identity. If learners of English cannot claim ownership of a language, they might not consider themselves legitimate speakers (Bourdieu, 1977) of that language. By extension, there is an important relationship among language, identity, and the ownership of English.

In this section I address the following questions raised in the contributions to this issue:

1. What is the relationship between native and nonnative ESL teachers? How is race implicated in this relationship?
2. How are ESL learners categorized?
3. What is the relationship between standard and nonstandard speakers of English?
4. Do TESOL educators perpetuate Western cultural hegemony in different parts of the world?

The many overlapping themes among these questions all require further research, reflection, and analysis.

What is the relationship between native and nonnative ESL teachers? To what extent is race implicated in this relationship?

The relationship between native and nonnative ESL teachers is not only symbolic; it has significant material consequences. When studying the employment advertisements at the TESOL convention in Chicago in March 1996, I was struck by the number of advertisements that called specifically for a "native English speaker." Another disturbing issue in this debate, although rarely addressed, is the issue of race and the ideal English teacher.

These topics are taken up by Tang and Amin in the Teaching Issues section of this issue. In her 1995–1996 survey of 47 nonnative ESL teachers (NNESTs) in Hong Kong, Tang found that her participants believed native ESL teachers were superior to NNESTs with respect to communicative aspects of English. In contrast, the NNESTs felt they had a better command of grammar and, when the teacher shared the mother tongue of the students, could more effectively address errors due to language transfer. According to Tang, the NNEST can be an empathetic listener for beginning and weak students, a needs analyst, an agent of change, and a coach for local public examinations. In a different context, Amin, based on research with five visible-minority ESL teachers in Toronto, Canada, found that her participants believed ESL students make a number of problematic assumptions about the authentic ESL teacher. Among them are that only White people can be native speakers of English and that only native speakers know “real” English. As a result of her research and her own experience as an ethnic Pakistani ESL teacher, Amin argues that “TESOL in Canada and the U.S. should clearly define the terms *native* and *nonnative*, emphasizing that there is no intrinsic connection between race and ability in English.”

At a broader level, the relationship between native and nonnative English speakers is taken up by Mawhinney and Xu (this issue) and by Leung, Harris, and Rampton. Describing their research in a recredentialing program in Ottawa, Canada, aimed at helping foreign-trained teachers obtain an Ontario Teaching Certificate, Mawhinney and Xu report on the professional growth of seven teachers in the context of challenges posed by language proficiency. Two of the findings address the relationship between native and nonnative English-speaking teachers. The first concerns the accents of nonnative English-speaking teachers. One principal claimed, “If these teachers want to be accepted in my school, they must totally get rid of their accent because the students will have trouble understanding them.” The second concerns the complex question of race. In the words of one teacher, “Talk about difference? The only difference is that we are not White. They do not want us to stay in school. No matter how well we do, they do not like us.”

Such findings concur with those of Leung, Harris, and Rampton, who, although working on a different continent, claim that “there is an abstracted notion of an idealised speaker of English from which ethnic and linguistic minorities are automatically excluded.” Furthermore, they point out that notwithstanding research to the contrary, England is for all practical purposes cast as a homogeneous community with one language and one culture. The diversity they have found is not restricted to ethnic and linguistic minorities. They make the important point that there is also much diversity within the majority ethnic community and

question the assumption that White, monolingual English speakers are automatically affiliated to standard English.

How are ESL learners categorized?

Ndebele (1995), quoted by Thesen, notes that naming is a political act: "The namer isolates the named, explains them, contains them, and controls them" (p. 4). The undesirable consequences of how ESL learners are named and categorized are a theme addressed in four contributions. Pao, Wong, and Teuben-Rowe (this issue), for example, based on their research on mixed-heritage adults in the U.S., assert that "the individuals' identities had been constantly challenged by a racially conscious society set on placing people into distinct categories." They argue that L2 educators can play a critical role in promoting positive self-identities for mixed-heritage students. Hunter (this issue), drawing on her research on the development of children's literacy in a multilingual elementary classroom in urban Canada, remarks on the contrast between the school's construction of the students' identities based on ethnicity and English proficiency and the students' own investments in very different social identities. The outcomes of such labelling, she notes, "often allowed for reinforcement of the school's label for them as 'deficient' in language and literacy."

The research of Leung, Harris, and Rampton in England and that of Thesen in South Africa also convincingly problematize the categories used to define English language learners in their respective societies. Leung, Harris, and Rampton point out that there are serious problems with routine practices in the education of bilingual learners in England, in which they are frequently attributed a kind of "romantic bilingualism" and turned into "reified speakers" of community languages. Central to Thesen's work is an examination of the "labelers and the labeled" and a search for new categories in the field of EAP. Thesen takes the position that naming is inevitable and can be useful ("equitable educational policy cannot happen without it") but that the categories have to be kept open and co-constructed with learners.

What is the relationship between standard and nonstandard speakers of English?

Nero (this issue) highlights the ambivalent identities of Anglophones from the Caribbean, eloquently captured in the title of her report, "English Is My Native Language . . . or So I Believe." She notes that

Anglophone immigrant students entering U.S. colleges from the Caribbean are frequently placed in remedial writing or ESL classes, which many of these students find problematic. After analyzing the language of four such students with a view to informing pedagogy in English classes, she concludes that the participants' spoken and written language reflects to varying degrees a unique interaction of Creole and English that provides a point of departure for writing pedagogy.

Interesting common themes emerge from the research of Nero in the U.S. and that of Leung, Harris, and Rampton in England. The latter maintain that "the question of similarities and differences in L2- and Creole-influenced language continues to be unresolved in the English educational literature." Either many of the students defined as bilingual learners are most comfortable linguistically with a local, urban spoken English vernacular, they observe, or a nonstandard variety of this kind serves as their first spoken entry into English in the local community context.

Are TESOL educators perpetuating Western imperialism in different parts of the world?

In her insightful review of three of Ngugi wa Thiong'o's books (1977, 1986, 1993), MacPherson raises a compelling issue.

One question I have wrestled with as a graduate student in the field is whether we are unwittingly serving exploitative multinational corporate interests as missionaries once served conquistadors, weakening the cultural and linguistic resources of people in a manner that makes the carnage of local cultures and economies possible.

MacPherson is not alone in wrestling with this question. It is vigorously debated not only in TESOL but also in the broader educational community (Kachru, 1990; Lowenberg, 1993; Ndebele, 1987; Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1986; Peirce, 1989; Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996; Swales, 1997; Tollefson, 1991; Widdowson, 1994). In reviewing Ngugi wa Thiong'o's work, MacPherson seeks to bring to the attention of the TESOL community the conflicts this question has raised for a noted African writer and scholar. Central to this issue is the question raised by Duff and Uchida: Are TESOL educators teachers of English or teachers of culture? Duff and Uchida demonstrate convincingly that language and culture are, to some extent, inseparable. Culture relates to not only the cultural content of the courses L2 educators teach but also the subtle practices that are characteristic of their teaching: the way they arrange seating in their classrooms, the questions they ask, the stories they tell, the exercises they set.

These concerns are relevant not only in EFL settings in different parts of the world but also in ESL settings in the West, where language learners have to negotiate new social and cultural relationships. Morgan notes that classroom relationships and interactions both consciously and unconsciously define what is desirable and possible for learners. Like Duff and Uchida, he observes that the influential role of the teacher is determined not only by the explicit content of the lessons but by the type of materials incorporated into a lesson and the methods used by the teacher. As Starfield (this issue) suggests, drawing on her reading of Cummins (1996), Goldstein (1996), and Wink (1997), teachers in the West cannot be complacent about the extent to which teaching practices can both constrain and enhance possibilities for ESL learners.

Notwithstanding questions raised about the spread of English and Western cultural hegemony, the research in this issue cautions against drawing neat conclusions about the learning of English in either EFL or ESL contexts. In this regard, the research of McMahonill (this issue) in Japan and Bosher (this issue) in the U.S. is instructive. For the female EFL learners in Japan who were part of McMahonill's study, learning English seemed to be an empowering experience. As one woman said, "When speaking Japanese, it takes a lot of courage to express my convictions or insist upon my beliefs, but in English I can do so with a sense of being equal to the person I am talking to." According to McMahonill, this was achieved in spite of the ambivalence some women felt about the role of English in perpetuating Western culture. In a different, ESL context, based on research with 100 Hmong students in U.S. postsecondary institutions, Bosher (this issue) found that newcomers were able to develop "bicultural" identities by adapting to the host culture without giving up their native culture or ethnic affiliation. She concludes that her study demonstrates support for multicultural/bilingual educational and social policies.

CONCLUSION

I began this article with some reflection on my own understanding of language and identity as informed by my reading of such theorists such as West, Bourdieu, Weedon, and Cummins. I then focused attention on the five articles in this issue, using the authors' research in Canada, Japan, South Africa, the U.S., and England as the starting point for a more textured analysis of the relationship between language and identity. Next, I drew on the issue as a whole to address a recurrent theme: the relationship between identity and the ownership of English.

I conclude with a few reflective comments. First, as Thesen argues, discourse theory has tended to have a somewhat deterministic view of

language and identity because it has often overlooked a focus on individual accounts. This special-topic issue attempts to do justice to the individual accounts of learners and teachers in different parts of the globe and seeks to ensure that debates on language and identity have taken the voices of learners and teachers seriously. Second, the Forum contributions of McNamara and Hansen and Liu suggest that research on language learning and identity has hitherto been rather fragmented and insular. This special-topic issue is an attempt to address such fragmentation. I hope that readers will take the opportunity not only to compare the different theories, research traditions, and findings in the various articles and reports but also to enrich the debate with their own contributions. Finally, because the mandate of TESOL is the teaching of English, I suggest that if English belongs to the people who speak it, whether native or nonnative, whether ESL or EFL, whether standard or nonstandard, then the expansion of English in this era of rapid globalization may possibly be for the better rather than for the worse.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank all of the contributors to this special-topic issue, who have made an important contribution to an understanding of language and identity. I also thank Patricia A. Duff, Margaret Early, and Sandra McKay for insightful comments on an earlier version of this article.

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Errata

In the Summer 1997 issue (Vol. 31, No. 2), the heading on page 365 reads “Teaching Issues, edited by Bonny Norton Peirce.” This should have been entitled “Research Issues, edited by Patricia A. Duff.” We apologize for the oversight.

In Tony Silva’s Forum contribution, “On the Ethical Treatment of ESL Writers” (Vol. 31, No. 2, page 361), the third sentence of the second paragraph should read: “If they enroll in courses with titles like Introductory Writing or Freshman Composition, I believe it is certainly reasonable for them to expect and to get courses that focus primarily if not exclusively on writing, as opposed to **courses that primarily focus** on such interesting and important yet inappropriate topics as peace education, conflict resolution, environmental concerns, political issues, particular ideologies, literature, critical thinking, cultural studies, or some other cause célèbre du jour, and use writing merely as an add-on or reinforcement activity.”

The phrase in boldface was not included in the sentence. We apologize for the omission.

Identity and Intonation: Linking Dynamic Processes in an ESL Classroom

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Through conceptual tools that decontextualize, generalize, and objectify, the field of ESL has implicitly supported a notion of identity as insular and static, passed down intact over time and across locations. But identity is not so much a map of experience—a set of fixed coordinates—as it is a guide with which ESL students negotiate their place in a new social order and, if need be, challenge it through the meaning-making activities they participate in. In this article, I demonstrate how issues of language, power, and changing identity might be approached in ESL pedagogy. The central focus for my discussion is a classroom activity that developed awareness of sentence-level intonation as a strategic resource to challenge forms of ascription based on gender and ethnicity.

My ongoing interest and inquiry in the area of ESL pronunciation has at times been an integral component in the contextualization of identity work in my classroom. This article provides an example of my efforts by examining what I judge to have been a particularly successful language lesson. What stands out most in this activity is how the foregrounding of social power and identity issues seemed to facilitate greater comprehension of sentence-level stress and intonation as strategic resources for (re)defining social relationships. Several direct and indirect factors contributed to the relative success of the activity and will be the focus of the various sections of the article.

Finding ways to relate the sound system of English more closely and meaningfully to social interaction remains a formidable challenge for most classroom teachers. To begin, I offer a brief theoretical account of some key elements of ESL pronunciation that have helped me in this pursuit. As part of this discussion, I draw upon aspects of Halliday's (1985) sociocultural theory of language for pedagogy on identity and intonation. Several general advantages of Halliday's linguistic theory might be construed: the semantic and functional prominence accorded phonology; a systematic account of how social experience, interpersonal

relationships, and language intentions are encoded within the structure of language (Halliday & Hasan, 1985); and a “continuity of description” (Kress, 1976, p. xi) whereby the smallest linguistic units (including intonation) are explained in relation to the largest contextual units to reflect the specific function that language is intended to serve in a given situation. Such emphases, I believe, potentially encourage greater integration of pronunciation throughout the ESL syllabus and provide practitioners with a more detailed understanding of how language shapes and reflects social identity.

The next section of the article describes the specific circumstances of my workplace, the students I teach, and the way these conditions influenced my collection of data. There I briefly sketch out some of the contemporary settlement pressures facing newcomers from Hong Kong, the majority of my students, to better illustrate the integration of students’ experiences in the development of the classroom activity. As I suggest, the current instability around social roles based on gender and ethnicity was of some consequence in generating interest in the “dynamics of intonation” (Halliday, 1985, pp. 58–60). I then describe the classroom lesson, the central focus of the article, to show specific examples of how theory informed my practice, and offer a few teaching suggestions.

Possibly the most important factor that underlies this lesson is my conceptualization of social identity and its relevance for ESL pedagogy. In this regard, I believe that identity work in an ESL classroom is not just descriptive or interpretive but fundamentally transformative (see Cummins, 1996; Peirce, 1995). Wherever and however meanings are expressed, shared, challenged, or distorted, language practices are always implicated in how people define who they are and how they subsequently act upon the possibilities such meanings convey (Simon, 1992). This conjunction of language and identity would suggest that, in many ways, each ESL classroom is a unique, complex, and dynamic social environment shaped by what Giddens (1991) terms *the reflexive project of the self*:¹ Each classroom, in this sense, becomes a resource for community development, where students (re)evaluate the past (i.e., the rules of identity) in the context of the present and, through classroom reflection and interaction, forge new cultural traditions, histories, and solidarities

¹ Theories of social reflexivity assert that sociocultural forms or structures are not objective facts, independent of and prior to individual activity (see Bhaskar, 1989; Bourdieu, 1990; Corson, 1991; Eisenhart, 1995; Giddens, 1991; Harries-Jones, 1995). Rather, societal values, norms, and rules are real only insofar as they are perceived, acted upon, or potentially transformed through the discursive practices that individuals participate in. This capacity for individuals to collectively generate new social rules does not negate the formidable coercive resources governments and dominant groups employ to shape perception. But it does emphasize that consent is never a foregone conclusion. More significantly, reflexive notions implicitly affirm an emancipatory potential in all educational and communicative practices.

that potentially improve their life chances for the future. The challenge for ESL teachers then is to recognize that classroom relationships and interactions both consciously and unconsciously define what is desirable and possible for newcomers. This influential role is expressed not only in the explicit advice teachers offer but also in the materials and methods they bring to the class—and, as I hope to demonstrate, in the uncommon ways teachers promote the emancipatory potential of common subject areas such as pronunciation.

TEACHING INTONATION IN CONTEXT

The individual articulation and production of phonemes, meaningful contrastive sounds (segmentals), was once the primary focus of pronunciation activities in ESL. As noted by Morley (1991), with the movement towards more communicative, functional-notional, and task-based approaches, this emphasis seemed increasingly dated and out of place. Recently, the ESL field has seen both renewed interest in pronunciation activities and calls for greater awareness and integration of them throughout the ESL syllabus (Morley, 1991; Murphy, 1991). Attention to larger, sentence-level aspects of speech such as stress, rhythm, and intonation—collectively termed *prosody* or *suprasegmentals*—and to various combinations of sounds such as linking, palatalization, assimilation, and reductions are now more commonly featured along with suggestions for communicative approaches in pronunciation texts (see Avery & Ehrlich, 1992; Beisbeir, 1995; Gilbert, 1993; Naiman, 1992).

According to Crystal (1987), the linguistic use of pitch or melody—the intonation system—provides the most important suprasegmental effects in language. The use of rising or falling pitch contours (tones), or their combination, can serve a number of functions in an utterance. Intonation can effectively mark out clausal and sentence units as well as provide coherence within and between larger informational units (e.g., the shift from one news item to another on a radio broadcast).

Intonation can have other grammatical functions as well. Pitch contours can mark an utterance in the declarative mood (e.g., You paid the bill) as either a statement (falling tone) or a question (rising tone). Also, pitch and stress together can provide focus, contrasting a specific lexical item with one that might occur in the same place with the same function (i.e., “paradigmatic focus” in Kreidler, 1989, p. 163). For example, a focus on *you*—with a specific tone (slow rising)—in the example above could be used to emphasize both displeasure and surprise within the general function of a question (e.g., I should have paid the bill). Focus can also be used to delineate the importance of information relative to what comes before and what comes after in an

utterance (i.e., “syntagmatic focus” in Kreidler, p. 165). Such functions of intonation can be taught communicatively and integrated into various situational activities. Gilbert (1993) and Beisbeir (1995) offer many useful classroom exercises that demonstrate the various grammatical and semantic functions available through intonation and stress.

The Dynamics of Intonation

One particular function of intonation, in my experience, is not so easily taught in a controlled and analytical approach because the moment of its application is largely unpredictable and highly dependent on shifting meanings and intentions that reflect context and the perception of social relationships. Halliday (1985) describes this particular feature in his section titled *The Dynamics of Intonation*: “Once conversation starts, a new element is added: each new step defines the environment afresh” (pp. 58–60).

Several prosodic elements that enable this semantic movement are elaborated upon by Halliday (1985) and require a brief note here. The first important element is the vocal production of informational units, or *tone groups*, which provide the function of tonality (p. 54). Tonality thus sets up particular focal points to be more easily defined within an utterance. The boundaries of tone groups are not arbitrary but reflect the informational intent of the speaker. Kreidler (1989) provides a good example (slanted lines indicate tone group markers): “(1a) /We don’t want any/ (1b) /We/ don’t/ want/ any/” (p. 156). In 1b the speaker has probably used separate breaths and equal stress on each word to emphasize displeasure or irritation.

The second element of importance involves the establishment of specific focal points of prominence within tone groups. This function, which Halliday (1985, p. 53) calls *tonicity*, is realized through the selection of a particular melodic contour, or tone; a speaker may select from a number of falling or rising tones, use them in combination, and vary their rate of inclination or declination in order to produce certain meanings. However, the match between a particular tone and its semantic function is never absolute; larger contextual and discursive elements can affect a speaker’s actualization of tonicity. Of related interest, Crystal (1987) distinguishes seven different tones and their functions for saying the word *No!* Through elements such as tonality and tonicity, speakers respond to and define an interaction as it is being shaped and negotiated. With these elements, a speaker “can indicate which are the content-bearing elements, vary the density with which new information is introduced, show how it relates to what has gone before, give it a particular ‘key signature’ to indicate its relevance to this particular

point—and direct the listener exactly to what he wants him to attend to” (Halliday, 1985, pp. 58–60).

The dynamics of intonation as described in Halliday’s work would appear quite challenging to teach in an ESL classroom. One possible means of presentation would be to analyze various dialogues, which students could transcribe and practice. This activity would be beneficial, but it would diminish the use of intonation as a rhetorical device to reset priorities in response to largely emergent and unpredictable developments in a dialogue. Another useful approach would be to recognize unpredictability as only a partial element of what was taking place in the dialogue. This concept of dialogue might be thought of as an ongoing text, a series of linguistic choices within various constraints or conventions of the context or situation (Halliday & Hasan, 1985) in which it was unfolding, emphasizing the relative social positions of the discourse partners (its tenor), the social purpose and location of the dialogue (its field), and the specific function that language is supposed to achieve in the interaction and the linguistic elements used to realize it (its mode). This configuration of tenor, field, and mode would constitute what Halliday calls *register*.

Halliday’s (1985) social-semiotic approach to language, I believe, potentially offers a useful way to think about teaching intonation. Intonation is essential for highlighting the meaning potential of a spoken text; the meaning of a text cannot be separated from the specific context of its creation or expression. In the classroom, much more attention and elaboration could be given to social roles when students participate in role-play exercises. The notion of register might be useful for elaboration: When students ask, “What does intonation mean here?” they would be encouraged to ask as well, “Who is speaking? Why are they having this conversation? What do they want to do with language in this situation?” This pedagogical approach would require establishing social contexts that were relevant to students as a condition for developing the prosodic and paralinguistic resources available to speakers in a given time and place. Furthermore, to better develop students’ awareness of the dynamic potential of intonation, teachers might want to foreground contexts in which the roles, responsibilities, and privileges of social identity would be subject to (re)evaluation in the context of new immigrant experiences. And finally, whenever individuals talk of dynamics or change in social relationships, they are invariably talking about power relations and the multiple ways in which tradition, moral regulation, and authority are invoked, modified, or resisted through language practices. So, ultimately, ESL teachers would need to conceive of their students as having social needs and aspirations that may be inseparable from linguistic needs if language instruction is to be most effective.

Critical Perspectives on Halliday's Work

Given my objectives for identity work, I note that Halliday's theoretical work has been criticized for being somewhat deterministic and unable to account for social agency, language change, and the divergent and idiosyncratic choices that individuals make in their language use (see Clark, 1992; O'Donnell & Todd, 1991). This concern is easily and justifiably applied to almost all functionalist theories of society and descriptive grammars as well, particularly since Saussure's detemporalized (i.e., synchronic) and homogeneous (i.e., *la langue*) treatment of linguistic analysis (see Howatt, 1984). Any time function is identified through form and form through function, there is the potential to overlook or simplify complex social and ideological processes that shape the experience of identity but are not directly encoded or materially evident in texts. And in the classroom there is the attendant danger of objectifying a singular form/function relationship and using it normatively when instructing or evaluating students.

It seems to me, though, that elements of Halliday and Hasan's (1985) work do account for linguistic innovation and social agency. The discussion of intonation in this article may be one example. The use of a particular intonation pattern to surreptitiously achieve particular social goals would probably have timely and limited use. As a text, it might soon lose its intended ambiguity and become the context against which future "deceptive" utterances would be formed and evaluated (a feature of "intertextuality," p. 47). As noted by Halliday, new meanings arise from the friction between text and context and within the larger context of culture. This relationship is inherently dialectical: Patterns of regularity influence variations that, in turn, can cumulatively transform prior norms in linguistic communities.

Some elaboration of dynamic social context is now required in order to highlight the convergence of the various components that make up the lessons described below: pronunciation as a resource for empowerment, social identity in transition, and the specific conditions of my work that both enabled and constrained the treatment of thematic material and the collection of data.

TEACHER AS RESEARCHER

The lesson described in this article took place at a Chinese community center in Toronto. ESL instruction is only one of a number of settlement services that attract students to the agency. Our program has continuous intake, mixed-streaming, and no compulsory testing. Subsequently, a

wider range of themes reflecting the interests of the center can be introduced and explored in the syllabus without concern for either rigid scheduling or precise differentiation and distribution of students. Some students have been in my class for several years, others for only a few months. Close personal relationships between students and teachers are common at the community center and sometimes take priority in organizing classes. Funding for my class comes almost entirely from local and regional governments—an increasingly precarious source—and is incumbent upon maintaining mandatory attendance figures. Given the absence of tuition fees and grading and the presence of competing agencies nearby, teachers in my program have over the years developed a heightened sensitivity to both the expectations of students and the possible negative ramifications of their teaching practices.

Research Methodology: Freedom From Observation and Documentation

It is against the backdrop of this program that I carefully considered the selection of an appropriate research methodology for data collection. This article refers to few if any sources of empirical data (e.g., tape recordings, interviews, observations of other classes) that some would deem essential for theory formation. Data collection took place over 2 days and consisted almost exclusively of writing participant observation notes from memory immediately after lessons and from short phrases jotted down in class. Included as well are two examples of student compositions given to me with permission to use them subsequent to my request.

My reluctance to follow more formal modes of discovery (see, e.g., the *Qualitative Research Guidelines for TESOL Quarterly*) should be briefly explained. From my work experience at the community center and from close personal relationships with many students, I have found that many established research methodologies have the potential to be overly intrusive and counterproductive, most of all in terms of encouraging a classroom environment where openness, experimentation, and challenges to the status quo were central to discovering the meaning potential of intonation. Many teacher educators take the position that research should and can be a benign and politically neutral activity. Moreover, they would suggest that failure to achieve the desired level of personal detachment and objectivity was one of application rather than premise (see Day, 1990). However, what is far more problematic and difficult to ascertain are the meanings that sustained observation and documentation evoke in ESL students, many of whom come from

societies in which classroom research methods can inadvertently parallel forms of political surveillance.

Let me elaborate. In my classes, I have often witnessed nervous students revise or “forget” an unguarded comment in the face of my curiosity. Some have told me of their uncertainty regarding the permanence of their legal status, especially if they transgress public ordinances and relatively insignificant laws (e.g., jaywalking, undeclared tips on taxes). Others have mentioned their fears of retribution against family and friends back home as a result of a politically sensitive comment. And others, showing a critical awareness born of experience, have been suspicious of the fundamental assumptions that motivate enquiry.² In fact, just proposing a research study can be hazardous: Students who are uneasy might be reluctant to say so in front of peers; consequently, they drop out of class without discussing their concerns. Such experiences and concerns are carefully guarded and rarely discarded at the door of the classroom.

Certainly, I would not claim that these experiences are necessarily generalizable to or representative of a specific percentage of the ESL student body. But I would argue that teachers who choose not to interview, tape-record, or externalize the emic voices of their students should not be excluded from contributing to the knowledge base of the TESOL profession. I would also argue that this option becomes even more imperative when researchers consider the implications of identity work that explores language resources—such as intonation—to challenge power relations in the family, community, and society. In such cases, they might instead encourage teachers to recognize the ethical and ideological conditions in which freedom from observation and documentation becomes a necessary prerequisite for transformative practice. In the event that teachers choose, instead, modes of inquiry that are experimental, speculative, and fundamentally interpretive (see Canagarajah, 1996), it may be for reasons that contribute positively to the general understanding of identity and language learning.

Social Identity in Transition

The students who participated in the lesson described here all claim Chinese ethnicity. With the exception of one student from Malaysia and

² Such possibilities are eloquently corroborated in Giltrow and Calhoun’s (1992) provocative article on Mayan resistance to ESL orthodoxy: “While we have learned a little about their assumptions, they have learned a lot about ours. They have learned that, in this community where English is the first language of most people, institutional/cultural traditions value practices that trigger language behavior and capture it for the purpose of measuring its deviation from a norm. They reject this tradition and resist” (p. 62).

one from Taiwan, the rest of the class comes from Hong Kong. Of the 15 students who participated in this class, 11 were women, and 12 were over the age of 50. On a superficial level, a considerable degree of homogeneity might be assumed. However, for reasons that I shall point out, and particularly in regard to the women in my class, I will argue that the meaning of Chinese identity in Toronto should be seen as "multiple, a site of struggle, and subject to change" (Peirce, 1995, p. 20). Considerable diversity emerged in our discussions and lessons, as a result, I believe, of the students' individual responses to the specific combination of economic, familial, and resettlement strains they were personally experiencing or were immune from.

Since 1988, Hong Kong has been the largest source of immigration to Canada (Thompson, 1993). In 1992, 37,787 people from Hong Kong came to Canada, most of them settling in Toronto or Vancouver. That number represents one sixth of total immigration to the country. Most of these immigrants have come as a result of their concerns over China's reacquisition of Hong Kong in 1997. Recent policy changes by the federal government have made immigration more possible for investors in particular. Many other Hong Kong residents have successfully applied under Canada's immigration point system, which is weighted in favour of highly skilled and educated professionals. Other immigrants come under the family reunification program and must be sponsored by immediate family. In the investment and independent point system categories the Canadian government generally selects as immigrants those from the more affluent and elite sectors of Hong Kong society.

The combination of Canada's economic difficulties and the high expectations of newcomers—unduly reinforced by the government's point system screening process—has resulted in frustration for Hong Kong immigrants when they find their options far more limited than previously expected. Systemic forms of discrimination in assessment of professional training, work experience, and education persist in Ontario (see Burnaby, 1992; Podoliak, 1993). Those fortunate enough to find work are disappointed at the lower salaries and higher taxes compared with those in Hong Kong. Investors find the return on their investments and government and labour regulations a hindrance. The response for many has been to adopt the "astronaut" lifestyle of commuting several times a year between Hong Kong and Toronto in order to maintain higher standards of living (Thompson, 1993). The result has been large numbers of single-parent families and increases in divorce and family breakdowns. In families that have stayed together in Toronto, many women have entered the work force to help generate income for their families, sometimes becoming the sole means of support. Some are earning incomes comparable to or better than their husbands' for the first time. Many women are taking ESL courses with the intention of

seeking better employment opportunities. These responses to Canadian life have introduced new challenges to family relationships as they have been traditionally defined.

In the context of identity formation, it is important to point out that national immigration policies do not select from a wide range of socioeconomic groups but tend to be narrowly focused. The manner in which gendered and classed values in one society articulate to dominant values in another will have a significant influence on how immigrant identities are negotiated and whether specific families remain intact. To reiterate my earlier comments, this influence does not imply the inculcation of immutable social laws but rather the internalization of values that contextualize how social agents reflexively experience and act upon new social possibilities as they are perceived through discursive practices in the classroom and the community.

IN THE CLASSROOM

The following lesson, titled *Isolation*, comes from a students' text called *Decisions, Decisions* (Bowers & Godfrey, 1985). I specifically selected it because it approximated the types of experiences intimated by my students during informal class discussions and touched on several of the settlement and familial pressures mentioned above. As well, it suited the high-intermediate level of the class. Each chapter in the book begins with a description of a problem followed by a number of controlled and relatively open activities that elicit practice in oral and written English.

Yuen-Li is the wife of Chian-Li. They have been in the United States for two years. Chian-Li is very traditionally minded, believing that a wife should stay at home, make herself beautiful for him, and look after their two teenaged children, Steve and Sue. The family always speaks Cantonese at home, and Yuen-Li doesn't know any English. Chian-Li has attended English classes because sometimes he needs English in his job. He is an importer. Yuen-Li feels very isolated. (p. 25)

After reading the passage, we concentrated on a group speaking activity focused on discussing and ranking appropriate solutions for Yuen-Li. What was particularly advantageous for identity work was the relative anonymity the exercise allowed for. While overtly providing advice for Yuen-Li, students could potentially introduce their own difficulties and beliefs with less fear of personal attribution and criticism from peers.³

³ An important point here is that the reasons for classroom silence are complex and rarely self-evident (Schenke, 1991); one such cause can be a reluctance to transgress linguistic, cultural, gendered, and classed norms that sustain supportive social networks in a competitive and impersonal economy often hostile to newcomers (see Goldstein, 1994).

The structure of the activity thus enabled students to compare and reassess private experiences within a context of challenging alternatives that might otherwise have remained unspoken. The following solutions for Yuen-Li came from the text and were compared and evaluated by the class:

Solution No. 1. Try to explain to her husband that she, too, would like to take English classes.

Solution No. 2. Ask her children to try to convince Chian-Li that she should go to English classes.

Solution No. 3. Explain to Chian-Li that her lack of English will have a bad effect on the family.

Solution No. 4. Go to English classes during the day, and hope that Chian-Li will be pleased when he discovers that she has learned the language.

Solution No. 5. Find a hobby to pursue at home to keep herself occupied.

Solution No. 6. Get together with some friends who are in the same situation and employ a tutor to teach English to them in their homes.

Solution No. 7. Talk to some of the leaders of her ethnic community group and persuade them to start classes in English for housewives.

Solution No. 8. Other.

Solution No. 9. Other. (p. 26)

The discussions around the various solutions were quite animated and insightful. Most of the class preferred Solution 3 for Yuen-Li as opposed to Solution 1. All the students felt that to invoke family over individual needs would be the most powerful form of persuasion available. Three students liked Solution 2 because they felt that Chian-Li was more likely to be persuaded by his children than by his wife. In regards to Solution 4, two of the men in the class stated that they would be angry if the option of secret lessons were used in their households. In contrast, about half of the women felt that this was the best option because it ensured that Yuen-Li would learn English and would increase her opportunities in Canada. They often referred to the story's depiction of Chian-Li as "traditionally minded" as support for their belief that Solutions 1 and 3 were unlikely to change his mind.

One of the women in my class, an "astronaut's widow," got us all into fits of laughter with her repeated comments urging Yuen-Li to "take power" from her husband. One of the men, then unemployed and seeking work, replied that in Canada women have more power than men. When I asked him to explain, he elaborated on his comment, noted for its quality of resentment. He said that women could get jobs in Canada more easily than men and thus had "more power" in his estimation. Because the only jobs available at that time were for low pay, he continued, employers preferred to hire women, who were "used to low wages" and would not leave at the first opportunity. I then tried to

draw out opinions and experiences that would challenge his assumption and help indicate the constraints—the absence of power—that compel some women to stay in low-paying jobs. Sentiments appeared to be mixed both in support of and against his evaluation. A couple of students stated that it was equally difficult for immigrant women to find work, especially for good wages. Another added that domestic duties, which husbands rarely shared in, often prevented immigrant women from seeking employment. Our class unanimously rejected Solution 5 and showed moderate interest in Solutions 6 and 7.

When I asked for possible solutions other than the ones stated in the exercise, none were immediately volunteered. Because it was near the end of the class, I did not try to pursue the possibility any further, though in retrospect other suggested solutions would have contributed positively to our discussion. As well, more critical discussion of the existing solutions would have been helpful. For example, in regards to Solution 7, how does one identify “leaders” in the community? How is their authority established and exercised? Do they respond to the needs of all community members equally?

A Spontaneous Intonation Lesson

The next day I brought in a scripted dialogue that incorporated some of the ideas that had been discussed the day before. I chose to elaborate on Solution 4 because it had generated the most discussion and opposing viewpoints the day before. From this discussion, I also sensed that this option personified the contradictions of changing identity I outlined earlier in a way that the other solutions did not. In Solution 4, Yuen-Li demonstrates individual courage and resistance (i.e., taking lessons without consent) on the one hand but caution and compliance to tradition (i.e., unwillingness to assert her independence or risk family unity) on the other in the face of new social values and possibilities.

We first reviewed many of the previous day’s ideas and choices. I gave the dialogue to just one student, and we read it together. I then asked the class to determine which solution was being discussed. After a short discussion and repetition of the dialogue, I gave each student a copy.

- Yuen: Sue, would you mind helping me cook dinner?
Chian: Yuen, you’re speaking English. How did you learn those words?
Yuen: Oh, I’ve been studying at a community center for several months. I really enjoy it, and the teacher is very good.
Chian: You should have told me first. You know that the customs here are different and you might cause some trouble for us.
Yuen: I’m sorry, Chian. But you’re so busy, and I didn’t want to trouble you.

Besides, the lessons are free, and many other Chinese housewives are in the class.

Chian: Well then, I think everything will be fine as long as you don't forget your duties for the family.

My initial objective for this scripted dialogue was to provide some guidance for lower level students in my class who occasionally have trouble producing their own work. My intention was to place students with partners who had expressed sentiments similar to theirs the day before and have them collaborate on a dialogue for presentation to the class. As mentioned earlier, I am interested in integrating pronunciation in as many activities as possible. Prior to placing students in pairs, I went over a few features of linking and palatalization in the scripted dialogue (e.g., "Would you mind . . .," "How did you learn . . ."; the linking of *d* + *y* producing the sound /dz=/ like the *j* in *judge*). I had a few students read the dialogue to the whole class and followed up with corrections and comments. Two intonation patterns seemed unduly neglected initially: Chian's surprise at hearing his wife speak English and Yuen's response to her husband's surprise.

These intonation patterns became the unplanned focus of our lesson. To help explain what I felt was appropriate sentence-level intonation from a Hallidayan perspective, I needed to remind the students about the suggestions and responses from the previous day's lesson. To highlight the intonation resources available to the surprised husband, Chian, I asked the two male students who disliked the option of secret lessons to reiterate their sentiments. Their responses provided the social context necessary to elaborate on the semantic and functional potential of intonation. As mentioned in Halliday's (1985) discussion of tonality and tonicity, I organized the function of tonality through the following tone groups, or informational units, in my utterance: "/Yuen/ You're speaking English/ How did you learn those words/." In the tone groups, I raised the entire pitch of my response relative to my normal voice and provided the feature of tonicity, or tonic prominence, through strong emphasis and high to low falling tones on the stressed syllables of *Yuen*, *English*, and *learn* to signal displeasure and surprise. Then I asked several other students to recall their reasons for choosing Solution 4 for Yuen. We referred to the issue of Chian's power and his "traditional" thinking to debate the best strategy for Yuen at this juncture of the dialogue.

One single word became our focus: *Oh*. Together we plotted strategies and possible intonation patterns to realize them. A fast-rising tone by Yuen would probably indicate her uncertainty or questioning of Chian's response ("Why are you upset, Chian? Maybe I've done something wrong."). This response might indicate fear of Chian or a more covert form of resistance. A slow-falling tone from a relatively high pitch would,

in contrast, remove uncertainty. Such a contour, I suggested, could be used to indicate confidence in her decision, a way of dismissing Chian's concerns by implying, "Nothing unusual or inappropriate has happened here. All the other wives are studying, too." These two patterns were practiced, and several of the students enjoyed placing particular emphasis on the social response that they wanted to convey. I realized that other contours were available for *Oh* (rising-falling might indicate reiteration of an old dispute: "You're bringing that issue up again") but thought that they would be too difficult to include at that time.

This pattern of the lesson continued. We looked at each sentence, negotiating intonation patterns and particular words and phrases that would be most effective for Yuen. In Yuen's last response to Chian, we decided that particular emphasis (tonicity) must be placed on the following words (in italics): /you are *so busy*/ and I didn't want to *trouble* you/ /the lessons are *free*/ and *many other Chinese housewives*/ are in the class/. In this last example, some students opted for greater tonic prominence on the stressed syllable of *many* whereas some chose *Chinese* within the larger intonation focus of the four words. Both choices were interesting strategies to buttress Yuen's challenge to Chian's authority. The first one claims the force of numbers whereas the second claims the force of ethnicity.

I had each student practice reading the scripted dialogues with a partner as I went around the room listening and offering suggestions regarding the use of intonation. For some students, the recognition of what to stress was not so easily transferable to larger elements of speech. In part, this may be a particular interlanguage problem common to speakers whose L1 uses tones phonemically to determine meanings at the level of a word (e.g., Mandarin, Cantonese, Vietnamese). Most of the class had little trouble altering their intonation to distinguish focal points but did not achieve what would be termed native English performance. I was not disappointed by this because I expected the recognition of potential more than demonstration of mastery at that time. Most important, the students seemed to understand that intonation can play an important role in a strategic interaction between people and that its function in that interaction could be modified to reflect the social context in which it was transpiring.

Each pair of students then produced their own dialogue. I went around the room making suggestions and corrections. I then asked each pair to present their dialogue to the class with the added encouragement to remember and try to use the ideas about intonation that we had practiced. I include here two examples of their work with some errors retained that had eluded my earlier attention.

1. Yuen: Steve, can you do me a favour?
Steve: What can I do for you?
Yuen: Can you try to convince your father to let me go to English class?
Steve: Why do you want to learn English?
Yuen: I don't want stay at home all day long. I feel very isolated. On the other hand, if some accident happened there is no body at home, who can talk to the police or fireman.
Steve: You are right. I agree with you. I will talk my father, if you lack of English it will have a bad effect on our family. I will try to convince him.
Yuen: Thanks, Steve!
Steve: Don't mention it. It's my pleasure. That sounds great to me!
2. Yuen: I want to learn English in community center. What do you think?
Chian: Do you have so much free time at home?
Yuen: No, if I don't know the English language, it's very inconvenient.
Chian: I think our family is more important than other things like English.
Yuen: Oh, no! I don't agree with you! I think if we don't know English, it will have a bad effect on our family.
Chian: This is a hard problem! Let me think late!

In reference to identity issues, it is interesting to recognize the weight placed upon familial obligations in these two dialogues. In the last dialogue, the extensive use of exclamation marks—unusual in any previous lesson—indicated a new awareness of the need to establish and integrate prosodic emphases along with lexical and grammatical strategies. Both dialogues were presented with great enjoyment near the end of our class.

Extension: Linking Identity and Intonation

In retrospect, I see a number of ways that this classroom activity could be expanded and improved upon. First, each group's composition/role play could be circulated throughout the class. Then the class could collectively negotiate "appropriate" identity roles, tonicity, and tonality as I had done with my own dialogue. In addition, the class could mark areas of tonicity on their copies as a listening activity prior to discussion. Again, to emphasize the social aspect in role play, I would focus on the types of questions that Halliday's notion of register might suggest: What are the "rules" here? (How are they informed by culture, class, race or gender?) When, where, and why must they be obeyed? How can they be broken? What are the words, grammar forms, and intonation contours that enable this to happen?

CONCLUSIONS

Men's language is the language of the powerful. It is meant to be direct, clear, succinct, as would be expected of those who need not fear giving offence, who need not worry about the risks of responsibility. It is the language of people who are in charge in the real world. Women's language developed as a way of surviving and even flourishing without control over economic, physical or social reality. Then it is necessary to listen more than speak, agree more than confront, be delicate, be indirect, say dangerous things in such a way that their impact will be felt after the speaker is out of range of the hearer's retaliation. (Lakoff, 1990, p. 205)

It would be inappropriate to tell students how to conduct their family lives in Canada. At the same time, I believe, it would be irresponsible not to teach them how to "say dangerous things" wherever and whenever they need to do so. As an ESL teacher, I am keenly interested in the full yet unrealized potentials of language. Sometimes language is a thing of beauty, sometimes a model of clarity and precision, and sometimes a weapon. All local options of language should be made available to newcomers in our society—if not for personal use, then at least for scrutiny and recognition when their interests as newcomers are at stake. "Saying dangerous things" is as much a condition of specific context and situation as it reflects generalized principles. This is where intonation—particularly within a Hallidayan perspective—seemed to play such an important part in our lesson. In the scripted dialogue, some of my students chose to use rising tones for *Oh* because "it is safer." Others chose falling tones, making their "deception" and challenge a little more explicit. For many of my students, their choices reflected their own conditions as much as the characters in the story.

As suggested by Lakoff (1990), the lack of power experienced by women is a reality that seeks out its own constrained resources. Sometimes it requires a radical and physical separation from past abuse and the repudiation of values that were previously central to one's identity. Other times it may require finding ways to say dangerous and challenging things in modalities that appear delicate and indirect. The varied and subtle inflections of intonation seem consistent with the latter. Maybe this option explains the noticeable enthusiasm for these lessons in my class. Will my students use their new understanding of ESL intonation to resist or challenge the roles ascribed to them in their family, particularly as family life in Canada undergoes transformation? Yes and no. On the one hand, spousal relationships are unlikely to be worked through in English. On the other, many children of immigrant families frequently speak English rather than the mother tongue at home, which often serves to isolate women such as Yuen-Li even further.

So in this regard, the kinds of situations presented in this lesson and in the students' dialogues may well be relevant to broader communication patterns in immigrant families. Perhaps more important, our ESL classroom provided students with an opportunity to share their personal difficulties, evaluate them against the experiences of others, and begin to recognize them as socially constructed and potentially transformed through social action. We as TESOL professionals might see this process, and its active facilitation in our classes, as a primary means by which new solidarities and traditions are negotiated for immigrant communities.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CLASSROOM

In our lesson, the dynamic aspects of intonation emerged as a focus precisely because the social context that had been established—in many ways equally dynamic and contingent—helped to effectively demonstrate the meaning potential available through this aspect of the sound system. I see several challenging issues implicated here. Certainly, one is that ESL teachers should pay close if not equal attention to the historical and local conditions that influence identity formation when contextualizing language activities in the classroom. A far more difficult challenge for teachers, however, will be to address their own sociopolitical assumptions inscribed within TESOL's theories and technologies of language acquisition, methodology, and research (see Bourne, 1988; Cummins, 1994; May, 1994; Pennycook, 1990, 1994; Phillipson, 1992; Tollefson, 1991). In the course of classroom practice, teachers might need to critically examine how these conceptual predispositions define and constrain the emancipatory potential of identity work in ESL.

Such a process is already under way in the TESOL profession's conferences and publications in the presence of an often contentious debate over the need to conserve or transform the knowledge base of the profession (see Auerbach, 1993; Benesch, 1994; Clarke, 1994; Corson, 1997; Morgan, 1996, *in press*; Peirce, 1989; van Lier, 1994). For those troubled by this current of skepticism and experimentation, it is important to remember that the devolution of language planning and inquiry has gained in popularity precisely because of the acknowledged shortcomings of grand formulaic theories and top-down curricula. A note of caution is therefore required. As the profession promotes the importance of more teacher research, flexible pedagogy, and critical inquiry in its developing awareness of social identity, it should be careful not to prescribe the terms of these undertakings in inflexible, uncritical, and monocultural formats. The results are unlikely to resolve the problems that have been the impetus for seeking out such alternatives in the first place.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to Patrick Allen for inspiring the original version of this article and for his suggestions for its further development. I also thank Jim Cummins, Bonny Norton, and the anonymous reviewers of *TESOL Quarterly* for their valuable assistance.

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The Negotiation of Teachers' Sociocultural Identities and Practices in Postsecondary EFL Classrooms

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This article explores the complex interrelationships between language and culture, between teachers' sociocultural identities and teaching practices, and between their explicit discussions of culture and implicit modes of cultural transmission in their classes. A 6-month ethnographic study examined how teachers deal with institutional and curricular expectations regarding their teaching of (North American) culture in their EFL classrooms in a postsecondary institution in Japan. The study also explored the teachers' changing understandings of what constitutes culture and of how they viewed themselves in terms of their various social and cultural roles. Common themes included (a) the complexities and paradoxes associated with teachers' professional, social, political, and cultural identities and their (re)presentation of these in class; (b) their quest for interpersonal and intercultural connection in that EFL context; (c) their desire for educational (and personal) control in the face of contested cultural practices; and (d) disjunctures between teachers' implicit and explicit messages in relation to their cultural understandings and practices. We discuss these themes and make recommendations for teacher education purposes. We argue that the cultural underpinnings of language curricula and teaching must be examined further, particularly so in intercultural situations in which participants are negotiating their sociocultural identities as well as the curriculum.

Language teachers and students in any setting naturally represent a wide array of social and cultural roles and identities: as teachers or students, as gendered and cultured individuals, as expatriates or nationals, as native speakers (NSs) or nonnative speakers, as content-area or TESL/English language specialists, as individuals with political convictions, and as members of families, organizations, and society at large.

The identities and ideologies that become foregrounded depend in large measure upon the institutional and interpersonal contexts in which individuals find themselves, the purposes for their being there, and their personal biographies (e.g., Heath & McLaughlin, 1993; Johnson, 1994; Kagan, 1992; Louden, 1991).

But sociocultural identities and ideologies are not static, deterministic constructs that EFL teachers and students bring to the classroom and then take away unchanged at the end of a lesson or course (Kramsch, 1993a). Nor are they simply dictated by membership in a larger social, cultural, or linguistic group, the way many scholars approach the topic of language and social identity (e.g., Edwards, 1985; Giles & Byrne, 1982; Gumperz, 1982; see Heath & McLaughlin, 1993; Ochs, 1993; Roberts, Davies, & Jupp, 1992). Rather, in educational practice as in other facets of social life, identities and beliefs are co-constructed, negotiated, and transformed on an ongoing basis by means of language (Hall, 1995; He, 1995; Kramsch, 1993a; Lather, 1991; Ochs, 1993; Peirce, 1995). For this reason, applied linguists increasingly conceptualize identity as “a process of continual emerging and becoming” (He, 1995, p. 216), a social-constructivist orientation that “captures the ebbs and tides of identity construction over interactional time, over historical time, and even over developmental time. . . . [It] allows us to examine the building of multiple, yet perfectly compatible identities—identities that are subtle and perhaps have no label, blended identities, even blurred identities” (Ochs, 1993, p. 298).

In EFL classrooms, issues of sociocultural identity and representation are very important.

1. Foreign language teachers and students commonly discuss the social and cultural aspects of other ethnolinguistic groups, particularly those associated with the target language. Indeed, in some programs teachers are required to broach cultural issues. Hence, the nature of the cultural representations of others and the way the teachers and students position themselves with respect to those representations need to be examined.
2. Problems may arise when teachers' or students' identities and beliefs related to gender roles, nationality, ethnicity, teaching methods, and language use conflict with those of colleagues, students, professional publications, popular media, or local cultures. How are these problems then resolved?
3. The English language teaching industry is not culturally, politically, socially, or economically neutral; rather, in the international (EFL) sphere it plays a powerful role in the construction of roles, relations, and identities among teachers and students (Pennycook, 1994).

That being the case, how do EFL teachers reconcile their own perspectives of who they are—their linguistic, social, and cultural values and identities—with national stereotypes of their own and others' linguistic and cultural values? How do they negotiate the curriculum in terms of its cultural content?

This article reports on an in-depth study of four classes in an adult EFL program at the Kansai Cross-Cultural Institute (KCCI, a pseudonym), a large, well-established, private educational institution in a medium-sized Japanese coastal city. The lives of four EFL teachers and their students, both inside and outside of the classroom, were examined in order to obtain descriptions, understandings, and interpretations of teachers' multiply constructed roles and identities as instructors and purveyors of (American) English language and culture(s) in this socioeducational context. Although the focus of the study is teachers' construction, conceptualization, and interrogation of their own identities and practices, they cannot be fully understood without reference to the teachers' students and colleagues, who, together with them, co-construct their identities and communities of practice. For, as Jacoby and Ochs (1995) indicate, citing various linguistic anthropologists, the "co-authoring" of activities (e.g., in language classrooms) "helps to maintain and transform the social identities of the participants, the institutions in which these activities are embedded, and the ideologies that inform and legitimize their ongoingness" (p. 175).

BACKGROUND: RESEARCHING SOCIOCULTURAL IDENTITY AND SOCIALIZATION IN TESOL

Research on Learners' Identities

A number of recent articles have examined the role of learners' social and cultural identities in learning English and the role of the TESOL profession in reconstructing people's identities and roles. Peirce (1995) highlighted the importance of understanding adult immigrant women's personal, social-psychological investments in learning ESL and manifestations of those investments in their sociolinguistic interactions and in the foregrounding of certain identities and the backgrounding of others. Hall (1995), drawing upon sociohistorical theory (e.g., Wertsch, 1991) and social-psychological treatments of identity (e.g., Tajfel, 1982), emphasized the role of socialization in the construction of roles (and stereotypes) and the need to move beyond the narrow focus on native versus nonnative speaker as the only relevant identity in investigations of L2 use. Hasebe-Ludt, Duff, and Leggo (1995) considered the cultural

messages conveyed through English language teaching materials and popular media in a multicultural community school in Canada as well as in Asian and South Pacific regions and raised concerns about certain trends associated with community building and globalization that may pay lip service to diversity without really confronting the tensions and misrepresentations that may accompany diversity or its historical antecedents. Issues of language and social identity have also been discussed in terms of gender, minority versus majority status, geographical setting, and age (e.g., McKay & Hornberger, 1996).

Scholars in related fields sometimes conceive of social identity as a kind of positioning (e.g., Hall, 1990), a personal location and belonging (Turner, 1982; Weeks, 1990), something that is likely to become “an issue when it is in crisis” (Mercer, 1990, p. 43). Particularly relevant in the field of language teaching is the inevitable role of “the Other” in distilling and delimiting a sense of one’s own identity:

In the commodification of language and culture, objects and images are torn free of their original referents and their meanings become a spectacle open to almost infinite translation. . . . Otherness is sought after for its exchange value, its exoticism and the pleasures, thrills and adventures it can offer. (Rutherford, 1990, p. 11)

This notion of tribalizing and stereotyping others in the process of sociocultural identity construction is also found in Holliday (1996), who cited problematic, overly simplistic depictions of Japanese language learners and of a homogeneous Japanese culture by non-Japanese TEFL professionals (see Said’s seminal work, 1978, on Orientalism; Kanada, 1995; Morley & Robins, 1995). The juxtaposition of identities leads to incommensurability and cultural hybridity, or what has been called a third space (Bhabha, 1990). Interestingly, geographical metaphors used in relation to interculturality—such as place, space, borders, and boundaries—capture the sense of distance, distinctiveness, and alienation that may exist across (and when crossing) ethnolinguistic and other identities; the terms themselves often signal that the geopolitical “border crossing” involved in migration (or being) in the world favors, forgives, or tolerates movement and difference in some directions but not others (see Ben-Rafael, 1994; Erickson, 1996, p. 294, following Barthe, 1969; Giroux, 1992; Morley & Robins, 1995; Phelan, Davidson, & Yu, 1993; Seelye & Wasilewski, 1996).

Research on Language Socialization

The fundamental interconnectedness of the processes of learning language and culture in social contexts is emphasized in research on

language socialization, which has in the past typically dealt with L1 socialization (e.g., Duff, 1996; Heath, 1983; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). In L2 education, the inseparability of language and culture has been discussed by many writers,¹ sometimes under the rubric of acculturation (Schumann, 1986) or language (re)socialization (e.g., Duff, 1995; Jupp, Roberts, & Cook-Gumperz, 1982; Poole, 1992). Indeed, the rise of communicative language teaching in the 1980s and the concurrent globalization (and commodification) of education and business have placed a great premium on successful intercultural communication, much of it conducted in English. As a result, teaching about aspects of target cultures in the EFL classroom has become a vaunted function of EFL courses, and a plethora of frameworks, techniques, and materials for presenting culture have been developed.²

Some reported benefits of explicitly teaching about culture in the foreign language classroom are higher motivation and positive attitude changes (Halverson, 1985; Kitao, 1991; Morgan, 1993; Webber, 1987). However, what exactly should be taught and how it should be taught are still unclear (Kitao, 1991). Additionally, “the teaching of culture as a component of language teaching has traditionally been caught between the striving for universality and the desire to maintain cultural particularity” (Kramsch, 1993b, p. 5). But whose cultural particularities are maintained and promoted, and how? In EFL settings, what happens if the home and classroom/textbook cultures are at odds or when the values and even teaching methods presented in class are alien and unappreciated (e.g., Burnaby & Sun, 1989; Canagarajah, 1993; Pennycook, 1989, 1994)? Conversely, what happens when EFL classes expect to be exposed to a particular version of the target culture that the teacher does not endorse? In ESL settings, the questions have been somewhat different: Namely, how can educators incorporate minority students’ diverse identities, backgrounds, and cultural traditions in the English (L1/L2) curriculum in order to understand, validate, and enhance the learning experiences of all students (see Baruth & Manning, 1992; Cummins, 1996; DeVillar, Faltis, & Cummins, 1994; Grant & Sleeter, 1986; Murray, 1996)? Other issues in the ESL context are related to the limitations of relatively superficial multicultural curricula and the need to deal more proactively and critically with societal inequalities reproduced through certain educational practices (e.g., Fleras & Elliott, 1992;

¹ See, for example, Byram (1989); Crawford-Lange & Lange (1981); Damen (1987); Kitao (1991); Littlewood (1984); McGroarty & Galvan (1985); Morgan (1993); Oxford (1994); Seelye (1984).

² See Morain (1986); also see Abrate (1993); Byram (1990); Chan, Kaplan-Weinger, & Sandstrom (1995); Damen (1987); Diffey (1992); Evans & Gonzalez (1993); Heusinkveld (1985); Paulston (1992); Prodromou (1988); Rivers (1985); Seelye & Wasilewski (1996); Wegmann, Knezevic, & Werner (1994).

Grant & Secada, 1990; Ng, Staton & Scane, 1995; Sleeter, 1992). Whether teaching is in an EFL or ESL context, then, attention needs to be paid to cultural practices, referents, assumptions, processes, and consequences. For example, Kramsch (1993b) calls for an examination of the processes of acculturation and of becoming bicultural, suggesting that many foreign language classrooms focus on “what is on the other side of the border, but . . . [do] not yet [devise] ways to systematically reflect on the border crossing itself”; as a result, she observes, “in practice, teachers teach language and culture, or culture in language, but not language as culture” (p. 9).

To summarize, this article aims to examine many of these issues: the explicit and implicit cultural content of L2 curricula; the cultural identities of teachers; and the processes by which both the curricula and identities are negotiated and changed, that is, the border crossings referred to above. In the next section, we present the cultural macrocontext for the teaching of EFL in Japan, to be followed by a description of the present study.

ENGLISH EDUCATION IN JAPAN

Economic growth and technological advancement have increased Japanese access and exposure to foreign countries, something relatively uncommon even 15 years ago. Currently, many Japanese study in English-speaking countries, and many others travel overseas for recreational purposes. In Japanese business and personal life, communication in English is more prevalent than ever before. Thus, the need for English communication skills among Japanese people has intensified in recent years, and educational reforms have reflected this (e.g., Rinjikyoku Shingikai, 1987). Meanwhile, the shortcomings of traditional approaches to Japanese secondary school EFL instruction, such as grammar-translation, have become increasingly evident (Kawanari, 1993).

Among a variety of efforts to meet current needs, the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program was established in 1987 (Ellington, 1992). The program has hired and maintained over 3,000 English-speaking nationals who team-teach English with Japanese teachers. The native English-speaking teachers in the JET program are expected to be actively involved in cultural exchange as well as teach English (Hughes, 1993), although the degree to which they are utilized and their role as “cultural showpieces” have generated some criticism (Thomas, 1993). Moreover, according to some scholars, the ostensible goal of internationalization being trumpeted this past decade simply promotes Japanese nationalism, superficial internationalization, or, conversely, westernization (see Brown,

1993; Edwards, 1989; Kawanari, 1993; Rinjikyoku Shingikai, 1987; Schoppa, 1991).

In the private sector, the rise of private language schools has been dramatic. According to Yano Research Institute Ltd., there were 8,000–10,000 English language schools in Japan in 1992 (O'Toole, 1992), part of an industry reportedly worth several trillion yen a year (Nakazono, 1995). These language schools focus on communicative English courses with English NSs as teachers. One in 10 Japanese is reportedly learning English, the majority at special language schools (Ellington, 1992).

Despite the apparent popularity of these private schools, however, the activities transpiring within them and the qualifications and characteristics of EFL teachers—particularly those from other countries—have for the most part escaped scrutiny. A variety of native English-speaking teachers have been brought to Japan, ranging from those interested in Japan and its culture, to those with teaching experience or education backgrounds, to those whose primary motivation is an attractive salary and an exotic cultural experience. In 1991, it was estimated that 15,000–20,000 foreigners taught English in Japan (Holland, 1991). How do these teachers perceive their role in this sociocultural context? Given the high demand for instruction that deals explicitly with American culture in EFL classrooms, what do teachers do? How do Japanese EFL teachers conduct their classes? How do American expatriates conduct theirs? How do teachers gain explicit knowledge about their own and others' cultures? How do their preexisting (established) beliefs about culture, foreign languages, teaching, and learning interact with their lived experiences (Aoki, 1993) of teaching in that cultural milieu? These questions are very significant in light of the phenomenal political, economic, and sociocultural underpinnings and ramifications of the EFL industry in Japan.

THE STUDY

Research Questions

The research questions guiding this study were (a) how are teachers' sociocultural identities, understandings, and practices negotiated and transformed over time? and (b) what factors are associated with those changes?

Methodology

Four EFL teachers and their classes were the subject of an ethnographic case study. Ethnography seemed a particularly appropriate

approach because of its orientation to cultural understandings, its attention to local contexts of practice and its recognition of the importance of incorporating multiple points of view in relation to observed phenomena (see Davis & Lazaraton, 1995; Hornberger, 1994; Spindler, 1987). Furthermore, relatively few ethnographic studies in TESOL have dealt with adult learners (Johnson, 1992) or with the teaching of culture (Kramsch, 1993b, Watson-Gegeo, 1988). Our research was also informed by methods used in studies of teachers' knowledge and biographies (e.g., Calderhead & Robson, 1991; Freeman & Richards, 1996; Houston, 1990; Johnson, 1994; Johnston, 1994; Kagan, 1992; Louden, 1991; Powell, 1994).

Data were collected at KCCI, a well-known private institution, over a 6-month period by the following means: (a) teacher/student questionnaires administered at the beginning and end of the course;³ (b) weekly retrospective journal entries by teachers about their classes and any noteworthy cultural experiences (11–16 entries were recorded by each teacher);⁴ (c) 10 audio- or videotaped classroom observations of each teacher by a participant-observer (Uchida); (d) field notes; (e) audiotaped, postobservational interviews within a few days of each observation; (f) life-history interviews; (g) a review of instructional materials (e.g., textbooks, multimedia); and (h) the participant-observer's research journal. From the outset, the teachers were informed that the study was about "culture in EFL classrooms in Japan."

The Site

This research was conducted at a language school called KCCI Language Center in Minato City in Japan, a large, cosmopolitan city known for its ethnic diversity.⁵ The KCCI Language Center was founded in 1886 in association with a Christian organization and is one of the oldest language schools in the country, with branches scattered all over Japan. However, religious activities have not been a primary function of

³ The pre- and postquestionnaires contained the following information:

The purpose of this research is to understand the interaction between teachers and students in EFL classrooms in Japan where various cultural orientations exist due to differences in the backgrounds of teachers and students, as well as the nature of foreign language education (materials, methods, etc.) itself. By fielding this questionnaire, the researchers would like to help teachers to better understand teachers' and their students' intercultural experiences and perceptions of culture, both in and out of class. This will shed light on the role of culture in foreign language teaching and learning.

⁴ Teachers were asked to reflect on their classes each week and to identify and discuss any particularly salient cross-cultural incidents or insights they had had.

⁵ School officials gave their permission for this study because of its perceived utility and relevance as well as their familiarity with the on-site researcher. All names are pseudonyms.

the organization, and the English teachers and students are mostly non-Christians. KCCI offers a variety of English courses: communicative English, cross-cultural communication, business English, and study-abroad preparatory courses, for example. It also has courses in Japanese, French, Spanish, Thai, Korean, and Chinese and often organizes cross-cultural activities to promote international understanding through the learning of foreign languages and cultures.

A description of the English conversation courses at KCCI follows.

In our English conversation course, you will learn not only everyday conversation but also communication skills that can be applied in your real life situations. All our class sizes are small so you can learn English in a relaxed atmosphere. Speak as much as you can and make as many mistakes as you want! In the beginning and intermediate levels, a Japanese teacher and an English native-speaker teacher team-teach. . . . We believe that the pleasure of learning a new language is broadening your world view. In English courses such as [KCCI], the real-world materials from foreign countries, such as newspapers, magazines, and movies are used so that our students will be exposed to the cultures of English-speaking countries. (KCCI course brochure, n.d., n.p.)

The EFL course description highlights opportunities for exposure to information about (and from) different parts of the world, including “the cultures of English-speaking countries.” It also underscores that learning is to be relaxed and communication-focused. At KCCI, adult English courses of that sort are normally held in the mornings (10:30–12:20) and evenings (6:30–8:20). The majority (70%) of adult students are women—wealthy housewives or single women in their late 20s or early 30s, who prefer to take morning classes. Evening students are more diverse in terms of gender, age, occupation, and sometimes ethnicity. As KCCI is relatively close to the main business district, many evening students work full time in the city. The evening classes are also popular among college students. EFL teachers at KCCI all have at least 2 years of EFL/ESL teaching experience. Some have TESL certificates or are in the process of becoming certified. The school regularly invites major publishers and authors of EFL/ESL textbooks to sponsor free workshops for EFL teachers in the area. For communicative English courses, a Japanese teacher and a native English-speaking teacher are paired up to teach the same class on alternate days.

The Participants

Four teachers were selected on the basis of their reputation as good teachers (McMillan & Schumacher, 1993) and their willingness to

participate fully in the study: two Japanese females (Miki and Kimiko) and two Americans, a male and a female (Danny and Carol). All four were in their late 20s to early 30s and had roughly 1.5 years of teaching experience at KCCI at the outset of the study. A fuller description of the teachers is provided below.

Analysis

Analyses and interpretations were rendered in a recursive, reflexive, and triangulated manner, incorporating insights and feedback from the research participants as well as the researchers (see Bogdan & Biklen, 1982; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Goetz & LeCompte, 1984; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1994; Lather, 1991). One of the authors (Uchida), who had previously taught at the school for two semesters, resumed her teaching there for the duration of the study, conducting the observations and interviews as well. Those data were then transcribed and, together with questionnaire data, were coded for recurrent, relevant themes associated with the teachers' perceptions of their various sociocultural roles, identities—ethnic/cultural, social, professional—and conflicts.⁶

Findings

The teachers' perceptions of their sociocultural identities were found to be deeply rooted in their personal histories, based on past educational, professional, and (cross-)cultural experiences. They were also subject to constant negotiation due to changing contextual elements, such as the classroom/institutional culture, instructional materials, and reactions from students and colleagues. Teachers' appreciation for the complexities and paradoxes of their professional, social, political, and cultural identities, their quest for connection, and the need for educational (and personal) control emerged as common themes. Also, differences between teachers' implicit and explicit cultural messages became salient in examinations of each teacher's reflections and behaviors. What follows is a brief biographical profile of each of the four teachers and a discussion of general themes.

⁶ Coding followed procedures in Bogdan & Biklen (1982); Miles & Huberman (1994); and Tesch (1990).

Danny

I guess I kind of almost learned [to teach] to be like David Letterman does his talk show stuff . . . Like he teases his guests a lot. . . So I'm Letterman, the student I'm teasing is the guest, the audience is the rest of the class. It's one of those things, everyone gets into it. (interview, June 10, 1993)

Born, raised, and educated on the West Coast of the United States with little previous travel experience, Danny had a strong attachment to U.S. popular media and was a committed vegetarian, nonsmoker, feminist, and environmentalist. Blond, blue-eyed, and in his late 20s, with a cultivated sense of humor and a dramatic flair, Danny had many admirers among the predominantly middle-aged, female students in his class. Danny had worked at KCCI for more than a year, had lived previously in Japan, and was currently teaching nearly 20 hours per week. His formal training was in the social sciences, however.

Danny believed that culture played a minimal role in communication and that all that mattered were "politically correct" behavior and attitudes and a teaching environment rich in animated, spontaneous language use. His classes therefore included a good deal of laughter, joking, sarcasm, and explicit references to social issues. Themes taken up in class included nonsmoking campaigns, gun control, women's rights, and the technical production of television situation comedies. U.S. television shows, videos (e.g., *Superman*, *Indiana Jones*), and cartoons were featured in his class on a regular basis, a favorite being *The Simpsons* (e.g., an episode dealing with Marge's problems being a housewife). Despite his fascination with certain aspects of Japanese popular culture, Danny was critical of Japanese culture for its lack of creativity, individualism, and progressive social values and for the indirectness with which perceived problems, in his view, were broached. However, he saw these issues as more social than cultural. That is, issues of social justice, equity, morality, and responsibility were independent of, or perhaps superordinate to, cultural considerations. Danny perceived Japanese women to be unhappy and unfulfilled because of constrictive societal norms and expectations; he therefore sought to liberate them through his teaching. His class was characterized by humorous monologues, with Danny on stage at the front assuming the role of talk show host (see the excerpt above). The well-dressed, upper-class housewives in the audience sat in a row watching attentively and responding on cue. But Danny's charismatic, exuberant, and often mischievous social/cultural role in class was not a unidirectional creation. His students' identities were naturally transformed through membership in that local classroom culture, and they too played a role in ratifying his identity as fun-seeking entertainer and social commentator as well as language educator. Indeed, at Danny's

encouragement and by his example, they were socialized into a local culture quite at odds with the external norms for upscale Japanese women. They began to play tricks on Danny, much as he did on them, locking him out of his classroom, teasing him, throwing things, hiding his materials, and so on, much to his—and their—delight.

Danny was a teacher deeply committed to his personal sociopolitical and educational values. Culture for him was not a spectrum of acceptable alternatives but rather a dichotomy of right or wrong moral choices. He sought to help students make “correct” choices by providing appropriate models. The talk-show format proved to be an amusing but also highly persuasive, fundamentally U.S. manifestation of popular culture and classroom culture.

Carol

I think [teaching culture is] a BS issue. When people are teaching culture or things like body language, who cares? . . . [It] comes down to a very personal interpretation. That’s what I don’t like about it. . . . It’s basically teaching what’s inside you. And I don’t want that much power. (interview, November 4, 1993)

Carol was also American, the same age as Danny and, as it turned out, from the same hometown. Occasionally mistaken for a Japanese woman because of her size and hair color, Carol embraced strong feminist convictions and a positive self-image as a resourceful, well-educated, committed TESL professional. She had grown up in a home with frequent international visitors and a good deal of overseas travel, and had attended a West Coast high school with a large proportion of African American students. Therefore, she had a decidedly multicultural upbringing. However, it was only during a subsequent period of residence on the U.S. East Coast that she developed a strong, latent identification with her Jewish American roots. That experience also contributed to her relative lack of identification with what might be portrayed as conservative mainstream (White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant) U.S. cultural values. The marginalization that she and some of her classmates had experienced in the public school system contributed to her rejection of her ostensible role as a teacher of U.S. culture.

As I’ve been thinking about this style of teaching [mainstream Western culture explicitly] and reviewing books, I get surges of memory from public school. . . . I have lots of memories of teachers talking about common experiences that I didn’t share. Endless good cheer Christmas stuff or, worse, being asked to explain myself, “And what do Hebrews do for Christmas? I guess—Ha—Ha—no Pork Roast with pineapple.” (journal, March 10, 1994)

Her distaste for and fear of discussing—and thereby possibly imposing—her personal sociopolitical and cultural beliefs on others prevented her from being as close and accessible to her students as she—and they—might have wished. Interestingly, she surmised that teaching about culture in a class in the U.S. would be less problematic for her because students could then bring their own cross-cultural experiences, discoveries, and issues to class. She resorted, instead, to a rather formal, structured curriculum, in part to avoid the kind of self-disclosure and contrived intimacy and familiarity that characterized many conversational EFL classes with young foreign teachers. Her reticence also stemmed from the fact that she was experiencing some personal problems she was not prepared to discuss in class. Another factor was that, like many ESL/EFL teachers, she taught at several different institutions at the same time, which proved both emotionally and physically draining. Striving to maintain both classroom control and egalitarian relations within the KCCI class as well as her sense of professionalism, Carol also resisted the prevailing local expectation that EFL teachers should be entertainers and conveyers of Western (e.g., White, middle-class, Hollywood) cultural values and that classes should first and foremost be fun.

An avid reader, Carol's intellectual interests were broad and ever changing, particularly in relation to things Japanese. However, she struggled with aspects of life in Japan, such as the sexist attitudes toward Japanese females held by some American and Japanese males and the pressures of conformity (within the Japanese institutions where she worked, e.g., to socialize after hours with colleagues). A role that Carol believed English learners in Japan expect from their teachers—but that she did not want to assume fully—was that of guidance counselor. She found that EFL programs such as KCCI attracted students with interpersonal difficulties, people looking both for a hobby and emotional support, for a safe haven in which to vent their frustrations and find companionship. However, eschewing the counselor identity and its attendant responsibilities, and in an attempt to create common ground with her students, Carol incorporated Japanese themes (e.g., Okinawan music), artifacts, and Japanese formulaic expressions in her lessons; she also had a penchant for grammar. She wished to highlight her identities of English language teaching specialist and student of Japanese language/culture. As a consequence, however, and in part as a result of students' exposure to other EFL teachers' instructional styles at KCCI, such as Danny's, her students became critical of her methods, displaying their resistance by such means as arriving habitually very late for class (see Canagarajah, 1993). Thus, Carol's experiences and identities in that context not only were based on her own biography, beliefs, and so on but were also defined in contrast to those of certain U.S. colleagues:

[When Michiko said that both her former teachers just played a lot of games,] I felt, "Oh shoot." In this class, you know, I've been trying to do other things than just playing games. And I wonder if the kind of things I've been trying to do are just too far away from what the students want to do. (interview, February 24, 1994)

Carol's struggle to find the ideal teaching method resulted in continuous frustration and fluctuation on her part. Ultimately, she accepted the teaching of culture (albeit Japanese culture) in order to better bridge the gap between herself and her students. She began to incorporate more discussion topics, role-plays, storytelling, brainstorming, and other interactive activities, a compromise that seemed to work. Nevertheless, in her final journal, reflecting upon the teaching of culture, Carol remained adamant about the politics of culture teaching and her disdain for being implicated in the transmission of U.S. cultural values: "[That] style of teaching . . . seems mired in the multicultural debate without reference to canon selection [It] is pulling me away from what I love about language teaching, which is language" (journal, March 3, 1994).

Miki

There was a confrontation between one male foreign teacher and one female Japanese teacher and it ended up involving other people at work, too. The cause for such confrontation seemed so trivial (almost ridiculous) to me but because of the differences in cultures, languages, and personal values of those two people, it became an ugly fight Communication involving two parties with different cultures and languages demands high level of cooperation from both sides. Experience and some kind of skill is also necessary. . . . You cannot just push your opinions to the others in a cross-cultural setting. Keeping your mouth shut and waiting does not solve any problems, either. (journal, November 30, 1993)

A petite, fashionable Japanese woman in her early 30s, Miki was a native of Minato City who worked full time at KCCI as both an EFL teacher and a program coordinator. Her upbringing was relatively privileged; she had attended a prestigious Japanese private school and college, came from a well-to-do family, and was single and financially independent. Her overseas experience included working as a summer camp counselor in America; she had also traveled a little within the Pacific Rim. The longer Miki worked at KCCI, the stronger she felt that, even in a cross-cultural setting, interpersonal relationships are determined by individuals' personalities and values rather than culture per se.

There must be a general tendency found in each cultural group. For example, Japanese are less assertive. But in a long-term relationship, the

personalities rooted deep inside individuals are more important [than their cultural backgrounds]. (interview, March 10, 1994)

Nonetheless, in her role as program coordinator, Miki dealt with many cross-cultural confrontations. Ironically, she felt at odds with the institutional goal of KCCI to promote internationalization through the exchange of culture and “having a good time in English.” Part of her ambivalence derived from her identity as a teacher of language, not culture. She viewed language learning as a legitimate end in itself, not necessarily as a tool for the transmission of culture, values, and philosophy. If culture was transmitted, it was best left to NSs of English or to international programs rather than to Japanese teachers. Miki therefore saw a clear role division between American and Japanese EFL teachers: She was a “linguistically oriented Japanese teacher,” and native-speaking English teachers provided jokes and cultural content. Miki’s education in a traditional Japanese school with an emphasis on learning language as a grammatical system clearly contributed to this belief. Yet Carol’s and Miki’s views and linguistic priorities were quite similar in this respect, although their perspectives on the role of native English-speaking teachers were different.

However, Miki’s teaching was not unproblematic. She and her young (17- to 22-year-old) students grew bored with the course textbook, leading, in her assessment, to nagging problems of attrition and lateness in her evening class. College final exams also accounted for some absenteeism and lethargy in January and February. This situation compelled her, somewhat reluctantly, to include more games than before. For example, the newfound communicative focus in her teaching was evident in interactive pair work, the analysis of advertisements by students, trivia quizzes, and grammar games using dice. Nevertheless, she felt a lesson “doesn’t have to be a carnival all the way through” and she continued to promote grammatical accuracy through a variety of exercises and correction strategies (something she felt distinguished her approach and NSs’). She liked to use magazine pictures and other props for descriptions of people and discussions of marketing strategies, for example.

According to Miki, only Japanese teachers could assume the role of empathetic counselor that Carol had resisted. Being a former EFL learner herself, now fluently bilingual, Miki felt uniquely qualified to give advice on how to study and recognized that young female students often look to female Japanese teachers as role models. Her interactions with expatriates at KCCI made her somewhat critical of certain attitudes held by young Japanese women (e.g., dependence on parents), yet she did not always see eye-to-eye with her international colleagues, either.

Kimiko

I want to respect some Japanese ways in the class because some things in Japan are very good. If I adapt some good Western things because I thought they were really good, it is often taken as “westernized” by Japanese people, right? . . . It’s your choice. . . . I don’t want to insist that my way is the only right way to live. (interview, November 15, 1993)

Kimiko was a part-time teacher in her mid-30s with considerable experience at KCCI and other schools and, indeed, internationally. She had attended college and university in the U.S. at a time when it was rather uncommon. Later, she had worked and travelled extensively elsewhere. These experiences abroad, however, had left her feeling somewhat alienated from mainstream Japanese society upon her return. Her sense of adventure and independence differentiated her from her peers, yet she did not want to be viewed as either feminist or westernized, nor did she want to impose on her classes the U.S. and other values she had appropriated. She saw grappling with current world affairs and lifestyle issues, expressing opinions, and learning and accepting differences as integral aspects of English language teaching and learning at KCCI. For Kimiko, the English classroom was a place for communication, and KCCI was a cross-cultural cocoon of sorts. For the students who were housewives, she felt, it was a place “where they can release all their stress”; it thus served social, affective, and educational purposes.

Over time, the EFL classroom became a place of learning for both the students and Kimiko; it connected her with mainstream Japanese culture, and her students were also her mentors and cultural informants. She assumed the role of listener, choosing topics of likely interest to the housewives and single women in her class (e.g., alternative/comparative education, fortune-telling, single parenting, working mothers, health care, issues surrounding the naming of children). Raising the learners’ cross-cultural awareness became Kimiko’s educational goal, based on the belief that language and culture are inseparable, and it also expanded her own cultural awareness. For Kimiko, communication was part of language, and language was part of culture. She did not consider grammar teaching bad or boring as Danny, her team-teacher, did. However, because they shared the same group of students, she also felt pressured to conform to students’ expectations based on their contact with Danny. She especially wanted students to learn to express their opinions. She respected the students’ growing assertiveness and requests for certain activities in the class but still considered herself to be the final arbiter. In short, Kimiko saw the roles of Japanese and American English teachers as different but complementary, as did Miki. Japanese teachers

could be good role models, and expatriates could offer students socio-cultural knowledge that Japanese teachers lacked. Because of her tolerance of different opinions, ideas, and cultures, Kimiko could be considered a relativist. Discussion about cross-cultural issues increased in her class when the students rejected the textbook. Many requested Kimiko as their teacher for the following term, although their mixed messages sometimes confused her: "Although they gave me a positive comment at the end, I still suspect that they might not really like my way of teaching. Their attitude changed too quickly from one extreme to the other" (interview, November 15, 1993).

In fact, students had become accustomed to Danny's direct style of confronting problems or expressing disapproval and in follow-up questionnaires indicated that many Japanese teachers were too grammar-oriented, serious, organized, and humorless compared with foreign teachers like Danny.

Teachers' Profiles: Summary

None of the teachers in this study perceived their roles as EFL teachers as necessarily involving the explicit teaching of cultural content, although the course description did mention that objective. However, in their observed practices and materials, implicit cultural transmission was very evident. Danny emphasized sociopolitical issues and popular (U.S.) cultural media. Carol sought to foster autonomous learning by using communicative EFL teaching methods from American and British TEFL programs and publications, although she preferred Japanese themes during discussions. Miki's classes were largely structured around the interactive activities suggested in the textbook, including a game each lesson, and she attempted to bridge the cultural gap between Japanese high school EFL teaching and KCCI. Finally, Kimiko engaged students in discussions of current, meaningful topics and had them express their personal opinions through public speaking activities.

CONCEPTUALIZING AND CONTEXTUALIZING TEACHERS' SOCIOCULTURAL IDENTITY IN TEFL

Teachers' sociocultural identifications and displays appeared to develop along at least two dimensions: a biographical/professional basis and a more immediate contextual basis, which are discussed in turn below.

Biographical/Professional Basis

The biographical and professional basis of identity (and image) construction and negotiation relevant in this study included (a) past learning experiences, (b) past teaching experiences, and (c) cross-cultural experiences. Studies of relationships between preservice teachers' beliefs about teaching and their student teaching experiences have shown that beliefs were often based on past learning experiences (e.g., Almarza, 1996; Bailey et al., 1996; Calderhead & Robson, 1991; Kagan, 1992; Powell, 1994). Preservice student teachers normally bring to the programs "an internalized role identity through which they make sense of the environment" (Kagan, 1992, cited in Powell, 1994, p. 362; Bullough, 1989). Not surprisingly, therefore, the four teachers in this study also drew upon their own learning experiences as they developed as teachers of EFL and culture (Johnson, 1994).

Danny's frequent reference to his college experiences (papers, speeches, and classroom arrangements) in his spontaneous minilectures and other activities was evidence of the historical basis for his choice of specific tasks and issues. From an unpleasant high school French course, he vividly recalled the stilted bookishness of the largely decontextualized examples in the textbook. His personal experiences in a university course also made him wary of relying too heavily on any one textbook in his KCCI English lessons. He was convinced that the English in his class should be real, natural, and engaging and that students should practice colloquial English by means of intonation exercises and a range of other activities.

Carol's preference for having students sit in a circle stemmed from her experiences at an alternative school with seminar-style classes. Also, because it had been worthwhile for her as a TESL student, she had students circulate and sit next to different people in class. Compared with Danny, Carol did not have as much formal experience in learning foreign languages. However, once she started taking private Japanese lessons, she became conscious of her preferences as a learner of Japanese compared with those as a teacher of English. As a teacher she had become preoccupied with making her class fun, but as a student she wanted to study grammar.

Miki, always conscious of her role as a former learner of English, saw herself as a bilingual role model. She could give advice on how to study because she knew what students needed; looking back on her experience, she could identify precisely which stage they were at. She knew students wanted more correction and feedback from teachers because she had felt the same way as a student, and she therefore complied.

Kimiko's rich and colorful English learning experiences in various target language contexts gave her a solid foundation as a teacher of EFL

and culture. Learning English had been recreational for her, not an end but a means: first to survive at a U.S. college, then to work in Australia, and later to make a successful speeches at Toastmasters, an organization devoted to improving public speaking. She learned English to express her ideas. Unless one has an idea first, one can never be assertive, and for Kimiko assertiveness was the ultimate goal in learning English. Therefore, being interested in current world affairs—not usually a highly valued goal for Japanese women—played a crucial role in the process of learning, she said.

Contextual Basis

In addition to teachers' biographical and professional backgrounds, the contextual basis of teaching included the local classroom culture, the institutional culture, and the textbook or curriculum. The teachers were continuously negotiating the curriculum, the institution's expectations of them, their own teaching/learning preferences, and their comfort level in dealing with (cross-)cultural issues and materials. Observations of the teachers revealed their particular seating arrangements, use of audiovisual equipment and materials, organization of lessons and activities, break-time behaviors, viewpoints on issues, and conflicts. They also showed how teachers projected themselves as teachers, as foreigners, as Japanese nationals, and so on. Importantly, all four teachers had been pressured by their classes to create an entertaining, mind-broadening, nurturing, exciting classroom environment. End-of-term dinner parties were common (indeed expected), and students who had been away were accustomed to bringing edible souvenirs to share in class, a sign of students' group membership and contentment with the course (according to one teacher). Other contextual factors responsible for some differences across classes were the time of day (evening students were often quieter, perhaps because of fatigue) and composition in terms of age, gender, and occupation.

Sociocultural aspects of learning were also infused in EFL materials that emphasized discussion, social issues, and games, the very components that attracted many KCCI students to EFL classes. Although normally the two coordinators (one expatriate and one Japanese) selected commercial textbooks for all the communicative English courses, teachers were not required to use them all the time. However, the table of contents in the assigned commercial textbooks was the de facto course syllabus (or curriculum-as-plan), because teachers were too busy to create their own syllabi. The majority of them worked on a part-time basis, dividing their time among other jobs; the full-time teachers had other institutional duties as well.

Course textbooks are rich repositories of both explicit and implicit cultural and linguistic messages (Risager, 1991), and some researchers have therefore begun to analyze textbooks for cultural content (e.g., Alptekin, 1993; Byram, 1989; Canagarajah, 1993; Hasebe-Ludt et al., 1995; Kramsch, 1993a; Kubanek, 1991). Risager noted that “foreign language teaching textbooks no longer just develop concurrently with the development of foreign language pedagogy in a narrow sense, but . . . they increasingly participate in the general cultural transmission within the educational system and in the rest of society” (p. 181). Thus, texts provide a focal point and medium for teachers’ negotiations with aspects of the foreign language culture and their own (dis)identification with certain representations.

In the observed classes, two commercial textbooks published by major U.S. and British publishers were used. Danny, Miki, and Kimiko used *New Wave 3* (Maple & Ong, 1992), whereas Carol used *The New Cambridge English Course 2* (Swan & Walter, 1990). However, the teachers were not uniformly committed to these materials, because of a perceived overemphasis on discrete linguistic points, the cultural content (e.g., finding a suitable nonsmoking U.S. roommate), or the structural sameness of chapters.

New Wave 3 emphasizes oral fluency and accuracy in the development of American English. Designed specifically for older teenagers and young adults at an upper elementary or lower intermediate level of EFL, the eight units follow the same pattern: warm-up exercises related to the theme of the unit; a dialogue among young adults taking summer health and fitness courses at a Canadian university; a listening exercise and comprehension questions; grammar exercises; role-play, interview, and information-gap activities; and other tasks. The characters—an American single mother/store manager, her teenaged daughter, a Japanese medical doctor, a U.S. university student, a Canadian lawyer, an English physical therapist, and a Brazilian university student—and content represent a multicultural world in which health concerns loom large.

The New Cambridge English Course 2, designed for elementary and lower intermediate learners of English, especially Europeans, stresses balance and variety across activities. Topics include economic and political development (e.g., prices of food, changes in a country), personal traits and physical appearance (e.g., babies of interracial couples), and personal and professional relationships. Each lesson starts with grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation and ends with communicative exchanges, dramatizations, or writing exercises.

Through course materials such as these, teachers and students are confronted with portrayals of Western culture, issues, and interculturalism. They must react to them, thus positioning themselves and articulating their own sociocultural (dis)identification with the characters and themes,

by participating in certain pedagogical tasks (i.e., cultural practices). In order to understand cultural transmission through education, it is therefore very important to examine the content, activities, and ideologies represented in textbooks.

EMERGENT THEMES

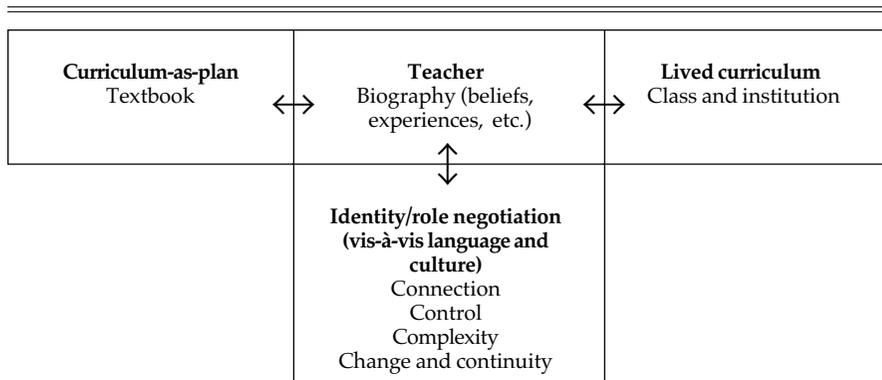
The aim of the study was to understand teachers’ construction, negotiation, and transformation of their sociocultural identities and practices in this context. The study also aimed to uncover the various factors associated with culture transmission in EFL classrooms, the mixed messages, the incongruities, and the border crossings (if any). Although the research took place over a 6-month period, those processes of socialization had begun for the teachers long before the study commenced and have continued to evolve since its completion.

Despite unique aspects of their personal circumstances, histories, perceptions, and identities as teachers (Britzman, 1986), common themes or issues confronted by teachers in this study emerged (see Figure 1).

The Complexity of Sociocultural Identity Formation, Cultural Transmission, and Change

Complexity is inherent in any study exploring the interrelationships among language, culture, and teaching—all the more so when people’s

FIGURE 1
Processes of Identity/Role Negotiation



cultural and social identities are being reflected upon. In addition, none of these things remain static: All are constantly changing, albeit in subtle ways perhaps. Change is not predictable or uniform, though, and the teachers in this study did not respond in a lockstep manner to the events in their lives (Johnston, 1994). What is more, in each teacher's class, contradictions sometimes arose between what the teachers believed or proclaimed about their cultural practices and identities, on the one hand, and what actually transpired in class, on the other. For example, Danny, an avowed feminist, assumed a seemingly dominant role in the class, telling women what they should aspire to, while he took center stage. Carol, committed to egalitarian relations, resisted the roles of friend and confidante to students and highlighted aspects of linguistic structure that were perhaps of greater interest to her than to them. Sometimes the teachers identified these paradoxes, expressing their frustration and dilemmas in their journals and on questionnaires. It was then instructive to examine how this group of teachers came to terms with these tensions or dilemmas. Students' observations also revealed certain ironies. For example, although Kimiko frequently incorporated cross-cultural themes in her lessons, her students (also taught by Danny) indicated at the end of the year that only Danny had dealt with culture in his classes.

In fact, none of the teachers thought that they taught culture explicitly, which supports the observation that "language teachers are so much teachers of culture that culture has often become invisible to them" (Kramsch, 1993a, p. 48). Yet all four implicitly transmitted and negotiated cultural messages together with their students both inside and outside of class—through their choice of seating arrangements, methods, textbooks, issues, questioning patterns, and so forth. The teachers were not always conscious of the degree to which they were negotiating their own sociocultural identities and self-awareness either but in retrospect were able to see some trends.

I realize that I thought I was an "expert" on culture just because I'm an ex-pat and just because I sit in classrooms all day long listening to Japanese folks (and before, other kinds) talk about themselves. I realize that every other ex-pat in Japan thinks the same thing. (Carol, follow-up questionnaire)

Other sources of dilemmas—and professional growth—derived from the teachers' cross-cultural team-teaching relations and from learning how to cope with institutional and societal expectations of them. This cumulative experience, the ongoing negotiations, contributed to their knowledge of how to teach. Teachers' knowledge is very complex (Louden, 1991), involving tacit or procedural knowledge embedded in teaching practices (e.g., patterns of starting or ending lessons) and

explicit or declarative knowledge (e.g., metalinguistic and metacultural knowledge and goals). These kinds of knowledge are tapped into and potentially restructured when pedagogical questions emerge in the course of teaching. Thus, teachers' sociocultural perceptions, identities, roles, and images have an established biographical and professional basis but at the same time are subject to change in response to unexpected questions/problems or critical incidents that arise in each classroom context as the curriculum is lived out (see, e.g., Bailey & Nunan, 1996; Freeman & Richards, 1996; Houston, 1990). In this study, such contingencies were confronted when students complained about the textbook and grammatical focus and attempted to resocialize their teachers into an institutional/educational culture of EFL-mediated fun and games.

The Pursuit of Interpersonal and Intercultural Connection

Creating cognitive and affective connections with students is a major theme in educational research (e.g., Moran, 1996). In an intercultural context such as KCCI, it is no wonder that the pursuit of connection should surface as an important theme. Connections allow people to enter new intercultural spaces, to cross borders, to become anchored. They become interconnected through a common language (English), in spite of their disparate histories, lives, roles, and so on. The four teachers in this study pursued various kinds of connections: between (a) their lives and those of their students, (b) the classroom and the English-speaking world beyond, (c) the textbook and the local culture, (d) institutional goals and their personal pedagogical aspirations, (e) their pedagogical beliefs and actual teaching, (f) past-present and present-future, and (g) their role as national versus expatriate teachers and their membership in the wider Japanese (or expatriate) community.

For example, Danny's desire to make his English class real, the classroom of living language using various strategies (with an emphasis on spontaneity through question-and-answer sessions, examples from U.S. television shows and personal episodes from childhood and college days, U.S. holiday activities, and sociopolitical awareness raising) represents his attempts to create vital personal connections with the class. Creating connections and bonds with students was also critical because his social network outside of class was quite limited, as was his Japanese. Carol's incorporation of Japanese cultural and linguistic items and her construction of herself as an empathetic "small-*t*" teacher, were also manifestations of her pursuit of connection, by drawing upon students' own sociocultural resources. Like Danny, Carol's acculturation within Japanese society had not been seamless, and her personal network

outside class was small. Miki, on the other hand, who enjoyed long-standing, personal community linkages, sought to create interinstitutional connections instead between Japanese high schools and KCCI. She counseled students (in Japanese if necessary) and tried to incorporate their extracurricular narratives (e.g., about weekend activities) into class discussion. Finally, Kimiko viewed her students as people with interesting ideas whom she could relate to and also learn from about contemporary Japanese life; beyond that kind of rapport, she sought connectedness to the rest of the world by taking up current international news events.

The Desire for Educational and Personal Control

English teachers are often aware that communicative L2 teaching emphasizes a student-centered classroom. Without past teaching experience, however, preservice teachers lack an established set of practical responses to problems (a repertoire) in learner-centered teaching and may assume the completely opposite role identity instead, the authority figure, based on their own learning experiences (Johnson, 1994). Findings in studies of preservice/beginning teachers' professional development have also suggested that the image of themselves as teachers (their role identity) interacts with observed teaching practices and guides teachers' growth (Bullough, 1991; Bullough & Knowles, 1991; Johnson, 1994; Kagan, 1992; Powell, 1994; Strahan, 1990). Teachers confirm, validate, and sometimes modify and change these images with additional experience. But without well-developed images of themselves as teachers, teachers may be hard-pressed to negotiate their role in class (Powell, 1994). Experienced teachers, on the other hand, with vast professional reserves to draw upon, seem less prone to radical role and identity shifts (Louden, 1991).

The four teachers in this study all attempted to create student-centered English classrooms in unique ways. Yet all of them grappled with issues of control and a disdain for authoritarianism. Danny felt pleased with his students' initiative in his class but felt frustrated when he was not in control. His frequent dominance was justified, in his view, because teachers should have control; yet he saw himself as his students' friend and, indeed, was very popular among students, many of whom reregistered in his courses. Carol initially thought she had found a perfect balance in keeping the class student centered while retaining control—through the teaching of grammar. She also felt that there was a certain amount of institutional power and control vested in her as a teacher. When she encountered difficulties, however, she reluctantly switched to more free conversation and a more relaxed classroom

culture. Miki's routine opening activity provided her with a sense of control in class. However, her one-game-per-lesson policy fragmented her lessons and left her feeling insecure; the control she sought from her identity as professional language teacher was being undermined. As a compromise, she frequently ended up having students repeat grammatically accurate sentences used in the games. Kimiko suffered confusion initially because of conflicting complaints advanced by her students. She, too, resolved this dilemma by adopting a more open, responsive mode of control. Over time, she became less strict, according to students, and more flexible, approachable, and nonauthoritarian. In fact, on the final questionnaire one student, Yuri, provided this general observation:

I could tell the teachers have become relaxed in the class. I think that as everyone in the class gets to know each other better, the kind of relationship between us has changed from teacher-student to one of friendship.

The quest for relative control over one's life and professional activities is rooted in the local culture of teaching, TEFL ideologies, and then teachers' experiences, beliefs, and needs. It is, furthermore, related to their identities as teachers and how they assert and negotiate these identities with each new class.⁷ Interestingly, the KCCI classroom represented a type of teaching context that none of the teachers had been socialized into when they themselves were language students, and each one was trying to find a suitable way to proceed. Although they had relinquished some of their control to students, the teachers reserved the right to choose issues and materials for discussion and the structure of lessons.

Importantly, as mentioned above, these four teachers were considered among the best at this large reputable institution, and all were very serious about their work. Also, KCCI supported the student-centered orientation to teaching that they also embraced. In ESL or EFL contexts with greater differences across teachers, resources, institutions, and students' expectations in terms of teaching philosophies, methods, experiences, and resources, the situation would be even more complex and possibly contentious (see Duff, 1995, 1996).

DISCUSSION

To summarize the thematic discussion, language teachers are very much "cultural workers" (Giroux, 1992), socializing students into new

⁷ See Pintrich (1990) for a sociological discussion of control and White (1992) for an in-depth discussion of issues of identity and control.

cultural/linguistic practices and helping them make new intercultural, cognitive, social, and affective connections. At the same time, the teachers are adapting to their contexts, roles, and identities, resolving incongruities, and gaining greater experience with each new cohort of students. Whether they are aware of it or not, language teachers are very much involved in the transmission of culture, and each selection of videos, newspaper clippings, seating plans, activities, and so on has social, cultural, and educational significance. But discovering how teachers think and work—how they conceptualize teaching, sociocultural identity, types of knowledge, and their lives and careers—has until quite recently been neglected in ESL research (Richards, 1994). Cultural awareness and understanding are essential for language teachers, whether they are working with relatively homogeneous populations in certain EFL settings abroad or with students from diverse cultural backgrounds in ESL settings (e.g., Alptekin & Alptekin, 1984; Cazden, 1988; Katchen, 1988; Klassen, 1981, cited in McGroarty, 1988; Nostrand, 1989; Oxford, 1994; Shade, 1989). However, short-term workshops or training programs alone, which are often prescribed for intercultural consciousness-raising and may indeed be illuminating, are unlikely to result in profound changes in teachers' cultural awareness because personal beliefs tend to be deeply ingrained (Johnson, 1994; Kagan, 1992; McCroarty, 1988; Roberts, 1988). Moreover, culture is a much more complex, subtle, and political subject and system than most realize. As Clifford (1986) observes, "If culture is not an object to be described, neither is it a unified corpus of symbols and meanings that can be definitively interpreted. Culture is contested, temporal, and emergent" (p. 19). It is that site where "identities, desires, and investments are mobilized, constructed, and reworked . . . where antagonistic meanings push and pull at our sensibilities, deep investments, and relationships with others" (Britzman, 1991, p. 57).

If culture is such a dynamic negotiation site (another geographical metaphor) and not just a body of knowledge and, indeed, if all educational contexts are themselves cultural sites, just as all teaching/linguistic actions are also cultural actions, there is much in teachers' everyday pedagogical (and other) routines and identities to be deconstructed and understood. Born out of personal histories, experiences, and beliefs, teachers' sociocultural identities and practices are heavily textured, with many interwoven elements (Freeman & Richards, 1993; Golombek, 1994; Richards, 1994). Numerous researchers have conducted studies using an experiential qualitative approach, taking into account the teacher's biography and personal beliefs as one way of tracking their development (e.g., Bailey & Nunan, 1996; Freeman & Richards, 1996; Kagan, 1992). However, many cognitive, political, cultural, and social-psychological dimensions of teachers' practices remain

unexplored (Johnson, 1994; Woods, 1996). As the past learning-to-teach studies in teacher education have revealed, novice teachers' self-image as teachers, being heavily based on their own experiences as learners, plays a critical role in their early teaching practice (Carter, 1990; Kagan, 1992). The lack of such well-developed self-images and perceptions about teaching increases the danger of failure in practice teaching (Powell, 1994). Having student teachers or in-service teachers reflect on the cultural foundations of their practices and their own self-image is one place to start.

In addition, the cultural politics of English teaching, of popular and professional media, and of various teaching methods, assessment procedures, and government policies needs to be explored more critically in teacher education programs and by teachers in the field (Pennycook, 1994). In this study, for example, teachers did not necessarily recognize the cultural and political underpinnings of their practices, materials, discourse, or teaching contexts. They were not inappropriate, but they were somehow removed from critical reflection. Fostering critical awareness in relation to issues of cultural identity and the curriculum is essential not only in EFL contexts but increasingly in ESL settings as well, particularly with minority populations in new cultures of learning and living, who may experience alienation and hence fall through cracks in the socioeducational and economic system. For this reason, growing numbers of publications and public debates deal with sociocultural diversity and its sources, consequences, and implications for programmatic pedagogical and societal change (e.g., Cummins, 1996; DeVillar et al., 1994). Also emerging are interesting related academic discussions about the politics of identity (Aronowitz, 1992), multiculturalism (Fleras & Elliott, 1992; May, 1994), and ethnographic representation (Van Maanen, 1995).

This study confirms the importance of investigating EFL teachers' self-image, beliefs about teaching EFL and culture, and role identities in teaching. Teachers' perceptions of these within their local context were in flux—as, no doubt, were students' perceptions, albeit in other ways. We suggest that a combination of biographical and contextual, practice-oriented reflection in ESL/EFL teacher education and in-service programs might enhance the development of teachers' cognitions with respect to their roles and their skills at negotiating these roles, if necessary.

COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH AND CHANGE

The purpose of this study was to explore teachers' metacultural perceptions and behaviors in their EFL classrooms and the way their own

identities as people occupying particular social and cultural roles, linked with particular ethnolinguistic groups, changed. The intention was not to change teachers' perceptions of their roles or identities as teachers, or Japanese citizens, or Americans in Japan over the 6 months. However, some changes in teachers' cultural awareness did occur during the study, possibly as a result of the research. For example, Danny's previously strong views and beliefs were tempered somewhat as he moved into a new intercultural/psychological space. Carol, an introspective person by nature, embarked on a profound exploration of cultural awareness. Despite her ambivalence about teaching culture in the classroom, she began to discuss cultural themes in other classes and, meanwhile, became more comfortable living in Japan. She felt better able to reflect on her cultural discoveries and her classroom instruction than before. Miki likewise felt enabled to reflect more satisfactorily on her teaching and on students' feedback. Finally, Kimiko, at the end of the third and last interview, wanted (and received) answers to the same questions she was being posed because she found such metacultural explorations very illuminating. In her follow-up questionnaire she wrote,

I normally try to forget what happened in the class to prepare for the next class (even when the class did not go well). But by writing weekly journals for this research, I could reflect on the good and bad points of my class to a great degree. In addition, I used to just pick up cultural topics spontaneously in the class but during the course of this research, I have been consciously thinking about cultural issues. To tell you the truth, I did not think I could find new cultural experiences in my life after living overseas so long. But once I started consciously looking for cross-cultural issues in my life, I noticed there were more issues than I expected and it was a refreshing experience that I could reflect on my past cross-cultural experiences, too.

As a researcher, a KCCI teacher, and a friend and colleague of the four teachers, one of the authors (Uchida) herself also learned a great deal about teaching English at KCCI by interacting with these teachers, observing and interviewing them, reading their journals, and keeping her own. The other author (Duff), who had taught in Japan and other Pacific Rim countries for many years, was intrigued by the contradictions, complexities, and tensions faced and experienced by the four teachers and by Uchida—which were not unlike those she had encountered as an EFL teacher and teacher educator in comparable contexts. Having been away from Japan for some time, prior to this study Uchida had also experienced cross-cultural identity negotiation and toiled in her 12 hours per week of teaching much as the four teachers in the study did; this reflexivity naturally continued when she subsequently immigrated to the U.S. with her (American) husband. If examining sociocultural identity is like trying to track down a dynamic, often elusive, moving

target, the research becomes even more challenging when the investigators' own sociocultural conceptions and identities are in flux. For example, Uchida had become more conscious of societal expectations regarding life as a Japanese woman (and teacher) in Japan and in the U.S. Her views were both informed and transformed by the research participants, just as they were changed by their collaborations on this project: by Carol's critical, feminist views, by Kimiko's relativist attitude, by Miki's skilful role switching depending on whether she was with Japanese-speaking or primarily English-speaking people, and by Danny's perspectives on Japanese women's happiness.

CONCLUSION

A discursive focus on networks of practices which constitute subjects in shifting, multiple, contradictory sites constructs a more complex understanding of identity and citizenship. (Lather, 1991, p. 42)

In each teacher's class in this study, the many layers of cultural transmission, negotiation, and creation revealed interacted with the teachers' development of their personal sociocultural identities and roles. But EFL teachers' roles as cultural (and linguistic) negotiators and practitioners cannot simply be defined according to whether they intentionally or explicitly teach cultural facts or whether they are NSs of English or Japanese or citizens of the U.S. or Japan. Rather, the cultures manifested and constructed in each classroom represented many elements, created by teachers, students, and others and shaped to a large extent by other factors, such as institutional goals and course textbooks.

The study highlighted the biographical/professional and contextual basis for the foregrounding, backgrounding, and transforming of aspects of teachers' sociocultural identities. We have suggested that, in examining such abstract constructs as culture and identity, collaborative inquiry and self-reflection on the part of participants, including researchers and ideally students, are very valuable. They facilitate the process of understanding how teachers in cross-cultural contexts resolve conflicts that relate to their sociocultural roles and personae. In addition, we suggest that, in teacher education programs, student teachers and practicing teachers should reflect on their own teaching foundations and experiences, cultural biases and understandings, and knowledge of what constitutes (and is constituted by) cultural knowledge as well as what current critical perspectives have to offer (e.g., Giroux, 1988). Just as previous research has examined the institutional and linguistic socialization of learners (including socialization of identity), further critical scrutiny of the interactive processes of ESL/EFL teacher socialization

and the institutional and cultural contexts in which it occurs would be both helpful and timely (Zeichner & Gore, 1990). In addition, whereas this study has provided a general profiles of teachers' socialization in one particular EFL context, future studies would benefit from a complementary analysis of classroom discourse using constitutive ethnography (e.g., Duff, 1995, 1996) in order to examine at a more microlinguistic, interactional level the negotiation of identities and L2 teaching practices on a moment-by-moment basis.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We thank Bonny Norton for her editorial suggestions on earlier versions of this article. However, we assume responsibility for the interpretations presented here. We acknowledge, with thanks, the support and participation of the teachers and students in this study.

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Voices, Discourse, and Transition: In Search of New Categories in EAP

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In this article, the author argues that educators need to expand the repertoire of identity categories by which they describe and explain the complex and often contradictory stances that students take in the acquisition of academic literacy. This position is based on an analysis of biographical interviews with 1st-year students in a South African university in a period of intense sociopolitical flux. The interviews depict the interaction of a wide range of discourses, both those from past out-of-school contexts in which students were engaged and new university-based ones. These interviews challenge the author to examine the discrepancy between the conventional categories by which students are identified and the way students describe themselves. She argues that this gap is in part sustained by critical literacy/discourse theory, which fails to attend adequately to the agency of individuals and the way they locate themselves in relation to discourses. It also assumes a coherent version of the "mainstream" to which students aspire, which is not borne out in the interviews. She concludes that it is important not to neglect the acting, reasoning individual if the range of identity markers is to be broadened in a joint process with students.

The context in which English is learnt and taught is receiving substantial attention in TESOL research. The approach to language teaching has widened outward from a focus on sentence structure as a unit of analysis, with the individual learner at the centre, to the interdisciplinary study of sociocultural context and practices and the social identity of learners (and sometimes teachers) in these processes. A key concept in this approach is *discourse*, or Discourses, in the sense that it is used by Gee (1990). The capital *D* and plural *s* distinguish this approach, broadly referred to as critical discourse or literacy theory, from the neutral descriptive term that refers simply to language above the sentence level and suggest the power of Discourses to define and confine individuals within them.¹ Together with theorists such as Kress

¹ See Pennycook (1994) for a useful exploration of different understandings of discourse and their analytical possibilities.

(1989), Fairclough (1992) and, more recently in TESOL circles, Canagarajah (1993), Peirce (1995), Pennycook (1996), and McKay and Wong (1996), who have broadly poststructuralist/ideological approaches to identity and literacy, have provided useful analytical tools for describing the complex and contradictory stances that accompany the acquisition of English in complex settings. Generative as it is, this development also is limited in what it offers to the understanding of the relationship between individuals and larger social processes in periods of rapid transition.

I argue that identity can be seen as the dynamic interaction between the fixed identity categories that are applied to social groupings (such as race, gender, ethnicity, language, and other, more subtle representations that are activated in certain discourse settings) and the way individuals think of themselves as they move through the different discourses in which these categories are salient. This concept of identity leads me to critique aspects of discourse theory because it often overlooks the focus on individual accounts. Learners are categorised according to a limited set of identity markers, which results in a deterministic view of identity in terms of the researcher's imposed categories. This determinism is sustained by an assumption that learners are reaching for "mainstream" culture, for which I found limited evidence.

Through an analysis of biographical interviews with students in a South African university, in this article I probe the discrepancy between the institutional categories that are used to identify and define students and the way students describe themselves as they make sense of their transitions into the university. My focus is thus on the dynamics of identity construction—the tension between the labelers and the labeled—rather than on the top-down, deterministic categorisation of domination and resistance that critical theory often results in. After an initial description of the context in which the study took place, I outline the theory and research questions guiding the study. This is followed by an analysis of data from interviews with students about transitions in literacy settings prior to and on entering university. I return to the theory for critique and extension and conclude with implications for policy and classroom practice.

THE CONTEXT

Transitions

The concept of *transition* is central to this article. I use the term in two senses. First, it refers to the marked social change of the postapartheid political transition in South Africa and its impact on the university in

which I work. Second, the term refers to the transition that learners experience as they enter the new literacy practices of the university. A third dimension to transition raises problems for interpretation. This research took place in 1993. The ground is shifting rapidly. Some of the assumptions and predictions that underpinned my analysis then have changed.² Although these factors complicate interpretation, I believe that they validate my central argument about the need for a renewal of categories derived from interaction with new students.

Institutional Labeling to Manage Transition

This study took place at the University of Cape Town (UCT) in 1993, 2 years after the release of Nelson Mandela from prison and the year before the first democratic elections. Historically White, English-medium, elite institutions such as UCT were changing visibly as the numbers of Black, working-class students increased to represent a less lopsided picture of the national demographic profile. At the time, Black students constituted 48% of the 1st-year class and 35% (as opposed to 15% in 1985) of the overall student body (File, 1993). In the decade before this research took place, access had opened up slowly to previously excluded students, but the realities of apartheid schooling meant that many Black speakers of English as an additional language (EAL) often struggled to succeed on entry to university. I shall identify three reasons for this failure. First, the division of state education under apartheid into separate and unequally resourced departments, of which the Department of Education and Training (DET)³ for African students was by far the worst, created distinct disparities between learners. The second factor is the impact of language policy on learning. Language policy in South Africa, and policy on education in particular, is highly politicised. For example, in 1973 there were attempts to force a transition to a dual English-medium/Afrikaans-medium policy early in the primary years. This issue was one of the main sparks for the student uprisings of Soweto 1976, an event that serves as a reminder of the agency and activism that existed alongside what DET students termed *gutter education*. As Kapp (1997) points out, the effects of both policy and practice over the period of Nationalist (i.e., apartheid) rule were to reduce the capacity of teachers and pupils in the DET system to use English in the classroom at an appropriate level. As a result, for students from these schools the transition to university is marked by a double

² For example, the number of students for whom English is a foreign as opposed to an additional language has increased dramatically, whereas numbers of Black working-class South African 1st-year students have dropped in certain faculties.

³ The DET no longer exists, although its effects are likely to be felt for a long time.

linguistic shift: The medium of instruction is English (even in the Department of African Languages), and the new register is formal and abstract, reflecting the nature of tasks that require a high level of cognitive academic language proficiency, deliberately not promoted in the DET system. The third reason for the failure of Black students at universities such as UCT was the failure of the university itself to adjust to new realities from which its privilege had protected it. Although in some areas UCT has grappled with the transformation, the nature and extent of this change are still unclear.

The entry of previously excluded students is interesting in identity terms. Black students entering historically White institutions encounter a new identity category—*disadvantaged*—generated by the new context and its attempt to manage the process of institutional change. It refers specifically to students who have been through the DET schooling system and are speakers of EAL. The terms *underprepared* and *second language* are also used as institutional shorthand for historically excluded students. These labels signal an institutional discourse, which translates in practical terms into special paths for Black students. Tested on entry, they are placed on language development courses that simultaneously enable and stigmatise learners. These terms imply their converse, the mainstream or the regular curriculum to which students have to “catch up.” In an article that started out as a memorandum to staff at the University of the Western Cape during his term as vice chancellor there, Ndebele (1995) cautioned staff about the implications of the use of the term *disadvantaged*: “The namer isolates the named, explains them, contains them, and controls them. In this way a numerical majority can, in part through linguistic manipulation, simulate a majoritarian character” (p. 4). Both *disadvantage* and *mainstream* are being challenged by the reality that the student profile is changing. However, these changes are not reflected in the makeup of the academics and administrators who do the labeling; they remain predominantly White, middle class (myself included), and male. In addition, the structures of learning, audience and expectations, and forms of expression that are valued have changed very little.

My view is that naming is inevitable and useful: Equitable educational policy cannot happen without it. But the categories have to be kept open and accurate, and their role in creating a discourse needs to be understood. The processes that should keep naming open are time consuming and require a consideration of the fullest range of social experience.

Access to New Literacy Practices

The political and consequent demographic and identity changes referred to earlier made me reexamine my working assumptions about students' histories and engagement with academic writing. Much of my teaching in the last decade has involved initiating EAL students into discourse practices in the arts and social sciences. In the transition from school to university literacy practices, students enter a new discourse practice, shaped by a remote culture that gives off contradictory messages about student participation. Although disciplines differ, there are core requirements, including codes of knowledge construction such as the obligation to acknowledge sources, develop arguments in conventional ways including appropriate forms of evidence, and observe restrictions on the use of the personal pronoun *I* (other than as an organiser of text). The teacher's dilemma in helping students make this transition without losing themselves in the process is well documented (Bartholomae, 1985; Clark, 1992; Ivanic & Simpson, 1992).

Two courses that foreground the needs of EAL students in these faculties are English for Academic Purposes (EAP) and Introduction to English. EAP is a one-semester academic literacy course focusing on literacy practices in cognate disciplines. Most students who register for EAP are proficient in conversational English but struggle with the nature of academic tasks and the abstract use of language under university-based conditions of knowledge construction. Introduction to English follows as a second-semester prerequisite for EAL students intending to study in the English Department and is more explicitly focused on English studies. Students enter these courses via a testing process that identifies students in terms of their language and educational histories. Identities are (at least in part) constructed in this process of testing and labeling.

If the 1st-year experience is conceptualised as a transition, then my sense was that UCT educators were skilled at describing and demystifying the reading and writing practices of the new discourse community as insiders but that this process was only one side of the transition. We had locked ourselves into seeing only the educational disadvantage aspect of the other side of the transition, and that too was poorly understood. Very little detailed work has been done on what actually takes place in DET high schools and what its effect is on access to university-based literacies.⁴ We were operating on a set of assumptions

⁴ There are few (if any) detailed ethnographies, though some research, such as that of Leibowitz (1995) and Mabizela (1994), is based on interviews with university students who explicitly look back at the influence of their schooling. This area of research is likely to develop as (and if) conditions in former DET schools improve.

that needed urgent investigation. These assumptions were reinforced by the categories we used to organise experience at universities—*second language, disadvantaged, mainstream*. And demographic realities were about to make the static notion of *mainstream* even more incongruous than it had been under White minority rule.

The examples that follow illustrate my growing sense that our way of understanding previous experience and its implications for language and identity were inadequate. Sharon⁵ was identified as having a “language problem,” attended EAP, and after a lot of commitment and effort finally passed the course. In discussions with her towards the end of the semester, I learnt that she was the only matriculant in her village and thus often found herself in the role of letter writer and literate interpreter. Another student, Andile, was also highly competent in other literacy settings. He had had great difficulty in writing an essay examining the concept of a mixed economy (a politically sensitive topic). He and a friend argued persuasively that the essay topic should be changed to encourage a more critical approach to the concept. In spite of the change in topic, his essay drew heavily on the economic position and discourse of his political organisation. He wrote a very competent essay, giving “the line” on the economy and refusing to engage with the debate and readings as set out in the course (not because he did not know how to). After some negotiation, we reached a compromise on how he should be assessed.

I was interested in how previous experience, particularly nonschool experience, affects access to academic discourse. I saw traces of other literacies in students’ writing that were clearly not about formal schooling, yet the weakness of the school experience was what UCT educators used to define the students as disadvantaged or underprepared. I felt that the descriptive categories we used to organise difference led us to overlook other influences and experiences that might have a strong bearing on students’ engagement with writing at university. I was mindful of Ndebele’s (1991) words: If we are to shift the colonising power of English, the language “will have to be taught in ways that students recognise themselves through the learning contexts employed” (p. 115). The next step appeared to be the exploration and naming of meaningful learning contexts on the other side of the transition, beyond an empty notion of educational disadvantage.

⁵ The names of all students have been changed as agreed in the research process.

Critical Literacy Theory

The theory that I found most generative initially in considering transitions and access was *new literacy studies*, a term coined by Gee (1990). Other writers who share an ideological perspective rather than an autonomous view of literacy as a set of neutral skills are Heath (1983), Kress (1989), Street and Street (1991), and Baynham (1995), all of whom see profound links between literacy and social processes, though the authors vary in the weight they give to social processes in determining individual action. For example, Gee sees Discourse as a kind of “identity-kit,” a total package with its own ways of thinking-talking-feeling-believing that mark group identity. He goes so far as to argue that there are no shortcuts in the acquisition of Discourses: “You are an *insider, colonised* or an *outsider*” (p. 155). Gee’s trademark capital *D* emphasises the power of discourses to shape action. This is an extreme view that I shall return to later. Kress’s definition of discourse as “a systematically organised set of statements that give expression to the meanings and values of an institution” (p. 7) is less deterministic.

The particular aspects of their theory that I found generative for the questions I was interested in are that (a) the theory shows how literacy (doing things with language) is always caught up in bigger contexts of meaning, values, intentions, or discourses; (b) Gee (1990) argues that the transitions between primary discourses (unconscious home discourses that are part of early socialisation) and secondary discourses (which are typically learnt in formal institutional contexts) help explain how literacy practices create insiders and outsiders; and (c) there are multiple literacies that overlap and interanimate one another. The third point was crucial for my research because it provided a theory that started with an acknowledgment of the multiplicity of literacy practices beyond schooled literacy and the possibility of trying to understand the relationships between them. Ballard and Clanchy (1988) take this kind of understanding into university settings in this way: “Academics who complain of students’ general ‘illiteracy’ are sometimes reminded, disturbingly, that other cultures of literacy exist . . . few seem to recognize the problem for what it is—an unsteady transition between cultures” (p. 13).

METHOD

Voices in Discourse

The research was located at the point where individuals, with different histories and identities, enter the practices of academic writing with its

conventions of argument construction. Kress (1989) captures the tension between individuals and systems in studies of language in education in this statement:

What is important is to think of language always as a complex system, in movement, sometimes contradictory and sometimes in a single direction. In all these processes the individual is crucial and instrumental. Education is the social institution that is about the change and progression of its client members in the direction of mainstream culture, and its classifications. The institution of education depends on a theory in which notions of change and progression are at the centre. (p. 95)

To examine this intersection between the individual and the social, I used the generic analytical categories of *discourse* and *voice* to bring coherence to the research. Discourse is about constraints, codes, and restrictions on language in institutional settings. This view stresses the social envelope in which literacy events take place and the way these discourses create insiders and outsiders in the educational process.

The construct of voice carries with it the individual perspective, which is often silent in large institutions. Rudduck (1993) writes that “voices remind us of the individuality that lies beneath the institutional structures whose routine nature pushes us to work for ‘sameness’ rather than to recognise difference” (p. 8). I also use the term in Bakhtin’s sense (1988), referring to the *speaking consciousness*—the individual speaking or writing, at the point of utterance, always laden with the language of others, from previous contexts, and oriented towards some future response. Both focus on the individual in context.

Throughout the research process, these two categories were held against one another in a state of tension; they are linguistic representations of the fundamental tensions between structure and agency in social life.

The study was broadly ethnographic in orientation, with the emphasis on holistic cultural analysis. My emerging interest in the interaction between discourse and voice led me to an approach that was simultaneously linguistic (a discourse analysis of an essay) and ethnographic (an attempt through the biographical interviews to reach a better understanding of who the writers are and what their linguistic choices mean). I wanted to introduce a critical element to the ethnography and drew on Cherryholmes’s (1988) ideas to “grant power to introduce constructs to subjects who formerly were silent as objects” (p. 110). I used Cameron, Frazer, Harvey, Rampton, and Richardson’s (1992) guidelines for empowering research—research with rather than on students. The authors recommend (a) using interactive methods as much as possible, (b) addressing subjects’ agendas, and (c) making feedback and sharing part

of the process. In following these recommendations, I hoped to bring the locus of interpretation closer to students.

The Research Process

The curriculum in the Introduction to English course in UCT's English Department provided the context for my research interests. The stages in the process, which took approximately 5 months to complete, are outlined briefly below.

Access to the course was relatively straightforward as I had been asked to design materials that would encourage students to approach academic register in a critical framework. I co-taught the modules I had designed. From this contact with students, I asked for volunteers to join me in a research project on how students engage with academic writing. The next step, in keeping with Cameron et al.'s (1992) guidelines, involved several meetings with the 13 student volunteers in which I attempted to explain my interests, negotiate the research process, and get to know students in a group setting. The third stage, which this article reports on in some detail, involved biographical interviews with students. After these interviews, I transcribed several extracts, particularly the more controversial ones, and met students in an informal lunchtime meeting at my home. Here I sought permission to go ahead. I raised some of my difficulties of interpretation and wanted students to see how the spoken word in the interview converted into written text for public consumption. This meeting was followed by a discourse analysis of two essays written on the course. The final stage was a second round of interviews with three students, whom I interviewed in some depth on the discourse features in their essays, looking for relationships between these essays and their biographical interviews. The full process, which raised many questions on the problems and possibilities of empowerment research, is recorded in Thesen (1994).

BIOGRAPHICAL INTERVIEWS ON TRANSITIONS

The data that follow are selected from the interviews with 13 students. The interviews took a broadly biographical form. I asked students to begin by telling me their personal details, such as their birthplace, information on their family, and anything else that seemed important or interesting. I told students that I would follow the same broad path with everyone, moving from biographical details, to schooling, to the transition to university and a closer look at each person's experience of writing

essays. At some point towards the end of each interview, I drew a sketch of a river on a piece of paper and asked students to think of the river as a metaphor for academic writing. I asked them to place themselves relative to the river.

The way the interviews were framed around transitions possibly helped to balance the power relations in the interview in that students had substantial control over the subject matter. Angéilil-Carter's (1997) analysis of an interview shows clearly how the power shifts when the subject has control over the subject matter. The interviews also took place after initial discussions of intentions and agendas. So I believe the students had a fair amount of choice in what to say about themselves, though I do not regard the interview as a neutral space. The focus of this article is not on the discourse of the interview, so I shall not comment here in detail on that aspect of the research.

The first section below, *Identity in Movement*, analyzes an interview with one student, Robert. His descriptions of how he responded to different contexts over time reveal the relationship between voice and discourses for him as an individual. In contrast, the two subsections that follow center more on two themes, "language, ethnicity, and social life" and "two responses to 'disadvantage,'" which represent issues that emerged in several students' accounts.

Identity in Movement: "I Have to Know Who I Am"

In the interview, Robert described the transitions he had gone through in moving from a rural farm school to UCT. I quote from this interview at length to show the tension between the old and new systems of classification and his responses to them.

In the first extract, Robert describes the rural-urban transition and how he reacted to it to create an identity for himself, which transcended what he saw as a disadvantage.

R:⁶ But then the difference between the farm school—and I mean farm schools are not the same as township schools. Even the primary schools. You come to a secondary school from a farm school, it is more like coming to University of Cape Town from disadvantaged schools you see.

L: Do you see it as a disadvantage? The farm schooling?

R: Ja, like you are all taught by one teacher and she gives you what she wants. (. . .)⁷ But when you come to the townships and the secondary school, it was different. To start with it was fearful like to see such a large

⁶ R refers to Robert, and L to Lucia.

⁷ (. . .) indicates an omission of part of the interview, and . . . signals an overlap between speakers.

number of pupils. You feel very small. Like you know the attitude of the township people to the farm people?

L: Like snobbery?

R: Ja, if you are from the farm they think you are somehow backward. You see, it makes you feel inferior and actually I did hide that I am from the farm. I was lying but then I was clever enough to know that I was lying about something that I know. I used to like my grandparents—they lived in the next town—so I say no, I'm from Ventersburg, you see. I was trying to hide that I was from the farm, but after some time I was on top of it—they didn't have that downward look on me.

The interview's focus on transitions created a framework of constant comparison. Robert compares two transitions in formal schooling: moving from a farm to an urban township school was like moving between secondary school and UCT.⁸ Aware of the power relations at work in the township school, he orients himself to the dominant discourse and creates an identity for himself, covering up his origins. This identity is based on both his awareness of the limitations of rural schooling and the attitudes of those with a "downward look," so that, by distancing himself from rural experience, he perpetuates the ideology that informs the rural-urban divide.

In the next extract, he speaks about his struggle with academic text. He had previously talked about his resistance to using the term *God* in a religious studies essay because of its Western cultural connotations. His own personal knowledge of religion, and investment in it, overlapped and clashed with an academic exploration of the topic. He is simultaneously instructing me on African religion. Robert seems to be straddling discourse practices creatively, trying to find the points of intersection between several discourses, old and new.

R: Like this other African writer for example, he used to say "God," like we, we don't have "God," we have "Modimo," you know, Superior Being, so I chose not to mention "God" in my essay.

L: Did you use the word "Modimo"?

R: Ja, I said "Modimo" in direct commas so you know that's Modimo. We don't know God. We know Modimo. When the African people wanted something from God, they would ask the ancestors—like they used ancestors as Badima, as a link between them and God, but then I said they used Badima as a link

L: It changed the meaning.

R: Ja.

⁸ His experience of interrupted schooling is typical, as students move between family members, often in response to economic factors and disruptions in schooling.

In this extract, his choice of *Modimo* rather than *God* is a highly conscious act of identity. The word *Modimo* appears like the tip of an iceberg in his essay, a decision that represents an awareness of discourses and a creative solution to straddle them in what Cazden (1992) calls “creative resistance, a transformational act in which (one) does not have to compromise” (p. 204). In this act, he makes an identity statement in solidarity with “the African people.” His explanation for his choice indicates agency on two levels—both meta-awareness and action—that denies easy categorisation of insiders and outsiders.

The extract also reveals his response to Africanisation in the curriculum. At one level content has changed in recent years to reflect more African themes, yet the forms of engagement (essays and referencing) have not shifted: His resistance is to the forms rather than to the content.

The interview continues, and Robert highlights his need to constantly revise the categories he is using to make sense of the transitions he is going through and the way they challenge the old discourses in which he was immersed.

R: Sometimes I find myself praying—you know, I used to pray according to the Christians, but now at the end of my prayer I say “In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ” but then now I have a problem. If I had to pray like that, I think I have to change the meaning and the words I choose to use. See like I can’t say “In the name of Jesus Christ”—because I think, no, Jesus was for some other people—not for Africans. I don’t know. Maybe that’s politics.

L: Politics?

R: Ja. But if I have to be honest with you this radical change in my life came here at UCT. I mean I don’t even have a year here, but I was so involved, like I read broadly, so many books I read they taught me something, and I learnt like missionaries, they were so selfish according to me. I mean they didn’t care about the African culture. They just came and gave us what they want us to believe (. . .) this is the right thing and like sometimes I say, okay, I have two names—African and English name. But how many English people have African names—why? I actually have a problem with being here—now that I’m here. I mean, all along I didn’t have any problem with it but now that I know all these things that I know now, that I came across at UCT, I have problems with my name. Like I want to go back to my African name. Say forget and get rid of Robert. I mean I can hardly call myself African, if I don’t do the things which were done by Africans (. . .) I’m now on the middle of this—I don’t even know myself—I’m not African, I’m not European. You see, so I want to go back to Africa, that’s the problem.

Robert’s words, “but I have to be honest with you this radical change in my life came here at UCT,” suggest that he is aware of the contradiction: Having described an act of resistance to the curriculum (choosing

to write *Modimo* rather than *God*), he now has to account for how what he has learnt has simultaneously politicised him. The new context makes him question what seemed natural—the words in which he prayed and even his own name.

- L: It's interesting that coming to UCT makes you feel like that.
- R: Ja, its funny being at UCT. It's like a community of young people. If I came here I was so optimistic. Thinking—"Oh, it's going to be good"—Witbank is a very racial town—it's dominated by the CP [Conservative Party], so you feel like you are Black when you are there (. . .) So I came here I was like I said so optimistical about society, I mean I don't like this colour stuff (. . .) so one thing I've realized, it's easier to talk to White strangers rather than Black strangers—I mean there is no Black Consciousness here—it's just theory but not practice. Like we Blacks have much problems among ourselves than we have with Whites you know. Like I can talk freely to a white but if I have to ask a Black person something, you know like you feel small—they make you feel like you are stranded now.

In this section, Robert foregrounds the social adjustment he is making in the new "community of young people" and expresses his disappointment on discovering that UCT is not a liberated zone where racism does not exist. He had looked forward to an escape from the racial Black/White categories of the past, only to find them reemerge in a different way. The solidarity he assumed he would find with other Black students is not there. In the next section, he explains why.

- L: Explain that—is it like you shouldn't be asking the question?
- R: No, it's like if you ask a question, it shows that person you are asking knows something that you don't, meaning he has something over you, you see. And the person who is going to answer you, is going to make you feel small. Like I remember one day I was in the gym, I saw another guy he is so builded, you know he has a muscular body. So I said like I was friendly, "How long did you take to build this?"—he just look at me and say "two weeks" and went off. Just like that. Obviously he didn't want to talk to me about it. Just didn't want to talk, and it's funny, he's an African, but I talk to White guys and say "Wow, you have a good body" and they say "OK—keep training, you'll be just like me—just a matter of time." You see, it's something which is confusing (. . .) so maybe if I say I want to go back to Black Consciousness and say maybe show that I'm African among Whites, and show that you are different and act in a different way, that's stupid. But then you see my problem is, I have to know who I am, where I am from—I don't turn my back against myself. I can't do that because then I'll be living like somebody wants me to be.

Being at UCT also introduced Robert to gym culture and its practices, in which discourses of peer group masculinity and race worked in

unexpected ways. The extract suggests that although Robert's actions are bounded by discourses, he is not merely passively positioned but is negotiating relationships between the different discourses he is drawn into, motivated by the need to locate himself, to "know who I am." An analysis of an interview of this nature also reveals the individual psychodynamic patterns of response to domination: In this case, Robert struggles to work out who he is in each new context. First he has to deal with the urban-rural gap; then he uses his intellect to assert his identity in an essay and consider the identity implications of his name. But he does not find easy solutions to his search for a social peer group. Discourse analysis is partly useful in tracing these shifts. But additional information comes from his life story. In the interview Robert explained that he had injured his foot badly in a farm accident and had tried to hide this injury from others. His struggles for acceptance could be attributed as much to the impact of this injury as to his attempts to locate himself in institutional discourses.

Language, Ethnicity, and Social Life

One of the interesting aspects of the interviews was that the students often introduced categories that I would not have anticipated (e.g., Robert's reference to the gym). One such area was the way students spoke about the relationship between language, ethnicity, and social life. Ethnicity is an important part of South African identity, in part because one of the cornerstones of apartheid social engineering was the enforced division of Black South Africans into ethnically defined "independent homelands." These divisions were defined primarily in terms of languages—Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, and so on. I had downplayed or ignored ethnicity as one of the most insular and divisive of apartheid's identity markers and stressed instead students' multilingual accomplishments. Many urban Black South Africans can communicate in several of the national languages—often as many as four or five.

Below is Faith's response when I asked her how she was adapting to UCT. I note how both of us avoid ethnicity by talking about language, in my case by introducing the label *mother tongue*, assuming a single language of primary socialisation.

- F: Socially—I found—OK—I had a problem with Xhosas—Xhosa-speaking people. Initially . . .
- L: What's your mother tongue?
- F: It's Sotho, ja. But if you ask me most times I speak Sotho. But then you know in Jo'burg [Johannesburg], we do mix. So I found it difficult with

Xhosa-speaking people, because initially I used to tell myself, heh, that is one nation that is clear. But to my surprise, when I came here, that wasn't true in fact. They prove me wrong in fact because they were tribalist. They like to isolate themselves, they like to dominate, so it was difficult for me—you know, to be sitting in groups, like OK, I'm going to socialise with people from Jo'burg because they won't find me difficult, unlike with Xhosas. But then as time went on some started accepting us. But in groups they like dominating and don't want to give others a chance to talk.

Faith's response begins hesitantly, as if she is not sure about whether she wants to bring ethnicity into the interview. She modifies "Xhosas" to the less fixed version of "Xhosa-speaking people." I change the subject by asking her what her "mother tongue" is. She responds that the label of Sotho-speaking does not really fit in her case, because she has grown up in an urban culturally heterogeneous setting. She refers to Xhosas as "they," with a clear sense of a separate cultural, and possibly geographical, identity suggested by her term "nation." But she seems to see herself in terms of her urban Jo'burg background rather than her "mother tongue," Sotho.

Tumelo (a 2nd-year student) makes similar comments.

At first I felt like an alien—an outcast because I didn't know most of the languages on campus, excepting Sotho and Tswana. To me I thought every Black person was a Xhosa-speaking somebody (. . .) until the beginning of the second semester when I started to learn the language because I was closely getting to grips with other languages, and the thing that helped me to be in that position was the choir [UCT's highly regarded Choir for Africa, of which he was the deputy leader].

He speaks of his intentions to register for Xhosa 1 the following year.

At least I've grown as far as language is concerned. I always wanted to identify myself as an African and the most important thing for me that counts, it's language.

Like Faith, Tumelo grapples with ethnicity and its relationship to language. But both students are able to separate the two in order to find ways forward to common ground. Many students were preoccupied with finding a niche among fellow Black students, often in terms of an overarching African identity, rather than with seeking acceptance in the old mainstream—middle-class White culture—either socially or academically.

Two Responses to Disadvantage

In this section, I contrast extracts from interviews with two different students. The first is Mkhululi, one of the few students to foreground his political involvement early on in the interview. He spoke about how his “English improved because of politics” and described joining a Black Consciousness organisation in the late 1980s, against the general trend of oppositional politics in the region. He said that he had learnt English from intellectuals in the organisation, who “used to speak English using bombastic words.” I asked whether he really could express his political ideas in his Political Studies course.

M: No, and anyway I don’t feel that it is necessary, but I don’t feel really free in expressing my views. I just don’t. Sometimes you come up with a point and you’re told that it’s not academic or factual. And another point is that we just know those things, and then we try to argue them, and we don’t argue them academically. Sometimes you come up with what you feel is your personal feeling and then you’re told that you’re plagiarising some White guy who happened to be fortunate to get information and to jot it down, not because you’re stealing his ideas. At times, you didn’t even see the book, you are just analysing the situation, and then you put your facts and then you are told that, heh, this is not your point. You’re plagiarising someone. And at times you don’t feel free, you don’t know who said it, and it really limit, you know, it really limits us.

L: You said “we” know these things, “we” don’t feel free—meaning?

M: Right. The students who are said to be disadvantaged, like Black, let me say, Black students. So we as Black people, we sometimes feel we are limited to only do what the book says . . .

L: So you play the game?

M: Exactly [laughs] because our passing depends on it.

It is interesting to see how he distances himself from the label *disadvantaged*. His text also contrasts with Robert’s, because it is strongly informed by a sense of solidarity—“we”—possibly related to his explicit involvement in the Black Consciousness movement. The extract also illustrates a common theme in the interviews: how referencing practices and fear of plagiarism shut out participation,⁹ particularly when the topic drew on other literacy practices (often from religious or political contexts) in which students were strongly invested.

In a subsequent interview towards the end of the research project, I asked Robert why he had started an essay on his experience of the

⁹ Angélie-Carter (1995) and Pennycook (1996) explore this important area of plagiarism and textual authority.

English language at UCT with the words “Since I am from a DET school.” He said that he did not know how else to begin.

R: If I begin like this you’ll know what to expect—to give you like . . .

L: A frame?

R: Ja. This is important because it shows there is a gap between DET and UCT, you see, and that gap determines my academic position (. . .) if they were at the same level then there won’t be a problem. There wouldn’t be a need to foreground it. The gap is the bottom line so I want to put it so that it’s foregrounded . . .

L: Are you comfortable with that?

R: Ja, sure, I mean that’s a fact.

Mkhululi disclaims the *disadvantaged* label, preferring to politicise the label as “we as Black people”; Robert claims it as part of an institutional discourse that will give us a framework from which to proceed. Both students show that the context calls for strategic competence and the need to make political/power judgments about whether to engage or become invisible. This dimension emerged often in the interviews as students gauged the political views of lecturers, assessing whether a certain tutor might be “Malan’s granddaughter”¹⁰ and being afraid of whether she might be “incited” if writers said what they really thought.

At this point I mention my awareness of the extent to which students may have adjusted their discourse in the interviews in response to their perceptions of me. This adjustment could well have been a factor in explaining why the extracts from the two interviews with Robert are so different. I sensed in both interviews that he needed a sounding board and used the interview to “talk to White strangers”; on the other hand, he might have talked about finding it easier to relate to White strangers to explain why he was being so revealing with me.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THEORY

I return now to the theory in the light of the preceding analysis. How useful is the original theoretical emphasis on discourses in accounting for the complexities that emerged in the interviews? In general, I believe that the interviews raise many issues about language, identity, and theory and highlight the following.

¹⁰ Malan was the first apartheid prime minister of South Africa. These quotations are from an interview with a student called Mpho.

Emergent Identity Across Contexts

I see limited support for the strong version of Gee's (1990) views on Discourses—that one is an insider, colonised, or an outsider (p. 155). Students are very aware of being in or out of discourses, but the problematic category is the middle one—colonised, which suggests a lack of awareness of power relations. The interviews are coherent but often tentative accounts of emergent identity across different contexts in which students are clearly agentive, making choices about where to merge and where to resist, assessing whether a strategy is working or not. They are also critical in the sense in which the term is used by the New London Group (1996), that is, showing awareness of the historical, social, cultural, political, ideological, and value-centred relations of particular systems of knowledge and social practice. This knowledge is generated by the need to locate oneself and make sense of frequent transitions in social context to new institutions and literacy practices. This aspect of the interviews supports Gee's argument about the relationship between primary and secondary discourses, which I find useful. He argues that there can be an advantage to being an outsider because the uneven transitions between primary and secondary discourses often lead to greater consciousness of what one is trying to do and to deep insights into what is going on.

Other aspects of critical discourse theory, however, such as the deterministic use of labels to categorise students in terms of whether they are inside or outside discourses or hovering between them, are more problematic. I suggest that some of the determinism of discourse theory is derived from its methods, which at times suggest a failure to trust people to say (and know) what they are doing. It is ironic that Gee (1990), writing about the possibility of widening what counts as appropriate linguistic behaviour, says, "The behaviors of any individual person are never meaningful unless we know what Discourse the person takes him or herself to be in when so behaving" (p. 179).

Through these individual accounts of location in discourses, educators may learn how students see themselves relative to the old and new identity categories available. Yet nowhere in the frequent discourse analysis in Gee's (1990) text do individuals comment on what they are doing. The identity categories that he uses tend to be stereotypical—race, class, and gender—and to be static in the way they have been assigned to individuals through textual analysis. I regard this characterization as a serious methodological issue. The methods often used in critical discourse analysis work well for examining the relation between text and context but must be balanced by opportunities for individuals to speak for themselves, as Gee himself makes clear in the quotation above.

Fairclough (1992) makes statements similar to Gee's: He extends Foucault's (1972) view of discourses and the way in which people are caught up and subjected to power struggles within and over discourses, giving the impression that resistance is "generally contained by power and poses no threat" (p. 57). He suggests that greater attention to practice—real examples of people doing, saying, or writing things—is needed to balance this determinism. Yet, like Gee, Fairclough fails to attend to practice in that no attention is paid to what people say they are actually doing. I believe that this process of asking generates new categories and understanding, with unexpected consequences. For example, the way the curriculum simultaneously alienated and empowered Robert and the challenges that ethnicity posed for the students are insights that could only have been derived from asking questions about intentions rather than imposing my own homogenising categories on texts.

Similar criticisms concerning the use of categories also apply to other writers for whom the concept of discourse is central but whose analysis is less textually oriented. Peirce (1995) and McKay and Wong (1996), for example, attend closely to identity and how students negotiate their way through multiple discourses. But both put names to the discourses they explore with a weight that has already decided how people are positioned. Peirce's determinism, despite her emphasis on agency, arises from her reliance on single identity markers, for example, *primary caregiver* or *multicultural citizen*. Similarly, McKay and Wong develop a taxonomy of discourses such as *colonialist/racialized discourses* and *model minority discourses*, which they claim "do not possess more than an ad hoc status" (p. 583).

I suggest that this certainty about categories arises from a context in which writers such as Gee (1990), Kress (1989), Fairclough (1992), and McKay and Wong (1996) work with an underlying assumption that the mainstream is a reasonably coherent and commonly understood entity. (See, e.g., the quotation from in the Method section in which Kress refers to a direction towards "mainstream culture, and its classifications," p. 95.) Their research subjects are usually representatives of "minorities." This kind of analysis may be less useful in a South African setting because it is not possible in South Africa today to speak with the same certainty of a mainstream culture in general or with reference to universities in transition. What the mainstream will emerge as, if it emerges in a coherent way at all, is uncertain. The data from this research indicate that students were often alienated from the curriculum, tending to invest more in their social lives than in their academic identities. But the energy and dynamic nature of the use of identity categories and their potential to open new understandings in education are apparent and represent an underexplored resource.

Acts of Identity

Alexander (1996) points out that, although the notion of multiple identities is commonly accepted in academic circles, a fixed conception of identity remains an “inarticulate major premise in almost all human action” (p. 9). In my view, these interviews suggest a different reading. Many students were strategically aware of what identity boundaries could be crossed, when, and with what consequences. Although academics might embrace the concept of multiple identities in theory, in practice they often stop short of doing more than imposing their own versions of which identity categories are salient. The interviews also indicate how an exploration of identity in movement, over a period of time, shows a different picture than an exploration of identity at a particular point in time and place would show because the range of identity markers is wider and more comprehensive than the conventional categories such as class, race, gender, and language. Some of the additional categories to emerge involved urban-rural transitions, religious and political literacy practices, a strong oral tradition, and combinations of practices within an institution, including the peer-group gym culture that Robert touched on, which make up what Fairclough (1995) calls *orders of discourse*. The emphasis should be on what activates new allegiances and choices that distance oneself from old ones.

Some theorists who focus on action are Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), Giddens (1987), and Graddol and Swann (1989). Worth revisiting is Le Page and Tabouret-Keller’s emphasis on how people choose through acts of identity to identify with or distance themselves from an aspect of identity that they either value or do not. Although the authors have been criticised for downplaying structure and assuming a unitary self, because their research is set in a heterogeneous context of post-colonial flux, it highlights the need for action that confronts individuals faced by marked shifts in context and variety. Both Giddens and Graddol and Swann criticize the failure of discourse-based theory to take the individual seriously as a participant in everyday acts of comprehension and production that either reproduce or subvert social institutions. Makoni’s (1996) more recent analysis of language and identities in southern Africa uses the distinction between identity categories that are “brought along” and those that are “brought about” (p. 268) to draw attention to how identities may be strategically activated. His analysis suggests that attention to how people make choices raises the possibility of negotiating identities. I believe that this approach is useful in an educational context. In South Africa, universities are at last becoming meeting points for young South Africans from diverse backgrounds. In addition, the power relations are relatively mild in comparison with, for

example, the reality of ethnic identity in South African mines, where ethnicity can be a matter of life and death¹¹ and cannot usefully be seen as a subject for negotiation.

Several interesting studies in the South African context add breadth to the analysis of identity and the acquisition of academic literacy. Kapp's (1995) analysis of a 1st-year student's essay in English literature studies, in which there is a mismatch between the student's narrating, summarising discourse and the requirements of the discipline, pushed her into a reexamination of her own notions of appropriateness, which had led her to dismiss certain kinds of interpretation. Dison's (1996) interview with a student highlights his experience of growing up in a rural matriarchal home, where storytelling practices played an important part and interacted with biblical church-based literacy practices. This is an interesting account of the multiple discourses of a young person growing up in South Africa. A picture of how other literacies affect the acquisition of academic literacy is beginning to develop.

EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

My central argument is that much discourse theory downplays agency in the sense that new identity categories and combinations of categories, generated by research subjects themselves, fail to emerge in educational understandings. In broad terms, I believe this study points to the value of research that brings the locus of interpretation closer to students to find out in which discourses they perceive themselves to be operating. In this process, new categories can be generated, which increases the points of intersection between different identities and, if taken up in curriculum, can play a transformative role.

Two major areas stand out in making connections between these insights and the curriculum. I shall touch very briefly on the first and elaborate on the second by means of some examples.

The first is institutional self-awareness about how student identities are shaped by the process of labeling. These are some of the questions that policy makers and practitioners should attend to: How are access courses named? By what processes do students come to be registered for them? Are there elements of choice? Is the rationale for the course made explicit to students and other academics? I would add another question: Is the existence of the course delaying the change process elsewhere?

The second area is the potential for curricula to engage explicitly with issues of identity and transition. There are many opportunities to work

¹¹ I am grateful to my colleague, Rochelle Kapp, for this insight.

with the concept of identity in the teaching/learning process. Doing so seems to be particularly generative in the 1st year, when transitions are sharply experienced. By drawing attention to identity and transitions, educators are simultaneously validating and building metaknowledge about crossing contexts and learning from students.

I conclude with two examples of how these insights have been taken up in curriculum at UCT. One concerns the EAP course in the social science faculty. The curriculum deals with the problem of content that faces language courses by explicitly focusing on writing, identities, and transition. The key concepts of *language*, *culture*, and *gender* form the core of its content. Each concept is treated as a debate. For example, the class explores the concept of language through the debate between Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (1986) and Achebe (1975) as to whether bilingual African creative writers should choose English or an indigenous language for their writing. This debate raises issues of culture, identity, choice, audience, and historical context. Students have to argue a position within the debate. With regard to the second concept, culture, many students enter UCT with a fixed view of culture as inherited that blocks the way they engage with multivoiced texts and debates. So the class examines various theoretical positions on culture as fixed or fluid. These debates are introduced via texts that use metaphors ranging from the static to the flexible. Students write an essay in which they choose the most appropriate metaphor for the transition to UCT. For the third concept, gender, students explore the nature-nurture debate through the concept of gender identity, accounting for the role differences they observe in adults. Throughout the course, the curriculum is strengthened by the contributions of Black master's students who team-teach with lecturers; keep them in touch with student experience, identities, and difference; and provide a wider audience for students and a greater range of possible positions in the debates engaged in.

Another example is the involvement of new students in research on language-related issues that explores the different discourses of university. For example, in a course currently being developed in the English department, where the EAP course has been mainstreamed, students will work on a sociolinguistic research project to develop alternative "dictionaries" of campus language. The hope is that the research will serve several purposes: (a) to induct students into research early on rather than delay it until the senior years; (b) to decrease the divide between academic and nonacademic life that many students seem to construct; and (c) for students to contribute directly to knowledge building by filling in some of the pieces themselves.

These suggestions reinforce Peirce's (1995) conclusions regarding what she terms *classroom-based social research*, that is, that the lived experiences and social identities of language learners need to be

incorporated into the formal curriculum. She sees this research as a way of making more opportunities for students to engage with English outside the classroom. In contrast, I see it as a way of getting students involved in an exchange of meaning within the academic context to bring together disparate worlds.

Finally, I hope that my arguments for valuing individual accounts of identity in movement do not read as a return to an idealised view of the individual language learner. I am not arguing for a greater focus on individuals for its own sake. I see it as a stage in a process whereby patterns are found in students' common experiences of prior literacy practices and local discourses, resulting in the emergence of new identity categories, which can be added to and sometimes replace the existing ones. These patterns should be seen as temporary. In this process, educators are more likely to find meaningful connections between academic discourse and new knowledge, such that students recognise themselves in the acquisition of English.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank two *TESOL Quarterly* reviewers; Bonny Norton for her generous assistance; and my colleagues, Shelley Angéilil-Carter, Rochelle Kapp, Stella Clark, and Sinfree Makoni, for their comments and support.

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Language Socialization Practices and Cultural Identity: Case Studies of Mexican-Descent Families in California and Texas

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This article explores the relationship between language and cultural identity as manifested in the language socialization practices of four Mexican-descent families: two in northern California and two in south Texas. The analysis considers both the patterns of meaning suggested by the use of Spanish and English in the speech and literacy performances of four focal children as well as family and dominant societal ideologies concerning the symbolic importance of the two languages, the way language learning occurs, and the role of schooling—all frameworks in which the children's linguistic behaviors were embedded. All four focal children defined themselves in terms of allegiance to their Mexican or Mexican American cultural heritage. However, the families were oriented differently to the Spanish language as a vehicle for affirmation of this commonly articulated group identity. The differences are emblematic of stances taken in a larger cultural and political debate over the terms of Latino participation in U.S. society. Parents in all of the families endorsed Spanish maintenance and spoke of the language as an important aspect of their sense of cultural identity. Only two of the families, however, pursued aggressive home maintenance strategies. Of the other two families, one used a protocol combining some Spanish use in the home with instruction from Spanish-speaking relatives, whereas the family that had moved most fully into the middle class was the least successful in the intergenerational transmission of Spanish, despite a commitment to cultural maintenance.

Recent discussions of identity construction have represented the process as complex, multifaceted, and dialogic. Identities are seen as symbolic performances generated by individual choices of practices in fluid societal and situational contexts (Butler, 1990; Faigley, 1994;

Foucault, 1977; McCarthy & Crichlow, 1993; Schecter, Sharken-Taboada, & Bayley, in press). In the case of minority groups, the multifaceted character of ethnic identity is defined by an interaction involving three aspects: the way individuals locate themselves within a particular social and cultural framework, the orientation of representatives of dominant groups to individuals and groups who display expected lifestyle differences, and official characterizations, such as those contained in census documents (Garza & Herringer, 1987; Phinney, 1990; Verkuyten, 1995). However, linguistic minority populations—especially those for whom minority language transmission is a factor—grapple with an additional identity-related issue: In their daily negotiations between dominant and minority cultures they confront questions of the discreteness and synthesis of linguistic code at many junctures and levels of self- and other-defining decision making.

Our analysis attends closely to the orientations of participants to these questions. We find evidence for these orientations in attitudinal data contained in self-reports of home language use and rationales offered by family members for their decisions and stances with regard to Spanish maintenance. However, because we view language use as a form of social action (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969, 1975) with social consequences (see, e.g., Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982a, 1982b; Heller, 1988; Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; Woolard, 1985), our preferred strategy is to configure the way language choice, mixing, and alternation shape individual and family ideologies about the role of language in defining cultural identity. Further, because an integrated view of the role of language in identity construction acknowledges the relevance of ideological and power relations (Fairclough, 1995; Luke, 1995), when relevant we also attend to how representatives of the dominant culture orient themselves to such discursive practices, in addition to or in comparison with other salient identity descriptors.

METHODS

This article is based on a larger study of the relationship between home language socialization practices and the development of bilingual and biliterate abilities by Mexican-descent children. The larger inquiry focused on 40 families (20 in California and 20 in Texas) with at least one parent or primary caretaker of Mexican origin and at least one fourth-, fifth-, or sixth-grade child, who served as the focal child for the study. Of these 40 families, 4 at each site were selected for intensive case study. Selection was based on the representativeness of the emerging family language use profiles distilled from interviews and preliminary observations of the 40 families. Case study observations were audiotaped, and

approximately one third were videotaped as well. The primary focus was on patterns of communication in the home and on the relationships among language choice and dimensions of language use such as topic, register, mode, and the speaker's age.

In this article, we examine the home language practices of four of the eight families selected for intensive case study. Data sources for each family include approximately 25 hours of audiotaped observations, approximately 8 of which were also videotaped; two interviews with the caregivers (in some cases, only the mother); two interviews with the focal child; and samples of the focal child's writing in English and, if the child had achieved some degree of biliteracy, in Spanish as well. In addition, because we wished to obtain data that would allow cross-linguistic comparisons of children's narrative competence, we collected English and Spanish narratives based on two wordless picture books.

To capture a range of family interactions, including those focusing on school and literacy activities, we conducted at least 12 home observations at four different times in 3 separate weeks during periods when school was in session.¹ Observation periods included at least three afternoons beginning shortly after the children returned from school, three early morning periods from the time the children awoke until they left for school, three weekend mornings, and three Sunday evenings from the time the family returned from their weekend activities until the children's bedtime. In addition, because the interviews and early observations indicated that interactions with Spanish-dominant relatives comprised both a means of and an incentive for Spanish maintenance, a number of weekend observations were scheduled at times when relatives were visiting, and their interactions with the focal children were recorded.

To prepare the data, we transcribed audio recordings of interviews with family members; selected portions of the home observation containing informal interactions between focal children and siblings, parents, and other relatives; and conversations concerning schoolwork and other aspects of literacy. Standard procedures for analyzing qualitative data were employed (e.g., Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Miles & Huberman, 1984; Spindler & Spindler, 1987). All data relating to the same family were grouped to yield case studies of different families' experiences with bilingualism. Behaviors and responses of individual family members were compared, and a second comparison was made across families.

¹ During home observations, focal children wore belts designed for joggers to carry small personal tape recorders. The children were recorded with Sony D-3 professional tape recorders and Sony D-55 lapel microphones. Although the recorders were occasionally turned off accidentally when children engaged in vigorous physical activity, the combination generally worked well and enabled us to access a great deal of relatively unmonitored speech. Microphones picked up all utterances of the focal children, including sotto voce self-regulatory remarks, as well as nearly all the speech of others in the immediate vicinity.

For the purposes of this article, we have attended closely to the constructions provided by the four focal children and their parents in response to the following interview protocol:

We'd be interested to know how you see yourself. Let's say someone asked you about your cultural identity. What would you call yourself?²

However, by the preceding we would not wish to convey that our analyses privilege interpretations based on information provided in response to elicitation protocols that specifically address the issue of identity. First, the respondents volunteered information pertaining to ethnic and cultural identification throughout the interview conversations, whether such information was explicitly requested or not.³ Second, ethnographic records on the language socialization practices of families selected for intensive case study reveal a willingness on the part of participants to engage the topic of individual and group identification and difference (Ruskin & Varenne, 1983). Third, and most important, within our conceptual framework for researching the relation between language and cultural identity, we do not consider the oral and written texts produced by family members as they are socialized to and by language to be entities separate from—to be related to—identity constructions. Rather, we view these language practices in themselves as embodying *acts of identity* (LePage & Tabouret-Keller, 1985), the meanings of which are determined not by objective criteria but rather by those criteria that the various actors consider emblematic (Barth, 1970).

FINDINGS

The Villegas Family: From Mexican Elite to U.S. Minority

If someone asked me I would say I'm Mexican, I'm from Mexico, I come from a ci- I come from Guadalajara um I'd tell them about my ancestors maybe . . . what they ate or what they wore . . . o:r tell them about my grandpa, how . . . he fought in World War II I don't know, it's kind of hard.⁴

Diana Villegas (age 11)⁵

² Focal children and their parents were interviewed separately. Neither the children nor the parents were in hearing range of one another when the interviews took place.

³ Respondents were especially forthcoming in the coda, or the recapitulation and summative portion of the interview, which often took the form of a narrative of the respondents' experiences with bilingualism. In narrative analysis, the coda is the section in which the speaker communicates the interpretation that he or she would have the listener give to the preceding series of articulations (McCabe & Peterson, 1991).

⁴ We have kept transcription conventions to a minimum for the sake of readability. The following conventions have been retained: All uppercase letters indicate strong emphasis; a colon following a vowel (e.g., *e:*) indicates an elongated vowel; an equal sign (=) indicates an overlap; XXX indicates inaudible text; translations and comments are in brackets.

⁵ Diana Villegas and all other subject names used in this article are pseudonyms.

Family Background

Mariana and Enrique Villegas and their daughter, Diana, and son, Luis (age 4),⁶ rented a small, detached house in Lincoln City,⁷ a town located approximately 20 miles south of San Francisco, California. The Villegas residence, on the fringe of a middle-class neighborhood and within short walking distance from commercial activity, was located about one-half mile west of the barrio that contains Lincoln City's majority Mexican-origin population. Both Mariana and Enrique were from Guadalajara, Mexico's second largest city. Their families, most of whom had remained in Guadalajara, belonged to the small, well-educated, Mexican *profesionista* (professional) stratum.⁸ Mariana's father, for example, was a medical doctor; Enrique's brother, an engineer. The couple moved to northern California when Diana was 2 so that Enrique could pursue a degree in business. Mariana, a Spanish-English bilingual who learned to speak, read, and write both languages at the American School in Guadalajara and by interacting with foreign medical students at the local university, planned to profit from her U.S. stay by taking courses to qualify as a medical assistant.

The couple's early years in the U.S. were full of financial hardship. In addition to attending classes, both parents worked full time to support their family. During the day, preschooler Diana was placed in professional day care. Mariana and Enrique selected an "all-English" facility because they wished to take advantage of their limited time in the U.S. for their daughter to acquire a good base in the language. Around the time Diana was ready to start primary school, the couple made the important decision to remain permanently in the U.S., where Enrique planned to start his own business after completing his studies.

Choosing a School

The decision to immigrate changed the Villegases' orientation toward decisions about schooling for their daughter. The selection of a primary and middle school now had long-term consequences for Diana's future,

⁶ For all families, children's ages are given as of the beginning of the observations. In most cases, the observations—including follow-up interviews—continued for more than a year.

⁷ To preserve the anonymity of the San Francisco-area families, we have used pseudonyms for the towns in which they reside. Differences in population structure and distribution made such precautions unnecessary in San Antonio.

⁸ It is difficult to estimate the percentage of the Mexican population that belongs to this stratum, particularly in the period following the collapse of the peso in December 1994. However, Nolasco and Acevedo (1985, cited in Valdés, 1996, pp. 175–176), who studied social stratification in Ciudad Juárez and Tijuana, estimated that 8% of the population belonged to this stratum, which also included middle-level executives and business people.

consequences that could be predicted given the cultural capital the couple brought from Mexico, that is, their knowledge of how the educational system in free-market countries worked. Mariana and Enrique were concerned primarily with identifying a school with high academic standards, where Diana could receive the best possible preparation for a professional vocation. After researching the schools within close driving distance, they decided that the wisest choice would be St. Mary's Academy (a pseudonym), a Catholic school located in the adjacent, affluent town of Oak Grove, where the language of instruction was English.

In her first meeting with Diana's kindergarten teacher, the teacher firmly counseled Mariana against teaching Spanish literacy to her daughter and advised the parents to speak English whenever possible in the home in order not to "create a conflict" that would cause the child to experience problems in school. The Villegases saw no reason to question this counsel: "Queremos . . . que la niña se adapte lo más pronto posible al sistema" [We wanted . . . our child to adapt as quickly as possible to the system]. Although initially Enrique, whose English proficiency was not as strong as his wife's, valued the opportunity provided by these unnatural discourse practices to improve his English, eventually all family members came to view these interactions as disorienting: "Y perdemos el uso de idioma español en la casa. Y con eso perdemos también un poco la cultura y- y al final están como en un limbo, no están en ningún lado" [And we're losing the use of the Spanish language at home. And with this we're also losing some of the culture and in the end it's like they're in limbo, they aren't anywhere].

"Un Español Muy Pobre"

This theme of a connection between language and cultural identity was strongly reinforced a year or two later at the time of a visit from Diana's paternal grandparents. Mrs. Villegas was alarmed at the degree of Spanish language loss her granddaughter exhibited. Ensuing discussions provoked a major change in attitude on the part of Diana's parents regarding the relation of mother tongue maintenance to cultural continuity. The Villegases briefly considered transferring their daughter to a bilingual program in a local public school, and Mariana went to look for a Spanish immersion program of the kind she had heard were common in Canada. However, appalled by the what they regarded as the poor quality of the Spanish they observed in the neighborhood schools, they were disabused quickly of the idea of transferring their daughter to a public school. Mariana reported, "Los niños eran de tercer grado y: leyeron un cuento . . . y tenían que escribir una pequeña composición de

lo que habían entendido . . . y no había coherencia . . . usaban cosas en español . . . ‘voy pa’ ‘trás, te llamo pa’ ‘trás . . .’” [The children were third graders and they read a story . . . and they had to write a little composition about what they had understood . . . and there was no coherence . . . they used things in Spanish . . . “voy pa’ ‘trás, te llamo pa’ ‘trás”].

But the Villegases encountered what they regarded as *un español muy pobre* [an impoverished Spanish] not only in the public schools but all around them—in the community and in the media as well. For example, for the Villegases, mother tongue input from Spanish-language media was problematic because they viewed the Spanish spoken on the local television and radio stations as full of errors. Commented Mariana, “La tele no nos ayuda, porque encontramos barbaridades como la palabra *gang, ganga* [laughs], eso no existe en español, es *pandilla*” [The TV doesn’t help us, because we find barbarisms like the word *gang, ganga* . . . this doesn’t exist in Spanish, it’s *pandilla*]. The couple also expressed their dissatisfaction with decisions regarding programming for the Spanish media. Mariana continued, “No hay muchos programas educativos en español” [There aren’t many educational programs in Spanish].

However, their reservations about the cultural resources to which they had access extended beyond issues of language, for the Villegases saw a direct link between Spanish-language usage in the U.S. and lower class Mexican values and mores. According to Enrique, “La comunidad mexicana son de las personas que vienen de una clase baja . . . y muchos de ellos no tienen ni escuela” [The Mexican community is composed of people who come from the lower class . . . and most of them don’t have any schooling]. The Villegases were also careful to distance themselves from specific cultural identities associated with segments of the Mexican community, identities that they found either alienating or disdainful: “Yo soy mexicano, pero el movimiento chicano para mí es desconocido . . . no lo puedo entender” [I’m Mexican, but to me the Chicano movement is unfamiliar . . . I can’t understand it].

For the Villegases, the main drawback of living in the U.S. was, in fact, the absence of the kind of cultural activity they associated with their life in Mexico—museum exhibits, musical concerts that informed about “the roots of our dances,” and media resources from which one could depend on “un buen español, un español estándar” [a good Spanish, a standard Spanish]. They regretted that Mexican-descent children in the U.S. demonstrated little or no familiarity with the works of Mexican poets and novelists. They wanted their children, in the words of Mariana, “tener conciencia de lo que es TODA la cultura . . . que sea más rica la experiencia” [to be aware of what the WHOLE culture is about . . . so that their experience will be richer].

Efforts to Stop Spanish Attrition

Given their profound concerns about their daughter's mother tongue attrition and its implications for the maintenance of Mexican cultural identity as well as their reservations concerning bilingual programs in the California public schools, the only option open to the Villegases was to require the exclusive use of the mother tongue in the home. From the time Diana entered third grade, a Spanish-only policy prevailed in the household: Diana's parents initiated interaction with their daughter in Spanish and required the use of Spanish in return. In addition, Mariana began a formal program of teaching her daughter to read and write in Spanish.

Although Diana did not consistently use Spanish in her interactions with her parents, she knew that its use was expected, especially by her mother. Sometimes, when her daughter began an interaction in English, Mariana commanded explicitly, "¡Habla español!" More often, however, like the mainstream, Anglo parents and teachers described by Heath (1982, 1983) and Michaels and Collins (1984), the mother's admonishments took the form of indirect requests, as illustrated in the following example:

Diana: What do you want that for?

Mother: Huh?

Diana: *¿Para qué quieres eso?* [Why do you want that?]

Despite the official Spanish-only policy that governed the Villegas household, Diana used a fair amount of English, although not normally with her parents or her cousin Leticia, who arrived from Mexico midway through the observation period. With her school friends, however, she spoke exclusively English, even though her two closest friends were also Latinas who spoke fluent Spanish. Diana agreed with her mother's explanation that, given the monolingual context of St. Mary's, the girls found communication in their native language awkward, even outside the school environment.

Diana also listened to and watched a lot of English-language media. The family schedule, in fact, often was organized around a televised sports event—the Villegases were avid basketball and soccer fans—despite Mariana's earlier-expressed disdain for Spanish sports programming. The parents and daughter also used some English in discussions of school-related topics. In these instances, however, the English phrases tended to be of the formulaic variety normally associated with the protocols of schooling, which, given the school's monolingual character, would have been issued in English.

- Mother: *¿Diana, el viernes vas a llevar uniforme?* [Diana, are you going to wear your uniform on Friday?]
 Diana: *¿El viernes? ¿Este viernes?* [Friday? This Friday?]
 Mother: Yeah.
 Diana: Uh. No.
 Mother: *¿No?*
 Diana: No.
 Mother: It's free dress?

Because in this household a high value was placed on academic achievement, Mariana made an exception to her Spanish-only policy for the purpose of assisting her daughter with academic subject matter. She reasoned that content understanding was primary and that, because her daughter's stronger language in the school domain was English, she would be undermining her own purpose by introducing a new lexis in Spanish.

In addition to using English at home for schoolwork, Diana used a considerable amount of English with her brother, a reflection of a parental double standard with regard to their expectations for the two children's language use. These different expectations were not gratuitous. Early in our field work, the couple had been informed that Luis would not be accepted as a student at the private school that their daughter attended. Mariana recounted, "De la escuela de Diana nos mandaron a decir que el niño falló el examen de kinder, su puntaje fue SUMAMENTE bajo, no fue bajo, fue ANORMAL" [They told me at Diana's school that the child had failed his entrance exam for kindergarten, his performance was SO low, no it wasn't low, it was ABNORMAL]. Mariana and Enrique's initial response to this devastating news was a composite of anguish and guilt. They wondered whether the language socialization strategy that they were using to foster their children's sense of Mexican identity was interfering with their young son's cognitive development.

Minority Status

As it turned out, the school's pronouncement had a radicalizing effect on the parents. In the 6 months following the decision the Villegases' frightened, guilt-ridden disposition converted into anger at an elite who sought to consolidate its position of privilege by defining their son as marginal: "Yo nunca me imaginé que un niño para kinder tenía que saber escribir su nombre" [I never imagined that a child going into kindergarten would be expected to know how to write his name]. And, as they underwent transformation, they also came to understand the manner in which they were a minority, given a dominant culture in

which overt descriptors such as race and language were stronger indicators than less visible ones such as class.

When it came time for a decision, the Villegases enrolled their son in one of the neighborhood schools after Schecter had met with the new principal and had reported that she was impressed with his background and professionalism. The family and school got off to a rocky start: Initially Luis was placed in a bilingual education class even though the parents had specified on the registration form that they wished him to be enrolled in the monolingual English strand. Mariana intervened, insisting that the staff respect the parents' judgment with regard to their son's interests, and the child was transferred.

At the beginning of the school year, Mariana volunteered as a teacher's aide so she could track her son's academic progress. In short order the principal enlisted her assistance in editing the school newsletter. Ironically, in seeking to persuade other community members to become involved with the newsletter, Mariana now found herself an advocate for the very public educational system the she and her husband had not long before so vehemently decried. In a final ironic twist, in the summer of 1996 Mariana accepted a position as teacher's aide at a local elementary school, providing instruction in Spanish to Mexican-origin children in the K-4 classrooms she had scrutinized as a parent 4 years earlier.

The Hernández Family: Traditional Linguistic and Cultural Values as Defense

I'm Mexican . . . 'cause I'm from um because my parents are from Mexico and I want to talk like from where I am, um where my parents came from.

Eduardo Hernández (age 10)

Family Background

Raul and María Hernández owned a colonial blue bungalow in the East Bay community of San Ignacio, California. Although the economy of San Ignacio, populated largely by working-class and economically marginalized families, had received a boost as a result of the two recently opened casinos, this good fortune did not appear to have mitigated the notoriety associated with the town's name. San Ignacio's streets were still considered unsafe—indeed, a series of gunshots disrupted an interview we were conducting with another of the families participating in the study—and the city had made a number of unfortunate choices with

regard to senior school board personnel, resulting in the insolvency of its schools.

Although the parents' schedules were irregular, the household was orderly. All family members had chores that they were expected to complete before proceeding to recreation: On one Saturday morning visit, Schecter arrived to find Francisco (age 9) spraying and cleaning the living room furniture, Eduardo grooming the dog, and Tomás (age 6) wiping the interior of the van while his mother washed the exterior. Raul, an irrigationist by trade, was at the computer in the parents' bedroom, preparing the family tax statement. As the children completed their assigned tasks, they each found their way to the paved court out back and began to shoot baskets.

Language Use

Much of the time the three brothers were joined in their outdoor activity by their next-door neighbor, Jacobo, age 13. Most of their activity took place in the street in front of the Hernández home. The boys played baseball or football, used their in-line skates, or simply horsed around, while their music (Selena, Boyz II Men) blasted from the boom box strategically positioned on the front stoop. The following is an excerpt from a conversation between Eduardo and Jacobo as twilight brought closure to their football practice. The conversation, which contains several typical examples of the type of code mixing common among the youth of the neighborhood, concerns their schedule for the following day, which was Halloween. Jacobo informs his friend that his plans have been curtailed because he has to serve a detention for arriving late to school.

- Jacobo: Yeah, *eso es que* if you go late . . . if you go late to school, if you get three
- Eduardo: Uh huh.
- Jacobo: You er . . .
- Eduardo: You get suspended.
- Jacobo: Mm mm.
- Tomás: Eduardo, *¡que vengas!* [Come on!]
- Jacobo: Wait a little bit, either you get a work detail and you get a hum er sweep the hall or sharpen pencils=
- Eduardo: =A:h hah=
- Jacobo: =Or clean the school for one hour *y si no* [and if not], if you don't go, you get suspended for 1 day . . . *Y yo tengo que- y te dan y luego yo tengo que ir en Halloween.* [And I have to- they give you work detail and then I have to go on Halloween.]

Inside their house, the brothers' conversations with one another were characterized by frequent code switching, a strategy that Eduardo referred to as *los dos* [both]. The boys' running commentaries during one evening of television watching (they watch mostly English language television, largely cartoons and hunting and fishing shows) yielded examples such as "*Mataron muchos ducks*" [They killed a lot of ducks] and "*¿Qué pasó? [What happened?] It crashed?*"

With his parents, Eduardo spoke primarily Spanish, a strategy dictated both by the pragmatic requirements of communication with his monolingual Spanish mother and his parents' ideological stance toward Spanish maintenance. Raul began in English to explain his and his wife's position—"I think that's the only way to keep a little bit of what we used to have," then switched to Spanish—"el único modo de mantener algo de la cultura que tenemos=" [the only way to maintain something of our culture]. The conclusion to his sentence was anticipated by his wife, as the two rejoined, "=hablando el idioma" [by speaking the language].

Both Raul and María were from the central Mexican city of Guanajuato. Although Raul spoke, read, and wrote Spanish fluently, he claimed English as his primary language. His parents immigrated to the U.S. when he was 5, and for 7 years he attended an all-English elementary school in San Francisco. Raul reported that during his formative years he came into contact with few Latinos, so that eventually he actually had to "learn" Spanish. His motive for such learning was decidedly affective: While on vacation in his birth town of Guanajuato he met and fell in love with then 17-year-old María, who confirmed that Raul was strongly English dominant when she met him: "Cuando yo lo conocí a él, bueno cuando ya nos casamos, no hablaba casi español" [when I first knew him, well, when we were already married, he hardly spoke Spanish]. After 10 years of residence in the U.S., María still spoke only Spanish: "Yo, nada más español" [I speak only Spanish].

In the following sequence, which took place in early morning, Eduardo's mother is querying her son about his breakfast activity. Their interaction takes place entirely in Spanish.

- Mother: *¿Y van a comer nada?* [Are you going to eat something?]
Eduardo: *Yo ya me he comido un pan con leche.* [I already ate bread and milk.]
Mother: *¿No te has comido un pan con leche?* [Haven't you eaten bread and milk?]
Eduardo: *Sí, ayer.* [Yes, yesterday.]
Mother: *¡No, ahora!* [No, now!]
Eduardo: *¡Ah, sí!* [Ah, yes!]

Because of María's limited receptive capability in English, Eduardo was often called on by his mother to translate important documents or

act as a broker between her and the outside world. An instance of the latter occurred one intemperate Monday morning after the family had passed the weekend without electricity, as a result of a particularly brutal rainstorm that wreaked havoc in the area. María asked her son to phone his school in order to find out if there would be classes that day.

- Eduardo: [looking for the telephone number to phone school] *¿Mom, esto es un six o un zero?* [Is this a six or a zero?]
Mother: *U:n six.*
Eduardo: Yes, erm are we gonna- are we gonna go- have school today? OK. Thank you. Bye. [to Mother] *Dijo que sí.* [She/he said yes.]

Eduardo's father speaks English fluently, and he was comfortable with the boys using a fair amount of English with him when they were horsing around; however, Raul was firm that "as soon as they finish playing, having their fun, it's back to, to the serious, uh to Spanish." He added that sometimes the boys needed to be reminded to speak Spanish: "Y muchas veces se les puede olvidar, pero lo más tarde que uno les diga no: 'hijo háblame en español, tu- tu idioma es español, me gustaría que supieras el idioma de origen tuyo'" [And many times they can forget, but then later I tell them "no: son speak to me in Spanish, your- your language is Spanish, I'd like for you to know the language of your origin"]. Eduardo understood this rather complex protocol for communication with his father, as evidenced by his account to the latter of the unhappy events he was party to earlier with regard to his friend Jacobo's rabbit. Although Eduardo code switches in the first turn, his speech thereafter, in line with his father's stern *consejos*, is all in Spanish.

- Eduardo: *Papi, la la coneja de Jacobo* [Dad, Jacob's rabbit] *se le c- erm co- erm she broke a leg.*
Father: *¿Por qué?* [Why?]
Eduardo: *No lo sé.* [I don't know.]
Father: *¿Porque la estaban correteando ustedes?* [Because you (pl.) were chasing it?]
Eduardo: *No, no es ésa, la que estaba afuera. Estaba- estaba al- adentro y luego fuimos a verla y ya tenía el deste (=eso) cortado y había sangre . . .* [No, that's not the one, it was out (of the cage). It was- it was in- inside and they we went to look at it and it already had this cut and there was blood.]

Both Raul and María emphasized their view that parents have a responsibility to "educate" their children for success in school and, eventually, life by raising them to be respectful and hardworking, with serious values. An important part of this responsibility, they believed, entailed the communication of a set of values through one's actions and

interactions in the home, an arena over which parents exercised considerable control. For the Hernándezes, these values were inextricably tied to their identity as Mexicans, and their identity as Mexicans was inextricably linked to the Spanish language. Because Spanish occupied such a central role in both the family legacy and the future trajectories envisioned for their children, the Hernándezes believed that its preservation should not be left to chance but rather should be a goal pursued through an aggressive Spanish maintenance strategy.

Away from his mother and father, Eduardo spoke Spanish with some interlocutors (his grandmother, who came to visit from Mexico, a “new” boy on the block, from Peru); English with others (his aunt, several cousins); Spanish, with some code switching to English, with others (his younger brother, Tomás, who preferred Spanish); and English, with some code switching into Spanish, with still others (his middle brother, Francisco, who preferred English).⁹ His language choices illustrate the principle of accommodation. Asked how he made decisions about which language to use with whom, and when, Eduardo responded, “Hablo el inglés cuando cuando no- alguien no sabe hablar en español y en español cuando alguien no sabe hablar en inglés” [I speak English when when no- someone doesn’t know Spanish and Spanish when someone doesn’t know English] (see Valdés, 1982).

Schooling

All three boys attended the same neighborhood elementary school, and all three were enrolled in English-only classes. When the time came for Eduardo to start kindergarten, his parents were advised that their son would be placed in a bilingual program. Despite his strong belief in Spanish maintenance, Raul was not happy. From his observations of the school experiences of friends and their children in the area, he was convinced that if his son were placed in the bilingual strand, he would not learn English. He went to speak with the school principal.

Les dije que no, que si le iban a poner en el salón bilingüe yo lo sacaba de la escuela y lo ponía en otra escuela, porque el español estoy yo pa’ enseñárselos . . . yo los mando a la escuela a enseñárselos el inglés, no el español, si yo quisiera que supieran el español me los llevo a México, verdad.

[I told them no, that if they were going to put him in the bilingual classroom that I would take him out of school and put him in another school, because

⁹ The issue of what the base language is in any conversation involving extensive code switching is admittedly complex. For the purposes of this study, we adopt Myers-Scotton’s (1993) matrix language frame model. According to this model, in a mixed-language conversation, the language that supplies the system morphemes is the base language. The base language can (and does) change as new interlocutors enter into a conversation or as the topic shifts.

I'm the one who teaches them Spanish . . . I send them to school to learn English, not Spanish, if I wanted them to know Spanish I'd take them to Mexico, right?]

Raul and María were satisfied with the quality of their son's public school education, although they gave much of the credit for his success to Eduardo himself. From an early age, they informed us, their son was studious, "un muy buen muchacho" [a very good boy]. Although neither Eduardo nor his parents remembered their reading to him when he was younger, according to Raul and María the child always showed a strong interest in learning and, before entering school, taught himself to read in both Spanish and English. From their favorable comments, Eduardo's parents knew that his teachers appreciated their son's efforts in school. Notwithstanding the rapport that Eduardo enjoyed with school personnel, in the course of the observation period the child started to have difficulty with school math and was frequently stumped when attempting to complete his math homework. María was concerned and expressed the view to her husband that they should get her son some outside assistance. Raul, however, made the decision to tutor the boy himself, although later he modified this initial strategy to one that combined tutoring with material incentive. ("I told him if he pulled up his grades, I would take him to Disneyland.") However, because school learning was a serious topic, he conducted these tutoring sessions in Spanish.

After Eduardo completes middle school, his parents plan for him to attend high school in Mexico, where he will reside with his maternal grandmother. Eduardo was looking forward to living with his grandmother; he spoke warmly about the stories she told about her childhood and appreciated the books in Spanish that she sent from Mexico. He had been to Mexico twice already and resonated with the people and culture. However, unlike his parents, who planned to return to Mexico eventually in their retirement, Eduardo intended to remain in the U.S.

The Torres Family: Language Revival at Home

Soy Hispanic . . . porque mi abuela es born in- in Mexico. Pero mí y mi mama- were born here. [I'm Hispanic . . . because my grandmother was born in Mexico. But me and my mom- were born here.]

Marta Torres (age 11)

Family Background

José and Elena Torres and their three daughters, Liliana (age 12), Marta, and Alicia (age 10), lived in a well-kept bungalow in an

overwhelmingly Latino neighborhood in San Antonio, near the city limits. Both parents worked, José in a facility that rebuilds aircraft parts, and Elena in the cafeteria of the local community college, a position that allowed her to be home when the children return from school.

José and Elena Torres acquired Spanish at home from their parents, who had immigrated from northern Mexico as young adults, and both continued to use Spanish with their mothers. Although both were literate in English, neither learned to read or write in Spanish. José and Elena spoke both Spanish and English with one another. As is the case with many Texas-born Latinos, their speech with one another and with other bilinguals was characterized by frequent code switching (see Bayley & Zapata, 1994). Outside the home, they accommodated to the language preferences of their interlocutors or to the demands of the situation.

Reversing Spanish Attrition

In their daughters' formative years, José and Elena spoke only English in the home in order to ease the girls' transition to formal schooling. Elena commented, "Yo quería enseñarles en inglés porque no les sería difícil cuando ellas fueron a la escuela que aprender en inglés" [I wanted to teach them in English so that it wouldn't be difficult for them when they went to school to learn English]. Education has always played an important role in the Torreses' aspirations for their daughters' futures—both parents were determined that their girls would go to college—and at the time José especially was concerned that if the girls spoke Spanish at home, "they weren't going to do good" in school. In recent years, however, José and Elena had become increasingly concerned about their three children's lack of Spanish proficiency, noting a direct link between a trend of mother tongue attrition and loss of cultural identity. "I think we're losing it already," began Elena. "I think it [loss of culture] is already in process and I think that my mother's generation knew lots of Spanish—her kids did not get to learn how—or I did not get to learn to read and write it and I think that's a shame. Because now I can't teach my children that." She continued in Spanish, "A crecer siendo mexicanas y no saber español- no está bien eso Yo cuando miro una mexicana pues yo pienso que ella sabe español. Y muchas no saben" [To grow up being Mexican and not know Spanish- that's not good When I see a Mexican well I think that she speaks Spanish. But many don't know it]. Their concern, shared by many *tejano* parents, arises not only from cultural considerations but from instrumental ones as well. According to Mrs. Torres, "En el trabajo vas a necesitar que saben español, y si estas niñas no saben español van a tener un problema" [At work you're going

to have to know Spanish, and if these girls don't know Spanish they're going to have a problem].

To avert the loss of Spanish by their daughters, the Torreses adopted two main strategies. Mrs. Torres' mother provided weekly Spanish "lessons," which mainly involved retelling familiar Mexican stories and pointing out the names of various objects in the house as well as commentaries on the *telenovelas* the grandmother was so fond of. And in the home, José and Elena attempted to have their daughters speak Spanish 1 day a week, a practice they had maintained for a year prior to our home observations.

The language revival strategy involving Mrs. Torres's mother was not problematic. These interactions felt natural for Marta, our focal child. Her grandmother spoke Spanish with all her *nietos* (grandchildren) and had done so since they were little, notwithstanding the intervening generation's initial reservations about the use of the heritage language. Marta was fond of her *abuela* and did not, in fact, characterize her visits with her, which sometimes involved sleep-overs, as lessons. Asked what she did when she was over at her grandma's, the child responded, "Hablamos . . . about *escuela*, y la past" [We talk . . . about school, and the past].

With regard to the Torreses' strategy of speaking Spanish 1 day a week in the household, their goal was at least partially fulfilled: Marta did attempt to use Spanish when we recorded the family interactions on several "Spanish days," as illustrated in the following interaction with her mother.

- Marta: Mom, *ya hicimos* vacuum. [Mom, we finished vacuuming.]
Mother: *Está bien prontito. ¿Ya barrites cuarto?* [Come on now, quickly. Have you swept your room?]
Marta: *Sí.* [Yes.]
Mother: *¿Y todo lo barrites?* [And you swept it all?]
Marta: *Sí, bien . . .* [Yes, (I swept it) well . . .] *Yo tieno, no yo tienes.* [I have, no I have . . .] I don't know how you say *have*. Mom, how do you say *have*?
Mother: Half? What? *Medio.*
Marta: Have, like you have to close the door.
Mother: *Tienes que.* [You have to.]
Marta: Ok, what about I have homework?
Mother: *Tengo tarea.* [I have homework.]
Marta: *Tengo carea* [sic].

The above example shows that Marta's receptive ability outpaced her productive capacity and that her Spanish exhibited early interlanguage features (e.g., highly unstable verbal morphology as in *yo tieno/yo tienes*

above). Yet, despite her rudimentary command of oral Spanish, Marta's Spanish surpassed her mother's in one respect. Unlike her mother, Marta had acquired minimal Spanish literacy and sometimes was called upon to read Spanish-language leaflets and shopping coupons. Elena Torres commented on her daughter's ability, "A lot of times I get the [shopping] coupons in Spanish and it's like, 'OK Marta, *ven a decirme qué dice aquí*'" [OK Marta, come and tell me what it says here].

The above encouraging sign notwithstanding, it was difficult for José and Elena to reverse the process of intergenerational language attrition. Although she loved to read and was an avid consumer of children's literature in English, Marta would not read in Spanish other than for the purely pragmatic purpose of helping out her mother. And getting her to speak Spanish, even on Spanish days, was sometimes trying, as illustrated in the following excerpt from a mealtime conversation between Marta, her mother, and her younger sister.

- Mother: What's today if it's Tuesday Alicia?
Alicia: M:mh [for I don't know].
Mother: You don't know?
Marta: Why what is it?
Mother: No don't don't tell her if she don't know then she don't participate and she won't get all the extras . . . What's today?
Alicia: Spanish day.
Mother: Why? . . . Why is today Spanish day?
Marta: I don't know. 'Cause we have it every Tuesday.
Mother: OK, that's why 'cause it's Tuesday.

The School's Role in Language Maintenance

Marta's parents both appeared solidly committed to the goal of Spanish-language revival, yet they found depleting the degree of conscious effort involved in reversing the household "habit," as Elena described it, of speaking English. In Elena's words, "It is draining for me that I have to repeat or that I have to make myself clear in what I said because they are so used to me speaking to them in English." What the Torreses found most disheartening, however, is that the burden for Spanish-language input rested almost exclusively on their (and, of course, Elena's mother's) shoulders. Like Enrique and Mariana Villegas, José and Elena found the selection on the local Spanish-language television and radio channels to be wanting—in fact, they claimed there was no children's programming on Spanish TV—and outside of the occasional Spanish-language movie, the family chose to bypass these resources. Marta was aware of the Spanish-language television channel,

“porque yo play with the remote”; however, she was not tempted by it *“porque hablan muy fast . . . y poquito entiendo”* [because they speak very fast . . . and I don’t understand much]. Although Marta did have *latina* friends who spoke some Spanish, as in the case with Diana Villegas and her friends who attended school together in English, the girls were more comfortable communicating in English. However, the family did attend an evangelical church with Spanish-language services, and their involvement in this congregation was a source of strength and renewal. But support from the children’s schools, which the Torreses viewed as key to effective language maintenance, was noteworthy for its absence.¹⁰ Once again, Elena:

I would think that a class, even just 30 minutes a day, where they can go in and speak only Spanish and the correct Spanish. And learn spelling and and writing it and reading it. I think that would be a great impact on the children. I think as long as it’s consistent that it would be wonderful.

Elena Torres was involved with her children’s education as an active member of the PTA, as a volunteer in accompanying the children on field trips, and as a manager who oversaw completion of homework assignments. In her view, she provided active support on a number of dimensions for the school system’s agenda for her children. Thus, she had difficulty accepting that the schools her children attended did not provide any support for her considerable efforts to transmit her language, especially because the family lived in an almost entirely Latino neighborhood in a city with a majority Mexican-descent population.¹¹

I think that the attitude that the city has that they feel that this is the United States an . . . this is an English-speaking country. But I feel that it is wrong. I feel that they shouldn’t just because they were born here does not mean that only English is the language that should be used. I believe that we have to hold to something and that something is my parents come from Mexico. And if I don’t have something to hold on to- if we don’t have something to hold on to then what is our culture- what do we teach our children? There is nothing there, if we have to give that up.

¹⁰ Several Texas-born parents in the larger study discussed their attempts to enroll their children in bilingual programs. The children, who were all proficient in English, were denied admission on the grounds that the bilingual programs were intended solely to provide assistance for limited English proficient students rather than to assist children with some Spanish in developing their abilities in the minority language.

¹¹ According to 1990 Census Bureau figures, Latinos constitute 56.3 percent of the population of San Antonio.

The Baez Family: Cultural Maintenance Combined With Minority Language Awareness

[I'm] Tex-Mex. *Po'que mi background [is from] México, pero YO 'sta de Tejas.*

Alysa Baez (age 10)

Family Background

We turn now to the Baez family, whose middle and youngest daughters evidenced the least proficiency in Spanish among the families reported on here. Roberto and Luisa Baez and their daughters, Linda (age 12), Alysa, and Liliana (age 6), lived in a new middle-class subdivision on the predominantly Anglo north side of San Antonio. A college graduate, Roberto was an engineer with a local firm; Luisa, who had completed 2 years of college, worked as a customer service representative.

Cultural Awareness

Luisa spoke, read, and wrote Spanish fluently; Roberto, although not as fluent as his wife, was also proficient in Spanish. Because they feared punishment if overheard using Spanish on school premises, each reverted to the use of English in their youth and then continued this pattern with their offspring. "What we tried to do was," Luisa hesitated, the subject clearly painful, "we tried to act Anglo." In the Baez family, English had always been the language of parent-child interactions, with Spanish reserved for endearments (*mijita* [my daughter]), formulaic phrases (*¿Tú crees?* [You think so?]), and isolated vocabulary items denoting objects that hold special significance for the children (*caballito* [little horse]). The girls attended the local public schools, and, as might be expected in a majority-Anglo neighborhood, English was the L1 of nearly all their friends. However, they did have occasion to use Spanish in weekly visits with their maternal grandparents, who lived in San Antonio, and Roberto and Luisa attempted to motivate their daughters to learn Spanish. They saw Spanish as playing an important role in an overall strategy aimed at cultural awareness. Said Luisa,

Yo pienso que todos que vivimos aquí venimos aquí de otros países y . . . cuando vinieron los ALEMANES hicieron colonias, ellos siguieron enseñando a sus niños las costumbres de su país. Cuando hay aquí gente polaca también hicieron lo mismo. Y nosotros mucho dejamos esas costumbres y yo pienso que 'hora ya reconocimos que importante es. Y yo quiero seguir las costumbres, quiero seguir las leyendas que me dijeron mis abuelos yo quiero seguir todo eso. Aunque sea que hacemos tamales una vez por año. Son costumbres que nosotros queremos que vivan.

[I think that all of us who live here came here from other countries and . . . when the Germans built colonies, they continued to teach their children the customs of their country. When the Poles were here they also continued to do the same. And we're abandoning these customs, and I think that now we have recognized how important it is. And I want to follow the customs, I want to pass on the stories that my grandparents told me, I want to follow all this. If nothing else we make tamales once a year. They are customs that we want to keep alive.]

For Luisa especially, it was important that the children be aware of their Hispanic heritage and be able to appreciate the significance of events and artifacts that in her view had played an important role in the evolution of the Mexican people, at least in the U.S. She reviewed carefully with Alysa, our focal child, the ingredients that go into the *caldo*, the soup that she and her own mother prepared lovingly for their families. She explained the difference between Mexican music, for which she displayed a special fondness (judging from her station selection on the van radio), and Tejano. She found books in the library, written in English, that addressed Hispanic cultural themes and read these to her daughters as they were growing up. Alysa still remembered and cited with fondness a children's story entitled "Too Many Tamales."

Alysa was a member of a volleyball team composed primarily of Mexican-origin girls and a church congregation composed primarily of Mexican-origin families. She was also an *aficionada* of Tejano music. Like the overwhelming number of girls in the Texas study, Selena was her favorite performer, and memorabilia commemorating the late singer's accomplishments dominated the decor of her bedroom. The Baezes approved of their daughters' musical preferences and were happy to support their related habit. This was a good way, they felt, for the girls "to learn more words in Spanish."

Intergenerational Communication

Luisa Baez described her children's Spanish proficiency as resembling a "staircase," a result of the differing lengths of time they spent when they were young with their nearly Spanish-monolingual maternal grandmother, Mrs. Vela. Linda, the oldest, essentially grew up in her grandparents' home while Luisa and Roberto worked. Through third grade, she attended a private school nearby and would be picked up and taken or bused to Mrs. Vela's home after school. As a result of regular, constant exposure, she was able to acquire much Spanish in her early childhood years. Alysa, however, although she stayed with the Velas during her infant years, was thereafter cared for by her paternal grandparents when her *abuela* became ill. Although following Mrs. Vela's recovery Alysa

returned periodically to her grandmother's home for day care, Mrs. Vela believed that the paternal grandparents' derogatory attitude toward the heritage language discouraged the child from using Spanish. Although Alysa reported speaking Spanish "como when *yo 'sta a mi, mi 'buelo's house,*" Mrs. Vela documented a pattern of regression with her middle granddaughter, claiming that the youngster had been a stronger Spanish speaker as a young child. Liliana, the youngest daughter, spent even less time with her maternal grandparents than the two older siblings. By then the family had moved to their current home in suburban, northwest San Antonio, across town from the Velas, and it was more convenient either to leave the child with her paternal grandparents nearby or to place her in a day care facility attached to the neighborhood elementary school. Of the three girls, Liliana was the least proficient in Spanish and, unlike her sisters, evidenced no receptive ability. We noted the near-monolingual Mrs. Vela scrambling to accommodate the child when the latter was thrown off by her grandmother's atypical but situationally appropriate greeting: "Fuiste al paseo?" After several seconds of blank look and silence, Mrs. Vela followed up, "Did you went to see the parade?"

That intergenerational communication was impeded by the fact that she and her granddaughters do not share a common language was a source of much sorrow for Mrs. Vela. It was not the lack of linguistic proficiency in English and Spanish on either her part or her granddaughters' parts that Mrs. Vela regretted, nor was she especially concerned with issues of cultural continuity, as were Alysa's parents. Rather,

Sería muy bonito que . . . mis nietas me entendieran bien lo que yo les quería decir porque era una forma de, acercarme más a ellas pa' conocerlas, o que ellas me conocieran a mí . . . Porque yo podía expresarles mis sentimientos, mis sueños con ellas, aconsejarlas, y ellas me entendían. . . . Y se me hace que en español es más DULCE . . . emotiva más: la conversación de una abuelita con su . . . nieta. Y en inglés pos no podría . . . hablarles con el corazón . . . en español yo podía hablarles . . . decirles mis sueños que puedo tener yo con ellas. Pero pos ellas no me entienden en, en español pos ¿cómo se los voy a decir?

[It would be beautiful for . . . my granddaughters to truly understand what I wanted to say because it was a way of, getting closer to them and knowing them, or for them to know me . . . because I could express my feelings, my dreams with them, to advise them, and they could understand me . . . And it seems to me that it's sweeter in Spanish, more emotional: the conversation of a grandmother with her granddaughter. And in English well I couldn't . . . speak to them from the heart . . . in Spanish I could speak to them . . . tell them the dreams that I have for them. But, well, they don't understand me in, in Spanish, well, how am I going to say these things?]

Clearly, Alysa was comfortable in the presence of Spanish, as the following interaction across three generations in her grandmother's

home reveals. “It’s just that,” as Alysa explained her own communication strategy while in the presence of monolingual Spanish speakers, “sometimes I don’t know the words so I get confused and I use English words and try to go back to Spanish when I know the words.”

- Alysa: *O. Es bueno* [eating her caldo]. [It’s good.]
Grandmother: *¿Está sabroso? ¿Um:?* [chuckles] [It’s tasty?]
Mother: *Dile a que horas te levantaste para hacerlo . . .* [Tell her what time you got up to make it . . .]
Grandmother: *A las, a las* fi:ve, forty. Um? The morning. *¿Oyiste?* [Did you hear?] I wake up at five, f- fo- forty minutes.
Alysa: *¿Po’qué?=[Why?]*
Grandmother: =Five in the morning.
Alysa: *¿Porqué?* [Why?]
Grandmother: *Para que estuviera temprano, pronto, pa’ cuando viniera porque ya se que ustedes, quieren comer luego* [laughs] . . . [So that it could be ready sooner, for when you’d come, because I know that you like to eat as soon as you arrive . . .]
Alysa: *Ah yo* woke up *a como a la* eight.

Alysa attended Spanish classes in the summer “College for Kids” offered by the local community college district. Although our proficiency measures—along with the examples given above—showed that she lacked sufficient proficiency to converse with Spanish monolinguals outside the family, Alysa, like Marta Torres, exhibited considerably more receptive than productive ability (see Bayley, Schecter, & Torres-Ayala, 1996, for a discussion of Alysa’s Spanish proficiency). Luisa’s instructions to her daughter regarding food preparations were full of Spanish vocabulary, for example, *pimienta* [pepper], *un poquito* [a little], all of which Alysa interpreted appropriately. Another example of Alysa’s receptive ability was provided en route to a hairdresser’s appointment across town, when Luisa, without a pointing gesture, made an appreciative reference to the passing scenery: “Mira. Teresitas” [Look. Impatiens]. Responded Alysa, “I like the pink ones the best.” Alysa, in fact, developed an extensive receptive repertoire in Spanish related to the theme of gardening. Not surprisingly, we discovered that she regularly assisted her maternal grandfather with related chores.

Alysa was popular with her peers and displayed a well-rounded character, playing the clarinet and participating on a number of sports teams, and the Baezes exuded a sense of confidence about their daughter’s future. Although they believed that knowing a second language was good for personal development and could be advantageous in the workplace, they at no point expressed the view that their daughter’s well-being was tied to her recovery of Spanish, and they were never observed to insist on its use. On later observations, however, the cause of

cultural maintenance in the Baez family received a boost from an unlikely source. Alysa herself reported liking to speak Spanish more frequently, especially with her grandmother, and she had plans to take more Spanish language courses in school. Her main motivation was to be able to communicate more easily with her maternal grandparents and help them translate important documents from English. But there was something else. Making the link between minority language maintenance and cultural continuity more explicit than her parents perceived it, she stated categorically, “*Yo quiero talk more en español po’que ese es mi background y that’s it.*”

DISCUSSION

Self-Definition

All four focal children, as well as their parents, defined themselves in terms of allegiance to their Mexican heritage, although the terms they used varied according to the depth of their ties to the U.S. (with the terms *Mexican* or *Mexican American* used by more recent immigrants). All four families viewed bilingualism as a positive attribute, and all accorded an important role to Spanish in the formation of cultural identity.

However, the families were differently oriented to the use of the Spanish language as a vehicle for affirmation of this commonly articulated identity. The California parents viewed Spanish as a necessary social resource in maintaining cultural tradition and ethnic identity, and they usually insisted on the use of Spanish in parent-child interactions. In one of the California families, siblings conversed largely in Spanish, although code alternation, constrained by topic junctures, was not uncommon. In the second California family, sibling interaction was characterized by frequent intrasentential code switches and longer stretches of both Spanish and English. Both California focal children exhibited similar patterns of language use with peers. With classmates and neighborhood friends, they normally used English (although Eduardo Hernández frequently code switched with bilingual peers); with relatives, they accommodated their interlocutors’ language preferences.

Language Use

The patterns of language use in the Texas families differed markedly from those in the California families and from one another’s. Members of the more affluent Texas family, who resided in an ethnically mixed neighborhood, used English almost exclusively in parent-child and

sibling interactions. Spanish was reserved for occasional directives and for endearments. In this family, strategies aimed at cultural maintenance for the most part did not involve the use of Spanish: The focal child and her sisters participated in enrichment activities or church groups consisting of Mexican-descent children, addressing themes related to Mexican culture and meeting in predominantly Latino parts of the city. All of these activities, however, were carried out in English. The parents in the other Texas family, who lived in an overwhelmingly Latino neighborhood, were more active with regard to Spanish maintenance. Although siblings in this family usually interacted with one another in English, the mother frequently addressed the children in Spanish or a mixture of Spanish and English, and the parents set aside 1 day each week during which Spanish was to be used for parent-child interactions. Moreover, the children in the second Texas family spent a set time each week with their grandmother, who always interacted with them in Spanish.

Although not one among the four families relied on the schools to assist with the maintenance or revival of the minority language, the California and Texas families differed in how they saw the idealized role of the school in relation to Spanish language maintenance and cultural identity. The Texas families reported on here believed that the public schools had an obligation to assist them in maintaining their linguistic and cultural identity, whereas the California families concurred with the view that school was a place to acquire academic competence in the dominant societal language and that responsibility for Spanish maintenance essentially rested with the family.

Differing Sociocultural Ecologies

To some extent, the differences between the California and Texas participants may be attributed to the differences in the sociocultural ecologies of the two communities that the families represent. As is the case with the overall Mexican origin population in the two states (Solé, 1995), the California and Texas families differed with respect to the depth of their ties to the U.S. All four California parents were immigrants, having moved to the U.S. after the age of primary language acquisition. In contrast, both sets of Texas parents were born in Texas, and all spoke fluent English.

Moreover, unlike the California families, the Texas families had their important relations close at hand. After-school and weekend visits by focal children to the homes of grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins, as well as the large Mexican-origin population of San Antonio, created a perception of strength through numbers as well as the possibility for at least some Spanish interaction beyond the home. In contrast, the

California parents frequently used diaspora metaphors in representing their social condition: Removed from a natural community of Spanish speakers, living in a metropolitan area in which Mexican culture was devalued, and perceiving the constraints on sustaining their sense of roots to be numerous and oppressive, they felt they could not “let up,” as one parent put it. The home being the arena over which they exercised significant control, cultural identification was best achieved, they believed, through an aggressive Spanish maintenance strategy (see Fishman, 1991).¹²

IMPLICATIONS

Recently, Zentella (1996) decried what she termed the *chiquitafication* of U.S. Latinos, the tendency of the popular media and, unfortunately, of much of the educational community as well to gloss over the highly diverse perspectives and backgrounds represented by the increasing numbers of U.S. residents who trace their roots to Mexico, Central America, and the Spanish-speaking countries of the Caribbean and South America. She challenged researchers to explore the diversity of Latino communities ranging from newly arrived Dominicans in New York to the *mexicanos* whose southwestern settlements predate English colonization of the eastern U.S. The research reported here may be viewed as one response to that challenge. Although the families whose language socialization practices we have reported on all share a single national origin, they present anything but a monochromatic picture. The parents and children whose stories we have compared shared a sense of belonging to a larger Mexican or Mexican American culture, and they all were aware that Spanish maintenance is tied to participation in that identity. However, the ways in which the families chose to pursue their goal of intergenerational transmission of Spanish varied widely. Moreover, as we have seen, even the meaning of Spanish maintenance is somewhat problematic. Enrique and Mariana Villegas, from an upper-middle-class background in Guadalajara, equated Spanish maintenance with preservation of the cultivated Spanish of the educated Mexican elite, a social dialect that was never spoken by the adults in the other

¹² Despite differences between the two states, however, the differences in the families' opinions on the role of the schools in minority language maintenance appear to depend largely on the circumstances of each family. We have reported elsewhere on an immigrant family, the Gómezes, living on a south Texas ranch (Bayley et al., 1996). Sr. and Sra. Gómez insisted that their children use Spanish exclusively in the home and expected their children to acquire English at school. Like the Villegas and Hernández families in California, the Gómezes viewed intergenerational transmission of Spanish as a task best accomplished by the family.

families studied. Further, the associations among language, culture, and identity are dynamic, as illustrated by the case of Mariana Villegas, who changed during the course of our field work from an opponent of bilingual education who was horrified by the quality of the Spanish she observed in the public schools to an aide in a bilingual classroom and, more importantly for the purposes of this article, a self-described minority. A similar dynamism may be seen in the desire of Alysa Baez, aged 11 at the end of the study, to instantiate her identification with “*mi* background” by speaking more Spanish, a desire encouraged but by no means required by her parents, who had achieved status in U.S. mainstream society.

From an applied perspective, the voices we have presented here have important implications for the goals and practices of multicultural education in schools. First, the diversity of meanings ascribed by the participants to the ideas of Mexican and Mexican American identity reinforces critiques of essentialist descriptions, based on reductionist categories, as aids to understanding the backgrounds and aspirations minority children bring with them to classrooms (see Erickson, 1990; Giroux, 1993; McCarthy, 1994). Second, discourse about ethnic identity is “a constituent part of [the North American] social environment” (Ruskin & Varenne, 1983, p. 553), and, as Cummins (1996) has pointed out, “the process of identity negotiation is interwoven into all educator-student interactions” (p. 12). The provision of opportunities to engage in such negotiations, then, may well prove more fundamental to the success of culturally diverse students than the implementation of any multicultural curriculum taking the form of group descriptions, no matter how sensitively the latter are drawn. Finally, if, in the interest of such empowering action, the use of ethnographic and case study material such as that contained in this article can help promote awareness among educators, schoolchildren, and caregivers of ways in which self- and self-other relationships can be understood and stimulate discussion about the interaction of externally and internally constructed identities in acculturation processes, we are only too grateful.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This research was supported by U.S. Department of Education Field-Initiated Studies Program Grant R117E40326-94 and by Spencer Foundation Grant 13811. Adriana Boogerman, Joanna Meighan, Elvia Ornelas-García, Rose Mary Reyna, Diane Sharken-Taboada, and Buenaventura Torres-Ayala assisted with observations, interviews, and transcriptions. We also wish to express our appreciation to the families who allowed us to share a portion of their lives and trusted us to tell their stories.

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The Idealised Native Speaker, Reified Ethnicities, and Classroom Realities

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TESOL practice in the schooling sector in England has implicitly assumed that ESL students are linguistic and social outsiders and that there is a neat one-to-one correspondence between ethnicity and language. This perspective has tended to conceptualise L2 learners as a linguistically diverse group (from non-English-speaking backgrounds) but with similar language learning needs. However, demographic and social changes in the past 30 years have rendered such assumptions inadequate and misleading, particularly in multiethnic urban areas. In this article we seek to (a) offer an alternative account of the classroom realities in contemporary multilingual schools where the linguistic profiles and language learning needs of ESL students are not easily understood in terms of fixed concepts of ethnicity and language; (b) draw on recent developments in cultural theory to clarify the shifting and changing relationship among ethnicity, social identity, and language use in the context of postcolonial diaspora; and (c) question the pedagogical relevance of the notion of *native speaker* and propose that instead TESOL professionals should be concerned with questions about language expertise, language inheritance, and language affiliation.

TESOL practice within the schooling sector in England has been mainstreamed.¹ Historically this represents a major advance in terms of pedagogical relevance and equality of access, but our current research (Rampton, Harris, & Leung, 1997) and our recent experience in working with teachers have suggested that mainstreaming itself has generated a number of new and unresolved issues in relation to language use, ethnicity, and social identity. This article seeks to advance a number of propositions.

¹ Throughout this article, for reasons of legislation and social context, we refer to TESOL in England specifically. Although there might be commonalities among the national TESOL practices within Britain as a whole, we do not claim that our descriptions and arguments are directly applicable to Scotland and Wales.

1. Socially and ideologically inspired conceptualisations of the language learner and the associated language pedagogies in England over the past 40 years are no longer adequate to cope with the range of what are termed *bilingual learners*² typically encountered in classrooms, particularly in urban settings.
2. Some of the recent developments in cultural theory assist a critical analysis of the prevailing thinking. They also contribute to an understanding of the changing nature of the linguistic formation and social identity of the bilingual learner and of the resulting need to develop an expanded notion of TESOL pedagogy.
3. In the specific arena of language, little development of such an expanded pedagogy is possible without displacing conventional notions of the *native speaker* of English (what we label here *the idealised native speaker*). This can be accomplished by asking about the language expertise, language inheritance, and language affiliation of all learners of English in the classroom (Rampton, 1990), regardless of the language attributed to them.
4. Language use and notions of ethnicity and social identity are inextricably linked. Because of this, specific attention must be paid to the way that many bilingual learners actively construct their own patterns of language use, ethnicity, and social identity. These patterns can often be in strong contradiction to the fixed patterns and the reified ethnicities attributed to bilingual learners by many of those attempting to develop effective TESOL pedagogies.

The current historical moment of profound change and flux is not a time for the pronouncement of grand strategies or solutions but rather an opportunity to engage in open analysis and questioning as a first step towards a better understanding of some of the problems encountered in classrooms and the possible development of an expanded and more responsive TESOL pedagogy. We stress that in this article we are writing specifically of the English urban context, although we hope that some of what we say will have a resonance for colleagues working on TESOL questions in major urban centres in other locations.

² The term *bilingual pupil/learner* is widely used in England as a broad category to refer to pupils who are at various stages of learning English as a second or additional language for studying purposes and who have at least some knowledge and skills in another language or languages already.

BACKGROUND AND PREVAILING ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT TESOL IN ENGLAND

An important element in understanding both the historic and current TESOL context in England is the nature of the post-1945 inward migration of peoples and languages. Martin-Jones (1989) characterises these migrations as principally of people entering England as either migrant workers or refugees. At the same time she sees a significant divide between those entering from other parts of Europe and those entering from former colonies and third-world nations. Historically, it has been the latter who have had the greatest interaction with TESOL policy and practice in England—people who migrated to England in relatively large numbers from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, the Caribbean, Hong Kong, East Africa (principally Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda), West Africa (mainly Nigeria and Ghana), Vietnam, Ethiopia and Eritrea, Somalia, and Cyprus (see Peach, 1996), bringing with them languages such as Panjabi, Urdu, Gujarati, Hindi, Bengali and Sylheti, Cantonese and Hakka Chinese, Caribbean Creoles, Yoruba, Twi, Cypriot Greek and Turkish, Kurdish, Tigrinya, Amharic, and Somali (see Alladina & Edwards, 1991; Inner London Education Authority, 1989).

Space constraints prohibit a detailed critical analysis of the historical development and limitations of TESOL in England (see Leung, 1993, 1996; Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 1997; Rampton, 1985, 1988; Rampton, Harris, & Leung, 1997). At present, however, TESOL practitioners urgently need to take account of social and demographic changes that pose troubling questions about the ways in which TESOL pedagogy classifies and conceptualises the large numbers of bilingual learners who are the children and grandchildren of the migrants of the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. A highly significant factor has been the historical racism and disdain for the peoples and languages emanating from former English colonies and third-world countries. Over the past 40 years, this attitude has tended to lead to TESOL approaches bounded at first by overtly assimilationist approaches (Department of Education and Science, 1971) and then, after assimilationism was dropped as an official approach (Swann, 1985), by a tendency not to take a proper account of the complexities of language learning and language use in contemporary multiethnic urban settings. (For a fuller discussion of the tenets of the current practice see Edwards & Redfern, 1992.) In fact, we would summarise the current configuration of L2 education goals and practices in England in terms of three implicit assumptions:

1. that linguistic minority pupils are, by definition, bilingual, having an ethnic minority language at home while at school they are learning and using English;

2. that these pupils' language development needs can be understood and categorised broadly in the same way; that is, there is a universal L2 learner phenomenon, which, since the 1960s and despite the mainstreaming initiative, has been conceptualised as someone learning English as a social and linguistic outsider; and
3. that there is an abstracted notion of an idealised native speaker of English from which ethnic and linguistic minorities are automatically excluded.

In fact, we agree with Garcia's (1996) conclusion from North American experience that for many teachers

it has become necessary to cope with a process of change whereby the ethnolinguistic identity of children is itself undergoing rapid change The greatest failure of contemporary education has been precisely its inability to help teachers understand the ethnolinguistic complexity of children, classrooms, speech communities, and society, in such a way as to enable them to make informed decisions about language and culture in the classroom. (p. □vii)

In the next section, we try to explore approaches to this complexity that might be more productive.

CONTEMPORARY REALITIES OF TESOL

To adjust to the complex realities of contemporary urban multilingualism, we would suggest at least three strategies. First, it is worth attending closely to recent developments in cultural theory and research that offer ways of accommodating patterns of change in language use and social identity. Second, educators need to address the actual rather than the presumed language use, ethnicity, and culture of the bilingual learner. And third, they need to draw on the first two strategies to develop more specific, precise, and differentiated English language pedagogies, spanning a range of practice from the pupil who is a recent arrival and early English user to the pupil who is a settled bilingual in the mainstream class. In the process, teachers will need to engage properly with the hitherto unresolved (and now virtually invisible) issues surrounding the language needs of speakers of Creole-influenced language and Black English. The question of similarities and differences in L2- and Creole-influenced language continues to be unresolved in the English educational literature.³ One reason why this is important is that in recent years the English-born children of other settled migrant

³ For discussions of this issue in the Caribbean itself, see Devonish (1986) and Roberts (1988).

minority groups, like their Caribbean-descended peers from an earlier period, have become much more difficult to separate into clearly bounded ethnic and linguistic categories that neatly divide them from ownership of English ethnicity, standard English, and local urban vernacular Englishes. (See *Voices From the Classroom* below for some evidence of the salience of this observation in the contemporary multiethnic classroom.)

Developments in Cultural Theory

One of the key questions addressed in an innovative way in British cultural studies is this: At what point are the people involved in migration to be considered as a permanent and integral part of the host nation and not as part of a kind of permanent “otherness”? For TESOL, this question is important for curriculum organisation and for classroom pedagogy because it paves the way for a better understanding of two further challenging questions:

1. Why do many bilingual learners, especially those in adolescence, actively seek to escape the essentialising linguistic and ethnic categories within which their English language teaching takes place?
2. What are ESOL teachers to do when the actual language use and language expertise of the young learners whom they daily observe confound the commonsense, fixed, and clearly bounded notions of language and ethnicity?

We would suggest that TESOL practitioners who wish to make progress with these and allied questions have much to gain from studying the thinking emanating from cultural theory and research in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Bhabha (1994), for instance, in a detailed theoretical treatment, gives an insight into the ways in which particular ethnic groups come to be constructed into a permanent otherness: “An important feature of colonial discourse is its dependence on the concept of ‘fixity’ in the ideological construction of otherness” (p. 66). Meanwhile, Gilroy (1987) analyses the processes in the British nation-state that construct notions of Englishness or Britishness that permanently exclude certain minority groups. He identifies the role played by what he calls *ethnic absolutism*, a perspective that “views nations as culturally homogeneous communities of sentiment” (pp. 59–61). As Hall (1988) suggests, members of minority groups are not simple inheritors of fixed identities, ethnicities, cultures, and languages but are instead engaged in a continual collective and individual process of making, remaking, and negotiating these elements, thereby constantly constructing dynamic new ethnicities.

Writing more specifically of language, Hewitt (1991) identifies the significant ways in which urban youth participate in the “destabilisation of ethnicity” (p. 27) in their routine language use. He further suggests that an important but often overlooked part of their language use is what he describes as a local multiethnic vernacular, a community English. This language use is “the primary medium of communication in the adolescent peer group in multi-ethnic areas” (p. 32). There is also relevance in the associated notion of *language crossing*, which involves the use of minority languages by members of ethnic out-groups (e.g., Creole used by White and Asian adolescents or Panjabi used by Whites and African Caribbeans—see Rampton, 1995, 1996). Among other things, crossing draws attention to the existence of many cross-ethnic friendships, to the fact that “there can be a strong interest in minority languages by majority group peers,” and to the reality that “adolescents do not necessarily require *all* members of their peer group to speak *all* its languages with *equal* proficiency” (Rampton, 1995, p. 328). It also emphasises the intractable problems associated with the term *native speaker* in relation to the speaking of English.

It is not necessary to accept these contributions in their entirety in order to argue for their potential relevance. This is neatly and vividly illustrated in an article by a multilingual Indian-born teacher about himself and his British-born son (Hallen, 1994).

As a British person I have lived 33 of my 40 years in England. So I should not have been surprised when, on a recent educational visit to the USA, I was constantly referred to as “our English guest” or “our English visitor.” I was amazed at how much they admired my English accent and confused when, on a formal occasion, I received the compliment: “you English always dress so well.”

I was puzzled because in all my 33 years in England nobody had ever referred to me in those terms. In England I am always referred to as Indian. Why was my “Englishness” so prominent in the USA and so unrecognised here? . . . The real surprise came last Christmas when, having left at the age of seven, I returned to India for a holiday. . . . My eight year old son, who is not fluent in Panjabi, suddenly found himself in an environment that he did not fully comprehend, where customs and traditions were not always familiar. There was a different emphasis on food, particularly towards vegetarianism, and fast food was a rarity. He was constantly looking for the “safe” and familiar. The street games played by the children of his age were new to him and, as he spoke little Panjabi and no Hindi, and they spoke only Hindi and no English, it was clear from day one that to stay within the bounds of the safe, he would be spending most if not all of his stay, with me and my parents or with other English speakers. He spent his spare time watching English language broadcasts on cable TV, MTV and BBC Asia, and after the first few days he was missing his Big Mac, chips and bacon sandwiches, and he was bored.

In my son I was witnessing an amplification of my “Englishness” and a reduction of my “Indianness.” As he was only fluent when communicating in English, it was no surprise when some of my relatives began to call him “*Angrez*”—the “Englishman.” But here lies the dilemma experienced by English people whose parents originate from outside Europe, particularly those who do not have a white skin and therefore do not “blend in” with most of the British population. In England he is seen as an outsider, an Indian, but in India he is seen as an outsider, the “*Angrez*.” So where does his ethnic identity lie, and what epithet correctly describes his ethnicity? (pp. 14–15)

Cultural theorists provide theoretical frameworks that help clarify phenomena like this. For instance, Mercer (1994) is one of many writers to redeploy the concept of *diaspora* to show that many people in minority groups in Britain can retain both real and imaginary global African, Asian, Caribbean, and other affiliations, combining them with definite British identities. His notion of “emerging cultures of hybridity, forged among the overlapping African, Asian and Caribbean diasporas” (p. 3) could also help make sense of what this teacher and his son have been experiencing. As Mercer further observes, “in a world in which everyone’s identity has been thrown into question, the mixing and fusion of disparate elements to create new, hybridized identities points to ways of surviving, and thriving, in conditions of crisis and transition” (pp. 4–5).⁴

VOICES FROM THE CLASSROOM: MAKING SENSE OF EXPERIENCE

In contemporary English urban environments, issues like these are commonly exemplified in the lived linguistic and cultural experience of young bilingual and multilingual learners. This is illustrated in the following written extracts, drawn from some 13- and 14-year-old pupils in one class of a London secondary school in 1996.⁵

M. T. (female): I’ve lived in London all my life. The two main languages that I speak everyday are English and Gujarati When I was little I went to India. My mum’s family were teaching me how to speak standard Gujarati, but I was too young and not interested. Now I am 13 I wish I had learnt how to speak proper Gujarati. Now at school I learn German. I can read, write, listen and speak German o.k., better than my home language Gujarati where I can

⁴ We emphasise that recognizing notions of hybridity does not in any sense ignore the very real ways in which certain ethnic minority groups suffer specific and systematic societal inequalities on the basis of fixed and ascribed ethnic identities.

⁵ These data were collected by Harris. Writing was elicited after a taught unit on language and power.

only understand and speak it I don't like speaking it (Gujarati) a lot mainly because I can speak English better. I have to speak Gujarati with my mum—sometimes when I don't know how to say a thing or object in Gujarati, I say the word in English, but with a Gujarati accent . . . my dad is always telling me to speak proper English so that I don't get in the habit of speaking slang all the time.

A. T. (female): When I was young I was unable to speak another language like Hindi. My mother spoke to me all the time in Hindi hoping that I would pick it up, but however hard I tried to speak it, I did it all wrong and I was only able to understand. But when I went to India I felt really awkward. There all the children all spoke in Hindi and I was the only one who spoke English and so with me being young I had to fit in. I had felt so left out. I was only there for a month.

N. K. (female): My first language is English. I read, write, speak and think in English. I also speak Gujarati because my mum and dad are Gujarati first language speakers. At home we mostly speak English, but my mum speaks to me in Gujarati, and I answer back in English which is common My own language style is using a lot of slang and not enough Standard English. I have tried to speak Standard English . . . but I can't. I can't because I am used to speaking slang. . . . In Gujarati I can only speak a few sentences and words. I only know some numbers and none of the alphabet in Gujarati People said that I should try to speak proper English not slang or cockney. My parents say that my English is not that good because I speak too much slang.

D. C. (female): I was born in London. I speak Gujarati and English. My mother tongue is Gujarati but I mainly speak English. I can understand other languages such as Panjabi, Urdu and Hindi but I can't speak, read or write them. I can speak Gujarati and English fluently, but there are some words in Gujarati which I can't pronounce. I also can't read or write Gujarati. I've tried learning Gujarati but I can't seem to remember it. I have been learning German for nearly 3 years. I can read, write and speak, but there are still lots of things I don't know. I've been speaking Gujarati for all my life but I still can't read or write it . . . when I'm with my friends I speak London English including slang.

P. M. (male): My family religion is Sikh. My Mum was born in Nairobi, Kenya, and came to this country when she was three years old. My Dad was born in Madras, India, and came to this country when he was twenty years old. I myself was born in England As I started out in High School, I had to develop a cockney accent of speaking in order to fit in with the rest of my friends. I kept on speaking London English to the point where I spoke it naturally When I'm with my mates you'll hear me say things like "easy" or "awight" instead of "hello" . . . or "send it here" instead of "pass it here," or "nasty" instead of "disgusting" . . . or "laters" instead of "bye" or "bad" or "wicked" instead of "cool," or "gwan there" instead of "well done," and "relax" instead of "don't worry" When I'm speaking to people like my uncle on my dad's side of the family and my grandparents I speak Punjabi . . . people

in my class think of me as normal, whereas my parents think that I talk like a "Gangsta."

S. K. (female): I know Punjabi, Urdu, Swahili, German, English and Arabic. I can speak Punjabi perfectly and understand it very well. I know a lot of German, and I know how to speak it, and understand it and write it mainly. I know Arabic very little but can write a little bit of it. I know how to speak, write and understand English.

The pupils quoted above were attempting to describe, indirectly and delicately, the difference between their experience and the linguistic and ethnic categories imposed on them. Hall (1992) perceives that perhaps

everywhere, cultural identities are emerging which are not fixed, but poised, *in transition* between different positions; which draw on different cultural traditions at the same time; and which are the product of those complicated cross-overs and cultural mixes which are increasingly common in a globalised world. (p. 310)

Along with the concept of transition, Hall presents that of *translation*, which

describes those identity formations which cut across and intersect natural frontiers, and which are composed of people who have been dispersed forever from their homelands. Such people retain strong links with their places of origin and their traditions, but they are without the illusion of a return to the past. They are obliged to come to terms with the new cultures they inhabit, without simply assimilating to them and losing their identities completely. They bear upon them the traces of the particular cultures, traditions, languages and histories by which they were shaped. The difference is that they are not and will never be *unified* in the old sense, because they are irrevocably the product of several interlocking histories and cultures, belong at one and the same time to several "homes" (and to no one particular "home"). People belonging to such *cultures of hybridity* have had to renounce the dream or ambition of rediscovering any kind of "lost" cultural purity, or ethnic absolutism. They are irrevocably *translated* They are the products of the new *diasporas* created by the post-colonial migrations. They must learn to inhabit at least two identities, to speak two cultural languages, to translate and negotiate between them. Cultures of hybridity are one of the distinctly novel types of identity produced in the era of late-modernity, and there are more and more examples of them to be discovered. (p. 310)

The relevance of Hall's ideas stands out in these pupils' writing.

- M. T. has experienced family support in developing her bilingualism but has rejected it. On the other hand, she depicts both her schooled German and her schooled English as languages in which she has a

dramatically higher level of competence than she does in Gujarati, her supposed mother tongue.

- A. T. demonstrates what is true for many other bilingual learners in the class, namely, that she feels “other,” a linguistic and cultural outsider, not in relation to the English language and Britain but in relation to the Hindi language and India. At the same time she nevertheless retains a definite relationship with both Hindi and India. In this example the notion of *diaspora* is particularly useful.
- N. K. seems to claim only a minimum attachment to her family language; even when it is spoken to her she has neither the desire nor the level of competence to sustain a spoken response in it. This pattern was characteristic of several of her classmates. Like many other pupils, she identified her usual language use as slang. Are she and her colleagues referring to Hewitt’s (1991) local multiethnic vernacular or community English?
- P. M.’s parents’ different birthplaces and his own birthplace raise the question of what ethnic category he would be classified under. In his language use, he clearly places Panjabi in a relatively restricted domain while demonstrating his identification and comfort with London English and a kind of Black London English with Jamaican Creole undertones. This situation may link into Hewitt’s local multiethnic vernacular as well as Rampton’s concept of language affiliation (to which we will later return).
- S. K. would be defined by the school as having Panjabi as her mother tongue, but she claims no literacy in it (see also D. C.). In fact, like a lot of other pupils at the school, she seems to feel that curriculum languages—here German—are rated more highly, and the fragility of describing her as a Panjabi-English bilingual is demonstrated elsewhere in her writing when she illustrates her discussion with examples that include confident German sentences alongside the full Arabic alphabet, Gujarati script, Gujarati sentences, and Swahili expressions.

These pupils seem to be struggling to understand the impact on themselves and their families of the processes that Hall describes, and the discovery of these processes by their teachers may well be an urgent prerequisite to the development of more sophisticated pedagogic strategies. Certainly, when approached with sensitivity, these students were perfectly willing to assist the enquiring teacher in gaining a better understanding of the effects of global social change on language use. But what kind of school language policy planning and pedagogy could exist for pupils with this kind of capability? Of course, the examples just cited contain all the weaknesses associated with self-report, and we have no

room here for more than a brief, oversimplified discussion. Even so, this class is not highly atypical⁶ and yields enough evidence to show that there are serious problems with current routine practices in the education of bilingual learners. Such pupils are frequently attributed a kind of romantic bilingualism and turned into reified speakers of community languages, and in the process their ethnicities are also reified.

Such then is the mismatch between the realities of urban multilingualism and the educational classification of students' language identities and backgrounds. On the other side are the prevailing views of English.

The Swann Committee (1985) and National Curriculum documents (from 1988 to date) officially accept ethnic and linguistic diversity in society, but they nevertheless insist on cultivating English as the universal medium defining the nation-state and as a principal instrument for achieving social cohesion. In doing so, the population of England is for practical purposes cast as a homogenous community with one language and one culture. According to Anderson (1991), this situation is typical of the way a nation comes to be artificially constructed as an imagined community, and one dimension can be seen in the way bilinguals are taught as if only one English mattered. This English is seen as the province of the idealised native speaker, something that he or she already possesses and that the outsider imperfectly aspires to. A more accurate picture of English language realities in Britain emerges from scholars whose work is more empirically oriented.

The British education system rests on the assumption that teachers and pupils will use the grammar of standard English. However, the majority of British children are speakers not of standard English but of a non-standard variety of English (a dialect), and this has been recognized as posing extremely important problems concerning language in education. (Cheshire, Edwards, & Whittle, 1993, p. 54)

This view is endorsed in a recent piece of empirical national research in England, which concluded that a minimum of 68% of 11- to 16-year-olds did not habitually use only standard English speech forms (Hudson & Holmes, 1995). The following piece of writing shows an attempt to write in standard English by a White, monolingual English-speaking 7-year-old child.

⁶ Approximately 200 languages (other than English) are spoken by pupils in England (School Curriculum and Assessment Authority, 1996). Most professional estimates suggest that approximately 10% of the total school population is bilingual, and the figure is increasing. The percentage of bilingual pupils in individual schools varies; in some urban schools the bilingual intake may be 85% (or above). Census information indicates that the number of people in undefined (other) and mixed ethnic categories has been increasing consistently in the past two decades (Owen, 1996).

We find a car wive grnsu on it . . . aw no they cacht us. they wolt to the dunjoon. We hewd aw bref . . . wen we opoed awe iys we was in the diynjoon . . . we slept in the dungeon for friy nights . . . we only had 10 pans left. We fand 10,000 Pans on the strit Pavmot . . . we was wocen olog the rode . . . John basht into the wole . . . we got att . . . they ran away they was nevu to bey sene a gen . . . Tony foth for a minit . . . Tony foth we can put a are money in the bank (Harris, 1995)

[We found a car with guns on it . . . oh no they caught us. They walked to the dungeon. We held our breath . . . when we opened our eyes we were in the dungeon . . . we slept in the dungeon for three nights . . . we only had 10 pounds left. We found 10,000 pounds on the street pavement . . . we were walking along the road . . . John crashed into the wall . . . we got out . . . they ran away they were never to be seen again . . . Tony thought for a minute. □.□. James thought we can put all our money in the bank.]

Reasons of focus and space prohibit a full analysis, but the key point is that even so-called native speakers do not necessarily use standard forms. In the example above, the child is showing that the language use he finds most natural is in fact London English and not standard English.

These findings, we would suggest, are true not only for those pupils of White British descent but also for a large proportion of the descendants of the migrant groups to whom we have been referring. Either many of the pupils defined as bilingual learners are most comfortable linguistically with either a local urban spoken English vernacular, or, alternatively, a nonstandard variety of this kind serves as their first spoken entry into English in the local community context. This reflects

the obliteration of pure language forms deriving from a single cultural source, evident in some inner city areas (in the U.K.) and . . . the diasporic distribution of communicative forms which, whilst generated from and based in local communities, nevertheless reach out and extend lines of connection in a global way. The local penetration and mixing of language forms evident in some urban settings in the U.K. should, in fact, be seen perhaps as a reflex of the broader linguistic diasporic processes. (Hewitt, 1995, p. 97)

Again, it is important to ask what consideration traditional TESOL pedagogic approaches give to these factors.

LANGUAGE EXPERTISE, AFFILIATION, AND INHERITANCE: AN EDUCATIONAL RESPONSE TO LINGUISTIC AND ETHNIC DIVERSITY

So far, we have suggested that the conceptual frameworks of contemporary TESOL provide little leverage on the classroom realities created

by the linguistic and ethnic composition of the pupil population. This lack of analytic clarity has led both TESOL practitioners and mainstream teachers to feel paralyzed in their ability to respond to pupils' language needs, as seen, for example, in the constant struggle to develop adequate pedagogies for the large numbers of bilingual pupils who are no longer at an early stage of learning English, who have spent a significant proportion of their lives in Britain, and who use everyday colloquial English with ease (often referred to as the *plateau effect*, in which the pupil does not seem to be able to make any further progress in English language development).

In this context, Rampton (1990) offers a framework that may offer one or two ways forward. He suggests that "language education [is seen] as a social activity in which efforts are made to manage continuity, change and the relationship between social groups" (p. 100; also see Rampton, 1995, chap. 13). Rampton suggests replacing the terms *native speaker* and *mother tongue* with the notions of *language expertise*, *language inheritance*, and *language affiliation*. In a slight reworking of Rampton's original formulation, the term *language expertise* refers to how proficient people are in a language; *language affiliation* refers to the attachment or identification they feel for a language whether or not they nominally belong to the social group customarily associated with it; and *language inheritance* refers to the ways in which individuals can be born into a language tradition that is prominent within the family and community setting whether or not they claim expertise in or affiliation to that language. In this scheme, language teachers need to ask whether the learner's relationship with each language thought to exist in that learner's repertoire is based on expertise, on inheritance, on affiliation, or on a combination.

We might expand on this as follows.

Language expertise. What do teachers know about their pupils' ability in each of the posited languages? (Interestingly, although educators have become accustomed to classifying pupils according to stages or levels of putative competence in English [Hester, 1996], it is still not standard practice to attempt such an assessment in any rigorous way for their competence in languages other than English.)

This question raises several other issues. For instance, what are the criteria for assessment? Are they based on any explicitly stated, and therefore contestable, language models or norms in all the languages involved?

Language affiliation. Do teachers know anything about their pupils' sense of affiliation to any of the languages allegedly within their repertoire?

How might such knowledge about their affective relationship with their languages be used in the classroom and the curriculum?

Language inheritance. Does membership in an ethnic group mean an automatic language inheritance? In the light of our earlier discussion this assumption seems to be unsafe for some pupils. What are the consequences of an inaccurate assumption for curricular provision of community language teaching? Can educators rely on an abstract notion of the benefits of bilingualism when they are working with ethnic/linguistic minority pupils?

The potential value of these questions becomes clear if they are used to outline conventional TESOL assumptions and compare them with the kind of classroom intimated above.

Language Expertise

The conventional TESOL assumption is that ethnic minority pupils are beginners or relative newcomers to English (or at any rate lack native-speaker expertise) but that they possess expertise in their home or community language (L1). A related assumption is that the ethnic majority pupil possesses native-speaker expertise in an undifferentiated English (i.e., no distinction is made between standard English and local vernacular Englishes).

In contrast, it is difficult to assume that ethnic majority pupils faced with the complex urban realities sketched in the earlier sections possess expertise in English, especially standard English for academic purposes. A further complication is that many ethnic minority pupils disclaim expertise in their putative L1 (home/community) language (see M. T. and D. C. above). Minority pupils may also claim expertise in English—at least in the same kind of English possessed by their ethnic majority classroom peers.

Language Affiliation

In attempting to adopt a positive approach to bilingualism, conventional contemporary TESOL practice tends not only to attribute expertise in the putative L1 to ethnic minority pupils but also to attribute a high degree of affiliation on the part of these ethnic minority pupils to their home and community languages. This tendency is reflected, for instance, in the standard recommendation that teachers maximise the use of linguistically familiar material to promote pupils' confidence and self-esteem. As one teacher puts it, "Well the Asians are taken care of with

E2L. They get a lot of support and of course their culture is strong. They have a number of languages which they use. . . ." (Mac an Ghaill, 1988, p. 56). At the same time there is a tendency to assume White monolingual English speakers are automatically affiliated to standard English. The urban realities cast doubt on these certainties. First, a significant number of ethnic minority adolescent pupils demonstrate a weak sense of affiliation to their supposed home / community L1 (see D. C. and M. T. above). In addition, other ethnic minorities may claim affiliation to linguistic varieties that are supposed to be part of the natural inheritance of other ethnic groups (see P. M. above). At the same time a similar tendency is also visible amongst ethnic majority pupils (see, e.g., Hewitt, 1986; Rampton, 1995). And there is evidence that some White pupils have a weak affiliation with standard English and use nonstandard forms by choice (Hudson & Holmes, 1995).

Language Inheritance

An underlying assumption in TESOL practice is that ethnic groups inherit (are born into) language traditions that transcend questions of the actual language use of individuals and collectives; at the same time TESOL practice often assumes that language inheritance is strictly endogamous. This view can be seen in instances when ethnic minority community languages are offered as study options but are only designed for putative L1 speakers. Once again, in the realities of urban multilingualism, a noticeable number of adolescents from both majority and minority ethnic groups do not show a strong allegiance to their supposed linguistic inheritance. Equally, many working-class White youngsters do not show an allegiance to what is supposed to be their linguistic inheritance (standard English). Many pupils of Asian descent may also claim a strong inheritance in relation to English (see A. T. above).

We do not want to suggest that the conventional assumptions are automatically invalid. Indeed some of these assumptions work well with some pupils. But clearly, it is vital to validate all such assumptions against the actualities of a linguistically and culturally diverse classroom.

FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

We have attempted to identify the complexities of some of our urban classrooms. A period of open analysis, critical questioning, and working with new ideas in the classroom may lead to more responsive pedagogies. Current knowledge does not warrant the pronouncement of grand strategies or solutions. Certainly, the binary native-speaker-versus-other is

increasingly redundant, and the development of more appropriate classroom approaches should be based on a sharper awareness of learners with different needs. But how to classify and organise such pedagogies is an issue that requires a lot more exploration and reflection. One such pedagogy would be readily recognisable to TESOL practitioners—one designed for the learner who is new to the English language and English-speaking cultural contexts.

However, beyond this, other forms of English language pedagogy might be better based on an assumption that most learners, albeit from different starting points, are unfamiliar with the deployment of standard English for academic purposes. This pedagogy might be accompanied by the development of context-sensitive and learning-oriented assessments to establish the degree of expertise an individual pupil possesses in understanding, speaking, reading, or writing any given language.

Finally, it is of the utmost importance that TESOL pedagogy explicitly recognise and address societal inequalities between ethnic and linguistic groups, inequalities that can indeed often lead pupils to respond ambiguously to questions about their linguistic expertise, affiliation, and inheritance. Like Cummins (1996), we are interested in creating a pedagogy that takes genuine account of learners' expertise and identities.

We hope we have shown the importance of developing more effective and more pupil-sensitive classroom and curriculum responses to multilingual urban contexts. Our current research explores ways of constructing such pedagogies, and we hope that this will be continued in the future, both by ourselves and others.

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THE FORUM

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Theorizing Social Identity

What Do We Mean by Social Identity? Competing Frameworks, Competing Discourses

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■ The dynamics of intergroup relations involving the social groups of which students and teachers are members play a powerful role in influencing much of what goes on in the language classroom. This is true for classes of immigrant students who are experiencing a complex renegotiation of their social identity in the new society, a process that has profound implications for their attitudes to their own language and the learning of the majority group's language. The students often see teachers of the majority language as representing the majority group in this setting. The minority identity of gay and lesbian students and teachers in language classrooms can also be seen in intergroup terms. But there are competing views of how to understand the nature of social identity in intergroup terms. This commentary articulates and clarifies for teachers and researchers some of the issues surrounding this concept.

In reading Bonny Norton Peirce's "Social Identity, Investment, and Language Learning" (Vol. 29, No. 1), I was struck by the fact that, despite the presence of the term *social identity* in the title, there was no reference to the conceptual framework of social identity with which I was most familiar. This framework, proposed by the social psychologist Tajfel (1978, 1981) and clearly presented in textbooks such as Hogg and Abrams (1988), presents the development, maintenance, and transformation of social identity in terms of social psychological processes. I

found this framework very useful in earlier research I conducted on the transformation of social identity among non-English-speaking immigrant groups in Australia, with attendant changes in language attitudes, particularly attitudes to English and to the home language (McNamara, 1987a, 1987b). My puzzlement turned to alarm when I realized that this was no mere omission but that in fact Peirce's social critical stance was associated in other work with an explicit critique of Tajfel's position as being essentially asocial (Henriques, 1984; Williams, 1992), dependent on an obsolete dualism of the individual and society. Then why had I found that framework so helpful? Was it no longer relevant? Could differing frameworks be mutually illuminating, or did they involve incommensurable discourses (Pennycook, 1994)? Did the adoption of a poststructuralist critical perspective imply that past research had nothing to say to us?

In this commentary I (a) outline briefly the main features of Tajfel's (1978, 1981) social identity theory and what it has to offer to researchers and teachers wishing to understand the links between social identity, minority identity, and language attitudes in language teaching/learning settings; (b) consider criticisms of this theory; (c) compare alternative approaches to understanding social identity; and (d) suggest ways forward.

SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

Social identity theory proposes four main processes involving social identity in an intergroup context: (a) social categorization, (b) the formation of an awareness of social identity, (c) social comparison, and (d) a search for psychological distinctiveness. For Tajfel (1978, 1981), a given social context (involving relations between salient social groups) provides categories through which individuals, by learning to recognize linguistic or other behavioural cues, allocate others (and themselves) to category membership and learn the valuation applied by the in-group and salient out-groups to this membership. For example, in my study of native Hebrew-speaking Israeli families who had emigrated to Melbourne, Australia (McNamara, 1987a, 1987b), the experience of persistent (albeit minor) expressions of anti-Semitic social attitudes, together with the pervasiveness of Christian symbolism in mainstream Australian culture, acted as a constant reminder to the Israelis (most of whom are not observant Jews) of their Jewish "otherness." One mother discussed her child's growing awareness in the following way:

It took her quite a long time to understand the fact that we're Jewish and it comes up usually during Christmas. Well she sees all the ads on television and it looks beautiful and she says "Can we have a Christmas tree?" so I said "Look

we can't have a Christmas tree because we're Jewish and Jews don't have Christmas trees." . . . So now every time we go she says "Is it true we're Jewish? *Nachon she anachnu Yehudim?*" and things like this. I said "Yes, we're Jewish." (McNamara, 1987a, p. 220)

Often this process of self- and other-categorization involves linguistic cues that may at first be rather confusing to the child. In the case of the children of Israelis in Melbourne, they have to learn not only the categories *Hebrew-speaking* versus *non-Hebrew-speaking* but also the categories *Jewish* versus *non-Jewish* and the overlap (or lack of it) between the two sets (most members of the Melbourne Jewish community are non-Hebrew-speaking). The following example illustrates the confusion.

My children when they came here they didn't know that they were Jewish . . . my boy asked me "I . . . I'm Jewish?" or in the synagogue when they were taken my little boy asked the Rabbi at the end . . . he put up his hand "Are you Jewish?". . . the Rabbi! . . . and then I asked "Why did you ask the Rabbi that question?" He said "He couldn't speak Hebrew so I wasn't sure if he was Jewish or not . . . he spoke in English so how can I know?" He didn't quite connect the Rabbi with Judaism with everything . . . so they hadn't realized, being always in a Jewish community, taking for granted, you never think of it unless you see someone else that is not, so you'll know what you are . . . like looking in a mirror. (McNamara, 1987a, pp. 220–221)

The process of social comparison involves awareness of the relative status of the social identities of both the in-group and the out-group; individuals are seen to attempt to maximize a sense of their positive psychological distinctiveness by establishing terms for the comparison that will favour in-group membership. For example, in intergroup settings where "Australianness" is an issue (e.g., when Australians are living abroad) mainstream Australians may lose out on the dimension of "historicity" but may gain points on the dimensions "native speaker of English, an internationally prestigious language," "sporting prowess," and so on, particularly if these are acknowledged by out-group members. Inevitably, one cannot choose in the end how one is viewed, and painful awareness of negative evaluations of one's social identity by the out-group (e.g., through homophobia or anti-Semitism) may lead one to adopt protective strategies: attempting to "pass" by, for example, remaining "in the closet," removing the obvious cues to category membership by changing one's name, modifying one's accent, and so on. Passing is not always possible—one can be "outed," literally or figuratively, or the marks of category membership may be impossible to disguise. In this case, more creative solutions need to be found, for example, changing the dimensions in terms of which the negative evaluation has been made; the rescue and reinterpretation of the term *queer* in queer theory is a good example of this.

It is important to note that social identity theory was not originally formulated with reference to ethnolinguistic identity, although Tajfel, a Polish Jew who lost most of his family in the Holocaust, was seemingly motivated by a need to make sense of the horror that had befallen him. Some theorists thus may speak of a *repertoire* of social identities (Hogg & Abrams, 1988) or *multiple group membership* (Giles & Johnson, 1981), which will include familial, professional, class, gender, sexuality, age, and other identities. The salience of any one of these identities is a function of context. Not all or, indeed, any of these identities may be relevant in a particular encounter; the polyphony of available identities is itself of strategic significance in intergroup settings.

Another important point is that social identity is not fixed but depends on (among many things) the particular intergroup setting in which one finds oneself. This is particularly important in the case of immigration, when the altered social context is likely to render many intergroup comparisons irrelevant and introduce new ones, resulting in a transformation of social identity; for immigrants, the language classroom is likely to be one of a number of key contexts in which awareness of the new intergroup realities is developed and may be supported in the way that Peirce (1995) suggests.

ALTERNATIVE POSITIONS ON SOCIAL IDENTITY

Tajfel's (1978, 1981) theory has been the subject of critique by Henriques (1984) and by Williams (1992), the latter as part of an attack from a contemporary critical perspective on much work in sociolinguistics and the social psychology of language. To the extent that these critiques are part of a general poststructuralist reevaluation of mainstream traditions in the social sciences, the discussions of these authors are unexceptionable, although they raise the issue of the continuing relevance of the research traditions that are the subject of the critique, an issue I discuss below. More narrowly, the particular critiques of social identity theory often miss the mark. For example, Williams is right to attack the notion of ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977), whose theoretical weakness has been recognized by sociologists and social psychologists alike since its appearance (e.g., Husband & Saifullah-Khan, 1982). But this is not Tajfel's theory. Williams's claim that "the awareness of the multiplicity of identities . . . is missing in the work of [this] group" (p. 223) is not right, as I have argued above. Similarly, the accusation that work on ethnicity in this approach involves "the exclusion of the dominant group from the concept of ethnicity" (p. 216) is the opposite of the case, as the majority group's interests, "naturalized" and rendered invisible in many accounts of language learning in minority settings, are exposed in social identity theory, which adopts a conflict perspective

and, far from being ameliorist and assimilationist, is pessimistic about the inevitability of intergroup conflict. Most importantly, Williams's claim, echoed by Henriques, that social identity theory is reducible to processes of (individual) cognition and thus neglects the "historical and structural processes . . . which set the parameters of social boundaries" (Williams, p. 218) is unfounded: Tajfel (1978) explicitly deals with this point, as do Hogg and Abrams (1988).

The concept of social identity is explicitly formulated to theoretically incorporate individual cognitive processes as well as societal dynamics in its explanation of stereotyping The . . . actions and beliefs of different groups, and the stereotypes they hold of themselves and others is rooted in the dynamics of intergroup relations which form the basis of history. . . . They are shaped . . . by broader social representations, or ideologies. (pp. 82, 84)

More recently, writers within applied linguistics have drawn variously on different conceptualizations of social identity, making no reference to the existence of alternatives. This is potentially confusing for researchers and teachers who wish to interpret the range of literature relevant to their concerns. For example, Ochs (1993) argues the case for understanding social identity from within a social constructivist perspective. Her concern is with the way in which particular social identities (professional, community, educational, familial) are jointly enacted (signalled and acknowledged) in specific interactions. Peirce (1995) has discussed social identity from a poststructuralist perspective, drawing on Weedon (1987). Peirce equates social identity with subjectivity. Central to this perspective are "three defining characteristics of subjectivity": "the multiple nature of the subject; subjectivity as a site of struggle; and subjectivity as changing over time" (p. 15). Interestingly, these all accord closely with concepts in social identity theory, as outlined above: the notion of a repertoire of social identities, the transformation of social identity associated with changes in the intergroup contexts in which social identity is negotiated, and the conflict perspective on intergroup relations adopted in the theory. Peirce is certainly right in criticizing second language acquisition (SLA) theorists for their failure to develop "a comprehensive theory of social identity that integrates the language learner and the language learning context" (p. 12); she is also right to draw attention to the theoretical weakness of the familiar distinction between instrumental and integrative motivation (Gardner & Lambert, 1972), which exists in an intergroup vacuum (see, e.g. Quinn & McNamara, 1988). These are positions that can be strongly endorsed from the perspective of social identity theory. Although an attempt has in fact been made to develop a comprehensive theory of SLA of the type Peirce recommends from within social identity theory itself (Ball, Giles,

& Hewstone, 1984), it is largely disappointing, perhaps because applied linguists properly familiar with the theory and practice of SLA were not primarily engaged in its formulation. Perhaps a general orientation rather than a specific overarching theory is called for.

CONCLUSION

The centrality of the notion of social identity to current work on language learning reflects a renewed theoretical and political concern for the social dimension of language learning. This commentary has discussed the ways in which current work in this area involves conflicting points of view or simply misses the opportunity to connect with relevant work, like ships passing in the night. Specifically, despite the continuing valuable critique from poststructuralist perspectives of earlier work in social psychology and other social sciences, it would seem from Peirce's work and her neat substitution of the poststructuralist term *subjectivity* for the familiar *social identity* that Tajfel's (1978, 1981) powerful framework remains potentially relevant to current concerns. Perhaps turning one's back on what has gone before is not after all the price of the next step forward.

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Social Identity and Language: Theoretical and Methodological Issues

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■ Social identity has been a focus of research in various disciplines, such as social psychology, linguistics, and second language acquisition (SLA). Although there are a number of similarities among researchers across disciplines in the study of social identity, several underlying differences prevail in approaches to theories and methodologies. The aim of this commentary is twofold: (a) to provide an overview of some of the most salient social identity research by discussing various theoretical stances and methodologies and (b) to critique the theories and methodologies employed in social identity research. We make suggestions for future research in the concluding section.

THEORETICAL ISSUES

Theoretical Stances

One of the most notable theories of social identity was developed by Tajfel (1974, 1981), a social psychologist who believed that identity is derived from group membership. Tajfel (1974) defines social identity as “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the

emotional significance attached to that membership" (p. 69). Tajfel maintains that because individuals' identities are derived from in-group memberships, individuals may choose to change group membership if their present one does not adequately satisfy those elements of the social identity that they view positively. However, changing group membership, and thus social identity to a certain extent, may not always be possible, leaving individuals with limited options: changing their interpretations of the characteristics of their in-group so as to view them in a more positive light or engaging in social action to change the situation. However, Tajfel does not explain how this is to be done.

Drawing heavily on Tajfel's theory, Giles and Johnson (1981, 1987) developed their ethnolinguistic identity theory, focusing on language as a salient marker of group membership and social identity. Giles and Johnson also discuss group membership, hypothesizing that individuals compare their own social group to out-groups in order to make their own favorably distinct and that positive distinctiveness enables individuals to achieve a positive social identity. If the comparison is negative, however, the authors maintain that an individual may adopt several strategies to attain a more positive social identity. One is to assimilate into a group that the individual or the individual's group views more positively. If language is a salient marker of group membership, the individual may face linguistic adaptations that may result in subtractive bilingualism or even language erosion if a large number of members of a particular group assimilate into another to achieve a more positive group identity.

Interactional sociolinguists, such as Gumperz (1970, 1982) and Heller (1982, 1987, 1988), also focus on language in their research on social identity. They believe that "social identity and ethnicity are in large part established and maintained through language" (Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz, 1982, p. 7). They conducted research on specific speech events to examine the relationship between speakers' choices of linguistic categories such as phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexis and the social situation. They also looked for instances of code switching, either between languages or between varieties of the same language, to find out in what situation and with what interactants code switching occurs as "linguistic alternates within the repertoire serve to symbolize the differing social identities which members may assume" (Blom & Gumperz, 1972, p. 421). The minority group's language is often the in-group "we code" language, whereas the majority group's language is considered the out-group or "they code" language (Gumperz, 1982, p. 66), and code switching may signal various group memberships and identities. Gumperz (1970) argues that a microlevel analysis reveals that code switching serves "definite and clearly understandable communicative ends" (p. 9) and is meaningful when analyzed in terms of the conversational context.

In their study of code switching in Hemnesberget, Norway, Blom and Gumperz (1972) found that most of the members of the community spoke two varieties of Norwegian, the local dialect, *Ranamål*, and one of the two national dialects, *Bokmål*. As the local dialect carried great prestige, and as “a person’s native speech is regarded as an integral part of his family background, a sign of his local identity” (p. 411), residents of Hemnesberget used that dialect in their interactions with other residents in order to mark their in-group identity. However, when interacting with members of other communities and with tourists, the residents would use the standard dialect “at least until the participants’ identity would become more clearly known” (p. 424). Additionally, speakers switched codes depending on whom they interacted with within the community, and thus usage was not always consistent. Students switched to the standard dialect while discussing academic issues even though they were all Hemnesberget natives and spoke the local dialect. As education was carried out in the standard dialect, the students may have felt they had to switch to it in order to mark their identity as students.

Heller (1982, 1987, 1988) also believes that language and ethnicity interact in several ways. Specifically, ethnicity may limit an individual’s ability to participate in some social situations and networks and may signal a shared ethnic background, which is reinforced by a sharing of behavior, values, language, and lifestyles. Language may “symbolize group identity and become emblems of that identity, especially when there is contact with other groups whose ways of being are different” (1982, p. 3). This view is similar to Gumperz’s notion of a *we code* and a *they code* to signal in-group and out-group membership and identity, respectively, and reflects Giles and Johnson’s (1981, 1987) ethnolinguistic identity theory, in which language is a salient marker of group membership and identity. However, rather than focusing on choices between groups in terms of identification due to positive and negative associations with in-group and out-group membership, as Giles and Johnson do, Heller (1982) focuses on language choice and actual language use in specific contexts. She defines *language choice* as the choice of language code and *language use* as the “manipulation of conventionally-defined ways of saying things” (p. 4) within the chosen code. These choices serve to “indicate social relationships based on shared or unshared group memberships” (p. 5) and thus help construct social identity in specific contexts.

In an early study, Heller (1982) focused on language choice in interactions in private enterprises in Quebec, in this case in a brewery, to discover how language was being used among workers from different ethnic backgrounds. She concludes that “language is a symbol of ethnic identity, and language choice is a symbol of ethnic relations as well as a

means of communication" (p. 308). Furthermore, class divisions in each of the ethnolinguistic communities created differences in language use within each language variety, and these differences carried social and stylistic significance in certain situations. In a later study, Heller (1992), along with Lévy, studied linguistically mixed marriages in Canada, focusing on Francophone women in order to examine the value of French and English in enabling the women to gain access to resources valued economically and socially. The researchers found that the women lived with contradictions in their daily life, such as bringing up their children bilingually even though the women were part of the dominated linguistic minority and sometimes experienced negative feelings toward Anglophones. These negative feelings were also in conflict with the fact that the women were married to Anglophones. The researchers state that these contradictions were the manifestations of life on a linguistic boundary, to which the women both belong and contribute, and view social identity as contradictory and contextually bound rather than dichotomous.

Recently, social identity has also been a focus of research by SLA theorists (Goldstein, 1995; Peirce, 1993, 1995; Siegal, 1995), driven in part by the failure of SLA theorists to develop a theory of social identity that adequately addresses the language learner and the context of language learning (Peirce, 1995). Peirce argues that SLA theorists have not adequately explored "how inequitable relations of power limit the opportunities L2 learners have to practice the target language outside the classroom" (p. 12). Drawing from data she collected in her longitudinal case study of the language learning experiences of immigrant women in Canada, Peirce has constructed a theory of social identity, stating that "power relations play a crucial role in social interactions between language learners and target language speakers" (p. 3). Peirce, building on work by Heller (1987), also states that it is through language that learners gain or are denied access to social networks wherein opportunities for speaking are created and that language is the medium through which learners develop and negotiate their identity. Thus, social structures play an important role in enabling a learner to use the target language and therefore should be incorporated into a theory of SLA, which Peirce has sought to do. Peirce's pioneering theory of social identity in SLA builds on Heller's (1987) conceptualization of language and ethnicity, and it shifts SLA research in a new and much-needed theoretical direction.

In a study of language choice among female Portuguese immigrant workers in a Canadian factory, Goldstein (1995) also found that power structures influenced the women's acquisition and use of English. Goldstein found that Portuguese, rather than English, was associated with social and economic benefits, as many of the Portuguese women

who worked in the factory had few opportunities to learn English and relied on Portuguese network ties to find jobs. Once working in the factory, the women used Portuguese to develop social ties with the other Portuguese workers and establish a sense of solidarity or "sisterhood." This helped the women economically, for the women often helped their "sisters" on the assembly line, ensuring that they all kept up their work load and their jobs. As the women had no hope of advancement in the factory, the use of English was not valued but rather associated with social and economic risk, as it alienated them from their sisters. Furthermore, because of family obligations and low social and economic status in Canada, the women did not have access to evening ESL classes that would allow them to further their education. Goldstein concludes by advocating a critical pedagogy of ESL that recognizes that learners may have differential access to power and resources and that aims at helping learners challenge their community and societal status and gain greater access to resources as well as social and economic power.

Theoretical Concerns

Although the theories discussed above have made significant contributions to the understanding of social identity and its relationship to language, we do have several concerns about them. Tajfel (1974, 1981), for example, maintains that social identity is dynamic but does not discuss multiple group memberships. Most individuals belong to several groups based not only on ethnic and gender characteristics but also on personal beliefs and economic circumstances. Individuals may also belong to several ethnic groups that could be defined by language. Rather than choosing to belong to one group or the other, as Tajfel's theory maintains, the individual may wish to identify with a certain group in specific contexts (i.e., speak different languages in different situations).

In their theory of ethnolinguistic identity, Giles and Johnson (1981, 1987) do not take into consideration certain characteristics that differ among groups and between individuals (i.e., ethnicity, language, appearance, and personality). Not only do ethnic groups differ in behavior, language, and manifestation of an identity, but individuals within each group also differ in each of these elements. Although Giles and Johnson's propositions attempt to take individual differences into account, their categories are too rigid and attempt to cast diverse people into narrow categories of ethnolinguistic identity.

This shortcoming leads to another concern about the prior research by Tajfel (1974, 1981) and Giles and Johnson (1981, 1987). Their theories of identity were formed on the basis of research on a few individuals who have been taken to represent the behavior of individuals in their respective groups. Social identity is individual, and developing a

hypothesis of social identity that categorizes an individual's behavior into groups, and the groups into determined categories, denies the individual and dynamic nature of social identity.

Problems also exist in interactional sociolinguistic theories. It is still not clear what kinds of social conditions facilitate the development and use of code switching as a communicative and social strategy. And little is known about the extent to which different types of code switching are related to different types of boundary maintenance or change processes or whether the presence or absence of code switching indicates certain configurations of intergroup and intragroup relations. Although the contribution of interactional sociolinguists to the study of social identity is undeniable, as language is a strong ethnic marker and the manifestation of a specific culture, one might wonder whether language as the only focus of study will narrow the scope of research on social identity and thus weaken the overall perspectives of multiple factors interacting to form one's social identity.

In the field of SLA, Peirce's (1995) social identity theory, which places great emphasis on the social context outside the language classroom for language learners to invest in, sounds promising. She argues that the notion of investment "attempts to capture the relationship of the language learner to the social world" and conceives of the language learner as having "a complex social identity and multiple desires" (pp. 17–18). However, the extent to which language teachers can empower students in such an investment needs more research.

METHODOLOGICAL CHOICES

Although many social identity researchers consider social identity to be dynamic, the very methods some have employed—questionnaires, observations, interviews, and so forth—do not allow for dynamism, as they are typically onetime occurrences. Except for a few structured interviews (Moghaddam & Perreault, 1992; Papademetre, 1994), most of the studies conducted by these social psychologists were confined to questionnaires and surveys. For example, to test their ethnolinguistic identity theory, Giles and Johnson (1987) distributed a five-section questionnaire to 34 Welsh bilingual adolescents. Wong-Rieger and Taylor (1981) used a five-part questionnaire to address the fundamental paradox of how an individual achieves a unitary self-identity despite membership in many different groups. Ogbu and Simons (1994) conducted a large-scale student survey to quantitatively test Ogbu's theory on cultural models of school achievement. Sachdev, Bourhis, Phang, and D'Eye (1988) conducted a survey via the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire and a sociolinguistic questionnaire among 31 Chinese Canadians to examine

intergenerational effects amongst Chinese Canadian communities. Duran, Enright, and Rock (1985) conducted a questionnaire survey of the language characteristics of over 700 self-identified Hispanic freshmen entering 4-year colleges in the 1982–1983 academic year. Lee (1993) conducted a survey among African American ($n = 41$) and Chinese American ($n = 34$) students to test his hypothesis that social identity (ethnic category) and salient intergroup comparisons would produce greater preference and perceived homogeneity within the in-group than within the out-group.

In contrast, interactional sociolinguists such as Gumperz (1970, 1982) and Heller (1982, 1987, 1988) have conducted a number of longitudinal studies on both speech communities and individuals within those communities in order to study social identity and language. Heller conducted her research by using observation, conversation analysis, and interviews in various Anglophone and Francophone communities. Heller and Lévy (1992) interviewed 28 Francophone women married to Anglophones and living in three different cities in Ontario.

In the field of SLA, researchers (Goldstein, 1995; Peirce, 1993, 1995; Siegal, 1995) also used interviews, observations, and case studies in their work on language and social identity. Peirce (1995) employed in-depth interviews in her longitudinal study of five immigrant women in Canada, and Goldstein (1995) interviewed and observed Portuguese line workers in both English and Portuguese with the help of a research assistant who was fluent in both languages. Siegal (1995) conducted in-depth interviews with four women in her study of White women learning Japanese in Japan.

As seen, social identity has been studied across the various disciplines with various methodologies, such as questionnaires, surveys, interviews, observations, and case studies. Social psychologists have relied heavily on both questionnaires and surveys whereas interactional sociolinguists and L2 researchers have employed more dynamic research methodologies, such as interviews, observations, and case studies. We believe that, because social identity is a dynamic phenomenon, it should be studied with a methodology that is dynamic both in philosophy and in practice. No matter how detailed and carefully undertaken, onetime research cannot be adequate to study social identity, as social identity is often context bound, and therefore onetime research yields only one view of a complex phenomenon. As ethnographer Moerman (1993) points out, researchers and journalists are often confounded “when they assume that a person who sometimes calls him- or herself by an ethnic label—on a questionnaire perhaps, or during an interview or at a ceremony—thereby always identifies with all others who use the same label for themselves. This habit of the trade misleads us” (p. 95). In other words,

social identity is context dependent, so the data gathered through onetime research are problematic. Instead, the research should acknowledge and study the complex and contradictory nature of social identity.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Where do we as researchers go from here? We think the complexity of social identity should be explored on a dynamic continuum that allows factors such as language, ethnicity, appearance, and personality to interplay in a complex fashion without beginnings and ends. To do this, we should do more longitudinal studies with appropriate methodological choices on language and social identity in order to understand different phases and multiple layers of social identity. We should also try to triangulate our data collection methods in order to get a better picture of the complex phenomenon. In addition, we need to question our own changing perspectives on social identities over an extended period of time and compare them with those of others from similar and different sociocultural backgrounds. We believe that studying our own histories can help us better understand the histories of others. In sum, language and social identity is an important issue, a holistic and dynamic understanding of which will help to shape the future direction of SLA research.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We thank Diane Belcher and Alan Hirvela of the ESL Composition Program at The Ohio State University for their encouragement and constructive comments. In addition, we thank the two anonymous *TESOL Quarterly* reviewers and Bonny Norton for their helpful suggestions on revising this commentary.

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TEACHING ISSUES

The *TESOL Quarterly* publishes brief commentaries on aspects of English language teaching. For this issue, we asked two educators to discuss the following question: What is the identity of the nonnative ESL teacher?

Edited by **BONNY NORTON**

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The Identity of the Nonnative ESL Teacher

On the Power and Status of Nonnative ESL Teachers

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■ *Nonnative ESL teachers* (NNESTs) in this commentary are bilinguals, especially those who share the L1 of their students, who are employed to teach ESL or EFL in the schools of their native countries. In a discussion of the social identities of NNESTs, attitude is a social variable that needs to be addressed. I subscribe to the concept of Hogg and Abrams (1990) that “the social identity perspective holds that all knowledge is socially derived through social comparisons” (p. 22). The identity of an individual is not fixed but is developed and accentuated by being compared with others. Here I discuss the social identity of NNESTs in terms of their power and status in TESOL relative to their counterparts, native ESL teachers (NESTs). I show that social attitudes towards the English proficiency level and other characteristics of NNESTs shape the roles of these teachers in the ESL classroom.

In a survey I carried out between 1995 and 1996 in a teacher retraining course in Hong Kong, I asked 47 NNESTs questions about their perceptions of the proficiency and competency of native- and nonnative-speaking teachers of English. The main items of the questionnaire asked about the advantages and disadvantages for English language learners of having an NNEST and an NEST, a comparison of the English proficiency of the two types of teachers, and their different roles in the classroom. A very high percentage of respondents believed that NESTs were superior to NNESTs in speaking (100%), pronunciation

(92%), listening (87%), vocabulary (79%), and reading (72%). In contrast, NNESLTs were felt to be associated with accuracy rather than fluency.

This finding reiterates the fact that NESLTs are more often respected as models in English language learning. Some of the respondents commented that the learners can learn “accurate,” “correct,” “natural” English from NESLTs because they provide the need and opportunity to use English in the classroom setting. This need for practice in authentic communication in English is more acute in speech communities like Hong Kong where the daily social interaction of the people in major domains is accomplished in Chinese, the L1 of most of the people there.

Medgyes (1984) describes native speakers as “potentially more accomplished users of English than non-native speakers” (p. 12). Many NNESLTs feel inadequate in their work. The psychology of learners of English who become teachers of English is quite accurately depicted by Greis (1985):

Anxiety may be felt by any beginning teacher, whether native or nonnative. However, when put next to native speaker, the non-NETs [nonnative ESOL trainees] often experience a strong sense of fear that they will not attain the same level of proficiency, and that the ESL students may reject them preferring a native speaker as a teacher. (p. 318)

But the degree of the threatened confidence and authority of NNESLTs varies from one country to another. Otones (1988, as cited in McKay, 1992), speaking on English language teaching (ELT) in the Philippines, suggests that “for Filipinos learning English, a more modest goal should be set—that of being able to speak a variety that is internationally understood and accepted. This is the variety already spoken by educated Filipinos from all ethnic groups and linguistic areas” (p. 100). In this kind of speech community, NNESLTs enjoy a good self-image as they themselves act as a model for the variety of English used in the community.

In the pedagogical realm of TESOL, some advantages to being NNESLTs are related to their source language and their status as L2 learners. The respondents found the shared mother tongue a useful instructional tool in teacher-student interaction. They noted that some junior students and weak learners asked them questions in Chinese inside or outside the classroom. NNESLTs thus know the students’ problems in learning English. Another advantage for NNESLTs reported by some respondents is that their previous L2 learning experience offers them a privileged understanding of the problems and weaknesses of their students. Medgyes (1983) points out that “more than any native speaker, he [an NNESLT] is aware of the difficulties his students are

likely to encounter and the possible errors they are likely to make" (p. 6). NNESLTs empathetically attend to many learner errors, especially those that are due to language transfer.

The role of NNESLTs varies with the trends in ELT methodology. In the audiolingual approach, NNESLTs, who are perceived to favor error suppression and correction and to stress preparing students for tests and examinations, find themselves in a more useful position. In communicative language teaching, however, as Richards and Rodgers (1989) observe, there is scepticism about the ability of NNESLTs to be group process managers in leading the debriefing of activities and assisting groups in self-correction. Empirical evidence needs to be sought to investigate this matter.

At times social policies favour NNESLTs. A Hong Kong Education Department Report (1989) on a government-funded Expatriate English Language Teachers Scheme indicated that the participating schools did not assign expatriate teachers to teach Form 7 classes because local teachers of English were more familiar with the local syllabus and examinations. The expatriate teachers were not allocated to teach Form 1 classes either, because the junior students could not understand the teachers' language. NNESLTs' familiarity with the local society thus promises them a unique identity as agents of change in language policy and facilitators of the administrative mechanism in the schools. This bridging role between authority figures and students may not be fulfilled by NESLTs.

To conclude, NNESLTs not only play a pedagogical role in their classrooms, but they also serve as empathetic listeners for beginning and weak students, needs analysts, agents of change, and coaches for public examinations in the local context.

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Race and the Identity of the Nonnative ESL Teacher

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■ Although sociolinguists are aware that there is no intrinsic connection between race and language ability, my research indicates that some language learners assume that there is a connection. For a study in Toronto, Canada, in 1994, I interviewed five visible-minority female teachers¹ who were at that time teaching or had taught a class of male and female adult ESL students from different racial, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds. The 2-hour, semistructured interviews consisted of 25 questions about the teachers' perceptions of their students' ideal ESL teacher. The teachers believed that some ESL students make the following assumptions: (a) Only White people can be native speakers of English; (b) only native speakers know "real," "proper," "Canadian" English; and (c) only White people are "real" Canadians. My participants said that they felt disempowered by their students' stereotype of an authentic ESL teacher (see Amin, 1994).

My interest in conducting this study arose from my experience. I am an ethnic Pakistani; I went to English language schools in postcolonial Pakistan and emigrated to Canada as an adult. I have taught ESL to adults in Toronto in both credit and noncredit courses in programs run by community colleges and by school boards. A common thread in these very different teaching situations was that many of my students voiced their assumptions that I was / am not a Canadian and not a native speaker of English. The discourse of these ESL programs was such that the majority of the students showed a decided preference for White teachers over non-White teachers. The teacher participants in my study mirrored my experience of being constructed as a non-Canadian and a nonnative speaker of English. My research and my experience indicate that there is a connection between the attitude of the students—many of them new immigrants—to non-White teachers and their investments in learning English.

¹ I use the terms *visible minority*, *minority*, and *non-White* interchangeably in this commentary.

What are some of these investments? As Rockhill and Tomic (1995) point out, new immigrants who are learning English are defined as "other," as "culturally and linguistically inferior" (p. xi); the discourse of ESL is such that it promises liberation once one has acquired English. I would qualify this observation by saying that newly arrived Canadians are invested in what they term *Canadian English*. To appreciate what Canadian English symbolizes to newly arrived Canadians, I turn to Peirce's (1993) study, in which she examines the complex interrelationships between relations of power, identity, and language learning of immigrant women. Peirce reveals how much immigrant women want to "speak like them [the dominant group]" (p. 1) in order to negotiate their social identity. Peirce argues that English should be seen not primarily in its instrumental value, as Ng (1990) does, but as constitutive of and constituted by social identity. It is clear that ESL learners have a great investment in learning Canadian English.

What happens when students feel that the teacher of the class in which they are so heavily invested is not an authentic teacher? Minority teachers at universities describe their experience, which is similar to that of the participants in my study. Bannerji (1991) and Ng (1991) point out that most minority teachers, especially those who are new to the profession, have to invest a great deal of energy in establishing themselves as authentic teachers in the eyes of both their students and their colleagues. My experiences are similar to Hoodfar's (1992), who says that her authority and knowledge are easily questioned and that many of the students' questions and class interventions are designed to discredit her. I am constantly being challenged on the rules of English grammar, and it seems to me that some of my students are waiting for me to make a mistake.

The students' construction of their minority teachers as nonnative speakers and therefore less able teachers than White teachers has an impact on their identity formation. When the students give the message that they consider their teacher to be a nonnative speaker of English and therefore one who cannot teach them the English they want or feel they need, minority teachers are unable to effectively negotiate a teacher identity. In such a classroom, minority teachers, no matter how qualified they are, becomes less effective in facilitating their students' language learning than, perhaps, White teachers.

How can the concerns of minority teachers be addressed? In my study I found that some language learners assume that only White people are Canadians; I suggest that this perception reflects the dominant view in Canada on non-Whites. The U.S. writer Morrison (1993) observes that deep within the word *American* is its association with race, and "American means white" (p. 47). I suggest that there is an even stronger association between the term *Canadian* and White in the national psyche. Because

the learners want a Canadian teacher, their assumption that non-White people are not authentic Canadians should be addressed in the classroom.

In addition, language learners' association of non-White Canadians with nonnative speakers should be disentangled. There are two ways in which the non-White teacher feels disempowered by being constructed as a nonnative speaker. First, as Ferguson (1992) points out about the linguists' community, the "mystique" (p. xiii) surrounding the native speaker whose mother tongue is English insinuates that a native speaker has more ownership of English than a nonnative speaker does. But, as my study indicates, the native speaker has such a mystique not only among linguists but also among ESL students in Canada. Second, as Widdowson (1994) observes, not only does the TESOL profession confer "authenticity and authority" (pp. 386–387) on what a native speaker says, but it also assumes that native-speaker expertise extends to the teaching of the language. This association of the native speaker with ownership of English and good pedagogy disempowers the non-White teacher, who, I have indicated, is constructed as a nonnative speaker on the basis of race.

According to Widdowson (1994), for TESOL's opposition to discrimination against nonnative teachers to be more than a token gesture, TESOL should conduct an enquiry into what the nature of English language teaching is, what an appropriate approach is, and what kinds of competence are required of teachers. I recommend that such an enquiry disentangle the association of Canadian and American from native speaker and authentic English language teacher. In addition, TESOL in Canada and the U.S. should clearly define the terms *native* and *nonnative*, emphasizing that there is no intrinsic connection between race and ability in English. So far, race has not been addressed in debates about native versus nonnative speakers. I think that the above-described assumptions, which permeate the ESL classroom in Canada and disempower the non-White teacher, need to be acknowledged and addressed for the TESOL profession to become a level playing field for non-White teachers.

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BRIEF REPORTS AND SUMMARIES

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Edited by **BONNY NORTON**
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English Is My Native Language . . . or So I Believe

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■ Over the past two decades, the U.S. and Canada have witnessed a significant increase in the number of immigrants from the officially English-speaking Caribbean. With this new influx, North American schools and colleges are being challenged to educate immigrant students whose Englishes seem markedly different from what school authorities have traditionally defined as English. Linguist Lawrence Carrington (as cited in Sontag, 1992) asserts that the term *English-speaking* is an inexactitude because the mass vernacular in the Anglophone Caribbean¹ is some variety of English-based Creole. Still, students from this region are classified and treated as native speakers of English in school. A review of the literature reveals that most of the research in regard to the language and pedagogy of Caribbean students has been conducted at the elementary and high school levels (Anderson & Grant, 1987; Coelho, 1991; Narvaez & Garcia, 1992; Pratt-Johnson, 1993; Solomon, 1992; Winer, 1993). Studies have also focused on the writing of nonstandard speakers of English in general (Holm, 1985) and of college students who are speakers of African American Vernacular English (Coleman, 1995). However, no known study has investigated the language and pedagogy of Anglophone Caribbean students at the college level.

¹ The Anglophone Caribbean includes all of the following islands: Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Kitts, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Trinidad and Tobago, as well as Guyana on the mainland of South America. Guyana has been included because of its shared history of British colonization with the other Caribbean islands. This study focuses on immigrant students from Jamaica and Guyana.

This brief report presents the findings of a study that analyzed the spoken and written language of Caribbean college students who consider themselves native speakers of English. It discusses the students' linguistic self-perception as well as the morphosyntactic and discourse features that emerge when they write in standard English. The study also examines the anomalous position of Anglophone Caribbean students for whom English is neither a native nor a second language and the pedagogical implications of such a position.

BACKGROUND

Language and Identity in Creole Communities

Pratt (1995) describes *contact zones* as "social spaces where cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery or their aftermaths" (p. 11). The Anglophone Caribbean might be characterized as a veritable linguistic contact zone from which Creole languages emerged as a result of European-controlled plantation systems' bringing together Africans as slaves and other ethnic groups from Asia and Europe as indentured laborers. The resulting languages were the mixture of the syntax, morphology, and phonology of West African and other ethnic languages and the lexicon of British English—hence the term *English-based Creoles*. It is this quasi relation to English, however, that has precluded Creoles from attaining structural integrity, often giving them pejorative names such as "bad" or "broken" English.

To be sure, Creoles in the Anglophone Caribbean have never enjoyed autonomy as languages in their own right. The history of slavery and British colonization in the Caribbean has forced the continued interaction of standard English and Creoles in a lopsided arrangement that has privileged the standard variety and stigmatized Creoles. The interaction of the two language varieties has created what DeCamp (1971) calls a *Creole continuum*. The basic premise of the continuum is that there is no sharp cleavage between the Creole and the standard. Rather there is a continuous spectrum of speech varieties ranging from the *basilect* (the most conservative Creole) to the *mesolect* (midrange, less creolized varieties) to the *acrolect* (the standard variety with some local phonological and lexical features).

Generally speaking, there is a correlation between low social status and basilectal speech and, conversely, high social status and acrolectal speech. This is not, however, an absolute phenomenon. Winford (1994) notes that, in addition to social status, factors such as education, ethnicity, and rural/urban provenance affect one's speech. Furthermore, there is a fair amount of bidirectional variation along the

continuum as Caribbean natives engage in “acts of identity,” revealing through their use of language both their personal identity and sense of social and ethnic solidarity and their difference (LePage & Tabouret-Keller, 1985).

British colonization also left a legacy of socially stratified societies where one’s public identity was marked, among other things, by the degree to which one’s speech approximated or deviated from the *acrolect*. This phenomenon was reinforced by an educational system whose sole medium of instruction was standard English and that flatly denied any validity to Creoles. Colonial education, therefore, reflected and reinforced the rigid social stratification of Caribbean societies, and language was its most palpable manifestation.

Although the granting of independence has fueled self-pride and a concomitant validation of Creole as the language of true Caribbean identity, social mobility is still premised on the mastery of standard English. There is thus an ongoing tension between public attitudes that elevate standard English over Creoles and private attitudes that express pride in Creole (Winford, 1994). This contradictory linguistic situation has created what Morgan (1994) calls “competing identities” (p. 1), in which there is a simultaneous celebration of that which is Creole and colonial. Still, the tangible rewards of identifying with the language of the colonial master are alluring. Although the majority of Anglophone Caribbean people actually speak some variety of English-based Creole, they continue to label their language as English, at least in public domains, for Creole is associated with low racial, social, political, and economic status (Winer, 1993). Caribbean people live and migrate with this dual linguistic identity.

Caribbean Students in College

Recent Anglophone Caribbean immigrant students entering U.S. colleges have found themselves increasingly being placed into remedial writing or ESL classes. Many of them are surprised and insulted by their placement, as they perceive themselves as native speakers not only of English but of British English, despite observable linguistic behavior to the contrary. I became curious about the placement and performance of these students in writing classes, particularly in light of their linguistic self-perception. This study was designed to analyze the language of such students with a view to informing pedagogy in English classes.

Three questions guided the study:

1. How do Anglophone Caribbean students perceive their own language and writing in standard English?
2. What morphosyntactic features emerge when these students write in standard English?

3. What discourse features are revealed in the students' writing, and to what degree can they be attributed to Creole influence?

METHOD

Setting

The setting for the study was a New York City 4-year college that offers a two-semester-long basic writing program for students who are deemed unprepared for 1st-year composition based on the results of a placement test. On successful completion of the writing program, students move on to 1st-year composition.

Participants

Four students from the college's basic writing program were selected for the study—two from Guyana and two from Jamaica. All students had migrated to New York City within the previous 10 years. The four participants encompassed a range of backgrounds. Charles and Myrna,² the two Guyanese participants, were both from rural, working-class families and had migrated as teenagers. Charles was a basilect-dominant speaker who had been schooled entirely in a rural area and had attended a nontraditional high school in Guyana. Myrna was a mesolect-dominant speaker who had attended a rural primary school and a traditional academic, urban high school. Nadine and Oscar, the two Jamaican participants, were both from urban, middle-class families. Nadine had moved to New York City at age 9, whereas Oscar had received his primary and secondary education in prestigious urban schools in Jamaica. He had migrated just 2 years before at age 20. Both Nadine and Oscar were mesolectal to acrolectal speakers.

Data Collection

I tape-recorded and transcribed interviews with the participants to document their linguistic and educational experiences in their home countries and New York City as well as their perception of their language and writing. I also collected the participants' writing portfolios and research papers over the course of four semesters—two in the basic writing program and two in 1st-year composition. Portfolios included drafted essays, in-class writing, and informal writing.

² The names of the participants in this study have been changed to maintain their anonymity.

Analytical Procedures

Audiotapes were analyzed to determine the relationship between the participants' perceptions of their language and their actual linguistic behavior. My analysis of the participants' writing included the following morphosyntactic features, based on Roberts' (1988) study, that might be attributed to Creole influence or approximations of standard English conventions: subject-verb concord, tense, plurals, possessives, copula, and sentence structure. The discourse analysis was based on Halliday's (1989) features of oral versus written language. Oral discourse is marked by less verbal explicitness based on shared assumptions, frequent verbs of feeling and doing, less lexical density, and frequent use of parataxis. Written discourse, by contrast, is marked by verbal explicitness, a high ratio of lexical density, and more use of hypotaxis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In college and other formal domains, all of the participants considered themselves native speakers of English, for they were fully aware of the stigma attached to nonstandard speech. At home and in informal domains, all but Oscar admitted to speaking "broken English" or "patois." Oscar believed he spoke English. His claim to speaking English is noteworthy given that the following example of his own language indicates otherwise:

Most [Jamaican] people doesn't have a problem writing English. The problem comes in when it's like tryin' to speak straight English like I'm speaking to you now. I'm tryin' to speak straight English . . . you'll definitely hear moments . . . you'll hear "cuts" when I'm not all that fluent.

Oscar makes a curious distinction between speaking English and speaking "straight English." Despite his claim that most people speak English, he suggests that it is not necessarily straight (i.e., standard) and that it takes some effort to speak standard English for a sustained period without "cuts" (i.e., slipping into Creole). Two points may be inferred from his remarks: (a) Oscar was aware of the difference between his own English and his perception of standard English, and (b) the English label given to his language was called into question in formal situations such as interviews or school.

Myrna and Charles also showed inconsistencies between the perception of their language and their actual linguistic behavior. Although Myrna claimed that she had made a conscious effort to modify her rural Guyanese accent towards the more prestigious urban variety (perhaps an attempt to mask her rural identity), one of the most salient features of

her pronunciation was her dropping of initial *h*—a highly stigmatized feature of rural, basilectal speech.

Charles, who was the least proficient in standard English among the participants, believed he had no problem with English, yet he had repeated two of the four writing courses. Charles believed that his difficulty in school stemmed from what he characterized as hostility toward Caribbean students. The charge is a serious one because it pertains to an assault on identity. But an equally valid reason for Charles' poor performance in English was his inadequate primary and secondary schooling in Guyana and New York City.

Nadine, by contrast, seemed fully aware of her linguistic idiosyncracies and the inconsistencies surrounding her home language. She admitted, for example, that she thought carefully before pronouncing words with initial *h*. In regard to her home language, she recalled it being forbidden at school and even at home. Recognizing the paradox, she added, "Sometimes my mother doesn't wanna hear it [Creole], but she speaks like that, too." Nadine's comments reflect the irony of the Caribbean linguistic situation, in which the mass vernacular is stigmatized by its own speakers.

Writing

The vast majority of morphosyntactic features in the participants' writing were verb related, consistent with Roberts' (1988) point about the saliency of the verb in Creole English sentences. All the participants' writing showed evidence of zero inflection for subject-verb concord, participles, and tense, which might be attributed to Creole influence, as inflections are redundant in Creole. The degree to which the participants' writing showed Creole influence or overgeneralization of standard English rules correlated with their proficiency in written English and the nature of the writing assignment. Myrna's and Charles's writing showed zero inflection in all verb-related features as well as plurals and possessives. Charles's writing also revealed his heavy reliance on an oral base marked by zero copula and frequent phonetic spellings (e.g., *inter juice* for *introduce* and *accupide* for *occupied*). His minimum exposure to standard English was reflected in his inconsistent application of prescriptive grammar rules. Myrna's and Nadine's writing reflected their growing proficiency in standard English—a kind of interlanguage with some Creole features and many instances of overgeneralization of standard grammar rules, especially overuse of verb inflections. Oscar's writing revealed few Creole features and closely approximated standard English—a result of his grammar-focused writing instruction in Jamaica.

Creole features occurred most frequently in informal writing assignments in which participants wrote intuitively without attention to form.

Formal writing assignments showed a combination of Creole features and varying applications of standard grammar rules.

Discourse

All participants showed a high degree of verbal explicitness in narrative writing. This might be attributed to the central role of storytelling in Creole cultures, in which orality is paramount. However, in expository writing and research papers, the participants showed less verbal explicitness, and instructors frequently asked them to elaborate on their points. In the absence of analysis, essays were marked by use of common wisdom or rhetorical questions, both oral devices based on shared assumptions. By the end of the four-semester writing sequence Myrna, Nadine, and Oscar demonstrated more standard written discourse features in their writing. Charles's writing, however, still exhibited many oral discourse features and unclear sentences.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PEDAGOGY

The study suggests that Anglophone Caribbean students should be treated as neither native speakers of English nor ESL students. Because of the constant interaction of Creole and English along the continuum, Creole speakers' receptive knowledge of standard English far exceeds that of true nonnative speakers of English; hence, traditional ESL classes do not address their linguistic needs. Furthermore, because Creole-speaking students consider themselves native speakers of English, they may have very little motivation to learn standard English under the conditions of traditional ESL classes. Efforts should be made, whenever possible, to place Anglophone Caribbean students in mainstream classes with instructors who are familiar with the linguistic situation in the Caribbean and the dual identities students bring to class. Instructors could be trained in faculty development workshops to help students contrast English with Creole as well as point out superficial similarities between the two (Winer, 1993).

CONCLUSION

The study reinforces the view that language both reflects and reinforces identities and that identities are constructed out of sociohistorical, educational, and personal circumstances. In the case of the Anglophone Caribbean, colonialism has left a legacy of what Cliff (1988) calls "split consciousness" (p. 60)—a Creole reality masked by an English perception. The participants' spoken and written language reflects this unique interaction of Creole and English to varying degrees and should provide

a point of departure for writing pedagogy. Because this study was based on only four participants, there is a need for larger studies to corroborate the findings. Future research could examine the language practices of Anglophone Caribbean students both in and out of college. Special attention might be given to the impact of migration and acculturation on their language and school performance.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The research discussed in this report was undertaken as part of my doctoral dissertation. I thank my dissertation supervisor, Dr. Clifford Hill, as well as dissertation committee members Joanne Kleifgen and Frank Horowitz, all from Teachers College, Columbia University, for their support and expert guidance. I especially thank the four student participants in the study, who gave so generously of their time and without whom this study would not have been possible. Finally, I thank my colleague Louis Parascandola for his helpful suggestions in revising this paper.

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Language and Cultural Identity: A Study of Hmong Students at the Postsecondary Level

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■ Children of first-generation immigrants to the U.S. face the formidable task of determining who they are from a cultural and social perspective. Often their native culture is very different from and even at odds with American culture.¹ These differences are exacerbated during adolescence and young adulthood, when the influence of the peer group, often oriented toward American youth culture, supersedes that of the family. The degree to which immigrant youth are able to maintain their ethnic identity while adapting to the majority culture has often been cited as critical to their self-esteem, psychological well-being, successful adjustment to a new society, and academic success (see Boshier, 1995, for an extended discussion).

¹ In this report the term *American culture* refers to the culture and behavior of U.S. society.

Within the field of second language acquisition (SLA), issues regarding cultural identity have been discussed most often as part of larger social-psychological theories of SLA, which seem either to favor assimilation, resulting in the loss of native culture, as the adaptation strategy most conducive to SLA (Schumann, 1978a, 1978b, 1978c) or to emphasize the inevitability of native language and culture loss for members of linguistic minority groups (Clement, 1986; Clement & Kruidenier, 1985; Giles & Byrne, 1982; Lambert, 1967, 1974).

These theories generally do not address the nature and processes of acculturation and ethnicity as discussed in the social sciences of anthropology, sociology, and psychology (see Boshier, 1995, for an extended critique) and, furthermore, underestimate the challenges faced by racially and culturally distinct groups that choose to assimilate into U.S. society. For example, none of the social-psychological theories of SLA have addressed the importance of social-structural assimilation (Gordon, 1964), a necessary condition for full assimilation that depends entirely on the majority culture's acceptance of immigrant groups. Such acceptance is also a critical factor in the ability of immigrant groups to engage in meaningful interaction with members of the majority culture, without which social distance will prevail and intergroup contact will be minimal (Schumann, 1978a).

In contrast to social-psychological theories of SLA, proponents of bilingual education claim that the maintenance of the native language and culture contributes to the acquisition of an L2 from a cognitive perspective as well as to the overall emotional and psychological stability of the individual (Cummins, 1981, 1986, 1989; Cummins & Swain, 1986; Cummins et al., 1984; Wong Fillmore & Valadez, 1986). According to Cummins' model of common underlying proficiency (1981), academic language skills developed in the L1 will transfer and therefore contribute to the development of academic skills in the L2 (Cummins & Swain, 1986; Cummins et al., 1984).

The study discussed here (Boshier, 1995) investigated the cultural identity of the second generation of a group of recent immigrants to the U.S., Hmong college students, to determine the relationships among acculturation, ethnic identity, SLA, native language maintenance, self-esteem, and academic success. The adaptation of the Hmong to life in the U.S. reflects an enormous degree of cultural change (Aylesworth & Ossorio, 1983) because of their relative isolation in the highlands of Laos and their overall lack of contact with Western culture before immigrating to the U.S. The cultural transition for Hmong youth currently studying at the college level has been particularly dramatic, as most Hmong did not attend school in Laos and are not literate in their native language (McGinn, 1989).

RESEARCH DESIGN

One hundred and one Hmong students from nine postsecondary institutions in Minnesota and Wisconsin, who were initially contacted through Hmong and Southeast Asian student groups, participated voluntarily in this study. Quantitative data were gathered to determine to what extent movement towards the target language culture and the maintenance of native culture were meaningful predictors of SLA, native language maintenance, self-esteem, and academic success.

The instrument developed for this study consisted of four parts: (a) the Acculturation Scale, (b) the Self-Esteem Scale, (c) the “Can-Do” English and Hmong Language Proficiency Scales, and (d) demographic questions. The Acculturation Scale consisted of items gathered or modified from existing instruments (Caplan, Choy, & Whitmore, 1991; Rick, 1988; Rick & Forward, 1992; Wong-Rieger & Quintana, 1987). The items assessed ethnic self-identification and five dimensions of cultural orientation—language use, social contact, behavior, attitudes, and values, in terms of both American and Hmong cultures, referred to in the Results section as the American and Hmong Acculturation Scales. The Self-Esteem Scale was modified from Rosenberg’s (1965) scale, the most widely used in social science research. English and Hmong language proficiency were measured through self-assessment, using the “Can-Do” Scales (Clark, 1981; Gardner et al., 1990; LeBlanc & Painchaud, 1985; Young & Gardner, 1990), which were modified to reflect the specific uses and functions of English and Hmong that students at the postsecondary level are likely to encounter. End-of-year grade point averages (GPAs) served as measures of academic success. Cronbach’s alpha test of reliability was performed to determine the internal consistency of the various scales. Correlational analysis and multiple regression were used to analyze the questionnaire data.

In addition, 15 students were interviewed to obtain qualitative data about the acculturation process and students’ individual experiences in adapting to a new culture and learning a new language as well as maintaining their native culture and language. The interviews were analyzed using a phenomenological approach in order to remain as close to the actual data as possible.

RESULTS OF QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

Reliability of Scales

Cronbach’s alpha test of reliability was run on each of the five American and Hmong Acculturation Subscales, the Self-Esteem Scale, and the English and Hmong Language Proficiency Scales (see Table 1).

The alphas are quite good, considering that many of the items for these scales did not come from previously published tests. Alphas of acceptable or better strength indicate that all of the items in each scale measure the same construct.

Ethnic Self-Identification Scores

Six items on the Acculturation Scale assessed various aspects of ethnic self-identification, four of which are discussed here (see Table 2). In response to the first question regarding ethnic self-identification, half of the participants (50%) identified themselves as Hmong American, 41% as Hmong. Sixty-one percent of the participants described themselves as bicultural in lifestyle, and 54% as bicultural in values. Of the subjects who did not rate their values as bicultural or very Hmong (10.9%), many more rated their values as mostly Hmong (26.7%) than rated them mostly American (7.9%). In contrast, these participants split the ratings of their lifestyle more or less evenly between mostly Hmong (15.8%) and mostly American (14.9%). In other words, the participants seem to have adopted American behavioral patterns with greater frequency than they adopted American values. With regard to marriage, 46% said it was extremely important that they marry a Hmong; 23% said it was very

TABLE 1
Results of Cronbach's Alpha Test of Reliability for Acculturation,
Self-Esteem, and Language Proficiency Scales

Scale and items	Cronbach's alpha
American Acculturation Subscales	
Language use (4 items)	0.57
Social contact (4 items)	0.51
Behavior (6 items)	0.64
Values (10 items)	0.69
Attitudes (4 items)	0.47
Hmong Acculturation Subscales	
Language use (4 items)	0.66
Social contact (4 items)	0.56
Behavior (6 items)	0.74
Values (10 items)	0.76
Attitudes (4 items)	0.80
Self-Esteem Scale (10 items)	0.83
English Language Proficiency Scale	
Speaking/listening (5 items)	0.94
Reading/writing (5 items)	0.94
Hmong Language Proficiency Scale	
Speaking/listening (5 items)	0.92
Reading/writing (5 items)	0.98

important. Overall, scores on the ethnic self-identification items suggest a bicultural orientation on the part of participants.

Multiple Regression

Six separate regression analyses were performed, one for each of the six dependent variables: (a) English speaking/listening proficiency, (b) English reading/writing proficiency, (c) Hmong speaking/listening proficiency, (d) Hmong reading/writing proficiency, (e) self-esteem, and (f) GPA. For each of the six regression analyses, the predictor variables were the 10 acculturation subscales: (a) American (English) language use, (b) American social contact, (c) American behavior, (d) American attitudes, (e) American values, (f) Hmong language use, (g) Hmong social contact, (h) Hmong behavior, (i) Hmong attitudes, and (j) Hmong values.

Each analysis made use of a stepwise multiple regression procedure, in which the independent variable that has the largest correlation with the dependent variable is selected first, followed by the independent variable that adds the next largest amount of unique explained variance, and so

TABLE 2
Tabulation of Items Assessing Ethnic Self-Identification

Question and response	No.	%
1. How would you identify yourself ethnically?		
Hmong	41	41
Hmong American	50	50
Asian	5	5
Asian American	4	4
American	1	1
2. How would you describe yourself in terms of your lifestyle?		
Very Hmong	8	8
Mostly Hmong	16	16
Bicultural	62	61
Mostly American	15	15
Very American	0	0
3. How would you describe yourself in terms of your values?		
Very Hmong	11	11
Mostly Hmong	27	27
Bicultural	55	54
Mostly American	8	8
Very American	0	0
4. How important is it to you that you marry a Hmong?		
Not at all important	9	9
A little important	9	9
Somewhat important	14	14
Very important	23	23
Extremely important	46	46

forth until the selection of additional variables does not contribute to any substantial portion of additional variance. This procedure allows the researcher to get some idea of what predictor variables make a contribution across dependent variables, particularly if there is reasonable theoretical justification for such a contribution, even if it is not statistically significant for that particular equation.

The results of the multiple regressions suggest that an orientation toward American culture contributes to English and Hmong language proficiency, both spoken and written. An orientation toward Hmong culture contributes to Hmong language proficiency, both spoken and written. Table 3 summarizes the contributions of the five dimensions of acculturation to the prediction of scores on the English and Hmong Language Proficiency Scales and the Self-Esteem Scale. Because of space limitations, I limit my discussion to those dimensions of acculturation that contributed positively to the prediction of the dependent variables (see Bosher, 1995, for a more complete discussion).

With regard to SLA, the dimensions of American behavior and American social contact contributed positively to English language proficiency. In other words, the more individuals had adopted American behavior patterns and the more contact they had with Americans, the greater proficiency they reported in their spoken and written English.

With regard to native language maintenance, various dimensions of both Hmong and American cultural orientation contributed positively to

TABLE 3
Contributions of Dimensions of Acculturation to the Prediction of English and Hmong Language Proficiency and Self-Esteem

Dependent variable	Acculturation predictor variable and sign		Multiple R ²
	American	Hmong	
1. English speaking/listening	+ Behavior* + Social contact	- Language use*	0.43
2. English reading/writing	+ Behavior*	- Language use*	0.41
3. Hmong speaking/listening	- Language use*	+ Behavior* + Language use	0.31
4. Hmong reading/writing	- Language use*	+ Language use* + Behavior* - Social contact	0.32
5. Self-esteem	+ Behavior* + Social contact	- Behavior* + Attitudes*	0.36
6. Grade point average	- Values	+ Values*	—
	—	—	—

* Indicates a dimension of acculturation that contributed significantly to the prediction of the dependent variable at alpha = .05.

the prediction of Hmong language proficiency, indicating support for a bidirectional, multidimensional theory of acculturation in which orientations toward both cultures can exist simultaneously.

Of particular interest is the combination of variables that predicted self-esteem: on the one hand, American behavior and American social contact and, on the other, Hmong attitudes and Hmong values, suggesting the importance of making outward social and behavioral changes toward American culture to fit into the new environment while remaining Hmong inwardly by continuing to believe in Hmong values and holding positive attitudes toward maintaining the Hmong culture and language.

No acculturation variables made any meaningful contribution to the prediction of GPA, possibly because the students did not reflect widely differing levels of academic success (their mean GPA was 2.67, with a standard deviation of .54).

RESULTS OF QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

Numerous themes emerged from the interview data. Because of space limitations, the following discussion focuses on findings that relate specifically to language and cultural identity.

In general, the students interviewed for this study had not assimilated into American culture, nor had they adhered exclusively to Hmong culture. They generally sought a middle path between the two cultures that combined elements from both. They made conscious choices about what elements of both cultures to keep and not to keep. Although the participants may have been restricted in such choices in high school, they seemed to be much more in charge of their lives in college. Interestingly, increased independence from their families did not result in a rejection of Hmong culture but in a closer identification with and pride in their heritage and a greater association with other Hmong students in college.

Clearly, these students reflect a newly emerging Hmong American culture that combines elements of both cultures. What did these students bring to this newly emerging Hmong American culture from American culture, and what did they bring from Hmong culture? In their sense of responsibility towards their family and loyalty to the Hmong community, the students seem to have remained Hmong. They chose to live with their parents, defer to them for important decisions, and value close relations with their extended families. In their pursuit of higher education, which for most meant postponing marriage, and in their desire to pursue a career, they seemed American. In their openness toward the education of women and the participation of women in sports, they seemed American, but in the value placed on women

knowing their traditional role in the community, they seemed Hmong. In other ways, they exhibited the still-unresolved tension of being caught between two cultures, most particularly in the area of dating. The majority of the students clearly wanted the experience of dating, but for the women especially the freedom to date would have meant violating certain norms of traditional Hmong culture, which can still result in serious consequences in the Hmong community. Most of the participants grew up with many more restrictions and limitations placed on them by their parents than the average U.S. teenager does. Some students expressed gratitude for these limits or at least acknowledged that they had kept the students from getting into trouble in earlier years and had allowed them to concentrate on their studies and eventually make it to college. In other words, the strength of their families and the traditional culture with which they were raised ultimately worked to their advantage. Rapid assimilation into American culture and the resulting breakdown in ethnic culture might have resulted in less academic success.

With regard to language use, most of the students used both Hmong and English in their daily lives; a few used predominantly English. The students seemed fairly confident in their level of proficiency in English, with a few exceptions. Most of the students spoke Hmong fairly well in everyday conversations; however, many said they had difficulty with the more formal usage of the spoken language, and only a few of the younger students could read and write Hmong well. They also expressed regret at not knowing more about traditional Hmong rituals and customs and hoped to learn more. However, the students still felt very strongly that they were and wanted to be Hmong. Their strong sense of ethnic identification and community seems to have provided them with the stability and support they needed to make the changes necessary for their long-term survival without sacrificing their sense of self. Most of the students felt it was important to maintain the Hmong language in order to maintain their culture, though for several students Hmong language use did not seem critical to their maintaining an identification with Hmong culture and values.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

The participants in the study showed a bicultural adaptation to life in the U.S., maintaining aspects of Hmong culture while adopting aspects of American culture. The manner in which the students adapted to life in the U.S. supports a multidimensional, bidirectional model of acculturation, in which the students seemed more oriented toward American culture along some dimensions of culture (e.g., behavior) and more oriented toward Hmong culture along others (e.g., values).

The subjects in this study were all successful Hmong students at the

postsecondary level with high self-esteem. Because they were not randomly selected, the results of this study cannot be generalized to all Hmong students studying at the postsecondary level, nor can these students be considered representative of the majority of Hmong in the U.S. Nevertheless, much can be learned from this study about the characteristics of successful immigrant students in terms of their cultural identity and their strategies for adapting to life in the U.S. The results of this study suggest that students who are successful academically have been able to adapt to American culture without giving up their native culture or ethnic affiliation. In other words, they are bicultural. I did not attempt in this study to distinguish between more or less successful students. However, it would be interesting and informative to investigate the cultural characteristics of students who have not been successful academically and then to compare the two groups.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study attempted to operationalize acculturation for use in SLA research. The instrument, adapted from the literature on acculturation in the fields of cross-cultural psychology and anthropology, represents a multidimensional and bidirectional view of the nature of culture change within the individual. I hope that future research will adapt this instrument for use with other immigrant groups to determine its overall usefulness.

I also hope that this study has suggested the importance of maintaining the native culture and language in the successful adaptation of individuals as they move across cultures and that it will encourage other studies that can provide support for multicultural/bilingual educational and social policies, particularly in countries with large numbers of immigrants or native peoples.

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Multiple Perceptions: Social Identity in a Multilingual Elementary Classroom

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■ In a recent article on adolescent Chinese immigrants learning ESL, McKay and Wong (1996) call for a new conception of identity that entails “radically redefining the second language learner” (p. 378). McKay and Wong claim that if educators are to understand success and failure in English language learning, they must move on from only product and process orientations to take what they term a *contextualist perspective*. According to McKay and Wong, educators need to see learners’ identities more comprehensively and “examine interconnections of discourse and power in the language learning setting” (p. 578). The theoretical underpinnings of their work are shared by others like Goldstein (1991) and Peirce (1995), who investigate the identities and relationships ESL learners bring into the classroom.

These researchers draw on the work of cultural production theorists such as Simon (1992), Walkerdine (1990), Walsh (1991), Willis (1990), and Woolard (1985), for whom identity formation constitutes a complex, ongoing process of action, reaction, and interaction of the individual with the social and involves the creation of relational meanings as well as

cultural artifacts (Willis, 1990). Moreover, the process takes place not only in relation to dominant formal institutions like school and family but also in relation to the social forces of everyday life and popular culture and media forms (e.g., Buckingham, 1993; Walkerdine, 1990; Willis, 1990; Woolard, 1985). Individual action, as seen by many of these theorists, is driven by investment, a commitment to obtaining resources from which one might benefit through action (Henriques, Hollway, Urwin, Venn, & Walkerdine, 1984)¹ and to achieving desirable positions and entering discourses that confirm or enhance one's identity (R. Simon, personal communication, January 27, 1995). From such a perspective, identity is considered as multiple sited, dynamic, and conflictual (Henriques et al., 1984; Walkerdine, 1990; Weedon, 1987).

Likewise, the current study sees the importance of identity, "sense of self in relation to others" (Weis, 1990, p. 1), as creative of and created by responses to social forces. This report outlines how identity in relation to school expectations can conflict with identities among peers and how children's negotiations of these conflicts may bear on L2 and literacy learning.

The research, a microethnography, was part of a larger project studying language development in multicultural urban Canadian classrooms over 2 years. It took place in one class from Grade 4 to Grade 5 and involved twice-weekly naturalistic observations during writing periods (recorded by field notes and audiotape), text collection and analysis, and informal interviews with students and teachers. I participated in the class as an interested, roving observer; I sat with different groups of children, taking notes, occasionally asking about their writing, and responding with overt interest to their writing interests. My observations involved six children from backgrounds reflecting the ethnic makeup of the class and focused on peer and teacher interactions, students' behaviour during the writing period, and the content and contexts of the students' writing tasks. This approach allowed for a critical, interpretive account embedded in institutional and social structures but based on the lives of individual students (Anderson, 1989; Anderson & Irvine, 1993).

During my participation in the study, the contrast between the school's construction of the students' identities based on ethnicity and English proficiency and the students' own investments in often quite different social identities became salient. The outcomes, however, often allowed for reinforcement of the school's label for them as "deficient" in language and literacy. This dynamic becomes clear in the following discussion of one Portuguese/English bilingual child, Roberto,² whose

¹ See Peirce (1995) as well for a discussion of investment in terms of L2 learning and in contrast to the concept of motivation.

² All proper names in this study are pseudonyms.

experience in Grades 4 and 5 shows a changing struggle over multiple positions in his school and social relationships that were played out in his writing.

THE COMMUNITY, THE SCHOOL, AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF STUDENT IDENTITIES

The Trenton School neighbourhood was working class, populated predominantly by Portuguese and Chinese immigrants along with a diverse mix of others. The Board's and the school's response to its multicultural, multilingual population was twofold. First, they promoted diverse identities based on immigrant ethnicity, for example, by celebrating Chinese New Year with a student parade in the hallways. Second, they labelled the students' English language and literacy skills as deficient, also based on immigrant identity, and provided an educational program intended to meet these needs.

The Board's official label for the school population was *at risk*, because of the large number of non-English-speaking households in the area. Board policy was consistent with the views of respected mainstream L2 researchers such as Cummins (1979, 1981) and Cummins and Swain (1983). Their work distinguishes *conversational competence*, in which speakers can use the immediate context to promote basic interpersonal communication, and *cognitive/academic language proficiency*, that is, competence in the more demanding, abstract written language of school. Thus, it was the students' academic English language competence and subsequent academic success that were considered at risk by the School Board. On that basis the school reduced class sizes; included frequent field trips, guest speakers, and other school/community activities in the curriculum; and emphasized child-centred learning and language and literacy.

An important component of the Board's policy on language and literacy was the process approach to writing instruction. Eleanor Ames, the teacher whose classroom I studied, followed the approach in the type of classroom activities she engaged in with the students. Activities included, for example, a drafting period when students worked alone or in consultation with classmates and shared the reading of drafts with the teacher or other class members. She used the activities to teach what she considered important for good written products and for learning school content through writing. School and Board policies on text content and its sources also influenced Mrs. Ames' approach. That is, violence in children's writing was frowned on, and its common source was seen as television and movies. Instead, assignments about the children's home and family lives were favoured by the Board consultant and the principal. As I explain below, these policies led to some tension in the classroom.

ROBERTO: SCHOOL, HOME, AND FAMILY

Roberto lived with his parents, two brothers, sister, and grandparents near the school. His mother worked on the night shift as a cleaner, and his father was a construction worker. He spoke both English and Portuguese at home—English with his siblings and to his mother (although she spoke Portuguese to them), Portuguese with his father and grandparents. Family seemed to be important to him, as it appeared in much of his writing when I met him in October 1987, as he was starting Grade 4. Family life and family activities were frequently the setting or central theme of both his free-choice and his prompted writing. In addition to enjoyable memories of family trips to the Wonderland theme park, Roberto wrote about his love for his parents (who, he hoped, would buy him a transformer for Christmas) and his mother (who had been ill for several days, throwing the family into disarray). In that his stories often dealt with family, relationships, and explicit emotions, they were outside boys' typical discourse (e.g., Davies, 1984; Gilbert & Taylor, 1991; Poynton, 1989). In Grade 4, even when based on mass media themes, his work tended to lack the violent action and drama of the other boys' choices.

The social scope of Roberto's writing was reflected in his Grade 4 social position in the classroom. In terms of personal characteristics and behaviour, he contrasted with the others. He was overweight and somewhat soft-spoken. He was friendly with the rest of the students in the class but worked on the margins of the other boys' social groups. When he approached the lively Grade 4 Chinese boys' group, whose members wrote about ninjas and action adventures, he stood on the edge, observing and commenting occasionally as others sometimes did, but he was generally ignored and then left. More often, he wrote on his own, decorating his texts with neatly drawn pictures and diagrams.

Whereas Roberto's peers did not share his interest in family life and related writing themes, his content choices paralleled school preferences for children's writing, and Mrs. Ames seemed to approve as well. When he wrote a story that she did not realize was based on a European cartoon, *Belle and Sebastian*, about a boy and his dog searching the Pyrenees for his lost mother, she presented it favourably to the class sharing circle. As she read Roberto's text to the class, several students identified its source. She seemed a bit surprised but remarked, "He's changed it a bit. That's alright. He took some of the ideas. He didn't tell me it was from a cartoon. . . . It's alright to take a story, but not every bit of it. As long as you change things around a bit." Without further discussion, the group moved on to other readings. In contrast, during the same session Mrs. Ames rejected another student's text, a recount of the film *Splash*, with a sexually titillating story line about a man who

found a live mermaid, as media based. However, interest on the part of the class arose from the more adult-oriented movie. Whereas Roberto received positive attention from Mrs. Ames, he was again ignored by his peers.

It was not clear to me in the 1st year of the study whether Roberto chose solitary writing because he did not have a strong investment in the other boys' interests or whether he retreated to a home-oriented discourse in response to his peers' indifference. He may have ardently desired to join the group of children who wrote and socialized about more popular media themes but may not have seen a way in. Nevertheless, it did not seem possible for Roberto to express his attachment to home and family life and gain the teacher's approval together with inclusion in the dominant peer social life. In this class, identity as an insider in the boys' peer group seemed to require an investment in a popular media discourse and preclude an investment in the home and family discourse. By contrast, identity as a good student, together with the teacher's approval, was enhanced by investment in the home and family discourse.

Being a Good Boy: Meeting School Literacy Demands

In relation to school demands, Roberto's identity as a student was not entirely positive. Toward the teacher he was consistently compliant, respectful, and quiet but not withdrawn. He voluntarily participated in class discussions, often responding to her requests for factual information. Despite his appropriate behaviour, his English literacy skills, particularly his spelling, seemed to dismay and frustrate Mrs. Ames. A text he wrote in January of Grade 4 illustrates this.

Sounds

in the dark at night I hear cricets houleing dogs and houting oules but in the morning I hear and see butiful snow fakes that tingle for me and crystils by my window but when I go to school I see crowded pepole and noisy cars and sloshy snow.

The teacher had written correct forms of *crickets*, *beautiful*, *crystals*, and *slushy*, changed *crowded pepole* to *crowds of people*, and written at the bottom, "Roberto, please learn how to spell 'beautiful.' We have been over it many times together."

In terms of school demands, Roberto himself captured his school and literacy identities when he wrote a self-evaluation on a report card in November of Grade 5: "Roberto is a good boy but He [sic] needs improvement in spelling."

Access to Peers, Popular Culture, and Spelling

In the 2nd year of the study, the class became a Grade 5/6 split. The number of Grade 5 boys was reduced to four, and several Grade 6 boys joined. The social group opened up; boundaries became more fluid. Roberto's identity in the peer group shifted from outsider to participant. Roberto found Leng, another quiet boy, to compose with and a Yugoslavian Grade 6 boy, Boris, to correct his spelling and help him with drawing, and he was occasionally able to interact with the liveliest students by sitting near them. Neither Leng nor Boris belonged to an existing group, nor did they necessarily know that Robert had been positioned as an outsider the year before.

At the same time, Roberto, as a writer, joined the violent popular culture discourse. In September he began to write stories with titles like "Teen Wolf," "The Mystery Dog," and "The Battle of the Rings" with Leng; "The Iron Claw," "Death Road," and "The Claw" with Boris; and "GI Joe. Cobras Deadly Plan," "The Living Dead," and "Conle the Defender" apparently on his own. However, most of these texts were unfinished, and the incentive to write them seemed to reside less in the content than in the social interaction involved in the composing process.

Roberto's most engaged writing events seemed to occur with Leng. In the following example of story construction, they composed collaboratively as classmates and played out the script together, taking on fantasy hero roles. When I arrived to observe them, Roberto and Leng's first draft of a mystery story had just been rejected by the teacher as too violent. They returned to their table to decide on another story. Leng suggested a Sherlock Holmes story, "The Diamond Ring." He explained a bit to Roberto, who appeared interested, and they exchanged possible key actions in the story line.

- Leng: He found a ring. It was a red one. Then they're going.
Roberto: Then he puts it on.
Leng: Then he starts laughing.
Roberto: [with an expansive arm gesture] And now I have the power.
Leng: Then he goes, "Sh." Red stuff comes out.

At this point, the boys appeared to become vicarious participants in the fantasy rather than narrators. They shifted pronoun referents to themselves and spoke with increased animation.

- Leng: I'll be Sherlock.
Roberto: Me and you are running. You turn around. Then you go.
Leng: Yeah.
Roberto: Tha'd be good.
Leng: Yeah, that's a good one. Instead of violence. Then he—
Roberto: But Leng, I touch you. You go, "Hey, must be this ring."
Leng: Yeah, that's a good one.

Roberto: Then you turn bad.

Leng: There's no violence. [to the teacher] Mrs. Ames, we got one with no violence.

Having received her approval, they continued negotiating the characters, naming themselves Jonny and Antony, naming the bad guy Zombey Master, and declaring classmates as the "extras." This assignment of characters allowed them both to name themselves as fantasy heroes and to marginalize the rest of the class. The issue of violence returned, however, in their discussion of the other characters.

Roberto: Just write everyone else in the class. Pick five people to be left. It has to be four people in our class who are left, who get killed.

Leng: You just said *killed*.

Roberto: No, get touched. He gets touched. Another gets touched.

By the end of the writing period, they had scribed the following text:

(Battle of the Rings)

The story begins in New Jersey I Antony sitting in my office My partner Jonny comes along into our office here's some papers it's about [end of text]

When I returned the next time, they were each working on new stories, having discarded "Battle of the Rings." It was not acceptable as a story in the mystery genre, they told me.

Dyson (1993, 1996) sees these activities as processes vital to the development of literacy skills, for they allow children to bridge the gap between their own culture and the school culture. In my view, however, for Roberto and Leng, vicariously taking on powerful media identities, playing as friends, and composing a record of the activity contributed little to their literacy skills for two reasons. First, they were constrained by the antiviolence rule, spending a great deal of effort editing it out of their text. Certainly, all writers need to deal with audience constraints but not to the extent that text is barely produced. Second, the boys seemed to enjoy playing out the adventure more than producing text. And in a classroom where the emphasis was much more on process than on product, they could take advantage of the opportunity to interact. Whereas Roberto's spelling may have improved, his incomplete texts did not advantage his school identity. For children like Roberto, the effect was to limit his engagement in writing and, by extension, his writing development and to maintain his school identity as language deficient.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Roberto's experience as an English student and as a class member at Trenton School illustrates the importance of a new vision of identity for English language learners. Roberto's positions in the classroom were

dynamic, multiple, and conflicting. On one hand, in Grade 4 he was reserved and solitary, frequently engrossed in writing and illustrating his own work. On the other hand, he seemed to want to be part of the boys' social group, as suggested by his forays to other boys' tables. Besides his quiet demeanour, he seemed hindered in two additional respects. First, the content of his writing did not match the interests displayed in the other boys' stories—his family-centred topics contrasted with their media-based fantasy adventures. Second, being a “good boy” seemed to be a school identity he strove for but one that seemed to hold little interest for the other boys.

In Grade 5, the presence of new boys with whom to collaborate and his shift to preferring popular culture-based writing topics helped him to be included in the boys' discourse. Positioned as an accepted member of his gender group, he could also participate in fantasy adventures, taking on vicarious powerful identities with others. At the same time, fantasy play and the circumvention of school rules took precedence over composition. Thus, not only did his writing appear insubstantial, but his lack of engagement in actual text production reduced his opportunity to develop his written language skills further.

The dominant school constructions of ethnocultural and English language deficit identities figured little in the children's investments in their school lives in Roberto's classroom: Such constructions did not seem relevant to their everyday school lives. At the same time, the children's strong investments in popular media were silenced. These complex identity relationships among the children, especially those related to home versus media interests, were not readily visible to the teacher. Based on his written texts, Roberto's school identity as an at-risk Portuguese student with deficient English language and literacy skills could be maintained.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank David Cooke, Tara Goldstein, and the *TESOL Quarterly* reviewers for their critical comments and encouragement during the preparation of this paper.

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Communities of Resistance: A Case Study of Two Feminist English Classes in Japan

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■ I first came into contact with other women who were combining their study of an L2 with their interest in feminism in Tokyo in 1982–1985. As a young White American woman active in a group of Japanese and foreign feminists in Tokyo, I was asked to teach English classes for participants in two different Japanese feminist groups. I also started my own Japanese women's literature study group with other foreign women.

I have lived again in Japan since 1992 and have heard about or been involved with over a dozen different such study groups or classes over the years, including those in regions outside Tokyo. Although such classes seem to spring up spontaneously and independently of each other, gradually I have come to see the efforts of the women involved in these classes as forming a pattern or approach to language learning that is distinct in certain respects from other models, something that could contribute to the ongoing evolution of a *feminist second language pedagogy* (Fujimura-Fanselow 1991, 1996; Schenke, 1996; Vandrick, 1994, 1995). I became interested in examining in what ways this approach is distinct and what its appeal is to the women instructors and learners involved so that I and others can learn from and apply it more widely.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH GOALS

In previous research (McMahill & Reekie, 1996), a colleague and I surveyed 12 women with experience organizing and teaching a variety of different feminist language classes to try to define what feminist language education means in the context of Japan.

The first key element that distinguishes these classes is their grassroots nature (Fujimura-Fanselow, 1995). They are with a few exceptions created and run privately and not for profit. Women often borrow the space for the class and recruit class participants from a nongovernmental organization (NGO) that promotes some aspect of women's rights; in some cases, the NGO takes a more active and official role in running the class.

A second element is that the class participants are virtually all female. The participation of men is negligible, with the reason for this itself being a fertile question for research (Willett, 1996). The women we interviewed gave such reasons as men's not being interested in taking

part or not active in circles where they would hear about the classes and, in some cases, being officially excluded by the decision of the organizers and participants.

A third element is that the classes combine linguistic goals (usually improving one's English) with feminist goals. Examples range from preparing to give presentations in English at, for example, the United Nations Conference on Women, to working on a translation of a feminist book from English into Japanese while seeking help from native-speaking English feminists, to simply taking part in a discussion of women's issues with women from other countries.

Another element in the classes is that the participants themselves manage the classes, decide which foreign women to invite, and negotiate the class content with these foreign women. Thus the foreign women in the classes are more cultural and linguistic resources than they are traditional instructors.

As a result of all the above elements, we hypothesized, within these classes is created a female discourse community of resistance to sexism that supports and is in turn supported by the "multifaceted locations" (Hooks, 1994, p. 91) of the participants. We also identified what seemed to be prevalent assumptions among the instructors and organizers we interviewed.

1. Fluency in another language, especially English, empowers women to be more active in the world and thus is seen as congruent with feminist goals for oneself and for other women. This is in spite of the ambivalence some women may feel about the role of English in perpetuating the hegemony of Western culture and contributing to the loss of minority languages (Pennycook, 1995a, 1995b; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1994; Tollefson, 1991; Tsuda, 1994). Native Japanese-speaking women in particular may perceive English as allowing or requiring them to express themselves more directly and specifically than Japanese does (Hiraga & Turner, 1995; Matsubayashi, 1995; Matsumoto, 1995; Romaine, 1994; Rose, 1996) and thus as undermining prescribed feminine linguistic roles (Freedman, Takahashi, & Rim, 1996; Siegal, 1994; Tsuruta, 1996). This perception could then give rise to an association between English and feminist discourse for some women, if they construe the deconstruction of gender roles as a goal of feminism.
2. The feminist language class is a site for personal disclosure between women from different backgrounds within and outside Japan; by contrasting their situations and beliefs with those of their classmates, women are able to reflect more critically on their own gender socialization and resist the aspects of it they judge as oppressive by drawing on the lived alternatives of others, in a process similar to

that termed *conscientization* by Freire (1973, 1990). Women thus draw on the class community to set up a “counter-discourse” (Peirce, 1995, p. 16) to the identities and positions defined for them by society.

3. The feminist consciousness-raising discourse style of such classes puts women in a position of authority and expertise as their personal feelings and experiences are paid attention to and validated, their internalized sexism is challenged, and they are encouraged to take action to change themselves and the world, with a key focus in these classes on taking action in the world cross-culturally and in an L2 (Tanaka, 1995; Weiler, 1994).

I decided to follow up on our previous research by focusing on the opinions and interactions of the participants rather than of the instructors or organizers in the context of two specific classes to see if I could confirm, elaborate, refine, or refute these assumptions. This report, then, describes a case study I undertook with two feminist English classes in the Tokyo area.

SETTING AND PARTICIPANTS

Although many feminist language classes are operated by participants or an NGO and their friends, the two classes I was able to gain ready permission to use for my study were operated as part of a small school, called English Conversation Terakoya for the Discussion of Environmental Issues and Feminism (hereafter referred to as Terakoya). A Japanese woman had begun Terakoya as a single class in Tokyo in 1993 and expanded it to seven courses in three locations with the specific goal of combining feminist discussion, consciousness-raising, and communicative English teaching. This Japanese coordinator continued to facilitate all the classes in cooperation with guest speakers and frequently rotating native English-speaking women instructors. Participants were recruited by word of mouth or through the distribution of fliers or articles describing the classes as “for the discussion of feminism and the environment.” Although enrollment was open to both women and men, 38 of the 40 participants enrolled in all seven Terakoya classes, and all of the 14 participants who cooperated in this study were women. Even though the woman who operated this small school made a nominal profit, the classes shared all other features of feminist language classes that were outlined in the previous section, making them appropriate examples for my study.

I accompanied the coordinator to two Terakoya classes on June 25, 1996. The first was attended by 12 Japanese participants, the coordinator, and two U.S. female guests, including myself, and took place in a rented room above an organic food store. The group included several home-

makers, two freelance writers, an elementary school teacher, an office worker, an assertiveness trainer, a hair designer, a college student, and a singer/songwriter. The second class was held in a room obtained free of charge through the labor union of the local city government and was attended by 6 Japanese female participants, the coordinator, and myself. The participants included the head of a women's section in the local city government, a young mother, and a homemaker. In both classes we sat in a circle and were served coffee by the coordinator.

METHODOLOGY

I asked the coordinator to give participants the following questionnaire in Japanese a week before the classes. To ensure anonymity, I had the coordinator tell participants to fill it out in English or Japanese outside class and to hand it in to one participant to give to me directly when I visited the class.

Questionnaire for Students of Eikaiwa Terakoya

Dear Students: I am writing a short report for an English teacher's journal on Japanese women studying English conversation. My interest is in gender issues in language acquisition. I would very much appreciate it if you could answer the following questionnaire for me anonymously. You may write in English and/or Japanese, whichever you prefer. Please understand that I may include your comments in my report in English. Thank you very much in advance for your cooperation. Your opinions may help English teachers become more sensitive to the needs of Japanese women students.

I will attend your class to directly collect the questionnaires on June 25.

- 1) Length of time you have studied English conversation at Eikaiwa Terakoya:
- 2) Why did you choose Eikaiwa Terakoya out of the many English conversation schools available?
- 3) Have you ever studied English conversation or another foreign language before? If so, when and for how long?
- 4) Are you interested in feminism or women's issues? If so, which issues and why?
- 5) Why are you studying English conversation now?
- 6) In what format are you combining the discussion of feminism and the environment with English study in your classes? Please give examples.
- 7) Would you refer to yourself as a feminist? Why or why not?
- 8) Have your opinions about anything changed while studying at Eikaiwa Terakoya? If so, how?
- 9) Do you think the feminism of Japanese or Asian people differs in any way from the feminism of other countries' cultures? If so, how?

- 10) Do you feel you express yourself differently in English than in Japanese? If so, how?
- 11) Do you ever feel any contradictions about yourself as an English learner? If so, what?

In total, 14 of the 18 participants in the two classes responded to the questionnaire. All but two participants answered in Japanese, and I translated these responses into English as a preliminary step to my analysis.

I also observed the classes and took notes to fill in more details about the participants, class setting, and procedure. In addition, I was able to interview the class coordinator several times prior to and during my visit to the classes and ask for her additions and corrections to the drafts of this report. Finally, I drew on my own experiences and knowledge as a participant in feminist language classes in some instances to explain the data.

FINDINGS

First, 8 respondents said they chose Terakoya because of its topics, and 13 said they were specifically interested in women's issues. In the examples they gave, they seamlessly connected their personal identities, feelings, experiences, and goals as women, feminists, and Japanese or Asians, as exemplified in these comments by three different women.

1. I am a female and feel unequal with men in the family and the society. I want to extinguish the discrimination against females.
2. I'm interested in the human rights of Asian women, as I'm feeling how difficult it is to live in a society with a strong gender bias.
3. I can't avoid women's problems whenever I think about how to live my own life.

It was interesting that although the overwhelming majority of respondents said they were "interested" in women's issues, only five said they considered themselves feminists, and three said they were "probably" feminists. Part of the reason may stem from uncertainty over the meaning of the word *feminisuto*, which I used without clarification in my Japanese questionnaire. Although my Japanese informants advised me that it was the clearest Japanese equivalent, it is an English loanword in Japanese with the meanings "an adorer of women, a man who is unusually kind to women; a gallant," in addition to the English meaning of *feminist* as "an advocate of women's rights" (Masuda, 1974). As one woman commented,

4. I can't say [I'm a feminist] because I don't really understand the definition of feminism, but in any case, I believe we must get rid of sexism, racism, and so on.

According to the coordinator, about one fourth of the participants who sign up for Terakoya already define themselves as feminists at the beginning of the class, and one of her goals is to clarify the meaning of feminism.

Second, 10 of the 14 respondents cited foreign travel, living abroad, work, and communication with foreigners as their reason for studying English. Several women indicated a further interest in specifically communicating with women, especially other Asian women. Only one woman seemed to criticize the hegemony of Western culture, saying,

5. Although the aim of acquiring English is to make friends with people all over the world, too much emphasis is put upon the cultures of the U.S.A. and U.K.

In this regard, few of the feminist English classes I know of actively recruit non-Western women as instructors or choose non-British or non-North American standard varieties of English as target languages.

Eight respondents also stated that they felt they expressed themselves differently in English than in Japanese, with two women elaborating as follows.

6. When speaking Japanese, it takes a lot of courage to express my convictions or insist upon my beliefs, but in English I can do so with a sense of being equal to the person I am talking to.
7. In Japanese, there are many imprecise expressions. In fact, it sounds stilted if you say things too clearly. We can communicate in Japanese without specifying the subject or the object, just by using a verb or naming the topic. But in English, I'm forced to straighten out my normally vague thoughts logically and express them all in words, which is painful.

These data do not indicate, however, if and how the women may perceive an English versus Japanese linguistic identity as allowing them to more effectively participate in feminist discourse.

When writing of how their opinions changed as a result of taking the class, respondents focused especially on the influence of their classmates. They described their classmates as "wonderful," as challenging them to "rethink many of the things I had just let pass by me before without reflection," as widening their world or encouraging them to affirm themselves, and as supporting them in living independently. One woman wrote of the power of her classmates as role models.

8. I've changed by seeing how other people live their lives actively in the world—I feel I've been greatly influenced by the self-acceptance and individual beauty of the women in the class.

Another woman indicated that her consciousness was raised about ageism.

9. The thing I became most aware of was what stereotyped ideas I had about people's ages. I think I am probably one of the youngest members of the class, but I have been incredibly stimulated by the progressive, courageous lives of the older members.

Writing of the foreign women who attend the class as instructors or guests, one woman seemed to indicate that the class setting reduced the social distance between herself and foreigners.

10. I can meet on a basis of equality with guest speakers whom I would never have a chance to meet elsewhere.

My observations of the two classes support my assumption that such classes may have an all-female and feminist consciousness-raising discourse style that put women in a position of authority and expertise as the other participants pay attention to and validate their personal feelings and experiences. For example, in the first class one member, a college senior looking for a job in journalism, described discrimination and sexual harassment in interviews at newspaper companies. The other American woman and I were asked if this would happen at job interviews in the U.S. Participants spoke at length about their own experiences with job discrimination and with starting their own unions at work and urged her to look for a company with a strong union and female employees. The presenter shared her determination to get a job in journalism no matter what, to survive the harassment, and to make the path easier for women who follow her. Classmates told her to do her best but to try to fight discrimination collectively rather than only individually.

A similar disclosure of personal experiences and support ensued in the second class when a woman who had been quiet suddenly told of the recent distressing experience of finding her teenage son in bed with his girlfriend. She struggled to express her feelings about it in English but switched into Japanese when she could not, a change that was accepted without comment by the group. The participants questioned her about the experience in detail until they seemed to reach the consensus that part of the problem was her feeling personally responsible as the boy's mother for his socially unacceptable or immoral behavior. Gradually the conversation moved back into English, and the incident was used as a springboard for a broader discussion on each member's experience

trying to talk about sex with her parents or children. The participants expressed anger at double standards for male and female sexuality and offered ideas on how such communication should be improved, while soliciting information from me on both my own personal experiences and sex education in North American schools in general.

In addition, I observed the Japanese coordinator's attempts to challenge certain statements by participants that she considered examples of internalized sexism. For example, in the first class one woman introduced herself as "just a housewife," and the coordinator told her, "You're not just a housewife. Tell us about all of your interests and activities." In the second class, the coordinator indicated that she thought it was wonderful that the son was able to have a loving relationship with a girlfriend, thus contradicting the woman's negative appraisal of her son's sexual activity. According to the coordinator, the main influences on her style of facilitating the classes are feminist consciousness-raising, co-counseling (reevaluation counseling), experience as a feminist activist, and a year spent studying ESL in Canada in classes for immigrants and refugees.

Finally, the classes may act as a launching pad for actions outside of the class. According to the coordinator, for example, participants frequently brought announcements of feminist events and political actions to class and arranged to participate in these outside of class together. The coordinator also began to offer participants several summer study tours in North America that included a visit to a women's music festival and personal visits with North American feminists. Although I have not followed up on this aspect of the classes, such experiences could certainly give class participants a sense of "success in life" as opposed to just "success in learning" (Peirce, 1989, p. 408) as they may take part in feminist action with other women not only in Japan but in other parts of the world.

CONCLUSION

The two Terakoya classes described here are concrete, grassroots examples of Japanese women combining their study of English with the study of feminism, consciousness-raising, and action in the world. Classes such as these, though almost taken for granted in the feminist community in Japan, deserve more research because of what they reveal about the needs of women learners. In particular, very little research has been done on the effects of single-sex education on adult women and none to my knowledge on its benefits to female L2 learners, although single-sex classrooms have been shown to improve the participation and educational results of girls (Houston, 1996a). Another issue raised here is the importance of female teachers as positive role models and colearners for

female participants, which has also been discussed in education in general (Fujimura-Fanselow, 1995; Houston, 1996b) but not in TESOL.

Finally, this study has raised but not resolved the issue of whether women's identities as feminists and English speakers intersect and reinforce each other in feminist English classes. I am continuing to research these issues through a learner diary study of a feminist English class I co-instruct; I hope this report will stimulate others to investigate further some of these neglected connections between female social identity and L2 education.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many thanks to the Mikiko Ishihara and the participants of Eikaiwa Terakoya for their invaluable cooperation, the anonymous *TESOL Quarterly* reviewers, the editor, and Jane Nakagawa-Joritz for their comments on drafts of this paper, and to Kate Reekie and various members of Women in Education and Language Learning (WELL) for their assistance in locating reference materials.

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Identity Formation for Mixed-Heritage Adults and Implications for Educators

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■ The purpose of this study is to investigate the role that language and educators play in supporting positive identity development in mixed-heritage children, beginning as early as kindergarten. An additional aim is to investigate the multidimensional relationship between powerful social hierarchies and individuals. As L2 educators, we want to promote positive self-identities for mixed-heritage students.

In the U.S., racial groups are considered to be distinct and well defined. For many people, however, this designation is problematic: There are no labels for individuals who claim multiple heritages. Because of the way in which the Census Bureau records data on race, it is very difficult to estimate the number of biracial, let alone multiracial, persons in the U.S. Any estimates that have been made are conservative (Root, 1992). Gibbs and Hines (1992) estimate that approximately one million interracial children live in the U.S.

Poussaint (1984, cited in Wardle, 1987) states that educational professionals have shown little interest in the needs of mixed-heritage children. One reason is that these professionals have accepted, and often perpetuated, the culturally accepted notion that the mixed-heritage child must select the identity of one parent, usually the minority parent.

Language is considered to be one of the most important and powerful influences on ethnic identity development (Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz, 1982). Languages not only enable humans to communicate with one another but also symbolize and identify group memberships; in addition, they are the principal means of mediating social relations (Ovando & Collier, 1985). For mixed-heritage individuals, nativelike dominance of the languages of both heritages may be crucial to enable them to belong

to either culture as the situation dictates and feel more easily accepted by the communities of their choice. This sense of belonging will help them develop more positive self-concepts.

Khleif (1975) states that human groups, when not suppressed, usually take great pride in the uniqueness of their language and use it to mark lines between in-groups and out-groups. Language creates consciousness and breeds definable loyalties. This solidarity of language is perhaps the key to how language influences ethnic identity. In fact, Khleif goes as far as to say that a shift in language results in a shift in one's identity. Language is also one of the major influences on identity formation in mixed-heritage individuals. Sotomayor (1977, cited in Hall, 1980) states that language is a reflection of culture; that is, the content of every culture is expressed in its language.

Throughout this report we use the term *mixed heritage* to suggest a combination of biological and cultural factors. The term *biracial* is problematic because it implies the mixing of two distinct, pure racial types, as if there were a strict biological basis for racial categorization (Stephan, 1992). But racial types, categorization, and concepts are not stable (Omi & Winant, 1986). Similarly, social identity is neither stable nor permanent. Although some participants in our study spoke more than one language, we use the term *bilingual* here to refer only to the mixed-heritage people who speak the native languages of their parents. Therefore, we consider persons speaking only one of the parents' languages as monolingual.

To stress the unstable and unscientific basis of race does not imply a color-blind perspective. Nor is it to deny the persistence of race and racism, which are socially constructed in childhood and schooling (Figueroa, 1991). A particular way for racial domination to take place is for the White majority to be seen as having no race. Classification by race is such a socially entrenched practice that people are commonly assumed to have been born with a certain blood quantum that remains the same for their entire life. Mixed-heritage people, however, are often embodied with physical ambiguity (Bradshaw, 1992); at different ages of their life cycle, as the color of their hair or skin changes or their features mature and age, they are perceived as belonging to different racial and ethnic groups.

Just as race is not stable but contested, identity is multiple and contested. Linear models of social relations have formed the basis for many psychological theories about racially mixed persons. The monoracial and monocultural bias of these theories is evident in assimilation and acculturation models, which suggest that a mixed-heritage person must choose between the communities of the parents and assimilate into only one (Kich, 1982). Bipolar or dichotomous schemes can only marginalize racially and ethnically mixed persons. Multidimensional models allow an

individual to have simultaneous membership in multiple communities and multiple, fluid identities with different groups (Hall, 1992).

Advances in feminist scholarship provide insights for theorizing about the social identity of mixed-heritage people (Collins, 1990; Lather, 1991). Rather than relying on male, White, and European perspectives from the center to provide a universal understanding of identity, feminists look to female, non-White, and colonized voices from the periphery. Luke and Gore (1992) argue that in the search for these silenced voices from the margins, it is important not to subsume differences under one totalizing view. They reject a universal subject in favor of identity that is grounded in politics, embodied experiences, and historical location.

When children who speak the language of the minority parent at home begin school, they are often categorized as limited English proficient and assigned to the TESOL classroom. Therefore, these children will be raised bilingually. When parents abandon the minority language, their children will be English monolinguals. What effects will these decisions have on mixed-heritage children? Because many mixed-heritage children in the U.S. are English monolinguals, educators tend to be uninformed about the ethnic identity issues that these children face at the hands of their peers. This population may be particularly vulnerable to identity crises that could lead to depression, low academic achievement, low self-esteem, and behavioral problems. As L2 educators, how can we promote positive self-identities for mixed-heritage students?

METHOD

In an attempt to answer these questions, we selected focus-group interviews as the primary investigative tool. Focus-group interviews fit well into the qualitative research paradigm because they are planned and structured but also encourage dynamic group interaction among participants about target topics. This methodology allows researchers to elicit substantive information about participants' thoughts and feelings in a relaxed setting in a relatively short period of time (Vaughn, Schumm, & Sinagub, 1996).

Recruiting racially mixed participants can be complex and will almost always yield selective samples (Root, 1992). Because mixed-heritage people are a numerical minority, it is difficult to recruit a sufficient number of participants from a single institution. As is commonly done in mixed-heritage research, we recruited participants by word of mouth (Gibbs & Hines, 1992; Hall, 1992; Root, 1992). We selected adults for this study because we wanted to capture the way they perceived their identity formation from childhood through adolescence into adulthood.

Two focus groups of mixed-heritage adults, differentiated as bilingual

or monolingual, were needed to adequately address the purpose of the study. After the focus-group interviews, we decided that two sessions, one with the bilinguals and one with the monolinguals, were sufficient to give us insight into the topic and that participant responses converged into key themes.

Focus Group 1 ($n = 5$) was composed of three female and two male bilinguals ranging in age from 22 to 41 years. All were metropolitan residents of the mid-Atlantic U.S. and identified themselves as half Asian. The interview with Focus Group 1 was held on June 21, 1996, for approximately 2½ hours. It took place at the home of one of the researchers to provide a comfortable and nonthreatening environment.

Focus Group 2 ($n = 7$) was composed of five female and two male monolinguals ranging in age from 25 to 60 years. They also were metropolitan residents of the mid-Atlantic U.S. and identified themselves as half Asian. The interview with Focus Group 2 was held on July 24, 1996, for approximately 2 hours. It was held in a conference room at the office of one of the researchers because its location was convenient for the participants.

Our dialogic approach complements a critical research perspective intended to explore the educational and life experiences of mixed-heritage people within a historical context. The approach views the participants as active in the study rather than as the objects of inquiry (Wong, 1994). We wanted the participants to be involved throughout the study in order to provide additional validation of our findings and encourage the development of further thoughts about the discussion. Each participant received a copy of the interview guide (see Pao, Wong, & Teuben-Rowe, 1997) before the focus-group interview began and was encouraged to take it home after the discussion and record any additional thoughts. Only two of the three researchers were present for each session so as not to intimidate the participants. The focus-group interviews were guided by the primary researcher; however, because all who attended were encouraged to discuss the issues openly, the guide was not strictly followed. As the discussion progressed, the participants tended to lead the questioning and comments while the primary researcher ensured that all material included in the guide was addressed. The focus-group sessions were audiotaped, the recordings were analyzed for emic perspectives, and pertinent sections were transcribed for recurring domains and themes. To verify the key themes, each participant was sent a written focus-group summary and invited to respond. This member-checking yielded three verbal and two e-mail responses. Data triangulation (documents and self-reports) and investigator triangulation were used.

We believed that it was important to establish credibility with the participants by demonstrating our knowledge of the mixed-heritage

experience. The first researcher is a Eurasian woman who grew up speaking one language. The second and third researchers are mothers of mixed-heritage, bilingual children. Their personal histories and insights were invaluable in negotiating participation without compromising the integrity of the study. Critical researchers are interested in the way individuals make sense of their own experience and the way their research fits into a historical context (Peirce, 1995). In addition, like other critical researchers, our goal is that this study be a catalyst for educational transformation and social reform.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

All the participants' responses confirmed the findings of previous mixed-heritage research; the individuals' identities had been constantly challenged by a racially conscious society set on placing people into distinct categories (Gibbs & Hines, 1992; Hall, 1992; Kich, 1982; Stephan, 1992). However, the bilingual Focus Group 1 participants had more support for the development of positive self-identities than did the monolingual Focus Group 2 participants.

Focus Group 1

With bilingualism as a resource, the participants' identity development shifted from struggles with racial identity to struggles in other arenas, such as gender, age, sexual orientation, religion, and nationality.

Bilingualism gives mixed-heritage individuals a choice of how to identify themselves because language is an individual's passport into one culture or the other. The bilingual participants believed that the ability to speak the languages of both their heritages was fundamental to their identity. Without that capability, they would have had no link to one of their cultures and its people. They reported feeling more of a particular ethnicity when speaking that language, which provides a means for achieving social acceptance. In the words of one participant, "It is key to having the best of both possible worlds."

Family attitudes had considerable influence on the identity formation of bilingual participants. Bilingual families valued the language, culture, and customs of the minority parent, raised the children to be proud of both of their heritages, and encouraged the children to maintain the language and culture. Whether directly or indirectly, the parents had told their children that they were members of both cultures, thus instilling in them a positive sense of self and a feeling of social acceptance. A member of this focus group addressed the importance of positive family attitudes toward both parents' heritages by stating,

Maybe some of the members' parents [of monolingual children] instilled the thought in their minds that being Asian was a setback or that they were different than others because of their looks/race. Because their parents felt this way, they became touchy on the subject. Their parents made their race and looks an issue when it never should have been.

Focus Group 2

The monolingual participants' minority parents instilled a sense of American identity in them and did not want them to identify with their minority heritage or speak the minority language. The participants expressed feelings of not belonging because they could not communicate with non-English-speaking relatives and other members of the minority language community. Also, they were often embarrassed as children when identified with their minority parent, particularly when they were taunted or teased because of that parent's physical traits or accent.

Those participants who as children could pass as Caucasian were labeled as such by their parents, who believed that their children would experience less prejudice and discrimination that way. This finding is consistent with that of Frankenberg (1993), who stated that Whiteness is a location of structural advantage and privilege; a standpoint from which Whites view themselves, others, and society; and a set of cultural practices that are usually unmarked and unnamed. However, these participants felt shame, isolation, and insecurity as a result of their parents' desire that they be Caucasian American. A few were raised with the minority parent's customs but were expected to be "American" outside of the privacy of their home. The parents encouraged their children to interact only with Caucasian children. Several of the participants' parents experienced prejudice as interracial couples and, in many cases, had been disowned by families for marrying out.

The Focus Group 2 participants seemed to be more negatively affected by society's reactions to their physical differences and ambiguity than those in Focus Group 1 were because their lack of language left them without passports into the cultures and communities of one of their parents. The pattern that emerged was a racial hierarchy in which subjects with darker skin or "ethnic" features recalled having been taunted more as children than those with lighter features. One participant stated,

I got teased because I was different looking, even though I'm not anywhere near as different looking as if I were actually Japanese I got it from both sides—not being accepted either in the Japanese community or in the White community. You don't fit in either way, anywhere.

Another participant began lightening her hair at a young age in an attempt to look less Asian and more Caucasian. Participants with Asian and African American heritage stated that it was “better” to be considered Asian than African American. Although the mixed-heritage individual’s ambiguity may allow assimilation into various groups, success at blending depends on the context, expectations, and prejudices of others. In adapting to the racial hierarchy, some participants were rejected by both the majority and the minority groups. Characteristic of the mixed-heritage experience for some of the participants was not being accepted by either group. This finding is consistent with Kich’s (1982) claim that multiracial people tend to have difficulty fitting in and may be rejected by both ethnic groups.

The monolingual Focus Group 2 participants also had a variety of negative school experiences that they considered a unique result of their mixed-heritage backgrounds. However, these findings did not emerge from their bilingual counterparts in Focus Group 1. The Focus Group 2 participants felt that they did not fit in with any of the racial and ethnic cliques and were pressured by other children to identify with one group. Their strong feelings of anger about being taunted sometimes resulted in confrontational behavior.

Especially relevant to this study is the role that the participants’ teachers played in these experiences. The participants stated that their teachers exhibited a lack of cultural and racial sensitivity, which contributed to the students’ increased sense of isolation. Particularly memorable for one individual was the following elementary school experience:

In fourth grade, we were asked to draw the flag of our ethnic backgrounds, our national backgrounds. Of course, everyone was hard at work drawing . . . all their parents seemed to come from the same ethnic backgrounds. . . . I had nothing on my paper because I didn’t know what to draw, much less did I know what the Chinese flag looked like. Which flag was I supposed to choose? I got a zero for the day. My teacher sent a note home saying that I had to do this assignment before I came back to school the next day. My teacher was totally oblivious to what had transpired since I was always such a good student.

Another participant recalled,

My White chemistry teacher called me an oreo in front of the whole class. I was mortified. I don’t know which was worse, the fact that he incorrectly labeled me as Black or that he accused me of wanting to be White. I got up and walked out of the room. In Miami, I felt culturally isolated because I did not fit into any of the groups. The upper-middle-class Jewish community where I lived was apprehensive about Black and Latino students being bused in. . . . My physical ambiguity caused people to mislabel me as Black or Latino. I didn’t fit in anywhere. I was very self-conscious. I started pretending I was

sick so that I wouldn't have to go to school, and my grades started to decline. My mother ended up taking me out of school and hiring me a tutor for the remainder of the year.

The participants themselves offered suggestions for teachers that they believed would improve the socialization and identity development of future generations of mixed-heritage children. One participant remarked,

I think that whatever a teacher does, she has to carefully balance the ideas of being proud of your ethnic background with the idea of being color-blind. I don't think that any person can have a healthy upbringing if they put all their eggs in the ethnic basket, so to speak. . . . You have to balance the idea of diversity and color-blind society and the common moral ground we all should have as Americans, so I wouldn't want to see a teacher just choose the ones [lessons] that focus on difference, at the expense of the commonality.

Another participant added,

Teachers need to find materials that are different but not always activities that make the individual present himself as different You can walk into any junior high or high school cafeteria, and everybody's sitting and segregating themselves naturally anyway. As a teacher, you're gonna pull your hair out because that's not completely healthy. So I hate to see ethnicity stressed too much as a key to identity in society. I think that's dangerous.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on these interviews, we have drawn the following preliminary conclusions.

1. Family attitudes have a strong impact on the mixed-heritage child's social identity.
2. Language is one of the most important and powerful influences on identity development for mixed-heritage persons; nativelike mastery of the languages of both heritages is key to a positive sense of self.
3. Although marginalization was a factor for both groups, all participants, even those who regretted they were monolingual, considered bilingualism an asset.
4. The participants believed that L2 educators can play a critical role in promoting positive self-identities for mixed-heritage students.

As educators, we should encourage our students' families to maintain their home languages and cultures even though they are living in an English-speaking environment. However, it is our responsibility to provide parents of mixed-heritage children with research findings and

suggestions so that they can make informed decisions about the role that the home languages will play in the lives of their children through the K–12 years and into adulthood. Our research suggests that it is vital to equip mixed-heritage children with cultural and linguistic assets that will enable them to find social acceptance and take pride in all of their heritages. Educators should develop and implement curricula that respect human differences in race, ethnicity, language, religion, age, gender, and sexual orientation—balance is key. Ethnicity and race are only components of individuals’ larger social identities and may not be the most important factors in their personal identity. Curricula should also incorporate multicultural literature and materials that reflect a vast array of heritages. The emphasis should be on global education and the similarities among peoples not their differences. Focusing on individuals leads people to challenge commonly held stereotypes. Educators must also encourage positive human interactions and openly address with students attitudes that often lead to discriminating behavior against others and place individuals into social hierarchies.

We conclude this report with the challenge our participants posed to us—to instill in our students a sense of self and pride in their cultural heritages and to teach them to respect one another.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We thank the following participants, whose experiences and input were invaluable to this study: Eric Brown, Fernando Chang-Muy, Cassandra Chen, George P. George, Eleanor Goodwin, Susan Knight, Denise Lawson, Pardee Lowe, Jr., Susan Moreland, Suzanne Piner, Malinda Walters, and Barbara Watanabe.

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Reconstructing the Professional Identity of Foreign-Trained Teachers in Ontario Schools

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■ This report analyzes the challenges to constructing a professional identity faced by foreign-trained teachers enrolled in the Upgrading Pilot Program for Foreign-Trained Teachers developed by the Faculty of Education at the University of Ottawa. Every year many foreign-trained teachers with high expectations and professional qualifications from their homelands choose to live and work in Ontario, Canada. However, they soon discover that their foreign credentials do not satisfy the requirements for an Ontario Teaching Certificate. Moreover, many of these teachers simply do not have the resources and understanding of the requirements set out by the Ministry of Ontario Education and Training (MOET) to overcome the existing barriers to their professional certification posed by the need for English language proficiency in Canadian classrooms. Consequently, they often end up doing various kinds of menial jobs for which they are overqualified and overeducated. The discontinuity of their professional practice results in a significant loss to Ontario's educational system of the rich experiences and expertise that these individuals bring to their new country. It also results in a high emotional cost for them. Furthermore, their experiences raise issues of equity in the increasingly multiethnic province of Ontario.

THE PROGRAM

Recognizing the problems faced by foreign-trained teachers, the Faculty of Education at the University of Ottawa developed and implemented a recredentialing program, the Upgrading Pilot Program, in 1994. The program consisted of a 13-week, largely on-site practicum plus a weekly reflective seminar, an integrated Canadian educational foundations/pedagogy course, and an ESL course (Mawhinney, 1994). It aimed to (a) assist foreign-trained teachers in upgrading their skills and training in order for them to obtain an Ontario Teaching Certificate, (b) provide an opportunity for them to gain actual teaching practice in Ontario classrooms, and (c) facilitate their access to the Ontario school system.

Candidates were admitted to the Upgrading Program on the basis of an evaluation of their files by a Selection Committee composed of the director of the Professional Development Program, a professor respon-

sible for candidate language testing, a representative of the Teachers' Federations, and two representatives from community groups. Applications were assessed on the basis of the following criteria:

1. an evaluation by the Ontario Ministry of Education that the candidate would be eligible for certification as a teacher upon successful completion of a university program providing an additional qualification in one or more of the four divisions in Ontario;
2. an acceptable university degree; and
3. demonstration of oral and written competency in English (for non-English-speaking candidates) as evident in performance on the Canadian Test for Scholars and Trainees (CANTest) administered by the Second Language Institute of the University of Ottawa. The CANTest is an English proficiency test that measures four skills: listening, reading, speaking, and writing (Des Brisay, 1990). Test scores are reported in each of the four skill areas using a five-level Band System that relates scores to a descriptive statement about a candidate's language ability. There is no test of grammar in the CANTest, but the Selection Committee decided to add a separate grammar test to it.

Seven of the 16 applicants successfully met the program admission requirements during the two sessions from September 1993 to April 1994. A final report was prepared for the Ontario Ministry of Education providing an evaluation of the program (Mawhinney, 1995). The report included findings of research that examined the following questions.

1. What language elements and skills do foreign-trained teacher candidates in the Upgrading Program need most to succeed in their on-campus studies and in their field placement?
2. What language development takes place during the program, and how does it occur?

In addition to other research undertaken to respond to these questions, a research assistant undertook an ethnographic study of the experiences of the seven successful candidates (Xu, 1994). In this report we highlight some of the key themes and findings of the ethnographic study as it relates to the problem of reconstructing the professional identity of these seven foreign-trained teachers.

METHODS

As part of the program evaluation, a research assistant undertook an ethnographic study that gathered data on candidates' adjustment (Xu, 1994). Data were gathered during observations of the candidates during the reflective seminars held at the university, in their practicum placements

at seven schools, and from observations of meetings of the selection committee and feedback sessions. Data were also obtained from individual and telephone interviews with candidates and individuals associated with the program, including teacher mentors. Field notes were taken during these observations on what candidates were doing and saying in the school classroom and in the university seminars. These notes guided the formal and informal interviews (in person and by telephone) that followed each observation. The notes and the summaries of documents were analyzed using an inductive approach to identify emergent themes. This approach represents a focused, theoretical ethnography in which the researcher uses the “high inference descriptors” (Grant & Fine, 1992, p. 228) taken from field observations as building blocks of analysis and interpretation.

WAYS OF PROFESSIONAL GROWTH

Below we describe some of the ways in which the seven individuals in the program experienced professional growth in the context of challenges posed by their language proficiency. The candidates included Angela from Finland; Barbara from India; Rose from Nigeria; and Adam, Henry, Ted, and Wilson from Somalia.¹ Before coming to Canada between 1970 and 1993, all had completed teacher education. Six of them had taught previously for 1–12 years. Our analysis identified six themes characterizing the experiences of these foreign-trained teachers.

Developing Professional Survival Skills Through Special Support

Two professors, Mr. Stone and Mrs. Thomas, were appointed to work with the candidates. Mr. Stone, with over 20 years’ experience as an immigrant teacher and a vice principal in Ontario schools, was the program coordinator. His background uniquely qualified him to work with these teachers. Whenever they were uncertain about school rules and regulations, particularly when they had problems, they would talk to Mr. Stone, seeking advice and support. From him, the foreign-trained teachers learned a variety of survival skills and techniques for coping with various concerns and problems related to human relations and classroom management.

Mrs. Thomas was a warm and experienced native English-speaking ESL instructor. In addition to their weekly advanced ESL instructions from her, the teachers sought her assistance in improving their pronunciation and in understanding languacultural information² (i.e., small

¹ All participants’ names, including those of university professors, are pseudonyms.

² *Languaculture*, a term coined by Agar (1994), is a theoretical notion that language and culture are inextricably entwined and that to treat them separately distorts both concepts.

talk, professional sharing, and the messages one's words and actions send). They enjoyed practicing English with her. Whenever possible, they would discuss and rehearse with Mrs. Thomas the expressions and idioms frequently used in the schools and classrooms, for example, *correct me if I am wrong*, *take a wild guess*, and *I'm in deep trouble*. As a result of this two-way language learning process, the candidates developed considerable tact in language use (i.e., what to say, to whom, when, and how to say it) and increased accuracy in pronunciation.

We conclude from the positive evaluation by the candidates of the efforts of Mr. Stone and Mrs. Thomas that support of the sort they provided is an essential element of assisting foreign-trained teachers in reconstructing a professional identity.

Developing Professional Relationships

During their field experience, our candidates were each placed with an established Canadian mentor teacher. The placement provided an excellent opportunity for them to form professional relationships within the school system. Before entering the schools, they were cautioned that they needed to establish a good working relationship with their mentors in order to gain the maximum benefit from the field experience. Initially, they merely observed how the mentors taught. Gradually most became more comfortable with the mentors and their classrooms and began to ask the whys and hows of teaching.

Angela, for example, adjusted quickly to the new environment. She associated herself with her mentor and other staff by initiating small talk (e.g., about the weather) and laughing with them. When invited to teach, she planned her lesson according to the mentor's guidance. Even when not in agreement, Angela indicated that she accepted her mentor's opinion without reservation because "this is her class and I have to do it her way." Her quick adjustment and strategic interpersonal skills identified her in the eyes of teachers in the school as "good teacher material." Clearly, good human relations skills were a requirement for a successful field placement.

Reconstructing a Professional Identity

During the program the candidates took many initiatives in upgrading their professional skills. From the beginning of the program they showed high motivation and enthusiasm for the daily preparation of lessons required for the field placement and the weekly assignments, including oral presentations required by the university professors. During the 13-week program, all seven teachers finished three university courses and two on-site courses. Their efforts and achievements earned each of them the respect of the project team.

Developing a Sense of Belonging to the Profession

The foreign-trained teachers developed a sense of hope and belonging when teaching on site. They were satisfied with their language development, their knowledge of local Ontario school culture, and their initial connections within the school system. In short, the teachers were proud of their achievements and felt that they were part of the Canadian school system because they had changed their identity from outsiders to insiders.

Most important, all seven teachers received teaching certificates from the Ministry of Education and Training within a few months after graduation. Legally, they are now allowed to teach in Ontario. At present, Ted works as a full-time multicultural liaison officer (MLO) in a school and does some occasional teaching. Adam is a part-time MLO and teaches a heritage language with Henry at the same school. In addition, all of them have been supply teaching and doing volunteer work at local schools.

Dealing With Accents

Despite their sense of hope and belonging, these teachers experienced many frustrations during the program. One difficult area for most was being constantly questioned about their accents in English. One principal claimed, "If these teachers want to be accepted in my school, they must totally get rid of their accent because the students will have trouble understanding them."

Some of the candidates considered the insistence of school personnel on more Canadian pronunciation a denial of their opportunities in the name of a so-called linguistic deficiency. Angela wondered, "If a strong British accent is acceptable in Canadian schools why not my Finnish-English accent?" Rose mentioned, "Students do not dislike my accent. It is the schoolteachers who do not like my accent." Angela indicated with conviction that she did not wish to change her accent because as an adult it would be impossible to acquire a natively like accent. Angela argued that she would be neither Finnish nor Canadian if she tried to do so and that her nonnative accent was her identity. Moreover, she felt there was nothing wrong with that identity.

Being Viewed as Different

Frustration also resulted from mutual misunderstanding and distrust. An example is Rose's initial on-site experience. By the 3rd week, her relationship with her mentor had become icy. The mentor appeared to disapprove of almost everything Rose did, and Rose thought the mentor

simply did not like her. Rose was only allowed to observe and became increasingly impatient with this limited role. Later the mentor claimed, "No one is going to hire her. The whole package of being a teacher is missing." Rose contested the way the mentor positioned her and believed that her bad luck had nothing to do with her capacity to teach but resulted from racial discrimination.³ In the end, Rose was transferred to another class, where she was much happier and more successful.

Ted's and Adam's experiences provide further examples. When they finished the practicum, their mentor teachers were not willing to conduct any official evaluation as they did not want to have the responsibility for recommending Ted and Adam as teachers.

Not surprisingly, then, some of the foreign-trained teachers came to distrust their mentors. The teachers felt that they were subject to discrimination (a similar voice can be heard from Bascia, 1994). Listed below are some of their typical comments in this regard:

Talk about difference? The only difference is that I am not White.

They do not want us to stay in school. No matter how well we do, they just don't like us.

IMPLICATIONS

Language education. As more and more skilled foreigners are encouraged to come to Canada, feasible and flexible language programs should be developed to prepare them for specific occupational contexts. Program developers can draw insights from the experience of U.S. universities in training international teaching assistants (e.g., Bailey, 1985; Hoekje & Williams, 1992; Rounds, 1987).

Language testing. Further research is needed to tap a broader construct of work-related L2 assessment, with particular attention to pronunciation and accent. Appropriate language selection criteria and assessment procedures that provide relevant diagnostic information are extremely important in the certification and training of adult learners with occupational and professional L2 needs (Wesche, 1992).

Professional identity. For their own benefit, foreign-trained professionals should be aware that job-related oral proficiency in English is essential. They must be prepared for a long and slow process of developing their English skills and constructing new identities if they wish to pursue professional employment opportunities in an English-speaking setting.

³ Rose, who had had 12 years' teaching experience, scored the highest in the CANTest. Since completing the program, she has often been invited to do supply teaching. In addition, she speaks French—an advantage in Canada.

Policy making. When it comes to hiring foreign-trained professionals, policy makers should be aware of what linguistic goals are realistic. In addition, it is important to pay attention to the potential for racial discrimination.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We thank Dr. Marjorie Wesche of the Second Language Institute at the University of Ottawa for her helpful comments on this manuscript. We also acknowledge the contribution to designing the pilot program of Dr. Robert Courchène of the Second Language Institute at the University of Ottawa.

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REVIEWS

The *TESOL Quarterly* welcomes evaluative reviews of publications relevant to TESOL professionals. In addition to textbooks and reference materials, these include computer and video software, testing instruments, and other forms of nonprint materials.

Edited by **BONNY NORTON**
University of British Columbia

Ngugi wa Thiong'o: An African Vision of Linguistic and Cultural Pluralism

Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1986.
Pp. xiv + 114.

Moving the Centre: The Struggle for Cultural Freedoms.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1993.
Pp. xviii + 184.

Petals of Blood.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o. London: Heinemann, 1977. Pp. 345.

■ Whether teaching immigrants, international students, or preservice teachers, TESOL scholars and professionals encounter students from the so-called developing world or students who will teach people from these areas. It is our responsibility as TESOL professionals to understand more of the cultural contexts of these students and the impact their education has on their communities of origin. Against the opportunistic climate created by the English language as an industry, we need to examine our programs more thoroughly on these grounds. One question I have wrestled with as a graduate student in the field is whether we are unwittingly serving exploitative multinational corporate interests as missionaries once served conquistadors, weakening the cultural and linguistic resources of people in a manner that makes the carnage of local cultures and economies possible.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o, commonly referred to as Ngugi, is a significant voice in this debate. Since 1982, this popular African intellectual has lived in forced exile from his native Kenya; his crime, for which he spent a year in prison, was to write in his own language about common people struggling against neocolonial forces of development. In 1977, after a decade writing in English, Ngugi resolved to compose all his creative works thereafter in his native Gikuyu language. His first Gikuyu play, *Ngaahika Ndeenda (I Will Marry When I Want)*, was written and performed in 1977 and led to his subsequent detention; in 1978, while in prison, he wrote his first Gikuyu novel, *Caitani Mutharabaini (Devil on the Cross)* on toilet paper.

Ngugi's life bears witness to his claims that culture and language are focal sites of colonial repression and resistance in the developing world. Two nonfiction books he has written in English since 1977 are *Decolonising the Mind* and *Moving the Centre*, scholarly works in which language issues dominate the former and cultural issues, the latter. Throughout these books, the author artfully weaves moving vignettes from his personal experience in a manner that brings the texts and the (African) contexts to life. In grounding his views in personal experience, these essays take on a force that is missing in the more disengaged academic discussions of linguistic imperialism and postcolonialism. He is a voice emanating from the heart of Africa and, more than a voice, a person suffering the price of exile for exercising freedoms people in the West and elsewhere take for granted.

In *Decolonising the Mind*, Ngugi explores the role of language in African literature, theatre, and fiction and the quest for relevance, subjects that together constitute the four main chapters of the book. Specifically, he considers the destructive role English and other European languages play in subverting the indigenous cultures of Africa. He describes in clear yet impassioned detail the experiences surrounding his own decision not to write imaginative works in English, the writing and staging of his first Gikuyu play in a small village, the burning of the village theatre where the play was performed, and his subsequent year-long detention without trial.

Ngugi's views are predicated on a specific view of language and its relationship to culture; in *Decolonising the Mind* he posits that "language, any language, has a dual character: it is both a means of communication and a carrier of culture" (p. 13). The problem he identifies with the use of English as a lingua franca in the developing world is not so much its communicative role as its misapplication as a carrier of culture. Such misapplication occurs when the literature, arts, technologies, and education of a people become dominated by a coloniser's language.

Ngugi outlines how colonialism imposed its control militarily, politically, and economically, "but its most important area of domination was

the mental universe of the colonised, the control, through culture, of how people perceived themselves and the world" (p. 16). He identifies two aspects to such mental control: (a) destroying or undervaluing the cultures of the people and (b) dominating the language of the people with the language of the coloniser. In a truly postcolonial world, it is not just societies but the minds of the people that need decolonising.

Moving the Centre focuses on culture rather than language. It is organized into four sections: (a) Freeing Culture From Eurocentrism, (b) Freeing Cultures From Colonial Legacies, (c) Freeing Culture From Racism, and (d) Matigari, Dreams and Nightmares. Each section comprises a series of articles and speeches on subjects relevant to postcolonial studies. Ngugi's premise is that colonialism persists today, less visibly though insidiously, as a form of cultural and linguistic invasion. As an antidote, he argues for "moving the centre in two senses—between nations and within nations" (p. xvii). Although educated classes within a nation become exiled from their own history, culture, and people, the nation itself is exiled from the new and purportedly global culture in that it is largely ignored by intellectuals and educators in the developed world. Language contributes significantly to these various exiles. Whereas most African people continue to retain their African languages, more and more technological and creative knowledge has become "locked up in linguistic prison" (p. 37), accessible only to speakers of certain European languages.

Ngugi reaches into the heart of experience through an extensive use of personal and fictional narratives. *Petals of Blood* is one of many novels produced by this prolific author, and I include it here because it was written at a significant juncture in his creative and political life. The narrative weaves its way forward and backward through time, obeying a law of reflection rather than chronology. In the final pages, the narrative merges with a betrayal—one character's confession to police—thereby catapulting the English language reader into the discomfiting position of oppressor. In the future, Ngugi would address his fiction to the people of Kenya by writing in Gikuyu rather than addressing their captors in English. With that decision, Ngugi's fiction was no longer available to English-speaking audiences in the original.

Yet, even in *Petals of Blood*, evidence of the author's budding intentions are apparent in his extensive use of Gikuyu phrases and nouns in lieu of English equivalents, a technique that clearly locates the text in Africa. The passionate tone, local detail, and use of Gikuyu all help to recreate the experience of an East African village as it faces neocolonial crises in development. One paradoxical testament to Ngugi's power of storytelling comes from an anecdote he uses to conclude *Moving the Centre*. In 1986–1987, Matigari, a hero of a Ngugi novel by the same name, was purportedly moving about the countryside asking questions about truth and

justice. Hearing of this, Dictator Moi ordered Matigari arrested; when he learned that Matigari was a fictional character, he ordered the book arrested instead. Banned in Kenya, “the novel is now published in English for a readership outside Kenya, the first case, in our history, of a fictional character being forced into exile to join its creator” (p. 175).

These three books show an interesting progression in Ngugi’s views concerning the most effective means to achieve emancipation. Moving from an evident and ardent commitment to Marxist revolution in *Petals of Blood* to a preoccupation with radical democracy in *Moving the Centre*, Ngugi’s perspective parallels a global shift in the understanding of liberation. Yet even in *Moving the Centre*, Ngugi refers to the Russian, Chinese, and Cuban revolutions as the “rosy dawn of . . . revolutionary people’s power,” opposing “the gory dawn of imperialism” (p. 111). As a reader who has spent her adult life working with Tibetan refugees, I find this view incongruous with Ngugi’s purported position in defense of freedom and local cultures. The imperialistic and exploitative crimes of the states of the USSR and the People’s Republic of China against their neighbours and against their own people have been impossible to discount or to ignore since 1989. So I am baffled as to why the author persists in lauding these states. Perhaps it is out of gratitude to the USSR for supporting African anticolonial movements in the 1960s and 1970s; however, given the Cold War, it is reasonable to assume that this support was itself a form of imperialist incursion by the USSR, albeit masked.

Ngugi outlines other forms of movements for social change in the 20th century that have replaced the earlier emphasis on social revolution. National liberation movements, for instance, have taken two forms: independence from colonialism and democratic revolutions against neocolonialism. Likewise, “within the belly of the beast, that is within imperialist nations and countries, there have been democratic forces for change” (p. 111). In general, he presents an unequivocally democratic vision of the future, a vision resonating with utopian optimism and hope: “A language for the world? A world of languages! The two concepts are not mutually exclusive provided there is independence, equality, democracy, and peace among nations” (p. 40).

I highly recommend these literary and scholarly works. Exposure to autobiographical and fictional narratives like Ngugi’s cultivates greater empathy for the experiences and contexts of people learning English as another language. The books offer a useful resource for enhancing understanding and complementing the growing use of narrative and autobiographical methods in TESOL research. Nonfictional texts like Ngugi’s are a valuable source of theory grounded in the lives of those most affected by the globalization of English. Furthermore, books such as these promise to correct the glaring absence of non-Western authors, subjects, and publications created by the growing centralization of

academic research, a tendency information technologies have done little to redress. Although large numbers of intellectuals leave their native communities in Asia and Africa to be educated in the West, they are dissuaded from studying their own lives and communities by multiple forces, not the least of which is the dearth of academic texts in English on the subject of their homelands. In extending our acceptance of what constitutes viable TESOL texts and research, we invite the participation of intellectuals and forms of discourse more representative of the people most affected by the globalization of English. In this respect, Ngugi wa Thiong'o's work helps us to recognize, lest we forget, the extensive impact our programs exert on the world beyond our geographical, cultural, and class borders.

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Taking Back the Future: Identity Construction, Power, and Critical Pedagogy

Negotiating Identities: Education for Empowerment in a Diverse Society.

Jim Cummins. Ontario: California Association for Bilingual Education, 1996. Pp. vii + 290.

Two Languages at Work: Bilingual Life on the Factory Floor.

Tara Goldstein. New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997. Pp. xiv + 277.

Critical Pedagogy: Notes From the Real World.

Joan Wink. New York: Longman, 1997. Pp. xxi + 163.

■ As a citizen of one of the world's most unequal societies (South Africa), I find it instructive to read about the inequities that shape societies perceived to be high on the list of the world's liberal democracies. Many who live in Canada and the U.S. enjoy degrees of freedom and opportunity still unrealisable for most South Africans. Yet the ways in which liberal democracies treat those defined as "minorities," "immigrants," "second language speakers of English," "at risk," and "limited English proficient" call into question those societies' professed values. According to a recent report (Walker, 1997), income disparity in the U.S.

is more marked now than at any time in the past 60 years: The richest 1% of Americans now own more than the poorest 90%.

Jim Cummins, Tara Goldstein, and Joan Wink unpick the naturalised, normalised, seamless ways the “advanced” world appears to be, arguing for understandings of social reality that explain how inequality is constructed and reinforced, specifically through society’s educational institutions, the workplace, and everyday uses of language. As progressive educators, they do not stop at analysis but propose alternative practices aimed at changing the status quo.

This sensitivity to the social uses of language is a thread linking the three texts that reminds the reader that language teaching is no neutral matter. That successful students and language learners are made not born—as are failures and dropouts—is a central construct for all the texts. Discursive practices, within and outside the classroom, that embody unequal power relations, and the social identities that they construct, perpetuate these inequalities. Pedagogies that enable learners and teachers to critically reflect on and negotiate issues of power, difference, culture, and language use offer a possibility of identity reconstruction that will challenge the dominant discourses that entrench the “inferiority” of certain groups.

NEGOTIATING IDENTITIES

Negotiating Identities is a revised and expanded version of *Empowering Minority Students* (Cummins, 1989). Pursuing the notion that student empowerment will emerge from a dialectical relationship between learners and teachers, Cummins situates the negotiation of identity as key to this relationship. If the relationships that develop within classrooms can affirm diversity, they will have the power to overturn sociohistorical patterns of exclusion. Building on his research into the importance of L1 literacy and the consequences for academic achievement if it is not adequately promoted, Cummins focuses on the implications of this failure for student identity formation. Earlier explanations of student failure are revisited within broader frameworks that introduce the distinction between coercive relations of power (which define subordinated groups as inferior and reinforce social inequality) and collaborative relations of power that allow for the joint construction, particularly in the microinteractions between teachers and learners, of new identities that challenge those that promote failure.

At the core of the book is Cummins’ advocacy of bilingual education in North America via a tautly argued rebuttal of attempts to dismantle bilingual programs and suppress cultural diversity in the name of promoting the melting pot. The history he sketches of the onslaught on bilingual education and mother-tongue maintenance and of the sus-

tained attack on the linguistic human rights of new migrants to the U.S. meticulously dissects the development of a xenophobic discourse.

The book draws together a vast amount of research on bilingual education and alternative pedagogies. The bibliographical references are extensive, and each chapter is accompanied by detailed notes. Examining research data that indicate a “direct positive relationship between the extent to which bilingual students develop their L1 literacy skills at school and how well they do in English academic skills” (p. 45), Cummins argues for the mainstreaming of teaching approaches that will allow learners to accelerate their academic language learning.

Chapters 6 and 7 analyse innovative programs that attempt to broaden the bilingual education framework by affirming students’ identities and cultures, building relationships with parents and communities, and adopting pedagogies that develop critical literacy. Individual educators and schools are seen as having the power at a microlevel (school and classroom) to participate in radically transforming their students’ futures. Herein lies an interesting tension that is perhaps not resolvable: To what extent can educators, with the best will in the world, challenge existing patterns of domination when these, as Cummins demonstrates, are serving to maintain the exclusion of certain sectors from participating fully in the society?

Cummins concludes by focusing on the future—how the education system needs to change to prepare children for the global realities of the 21st century. Avowedly optimistic, his analysis of the crisis facing North American society seems not to see that the very problems he identifies (e.g., vast income disparity) are themselves the downside of the restructuring brought about by globalisation. Wilson (1987) puts a strong case for linking the development of the underclass in the inner city to globalisation.

BILINGUAL LIFE AND LANGUAGE CHOICE

The first-generation, immigrant Portuguese women who work at Stone Specialities in Toronto, the site of Goldstein’s critical ethnography of “bilingual life and language choice” (p. vi) on the shop floor, are members of the global migrant community whose desire for a better life has led them to Canada. To fulfil their commitment to the integration of new immigrants and the redress of social inequality, the federal and provincial governments fund workplace training programs. Access to English, particularly workplace English, is viewed as facilitating access to socioeconomic opportunity.

The study questions the assumptions that underlie workplace ESL programs within a society that is officially committed to bilingualism and multiculturalism. As an English teacher at the factory, Goldstein was

struck by the maintenance of Portuguese on the production line despite the English language programs on offer, and in the best tradition of educational ethnography she began to research her own context. For educators wanting to engage in critical ethnographic research, this book is exemplary: Its detailed description of the setting and its sensitivity to the participants' perceptions take the reader into the world of Stone, and its interpretive-explanatory force strips away the obvious and commonsensical to expose the social processes shaping this reality.

Goldstein carefully reviews the sociolinguistic literature on language choice, social identity, and social relationships, seeking theoretical explanations that can help her answer the research question: why immigrant workers, specifically women, may not learn and use the language of economic dominance at work. Language choice is shown to be clearly related to class, gender, and ethnicity. Her ethnographic research enabled her to understand that the language choices made by individual women must be seen in relation to the economic and sociopolitical context of the Portuguese community in Toronto. She concludes that, for many, the social costs of abandoning Portuguese outweigh the economic benefits of using English. Portuguese-speaking workers at Stone view themselves as a family in which the use of Portuguese symbolises group solidarity and provides access to friendship and assistance on the production line. Thus, "workers who have been on the lines for 16–22 years and who still don't speak English at work are not unmotivated or unable to learn English" (p. 147). There may, in fact, be risks associated with improving one's English: Those who speak better English may be obliged to act as language brokers between management and Portuguese workers, inadvertently jeopardising friendships and support networks.

Finally, Goldstein considers the implications of her study for adult educators and workplace English language training. Are programs meeting their goals of promoting workplace equity? English language training in itself does not create economic opportunity: Larger social forces will, to a great extent, determine who gets what job where. She proposes a critical pedagogy of ESL that will provide opportunities for immigrant workers to gain more control over their everyday lives, negotiate encounters with powerful gatekeepers of the dominant social groups, and examine possibilities for personal and societal change. This should not, however, imply an abandoning of their primary language and identity. Yet, Goldstein asks, can even a critical pedagogy of ESL itself be viewed as perpetuating existing social relations in that it perpetuates the hegemony of English? Goldstein's work is enhanced by this acute reflectiveness, for as Gore (1993) cautions, no discourse or practice is "inherently liberating or inherently oppressive" (p. 62).

CRITICAL PEDAGOGY

Joan Wink's *Critical Pedagogy: Notes From the Real World* invites readers to share her personal and passionate vision of critical pedagogy. For Wink, critical pedagogy is an inherently emancipatory discourse rather than a socially constructed "regime of truth" (Gore, 1993, p. 56), which may itself embody new forms of power relations.

Nevertheless, for anyone wanting to engage with the discourses of critical pedagogy that are often portrayed as obscure and impenetrable, this book could be an ideal point of entry. Clearly written, with a layout that is highly visually engaging and encourages readers to scribble their own responses and reflections on the pages, the book attempts in its form to exemplify the theoretical processes that it examines.

Wink charts her professional odyssey from behaviorism to critical pedagogy, introducing members of her family, key critical concepts that have inspired her, and critical theorists who have influenced her thoughts and work. Among the concepts discussed are *cultural capital*, *voice*, *discourse*, *praxis*, and *hegemony*. The founding fathers of critical pedagogy (yes, all are men except Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, Sudia McCaleb, and Alma Ada) include Paolo Freire, Antonio Gramsci, Karl Marx, Lev Vygotsky, Stephen Krashen, and Jim Cummins. In the section on voice, Wink asks, "Why so few women?" (p. 59), but she herself has neglected a substantial body of feminist critical pedagogical work (Luke & Gore, 1992) that would perhaps have led her to envision a response to her question. This said, the overviews of the concepts and theorists are very accessible and should certainly stimulate readers to read further.

Wink's special ability is that of hearing people's everyday language and the ways their words embody taken-for-granted, unreflective understandings of the world. Virtually every concept is illustrated by a snippet of such discourse that should sensitise educators to their own discursive practices and those that surround them. Most powerful for me are her instances of school discourses that reproduce discrimination and prejudice, clearly constructing student identities of failure.

Chapter 4 draws on Wink's long experience as a teacher and teacher educator, not to provide blueprints but to explore approaches that have worked for her in developing a critical classroom practice.

The final chapter, like that of Cummins' book, reflects on the promise of globalisation. However, as I have pointed out, globalisation does not necessarily promote democracy and social justice. The workers at Stone Specialities are worried about layoffs and are working shorter hours in a bid to keep their jobs because advanced countries have lost thousands of jobs to those countries that do not have social security or unions. More and more culturally diverse students will look forward to lives of underemployment, unemployment, or service sector jobs in fast-food

outlets. This awareness of globalisation's underbelly should serve to heighten our determination to take back the future for our children.

CONCLUSION

"Why should educators care about this larger social reality?" asks Cummins (p. 222). Elsewhere, he provides an answer, citing a 1994 report on the restructuring of California schools: "Teacher education programs are far behind the times in providing teachers with the knowledge about second language acquisition, about the impact of racism in students' lives and about the diverse cultural background of the students in the public schools" (p. 171). These three books will enable teacher education programs and practising teachers to fill this gap.

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SUE STARFIELD

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The Native Speaker in Applied Linguistics.

Alan Davies. Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press, 1991.
Pp. 181.

■ Locked in the notion of *native speaker* is both a blessing and a curse. Although the term runs through the patchwork of many theoretical constructs, its identity remains ambiguous, tantalizingly beyond grasp. If linguists are the weaver-maiden, then *native speaker* is surely their Rumpelstiltskin, necessary but troublesomely elusive. Alan Davies' masterful study of a concept to which applied linguistics makes constant appeal is an important reexamination of its identity and mystique. His approach is more speculative than experimental and offers a way of coming to terms with the ambiguities of the native speaker boundary. The volume is important for the issues it addresses and the questions it

asks. Davies tackles the central ones head on. What does it mean to be a native speaker? Is it possible to become a native speaker of a language that is not one's mother tongue? Just how special is the native speaker?

In examining these questions, the volume is divided into nine chapters. In the introduction the author asks whether a definition of *native speaker* is readily available. Chapter 2 deals with whether nonnative speakers use a cognitive system separate from that used by native speakers as their language develops. The author here argues that in a nontrivial sense native speakers and nonnative speakers behave differently linguistically. Chapter 3 poses the theoretical question of what sort of grammar a native speaker has and whether native speakers and nonnative speakers have different grammars. This question links the problem about the nature and scope of pedagogic grammars with the deliberate shaping of a learner's current grammar so as to match that of a native speaker. Chapter 4 deals with the sociolinguistic aspects of the native speaker, in particular to what extent being a native speaker is a social construct, a choice of identity, and a membership determined as much by attitude and symbols as by language ability and knowledge. Just what (privileged) knowledges are possessed by native speakers is discussed in chapters 5 and 6. The theoretical question for chapter 7 concerns norms and intelligibility: Does intelligibility depend on the existence of agreed language norms, and what status do those norms have? The relevant applied question is that of the role of correctness in the use of standard language in general and in education in particular. In the final chapters, the author edges towards the major theoretical discussion of who the native speaker is and whether an adult nonnative speaker can become (cross over, pass as) a native speaker of a target language. Out of this arises the issue of the relative status of language varieties: just which (version of) language is appropriate to use for international purposes.

The author's sympathetic (though critical) account of Chomsky's universalist view of language is welcome given the denunciations of Chomsky's views whenever the topic of native speaker arises. Much more reference to the term *mother tongue* than is offered in the introduction would have surely enriched the discussion and shed light on this curious sibling relationship. Nevertheless, this book, elegantly and fluently argued, is possibly the most satisfying account of the topic available in English.

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Crosswords: Language, Education and Ethnicity in French Ontario.

Monica Heller. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1994. Pp. 252.

■ This book is a blend of description, theory, and practice. It should be read by educators concerned with language, sociolinguists tuned to the social and political realities of language choice, and teachers seeking illumination on issues of language diversity.

The opening two chapters contain a historical overview of the educational system in Canada—Ontario in particular—and of the French in Canada. These chapters demonstrate well that ethnographic accounts are enriched by a historical dimension. In chapter 3 the author sets out her theoretical stance, developing her earlier assertion that language is involved in “ethnic boundary formation, social mobility and the construction of relations of power” (p. 7). She draws on Bourdieu’s (1977) notion of *symbolic capital* in discussing the contrasting positions on French and English in Ontario. Although the long-resident Francophone community resists the growing Anglophone bilingualism because it represents an incursion on the only power they have—the power of speaking French—the immigrant communities resist the elitism implied in this position and assert an ideology of pluralism in which all languages should be considered equal.

The tension between language as capital and language as ethnic emblem is played out in the everyday lives of the French Ontario school population, and this tension is the subject of chapters 4 and 5. Here the educational system and the discourses around it are the battleground for ethnic identity and issues of power. The changing population of Franco-Ontarian schools, with increasing numbers of Anglophones with limited French and new Francophones from other parts of the world, appears to threaten the ethnic identity and justification for mobilisation of the traditional Franco-Ontarian community. In addition to these new experiences of difference and diversity claimed by parents and teachers, the majority of school children resist the schools’ demands that French—and “good” French—be spoken everywhere in the school. The inevitable conflicts and tensions between French and English and between standard and nonstandard varieties of French create a school environment in which students are linguistic brokers, negotiating identities and power relations through their linguistic repertoires.

In chapter 6, drawing on her ethnographic research in two Toronto schools, Heller describes an innovative development project in which students were encouraged to become ethnographers of their communities. The description and evaluation of this practical classroom effort to dismantle some of the unequal power relations in language is characteristic of *Crosswords*. It combines the author’s commitment to change and

social action at a local level with the wider sociopolitical concerns of language and inequality in the particular circumstances of Ontario.

This final chapter, like those that precede it, is a blend of sociohistorical analysis, social and linguistic theory, and ethnographic description—the felt reality of living with difference. Potential readers may be far removed from the Canadian scene that forms the context of this book, but its strength lies in what it communicates, at a general level, about the politics of a multilingual society. The book has the power to do this because it is embedded in the local politics of a particular place and time.

However, as a relatively expensive hardback, *Crosswords* is hardly likely to be on the front table of every university bookshop. It is hoped that Mouton will consider reissuing the book in its new paperback series so that it reaches those areas that costly hardbacks usually cannot. It certainly deserves to.

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Social Justice and Language Policy in Education: The Canadian Research.

David Corson and Sylvia Lemay. Toronto, Canada: OISE Press, 1996.
Pp. vi + 153.

■ Canada is known as a powerful advocate of language rights reform—witness its national Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which in 1982 awarded official-language minorities the right to education in their L1. What, however, has this charter meant in terms of provincial implementation? This book reports a 3-year document study of the past 10 years of Canadian research on topics encompassing social justice and language policy in education through five themes: Aboriginal language policy; gender and language policy; bilingual education policy, which includes official-language minorities, immigrant and refugee minorities, and the signing deaf; and the treatment of nonstandard varieties. Putting into practice the respect for languages they advocate, Corson and Lemay summarise French research documents in French; the rest of the text is in English.

A strong theme in all the chapters is the lack of studies reporting and

evaluating provincial implementation of national policy. Also key are the calls for more sensitive teacher preparation and more local-community involvement in educational planning and decision making. The authors make clear that there is still a lot to do and that reform will require evaluation to be carried out and the findings made available for community response. In their view, open dialogue and devolved, local decision making will lead to a just society. Based on Habermas (1979), they favour a collectivist account of social justice while acknowledging, but not reconciling, the relevance of individualist theories to educational practice.

Corson and Lemay make no apology for the bias in their study. Indeed, they state openly their desire to see Canadian language policy become more socially just in practice. They call, for example, for positive discrimination in favour of French L1 speakers being educated in French, as opposed, say, to equal-opportunity immersion programs in French for majority-language speakers, whom they see as an already favoured group.

The book is a mix of literature survey and critical review. Although the authors have privileged access to a broad database, their book does not give the reader the same access. There is no index. More seriously, the bibliography is not sorted according to the study's theme fields. The reader should be able to tell at a glance the proportion of materials found on Aboriginal language policy issues, for example, and how many of those sources the authors have chosen to cite. Closer attention to historical development in each field would also have made their important points more accessible to uninformed readers.

Despite these drawbacks, the book is a valuable resource. The two chapters on bilingual education, for example, provide an authoritative overview of research. Though not conclusive, the research strongly suggests that bilingual education advantages students, contrary to fears in many communities. A clear picture also is provided of the strengths and weaknesses of heritage language programs. For readers seriously interested in the extent to which Canada has succeeded in implementing its language policies in education, this book is an unflinching assessment of how far Canada still has to go. The lesson for many countries is that national acknowledgment of normative pluralism as "simply the way things have to be" (p. 113) is not enough: Such pluralism needs informed local involvement in implementation.

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INFORMATION FOR CONTRIBUTORS

EDITORIAL POLICY

The *TESOL Quarterly*, a professional, refereed journal, encourages submission of previously unpublished articles on topics of significance to individuals concerned with the teaching of English as a second or foreign language and of standard English as a second dialect. As a publication that represents a variety of cross-disciplinary interests, both theoretical and practical, the *Quarterly* invites manuscripts on a wide range of topics, especially in the following areas:

1. psychology and sociology of language learning and teaching; issues in research and research methodology
2. curriculum design and development; instructional methods, materials, and techniques
3. testing and evaluation
4. professional preparation
5. language planning
6. professional standards

Because the *Quarterly* is committed to publishing manuscripts that contribute to bridging theory and practice in our profession, it particularly welcomes submissions drawing on relevant research (e.g., in anthropology, applied and theoretical linguistics, communication, education, English education [including reading and writing theory], psycholinguistics, psychology, first and second language acquisition, sociolinguistics, and sociology) and addressing implications and applications of this research to issues in our profession. The *Quarterly* prefers that all submissions be written so that their content is accessible to a broad readership, including those individuals who may not have familiarity with the subject matter addressed. The *TESOL Quarterly* is an international journal. It welcomes submissions from English language contexts around the world.

GENERAL INFORMATION FOR AUTHORS

Submission Categories

The *TESOL Quarterly* invites submissions in five categories:

Full-length articles. Contributors are strongly encouraged to submit manuscripts of no more than 20–25 double-spaced pages or 8,500 words (including references, notes, and tables). Submit three copies plus three copies of an informative abstract of not more than 200 words. If possible, indicate the number of words at the end of the article. To facilitate the blind review process, authors' names should appear only on a cover sheet, not on the title page; do not use running heads. Manuscripts should be submitted to the Editor of *TESOL Quarterly*:

Sandra McKay
English Department
San Francisco State University
1600 Holloway Avenue
San Francisco, CA 94132 U.S.A.

The following factors are considered when evaluating the suitability of a manuscript for publication in the *TESOL Quarterly*:

- The manuscript appeals to the general interests of the *TESOL Quarterly* readership.
- The manuscript strengthens the relationship between theory and practice: Practical articles must be anchored in theory, and theoretical articles and reports of research must contain a discussion of implications or applications for practice.
- The content of the manuscript is accessible to the broad readership of the *Quarterly*, not only to specialists in the area addressed.
- The manuscript offers a new, original insight or interpretation and not just a restatement of others' ideas and views.
- The manuscript makes a significant (practical, useful, plausible) contribution to the field.
- The manuscript is likely to arouse readers' interest.
- The manuscript reflects sound scholarship and research design with appropriate, correctly interpreted references to other authors and works.
- The manuscript is well written and organized and conforms to the specifications of the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (4th ed.).

Reviews. The *TESOL Quarterly* invites succinct, evaluative reviews of professional books, classroom texts, and other instructional resources (such as computer software, video- or audiotaped material, and tests). Reviews should provide a descriptive and evaluative summary and a brief discussion of the significance of the work in the context of current theory and practice. Submissions should generally be no longer than 500 words. Submit two copies of the review to the Review Editor:

H. Douglas Brown
American Language Institute
San Francisco State University
1600 Holloway Avenue
San Francisco, CA 94132 U.S.A.

Review Articles. The *TESOL Quarterly* also welcomes occasional review articles, that is, comparative discussions of several publications that fall into a topical category (e.g., pronunciation, literacy training, teaching methodology). Review articles should provide a description and evaluative comparison of the materials and discuss the relative significance of the works in the context of current theory and practice. Submissions should generally be no

longer than 1,500 words. Submit **two copies** of the review article to the Review Editor at the address given above.

Brief Reports and Summaries. The *TESOL Quarterly* also invites short reports on any aspect of theory and practice in our profession. We encourage manuscripts that either present preliminary findings or focus on some aspect of a larger study. In all cases, the discussion of issues should be supported by empirical evidence, collected through qualitative or quantitative investigations. Reports or summaries should present key concepts and results in a manner that will make the research accessible to our diverse readership. Submissions to this section should be 7–10 double-spaced pages or 3,400 words (including references, notes, and tables). If possible, indicate the number of words at the end of the report. *Longer articles do not appear in this section and should be submitted to the Editor of the TESOL Quarterly for review.* Send **one copy** of the manuscript to **each** of the Editors of the Brief Reports and Summaries section:

Rod Ellis
College of Education
Ritter Hall (003), Rm. 45
Temple University
Philadelphia, PA 19122 U.S.A.

Karen E. Johnson
305 Sparks Building
Pennsylvania State University
University Park, PA 16802 U.S.A.

The Forum. The *TESOL Quarterly* welcomes comments and reactions from readers regarding specific aspects or practices of our profession. Responses to published articles and reviews are also welcome; unfortunately, we are not able to publish responses to previous exchanges. Contributions to The Forum should generally be no longer than 7–10 double-spaced pages or 3,400 words. If possible, indicate the number of words at the end of the contribution. Submit **two copies** to the Editor of the *TESOL Quarterly* at the address given above.

Brief discussions of qualitative and quantitative **Research Issues** and of **Teaching Issues** are also published in The Forum. Although these contributions are typically solicited, readers may send topic suggestions or make known their availability as contributors by writing directly to the Editors of these subsections.

Research Issues:

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Special-Topic Issues. Typically, one issue per volume will be devoted to a special topic. Topics are approved by the Editorial Advisory Board of the *Quarterly*. Those wishing to suggest topics or make known their availability as

guest editors should contact the Editor of the *TESOL Quarterly*. Issues will generally contain both invited articles designed to survey and illuminate central themes as well as articles solicited through a call for papers.

General Submission Guidelines

1. All submissions to the *Quarterly* should conform to the requirements of the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (4th ed.), which can be obtained from the Order Department, American Psychological Association, P.O. Box 2710, Hyattsville, MD 20784-0710. The *Publication Manual* is also available in many libraries and bookstores. Authors are responsible for the accuracy of references and reference citations, which must be in APA format.
2. All submissions to the *TESOL Quarterly* should be accompanied by a cover letter that includes a full mailing address and both a daytime and an evening telephone number. Where available, authors should include an electronic mail address and fax number.
3. Authors of full-length articles, Forum opinion pieces, and Brief Reports and Summaries should include **two copies** of a very brief biographical statement (in sentence form, maximum 50 words), plus any special notations or acknowledgments that they would like to have included. Double spacing should be used throughout.
4. The *TESOL Quarterly* provides 25 free reprints of published full-length articles and 10 reprints of material published in the Reviews, Brief Reports and Summaries, and The Forum sections.
5. Manuscripts submitted to the *TESOL Quarterly* cannot be returned to authors. Authors should be sure to keep a copy for themselves.
6. It is understood that manuscripts submitted to the *TESOL Quarterly* have not been previously published and are not under consideration for publication elsewhere.
7. It is the responsibility of the author(s) of a manuscript submitted to the *TESOL Quarterly* to indicate to the Editor the existence of any work already published (or under consideration for publication elsewhere) by the author(s) that is similar in content to that of the manuscript.
8. The Editor of the *TESOL Quarterly* reserves the right to make editorial changes in any manuscript accepted for publication to enhance clarity or style. The author will be consulted only if the editing has been substantial.
9. The views expressed by contributors to the *TESOL Quarterly* do not necessarily reflect those of the Editor, the Editorial Advisory Board, or TESOL. Material published in the *Quarterly* should not be construed to have the endorsement of TESOL.

Statistical Guidelines

Because of the educational role the *Quarterly* plays modeling research in the field, it is of particular concern that published research articles meet high statistical standards. In order to support this goal, the following guidelines are provided.

Reporting the study. Studies submitted to the *Quarterly* should be explained clearly and in enough detail that it would be possible to replicate the design of the study on the basis of the information provided in the article. Likewise, the study should include sufficient information to allow readers to evaluate the claims made by the author. In order to accommodate both of these requirements, authors of statistical studies should present the following.

1. A clear statement of the research questions and the hypotheses that are being examined.
2. Descriptive statistics, including the means, standard deviations, and sample sizes, necessary for the reader to correctly interpret and evaluate any inferential statistics.
3. Appropriate types of reliability and validity of any tests, ratings, questionnaires, and so on.
4. Graphs and charts that help explain the results.
5. Clear and careful descriptions of the instruments used and the types of intervention employed in the study.
6. Explicit identifications of dependent, independent, moderator, intervening, and control variables.
7. Complete source tables for statistical tests.
8. Discussions of how the assumptions underlying the research design were met, assumptions such as random selection and assignment of subjects, sufficiently large sample sizes so that the results are stable, etc.
9. Tests of the assumptions of any statistical tests, when appropriate.
10. Realistic interpretations of the statistical significance of the results keeping in mind that the meaningfulness of the results is a separate and important issue, especially for correlation.

Conducting the analyses. Quantitative studies submitted to the *TESOL Quarterly* should reflect a concern for controlling Type I and Type II error. Thus, studies should avoid multiple *t* tests, multiple ANOVAs, etc. However, in the very few instances in which multiple tests might be employed, the author should explain the effects of such use on the probability values in the results. In reporting the statistical analyses, authors should choose one significance level (usually .05) and report all results in terms of that level. Likewise, studies should report effect size through such strength of association measures as omega-squared or eta-squared along with beta (the possibility of Type II error) whenever this may be important to interpreting the significance of the results.

Interpreting the results. The results should be explained clearly and the implications discussed such that readers without extensive training in the use of statistics can understand them. Care should be taken in making causal inferences from statistical results, and these should be avoided with correlational studies. Results of the study should not be overinterpreted or overgeneralized. Finally, alternative explanations of the results should be discussed.

Qualitative Research Guidelines

To ensure that *Quarterly* articles model rigorous qualitative research, the following guidelines are provided.

Conducting the study. Studies submitted to the *Quarterly* should exhibit an in-depth understanding of the philosophical perspectives and research methodologies inherent in conducting qualitative research. Utilizing these perspectives and methods in the course of conducting research helps to ensure that studies are credible, valid, and dependable rather than impressionistic and superficial. Reports of qualitative research should meet the following criteria.

1. Data collection (as well as analyses and reporting) is aimed at uncovering an emic perspective. In other words, the study focuses on research participants' perspectives and interpretations of behavior, events, and situations rather than etic (outsider-imposed) categories, models, and viewpoints.
2. Data collection strategies include prolonged engagement, persistent observation, and triangulation. Researchers should conduct ongoing observations over a sufficient period of time so as to build trust with respondents, learn the culture (e.g., classroom, school, or community), and check for misinformation introduced by both the researcher and the researched. Triangulation involves the use of multiple methods and sources such as participant-observation, informal and formal interviewing, and collection of relevant or available documents.

Analyzing the data. Data analysis is also guided by the philosophy and methods underlying qualitative research studies. The researcher should engage in comprehensive data treatment in which data from all relevant sources are analyzed. In addition, many qualitative studies demand an analytic inductive approach involving a cyclical process of data collection, analysis (taking an emic perspective and utilizing the descriptive language the respondents themselves use), creation of hypotheses, and testing of hypotheses in further data collection.

Reporting the data. The researcher should generally provide "thick description" with sufficient detail to allow the reader to determine whether transfer to other situations can be considered. Reports also should include the following.

1. A description of the theoretical or conceptual framework that guides research questions and interpretations.
2. A clear statement of the research questions.
3. A description of the research site, participants, procedures for ensuring participant anonymity, and data collection strategies. A description of the roles of the researcher(s).
4. A description of a clear and salient organization of patterns found through data analysis. Reports of patterns should include representative examples not anecdotal information.
5. Interpretations that exhibit a holistic perspective in which the author traces the meaning of patterns across all the theoretically salient or descriptively relevant micro- and macrocontexts in which they are embedded.
6. Interpretations and conclusions that provide evidence of grounded theory and discussion of how this theory relates to current research/theory in the field, including relevant citations. In other words, the article should focus on the issues or behaviors that are salient to participants and that not only reveal an in-depth understanding of the situation studied but also suggest how it connects to current related theories.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Publishers are invited to send copies of their new materials to the *TESOL Quarterly* Review Editor, H. Douglas Brown, San Francisco State University, at the address listed in the Information for Contributors section. Packages should be labeled REVIEW COPIES.

TESOL Quarterly readers are invited to contribute review articles and evaluative or comparative reviews for consideration for publication in the Review section of the *Quarterly*. These should be sent to the *TESOL Quarterly* Review Editor, H. Douglas Brown, San Francisco State University, at the address listed in the Information for Contributors section.

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