Script, Counterscript, and Underlife in the Classroom: James Brown versus Brown v. Board of Education

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In this article, Kris Gutierrez, Betsy Rymes, and Joanne Larson demonstrate how power is constructed between the teacher and students. The authors identify the teacher's monologic script, one that potentially stifles dialogue and interaction and that reflects dominant cultural values, and the students' counterscripts, formed by those who do not comply with the teacher's view of appropriate participation. The authors then offer the possibility of a "third space" — a place where the two scripts intersect, creating the potential for authentic interaction to occur. Using an analysis of a specific classroom discourse, the authors demonstrate how, when such potential arises, the teacher and students quickly retreat to more comfortable scripted places. The authors encourage the joint construction of a new sociocultural terrain, creating space for shifts in what counts as knowledge and knowledge representation.

This article presents the notion of script and counterscript as a heuristic in both the critique and the construction of particular sociocultural practices in classrooms. In particular, this heuristic is used to examine power and intersubjectivity, and the potential for shared understanding. In most classrooms, what counts as learning and who has access to this learning is determined by the values of the local culture and larger society and by the particular beliefs and practices evident in the social spaces of the classroom. An analysis of the everyday activity of classrooms, an analysis of the script of the classroom community, and a discourse analysis of the face-to-face interaction of the classroom participants will show how who gets to learn and what is learned is connected to the social rela-

tionships constructed in classrooms. These analyses will also demonstrate how power lies in these constructed social relationships, not solely in the individual or in a monolithic system of societal reproduction. Thus, while the classroom mirrors the larger societal structures and power relationships (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1993; Freire & Macedo, 1987; Giroux, 1988), the construction of the classroom, like the construction of society, is a dynamic system of relationships and structures.

Bakhtin's (1981) notions of dialogic meaning and social heteroglossia help illustrate how the classroom is inherently multi-voiced. Bakhtin explores the difference in various speaking genres as a means to dialogue among disparate groups. In his analysis of Russian novels, Bakhtin reveals how an author speaks not with a unitary voice, but through the multiple voices of his characters. The author does not contain their view within his own, but rather uses their voices to create the *internal dialogic meaning* of the novel. Dialogue is not simply between people and languages, but within people and between the frames that people use to categorize experience. The notion of dialogization, then, is used to describe something more than simply dialogue. While Bakhtin specifically addresses the inner dialogue of an author as expressed in the heteroglossia of the novel, he also expands his analysis to the role of the author in the "heteroglossia of his epoch" (p. 285). Thus, social heteroglossia, or the inherently intertextual and interdiscursive nature of social interaction, is not only a feature of novelistic writing, but a feature of the world (Fairclough, 1992). In this analysis, both a teacher's and the students' internal dialogization become relevant when they occur together as part of the social heteroglossia.

The three authors of this article, whose research combines ethnographic classroom research with microanalysis of language, examine how power is locally constituted through the various configurations of talk and interaction in the classroom, and thus present a situated and dynamic notion of power. Furthermore, we identify patterns of participation that occur in distinct and exclusive social spaces. In this analysis, social space is a theoretical construct that helps us understand the mutually informing but seemingly exclusive places where teacher and students reside and interact in the classroom. We describe these as official and unofficial spaces within which the teacher script and student counterscript are constituted. We use the term "third space" to describe how these spaces might intersect and, thus, create the potential for more authentic interaction and heteroglossia.

We illustrate how the teacher's power in the classroom, which is the focus of our study, is maintained through a form of monologism that attempts to stifle dialogue and interaction and the potential for taking up a critical stance. The monologic script, the primary script in the classroom on which this study is based, appears to be exclusively in the control of the teacher, whose own socialization reflects the dominant cultural values invoked in schools.[1] While some

[1] The official script of the classroom can emerge in various forms. However, the official script constructed in most of the classrooms we have studied has been a highly rigid and monologic script. As the analyses will show, monologic instruction, in its intent and instantiation, resists dialogue and

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students contribute to and participate in the teacher script, those who do not comply with the teacher's rules for participation form their own *counterscript.* In this context, members of the classroom community hold varied expertise in the form of local knowledge, but the inscribed knowledge of the teacher and classroom regularly displaces the local and culturally varied knowledge of the students. This displacement of student knowledge creates the space for student counterscript to develop. These counterscripts, however, are neither necessarily harmonious nor overlapping. The emergence of this less apparent counterscript reveals the inherently multi-voiced and dialogic nature of any classroom.

Nevertheless, in the face of a rigidly monologic teacher script, the relevance of students' counterscript to the processes or topics discussed in this classroom has little influence on the teacher's script. The only space where a true interaction or communication between teacher and student can occur in this classroom is in the middle ground, or "third space," in which a Bakhtinian social heteroglossia is possible. Conceiving the classroom as a place for social heteroglossia reveals the potential for the classroom to become a site where no cultural discourses are secondary.[2] Acknowledging the inherent cognitive and sociocultural benefits that come from the multiple discourses is of particular importance, especially in classrooms populated largely by African American, Latino, and mixed-race students (Gutierrez, 1993).

By further locating this discussion of script and counterscript within poststructuralist and sociocultural notions of power and subject production, we will use examples of the everyday activity of classroom life to illustrate the local construction of power and identity in the discursive practices of the classroom (Bourdieu, 1977; Fairclough, 1992). Building on Goffman's (1961) notion of "underlife," we will also illustrate how identity is interwoven and intimately connected to historically constructed power relations and spaces that exist both within and between spheres of cultural practice. The construction of the various social spaces and scripts in both the larger and local communities, then, is crucial to problematizing classroom learning activity.

Certainly, to understand the consistently asymmetrical power relations and epistemological conflict, or what counts as knowledge, evident in school communities, we need to examine communities of practice and knowledge construction from both a situated and sociohistorical perspective.[3] Communities of practice in schools are situated in larger sociocultural and political frameworks, which are characterized by particular overarching relationships, hierarchies, dis-

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interaction. However, the analyses will also reveal that no script or social interaction is ever really monologic.

[2] Ogbu (1978) has described these as secondary cultural traits. We use the term "discourse" to refer to culturally specific values, as will be discussed later in this article.

[3] Communities of practice are loosely defined as groups of individuals bounded together by common purposes and goals. Lave and Wenger (1991) define it as

a set of relations among persons, activity and work, over time and in relation with other tangential and overlapping communities of practice. It implies participation in an activity system about which participants have understandings concerning what they are doing and what that means in their lives and for their communities. A community of practice is an intrinsic condition for the existence of knowledge. (p. 98)

courses, and social practices that value school knowledge over indigenous forms of knowledge. We use the term "transcendent script" here to refer to the dominant forms of knowledge generally valued as legitimate by both the local culture and the larger society. This larger script is not, however, a monolithic reproduction of societal values (Luke, 1992). This transcendent script only exists when it is locally invoked and re-invoked and appears differently across situations and at different times in classroom discussion.

However, we believe that becoming a member of a community of practice is a process of developing a particular identity and mode of behavior; through participation in a community's sociocultural practices, members learn which discourses and forms of participation are valued and not valued by the community. Discourse, in this sense, includes the artifacts, experiences, and practices shared by a particular community. Gee (1990) has described discourse (with a capital D) as

> a socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, believing, valuing, and of acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or "social network," or to signal (that one is playing) a socially meaningful "role." (p. 143)

As this definition of the inherent social nature of discourses suggests, the construction of identity and the social roles that participants take up in communities is best understood in what people do in joint participation with one another. Consequently, we focus on activity rather than simply observing individual behavior (Leont'ev, 1981). To understand the consequences of everyday activity, we must understand how activity, through the tools of talk and interaction, mediates learning for classroom participants. Analysis of activity allows us to understand better the cultural-historical and sociocultural nature of the activity and the way power is constructed in classrooms (Cole, 1995; Engeström, 1990).

These power relations and practices of classroom communities are not independent of sociocultural beliefs and the cultural practices of the larger community and society (Bourdieu, Passeron, & de Saint Martin, 1994; Mehan, 1993; Ochs, 1992; Walkerdine, 1992, 1994). The larger meta-narratives and systemic structures and practices re-invoked in schools are not, however, the focus of this narrative, although their relative contributions will be noted. Instead, we will discuss the ways in which power relations are constructed, co-constructed, and reconstructed in local classroom sites through the micro-politics of the classroom.

In this article, then, we challenge the critical social scientist to move more fluidly between theory and classroom life to understand more richly how the power relations in classrooms unfold in routine activity. We also encourage movement beyond simply underscoring and, therefore, glorifying the ways in which "minorities" are oppressed and marginalized. We argue that this subjugated perspective highlights the consequences of the monologic script and illustrates both the need and potential for change (Gutierrez, Larson, & Kreuter, 1995). Thus, we resist both glorifying the marginal student and simply blaming the teacher, and instead, in the following sections, demonstrate the ways in

which all participants are complicit in maintaining a communicative barrier, although in very different ways, and in constructing the social and power relationships that unfold in particular communities of practice.

It becomes critically important, then, to examine the way alternate forms of knowing are marginalized or silenced. Of particular concern in this article is how the social practices of everyday activity become observable to educators interested in the social construction of classroom culture, the sustained asymmetrical relations of power, and the construction of multiple, simultaneous social spaces in classrooms. Bloome (1990) has cautioned researchers by pointing out that "where one locates meaning and social significance will influence how one explicates a particular social event or set of social events" (p. 72). To address the multiple and complex ways classroom communities are constructed, we examine the construction of various social spaces in a moment-to-moment interaction. We note the ways in which these spheres of interaction that constitute classroom life intersect, overlap, and co-exist at different points in time and space. We observe the mutually constitutive nature of these spheres.

As members of a community interact within and across events, they construct normative patterns of life within a classroom. These scripts, characterized by particular social, spatial, and language patterns, are resources that members use to interpret the activity of others and to guide their own participation. A script, then, represents an orientation that members come to expect after repeated interactions in contexts constructed both locally and over time (Gutierrez, 1993).[4] Although, as Atkinson (1982) points out, there is "no script to be memorized," a classroom can ultimately become "scripted" in that a general orientation that serves as a frame of reference for "being student and teacher" is constructed in particular classrooms (Heap, 1980, 1991; Kantor, Green, Bradley, & Lin, 1992; Mehan, 1979). These frames of reference with their varying range of scripts lead to patterned ways of being and doing in particular contexts. However, while these local scripts are often reflective of the larger or transcendent scripts of society, because of human diversity and the complex nature of interaction, they are never simply a reproduction (Cole, 1991).

The study we report here has resulted from our long-term participation in the everyday life of classrooms as we observed the construction of very different communities of practice in four different school districts within Los Angeles.[5]

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[4] The use of the term script in this article should be distinguished from the cognitive structure literature use of the label. Nelson (1986), for example, discussed the existence of knowledge structures that guide appropriate action in particular social contexts. Schank and Ableson (1977) used the term script to describe the construct that accounts for appropriate participation in routinized interactions. Winegar (1988) describes script as a "schema which specifies information about actions, procedures, and contingencies in a particular context. Its elements are organized as a predictive, cohesive unit . . . [consisting] of a sequence of actions which are linked both causally and temporally and are oriented towards a goal" (p. 5). Winegar further suggested that scripts are "representations" of the world.

[5] The studies were initially motivated by an interest in understanding how liberal reform pedagogies such as teaching process writing, one of the more celebrated reform movements, influenced the nature of the teaching and learning of literacy for immigrant K-8 student populations (Gutierrez, 1992). Subsequent studies focused on the social contexts of literacy learning and the construction of classroom culture for linguistically and culturally diverse K-12 students (Gutierrez, 1993; Gutierrez & Larson, 1994). These studies were funded by the University of California Linguistic Minority Research Institute,

We observed instruction two to three times each week over the school year, recording classroom practices through video, field notes, and ongoing conversations with teachers, students, parents, administrators, and other school personnel across multiple contexts. In this way, the various participants, and in particular teachers, were co-participants in the research process. Yet, we continually struggle to make this a more symmetrical relationship. Through "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) and microanalysis, we are able to describe what counts as teaching and learning in one classroom.[6] This classroom became the focus of the present analysis because the talk and interaction provide clear evidence of the existence and construction of unofficial and official social spaces. In that context, we present a slice of an ongoing narrative we are constructing about how knowledge is appropriated through student and teacher interactions in this particular classroom. Specifically, we discuss how the teacher's epistemic stance, revealed through the monologic script, helps define what counts as valued knowledge in this classroom and thus determines whose knowledge is constructed. The power arrangements of the classroom, then, influence classroom practices; that is, what is learned and who gets to learn particular forms of knowledge. In this way, we show that knowledge and what counts as knowledge are both culture-bound and locally situated (Luke & Gore, 1992). From this perspective, the construction of power is also situated and culture-bound.

The Construction of Power in Classrooms

We focus on the issue of power in this article because the various social spaces that we observed in the classrooms exemplified situations where power was distributed unevenly. Power is not unidirectional; it is complex and surfaces in multiple ways. Power relations are learned and become part of a person's identity as one participates in the practices of particular communities (Foucault, 1977; Lave & Wenger, 1991). Informed by the institutional nature of schooling, such practices are "built around the rituals and practices of discursive knowledge and power" (Luke, in press). Invoking Bourdieu (1977), who describes "habitus" as a system of second-order strategies for following societal "rules," Luke suggests that in school contexts, the human subject is constructed through such regimes of practice in which school knowledge and school competence become "a set of bodily practices and inscriptions which are internalized by the habitus" (p. 10). In these contexts, oppressive power relations often appear natural and neutral rather than socially constructed, political, and historical in origin.

As our studies suggest, students' scripts and counterscripts often create illusions of freedom or contestation. As mentioned, we draw on social and sociocultural theories to examine these power relations in the classroom and to help

[6] Geertz (1973) argues that what the ethnographer is faced with is "a multiplicity of complex conceptual structures, many of them superimposed upon or knotted into one another, which are at once strange, irregular, and inexplicit, and which he must contrive somehow first to grasp and then to render" (p. 10). The process of this rendering, then, is ethnography, or thick description.

exemplify the link between power and classroom culture. These theories are grounded in the participation of communities of practice and thus extend notions of the social construction of power. Power relations, produced, reproduced, and transformed in collaborative relationships, shape identity and consciousness as participants seek to become members of particular cultural and social spheres or communities of practice.

From this perspective, power is not an added feature of relationships; it is an essential element of the construction of self and how we understand the world. Power and the forms of knowledge legitimized in classrooms are inextricably linked. McLaren (1994a) describes this power/knowledge link as an ideological construction implicating the conflict between domination and resistance in the daily lives of teachers and students. Apple (1993) argues that this struggle between local and official knowledge occurs at multiple levels and that the existence of this struggle creates openings for counter-hegemonic activity.[7] In this article, we will present the concept of the third space as the social space within which counter-hegemonic activity, or contestation of dominant discourses, can occur for both students and teachers. We will argue that it is within the third space that the *how* of both a social and critical theory can be implemented.

Underlife and Counterscript in the Classroom

The opportunity for contesting both societal and classroom discursive practices evolves within the social space of underlife in the classroom. Goffman (1961) defines "underlife" as the range of activities people develop to distance themselves from the surrounding institution. This descriptive framework highlights students' strategies of differentiation from teacher-dominated classroom discourse. Underlife, then, consists of those behaviors that undercut the roles expected of participants in a situation (Brooke, 1987). In the face of a seemingly incontestable teacher script, students assert forms of local knowledge that are neither recognized nor included within the teacher script. In this context, such forms of knowledge include unacknowledged cultural references to popular music, film, and television. In this way, individual students take stances towards the roles they are expected to play.

Underlife activities, according to Goffman (1961), take two primary forms: a disruptive form "where the realistic intentions of the participants are to abandon the organization or radically alter its structure" and a contained form in which the participants attempt to fit into "existing institutional structures without introducing pressure for radical change" (p. 199). In most of the classrooms in our research, we observed contained forms of underlife activities in which students work around the institution to assert their difference from the assigned role (Brooke, 1987). However, within contained forms of underlife, this identity

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[7] These ideas have, of course, been taken up in different ways within the critical education tradition in such well-recognized works as Giroux (1983), McLaren (1994b) and Willis (1977). Giroux's work links critical theory to the concept of student resistance (most notably, the Frankfurt School), McLaren's work develops the concept of resistance in relation to Victor Turner's concept of anti-structure, and Willis links the concept of resistance to theories of cultural capital and hegemony.

does not contest assumed classroom roles. While student underlife develops freely in all classrooms, rarely is such activity incorporated into instructional practices. Therefore, despite the inherent multi-voicedness of any classroom, student underlife generally maintains traditional classroom power relations. In this way, both students and teacher are complicit in maintaining distinct defensive spaces rather than challenging and ultimately transforming the dominant script.

As Bourdieu, Passeron, and de Saint Martin (1994) have pointed out, "understanding the social and political functions of a teaching relationship which so often fails . . . [does not provoke] a revolt" (p. 3). We argue, however, that the potential for change exists in the dynamic interrelation between the official and unofficial scripts; it is in this interaction that a sustainable challenge to the social and political functions of the teaching relationship and the transcendent script can be created. This challenge, though not a revolt, is located in the classroom. In the following sections, we describe the sociopolitical functions of the transcendent script and illustrate how educators can better recognize the possibilities for transforming classroom life. We describe the processes observed in the creation of student counterscript, a particular form of underlife, and the transitional third space, where the possibility is created for both teachers and students to contest the transcendent script of the larger society.

We identified the third space by observing the competing discourses, the epistemologies, the script, and the counterscript of the various social worlds in the classroom, and the resulting tension and conflict between groups in this diverse classroom community. We observed how sociocultural tensions emerged as participants struggled for intersubjectivity and created the potential for the third space. From this perspective, conflict was redefined as a positive response that bridged the multiple and varied social spaces in the classroom. Figure 1 graphically illustrates the multiple and simultaneous social spaces within which script, counterscript, and the potential for productive social heteroglossia exist. The bi-directional arrows represent the ways in which a transcendent script can be both invoked and re-invoked in the official and unofficial spaces of the classroom and can be both contested (note the shorter arrow) or disrupted (note the longer arrow) in the third space.

This potential for a third space salvages the classroom as a locus for social change. Within the classroom, the teacher is not merely a tool of ideological reproduction. Rather, the teacher and the students are the loci of "internal dialogic meaning." If we are to work towards a productive social heteroglossia in the classroom, it is important to recognize that dialogue is not simply between people and languages, but within people and between the evolving internal dialogizations people use to categorize experience (Bakhtin, 1981).

When a true dialogue between students and teacher occurs, rather than random associations between their scripts, a new transitional, less rigidly scripted space — the third space — is created. Within this space, there is more than a random association between script and counterscript; an actual merging of the teacher and student world views occurs. Here, "what counts as knowledge" (Freebody, Luke, & Gilbert, 1991, p. 454) is negotiated between student and teacher,

FIGURE 1
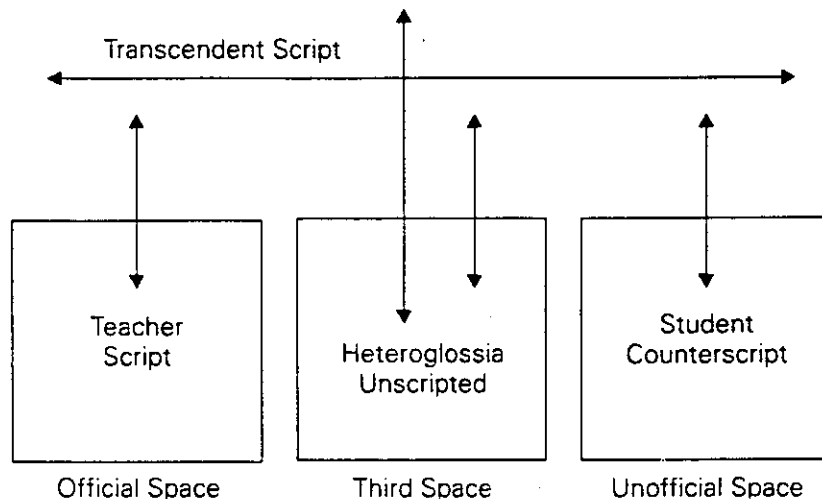
and the possibility of contesting a larger societal, or transcendent, script emerges. By departing from their own scripts, teacher and students let go, slightly, of their defensive hold on their exclusive cultures, and the interaction between their scripts creates a third space for unscripted improvisation, where the traditionally binary nature of the student and teacher script is disrupted.

Thus, the teacher and students can be conceived of as having various internal dialogizations of their own cultural experiences. It is only when these internal dialogizations are available to each other that they become relevant as part of the "social heteroglossia" of the classroom. However, when an "internal dialogization" is presented as monologic, the internal discourse is closed to elaboration or change. A dialogic pedagogy, then, can only be transformative if dialogue means more than bringing students into the teacher script — that is, "giving students voice." Such a pedagogy requires the inclusion and critique of both the teacher and students' stories at both the intrapsychological and interpsychological level (Vygotsky, 1962, 1978). In other words, students would have opportunities to elaborate on and incorporate their own narratives into the larger classroom text.

Describing Social Heteroglossia in the Classroom

The following transcribed segments represent data collected during a "current events" activity of one ninth-grade classroom.[*] The student composition of this classroom was predominantly African American and Latino, with several European American students. Within the discussion of current events, certain types of knowledge emerged that are ratified by the teacher and incorporated into the teacher's script. Other forms of knowledge that are based on students' own

[*] The excerpts included in this study are transcribed from videotape data collected by doctoral student Makeba Jones as part of a study on classroom discourse.

lived experience are rarely part of the teacher's script, but nonetheless flourish within the underlife through the student counterscript. As will be illustrated below, this counterscript exists parallel to the teacher's script and is often sparked by unexpected and random associations made between the two scripts. Thus, while the two scripts function independently, they are influenced tangentially by each other.

The analysis below, therefore, will begin, in the first section, by exploring the teacher's script and the teacher's attempts to maintain his script as the monologic inscription of knowledge. Section two will analyze the students' counterscript, and the relationship between this counterscript and the teacher's script. It will be shown how the student script emerges as an *underlife* in reaction to the imposition of the teacher's script. Section three will then investigate the possibility for a classroom heteroglossia, or a true interaction between the contrasting internal dialogizations, and a departure from the student and teacher scripts.

"Keeping Up with the World": The Teacher Script

"Some Easy Ones": What Counts as Knowledge?

The teacher's own internalized cultural experience, or his appropriation of the transcendent script and its various institutional forms (see Figure 1), is evidenced in the way he has selected knowledge for the classroom. But the teacher not only makes his particular viewpoint available to the classroom, he also *imposes* this view on the classroom through the very structure of his activity, "current events." During this activity, the teacher holds 3x5-inch notecards that contain information taken from that day's *Los Angeles Times*, which he uses to quiz the students. His rules for this game are clear and effectively regiment the students as followers of his script. Right answers earn points, and students are instructed to raise their hands when they know the right answer. This activity is reliant on a teacher-directed classroom, and is introduced below:"

" The following transcription conventions, adapted from Atkinson and Heritage (1984), are used in the examples given:

Colons denote sound stretch ("U::m"); underlining denotes emphatic stress ("Don't shout out"); brackets indicate overlapping speech; for example:

S: [It's clean now
T: [Na::w, it's a good guess

Equal signs indicate closely latched speech, or ideas; for example:

T: Someone=
S: =Michael Jackson

Intervals of silence are timed in tenths of seconds and inserted within parentheses; short, untimed silences are marked by a hyphen when sound is quickly cut off ("We've got a- current events quiz") or with a period within parentheses (.). Rising intonation within an utterance is marked with an arrow ("to ↑start with"); utterance final rising intonation is marked with a question mark, continued intonation with a comma, and falling intonation with a period; degree signs indicate lowered volume (°you shut up°); items written entirely in capitals are of a higher volume ("HAH HAH"); descriptions of the speech are italicized within double parentheses [((*imitating*))No::::]; single parentheses surround items of doubtful transcription; and **boldface** indicates items of analytic focus.

T = Teacher

1a) T: We've got a- current events quiz,
       for those of you
       who are keeping up with
       the world.
       (1.2)
   T: I've got some ( ) I hafta read,
       (1.2)
       And we'll do some other nice things if I have ti:me.

This short segment points to elements of the teacher's internalized cultural understandings that make up his own culture-bound script. Here, the teacher's curriculum is revealed as, in Bourdieu's (1977) terms, a "system of dispositions" that is actually a "structural variant" of this teacher's particular class habitus.[10] Thus both the structure of his lesson and the cultural practices upon which his lesson is based expose the current event activity as a particular instantiation of his own class habitus. In structuring this particular activity within a teacher-centered format, this teacher is building on age-old patterns of instruction and power relations in classrooms. This teacher's practice is, in fact, an instantiation of the ways in which this particular teacher had been socialized to understand the roles of student and teacher through his own experience as a student, through his experience in pre-service teacher education. and through his own classroom teaching experiences. Thus, despite his instructional goals and intentions, the context for learning becomes teacher-centered, as it is the only script with which he is familiar. This monologic instruction is both reinforced and sustained by the normative practices of the school and his local community. Specifically, the format of the lesson follows what has been termed the "default" script (Cazden, 1988), "recitation lesson" (Mehan, 1979), and "recitation script" (Gutierrez, 1993; Gutierrez & Larson, 1994) of the teacher-centered classroom. What counts as curriculum is reflective of the routines of the middle class for whom "keeping up with the world" requires the daily reading of "the word" (Freire & Macedo, 1987).

The teacher's construction of a script based on his cultural habitus becomes problematic when it is the only script used to construct the activity. The teacher in this classroom presents his internalized cultural discourse neither as his own individual view, nor as a class-specific rendering of knowledge. Instead, he suggests that this is a lesson that will be testing students' knowledge about "the world." While the teacher presents the quiz as if it pertains to news about some universally shared "world," the world he refers to is actually quite specific. It is that world of news that would be available to most middle-class adults who read the paper with their morning coffee. As shown below, the kind of information attained in this "default" manner is presented as common knowledge, or something everyone should know with little effort:

[10] Throughout the manuscript, "class" will be used to refer to class in a societal sense; "classroom" will be used to refer to the actual class at school.

1b) T: U::m. ↑Start with some
         pretty __easy__ ones he:re,
         (1.8)
     T: This week, for the last few days in fact.
         In fact it's on the front page of
         today's Los Angeles Times,
         there've been a lot of, uh,
         people pretty ex__cit__ed in
         __Pet__aluma California.
         What are they excited about
         in __Pet__alu:ma California.

In the excerpt above, the very definition of "easy ones," or "default knowl-edge," may be paraphrased as "those facts that have appeared on the front page of the *Los Angeles Times*." In fact, the teacher later reveals that the item in question is about a whale who swam up a river from the San Francisco Bay to Petaluma and refused to turn around and go back. Clearly, it is not the important content of this news story that makes it worthy of the current events quiz. Rather, it is the particular cultural context within which it occurs that makes it a relevant question. Specifically, this teacher expects his students to engage in his cultural practices: for example, reading the *Los Angeles Times* every morning. The selection of the whale story is arbitrary and designed to determine if the students read the paper. However, since this classroom is not full of middle-class adults, this is not a cultural context or "world" that most of the students in this classroom share with the teacher. Thus, and as will be elaborated below, this presentation of cultural knowledge as if it were universal, or "world" knowledge, constructs the students as ignorant. By presenting the teacher's internalized cultural norms as monologic, his own internal dialogization remains unexposed and the potential for social heteroglossia is extinguished.

"Don't Shout Out": Silencing Those without Cultural Knowledge

While the current events quiz calls for a particular knowledge that passes for "common knowledge" in the teacher's script, it also calls for a particular format of arriving at the answer, as shown below:

1c) T: Now remember, __**Don't shout out,**__
         (0.6)
         You:r re__spon__ses-
         (0.6)
         ((*misc. student talk*))
         don't shout out your answers
         because you'll just be giving it away
         to somebody who **probably**
         didn't kno:w to ↑__start__ with.

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In 1c), the teacher concludes his directions with an indictment of a potentially large number of students in his classroom, that is, all those students who will ostensibly steal answers from those who are not following the correct procedure. According to the teacher, students who don't follow the given procedure will be giving answers to those students who "probably didn't know to start with." The teacher does not recognize, however, that his curriculum is constructed from a partial perspective. As discussed by Fairclough (1992, p. 159), such objective modalities ("they probably don't know") hide the speaker as author of the idea and often "allow partial perspectives to be universalized." In this particular example, the teacher frames his statement about student knowledge in the objective modality as opposed to the more subjective, "I doubt that they know," concealing his own "affinity with the proposition" and thus imbuing his hypothetical statement with the universal. Thus, the universal proposition understood in the teacher's introduction to this activity may be summed up as follows: "There are many students in this classroom who don't know about the 'world'." The teacher's "Don't shout out" adds the implied directive: "Be sure that you don't give them the answers." Again, the teacher has portrayed his own cultural assumptions as monologic and rendered his own internal cultural discourse irrelevant, unavailable to the social heteroglossia.

Nevertheless, the teacher does not completely silence those students who "don't know." Those who raise their hands and who provide answers within the teacher's script are recognized by the teacher. However, as suggested above, few of these students share the same cultural history, or internal discourse, as this teacher. As a consequence, the students are frequently hard-pressed to come up with the correct answer. Nevertheless, if they respond within the teacher's script — if they don't shout out and raise their hands — they are acknowledged by the teacher and participate in the teacher's script. But since the majority of student contributions within this particular activity are wrong answers (they do not correspond with the information given on the front page of the *Los Angeles Times* that day), their contributions within this script often are met with unfavorable responses, as shown below:[11]

S = Student   Tan = Tania
T = Teacher   Pet = Peter

((*students have begun guessing about the Petaluma event*))

1d) S: Isn't that guy going to jail or something?
   T: No::::::::?
   S: Check out ( )
   T: Yes?

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[11] Specific student names are used only when that student is identified by name by the teacher. In addition, due to the fast-paced nature of classroom interaction, not all speakers are identifiable.

S: Is there a man getting executed or something?
T: **No:::::::::[::::::**
S: [(((*imitating*))No:::::,
T: But that's a good guess, I'll give you another hint.
      There's a <u>river</u> that runs through Petaluma.
      That river drains out into the San Francisco <u>Ba:y</u>.
      (0.2)
      U:h, does anybody figure out, what's going on in Petaluma.
      ((*misc. student side-responses*))
T: <u>Tania</u>.
Tan: They're cleaning it?
      [it's clean now
T: **[Na::w, it's a good guess.**
      (0.8)
T: <u>Peter</u>.
Pet: Is there a new Dam, or something?
T: **No:::::::::::, it's-**

In the above excerpt, while student responses do show an awareness of current news stories insofar as their responses refer to a much publicized kidnap and murder in Petaluma (Isn't that guy going to jail . . . ?), the students are not getting close to *the* correct answer, as determined by the teacher. Nevertheless, the teacher encourages their continued participation as long as they are following the teacher's script. Each "No" response ends on a rising intonation, encouraging the students to raise their hands and offer yet another wrong answer. In the following segment, the students' sense of their own constructed ignorance increases ("We don't know, no one knows"), as does the impression that the teacher holds the important knowledge in this classroom. By continuing to field their wrong answers, the teacher constructs the students according to his previously implied assumptions; that is, most students "probably don't know" what is going on in the "world." In fact, the continuation of the wrong-answer sequence finally forces the students to plead ignorant, as shown below:

    Kat = Kathy   Sar = Sara

1e) S: **We don't know, no one knows.**
      Tan: **We don't <u>know</u>, nobody <u>knows</u>.**
      T: Kathy?
      Kat: Is the river polluted
      T: Probably, but that's not **the** answer,
          u:hhhh
      S: Huh HAH HAH
          [heh heh heh heh
      T: [Uh, Sara:?
      Sar: (They're gonna build houses on it)
      T: **No::. I guess nobody kno:ws.**

At the end of this segment, the teacher is able to explicitly proclaim student ignorance as if it is a discovery ("I guess nobody knows"), and he continues to explain the whale story to the students. But again, what the teacher communicates to the students is not the importance of this news story, but the idea that reading the *Los Angeles Times* is an important cultural practice:

1f)　T:　No:::::, there's a <u>wha:le</u>, in the <u>ri</u>ver.
　　　Tan: I knew that.
　　　S:　I knew that.
　　　T:　[Haven't you guys <u>read</u> about that?

That students claim this knowledge ("I knew that") is now a moot point. In 1f), the teacher is not worried that the students don't know about stranded whales or other particular news events. Rather, he is concerned that they are not taking part in the same cultural practices that he is — that is, they haven't *read* about the whale, even though it was on the front page of the city newspaper. Still, while this information is clearly tied to a cultural practice, by staying within his own script the teacher conveys the sense that this is a practice that is universally accepted as the means to what is universally accepted as knowledge.

The Student Script

Re-Keying

In the face of this monologic teacher script, within which students are increasingly scripted as ignorant, or at least simply "wrong," students are, in actuality, not completely silenced, nor are they restricted to the "don't shout out" format prescribed by the teacher. As it becomes obvious that there is not a valued role for students within the teacher script, a competing script emerges where a student voice, or new "key," is established. "Key signals" are clues at the micro-level of language use, which indicate the mode of current talk (Goffman, 1974) and include the use of "a change in volume, voice quality, intonation contour, dialect, and language being used" (Duranti, 1985, p. 116,). While these students are constructed as incompetent regarding the news stories in the quiz, their communicative competence, or their ability to use and interpret key signals, is never thwarted, as evidenced by their ability to change keys rapidly. In order to visually represent this student script and its relationship to the teacher's script, 2a) is transcribed with the student script set off in a separate column to the right:

2a)　　　TEACHER SCRIPT　　　　　　　　　STUDENT SCRIPT

　　　S:　Is there a man getting
　　　　　executed or something?
　　　T:　No::::::::[:::::
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　S:　[(((*imitating*))No:::::,

　　　T:　But that's a good guess,

I'll give you another hint.
There's a <u>river</u>
that runs through Petaluma.
That river drains out into
the San Francisco <u>Ba:y</u>.
(0.0)
U:h, does anybody figure out,
what's going on in Petaluma.

S: They- <u>peed</u> in the river.

As this layout suggests, not all student contributions are part of the student script. The first student contribution ("Is there a man getting executed . . .") is fully within the teacher script, as it continues the line of questioning in the teacher's key. Only when students appropriate and re-key the teacher script do they create a separate counterscript in which their multiple voices are raised.

The first boldfaced student response begins to indicate their frustration with wrong answers, or, perhaps worse, they have begun to display their impatience with a game they deem pointless; rather than continuing in the same key as the teacher script, this student has re-keyed the activity (as signaled at first, by his change in intonation) as a chance for joke-making, or Goffman's key of "playfulness" or mocking intonation.[12] The student's mocking intonation (No::::) transforms the teacher's utterances into an object for jokes; this new key is then taken up in the next student utterance, which doesn't show any attempt to guess the correct answer for the current events quiz but successfully continues the joking key.

While these student responses flow directly from the teacher's script, there is no evidence from the teacher of a key change in his own script. Furthermore, there are still other students who continue to make contributions within the teacher's key. Student contributions in the new key don't immediately change the tenor of the teacher script, but they do bring to the surface a separate student script. The two joking responses in 2a) above, begin to indicate the students' capacity within this classroom to display their own forms of knowledge and communicative competence. Nevertheless, the teacher's script is hardly interrupted by these student re-keyings; his script (or "frame," in Goffman's terms) has strict "limits" within which this particular form of mimicry is disallowed. Thus the student script develops independently of the teacher's script. While the students' script is sparked by chance associations and a re-keying of the teacher's script, there is little disruption in the teacher's monologic construction of what counts as knowledge in this classroom.

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[12] Goffman (1974) has described some "basic keys functioning in our society" as make-believe, contests, technical recodings, and regroundings. Included in the "make-believe" key is the category of "playfulness," or "unserious mimicry during interaction between one individual and others or surrogates of others" (p. 48).

Re-Keying as Underlife

Just as the teacher's scripts show evidence of his internal cultural discourse, the individual scripts evidenced within the student script are actually structural variants of particular cultural practices, or evidence of a differing student "habitus." Unlike most of the teacher script, however, which rarely builds on or appropriates parts of the student script, the students use teacher contributions to build the *counterscript* in the *underlife.* The connections to the teacher script often take the form of chance associations, or "misreadings," of the teacher's script. Literal misreadings of written text often hinge on cultural differences, and come about as the result of chance associations made by a reader (see also Freebody et al., 1991). Similarly, in this classroom, students' "misreadings" of the teacher script relate simultaneously to the teacher's words and to their own cultural perspective, which is quite different from that of the teacher. Thus, for example, when the teacher begins asking students about *Brown v. Board of Education,* one student quickly re-keys the line of questioning by making the association with a "Brown" with which he is more familiar:

2b)	TEACHER SCRIPT	STUDENT SCRIPT
T:	[What <u>happened</u> back in 1954 was a very important Supreme Court ruling? that you will hear about for the rest of your li:fe, it's called (0.6) **Brown** versus Topeka Kansas Board of Education.	
		S: .HHH (.) I <u>know</u> this group.
		S: .HHH (Richard)
		S: heh heh
T:	So what's this- ↑what's- ↑what's **Bro:wn** versus the Board of [Education of Topeka Kansas all about?	
		S: [My <u>stomach</u> hurts.
S:	(Appearance?)	
S:	(What is it (.) **Brown?** (0.2) **Brown?**	
		S: James **Brown.** ((*as if it is obvious*))
T:	You may not <u>know</u> it. But ev- there isn't a person in here who <u>shouldn't</u> know it. (0.6)	

While the above excerpt shows a particular theme in the underlife beginning to develop, the student script itself is not entirely unified. That is, not all contributions in this excerpt are in the same "key." One student is concerned about her stomach, an issue unrelated to any visible classroom activity, and this statement goes generally unacknowledged. Two different students, however, have begun a more successful re-keying of the teacher's script, and seem to have picked up on the idea of "Brown" referring to James Brown the musician. "I know this group" is delivered after a huge, sarcastic in-breath, re-keying the teacher's quiz as a music trivia game show, creating a new foundation for building a student script as a form of underlife. The next utterance contributes to this particular re-keying. The utterance "James Brown" thus builds not only on the music game show format, but also appropriates the teacher's question about "Brown," re-keying it for the student script.

As the underlife begins to emerge in 2c), it does not lead to the end of the teacher script, however. There are still students who participate in the teacher script and continue to try to guess in terms of the teacher's intended meaning for "Brown." Furthermore, the teacher's final statement about the knowledge these students should know reinforces the status of the more random student contributions as mere underlife. They are not going to interfere with what, for the teacher, are the more important contributions to learning in the classroom. Again the teacher asserts, now in the face of a developing counterscript, that what the students "should" know, or what counts as knowledge in this classroom is, 1) what is given in the daily news and 2) what the students "may not know."

The continuing teacher script, while exclusive in its assumptions about knowledge, is precisely what fosters a continuing underlife. The teacher in this classroom never tries overtly to silence the student script. On the contrary, as the teacher continues to field answers to this particular quiz question (as he did in the Petaluma exchange), he provides continued opportunity for appropriation and re-keying by students. As students continue to provide wrong answers in the teacher script, they gradually lose enthusiasm for this form of classroom participation and instead provide answers that are "correct" and "communicatively competent," but only within the counterscript. As soon as James Brown becomes an overused or less funny answer within this script, another student is quick to revive the joke with a new musical name, fostering the continuation of the student counterscript:

2c)	TEACHER SCRIPT	STUDENT SCRIPT
	T: [What did theee-	
	T: Supreme Court decision in Brown versus the Board of Education, have to do with. (0.4)	
		S: [James Brown?
		S: [(Richard) Brown?

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S: Shut-up=
S: (°you shut up°)
S: =Ja::mes Bro:wn.
      ((*incredulously*))

T: Ye::::s¿

S: [Al ↑Green.

As this excerpt indicates, the student underlife has become more consistent in its key and has established a base for elaboration. Students are no longer raising their hands to answer because they are not participating in the teacher's "contest" any more. These student utterances are all part of a new script that both mocks and resists participation in the teacher's script. What sustains this space for student voice, however, is the existence of the separate teacher script.

Finally, as in the whale story, the teacher decides he has heard enough wrong answers and tells the students the information. As soon as the question and answer session is finally closed and the teacher supplies the correct information, the student counterscript. and all other student contributions for that matter, are silenced:

2d)   TEACHER SCRIPT   STUDENT SCRIPT

         ((*the teacher has been explaining*
         the doctrine that was followed with
         regard to public education in the
         South in the 1950's))
T: [=the doctrine that was followed,
         was generally one which is referred
         to a::s,
         Separate. (.)
         but ↑equal.
         Which means (.)
         It's en↑tirely all right
         if you set up schools (.) for (.)
         Black students only and
         other schools for White students only.
         as lo:ng as the two facilities are ↑equal.
         The court had ruled up to that point
         that ↑that's a perfectly
         okay way of doing things.
         But with Brown versus
         the Board of Education
         the Supreme Court found that
         "separate but equal"
         (.)
         is ↑not equal.
         (1.2)

The student script is noticeably empty during this explanation of the Brown ruling. There is neither an opportunity for more student guessing during this explanation, nor is there space to spin off a student counterscript. Even after the teacher concludes this speech, there is a significant pause (1.2 seconds) that is not filled by student responses within either script. The underlife has not died, however. As the teacher begins his next line of questioning, the student script immediately picks up where it left off. In fact, the teacher script seems to provide an even richer opportunity for appropriation by the counterscript when the teacher asks about the Supreme Court justice who was an attorney in the Brown case:

2e)	TEACHER SCRIPT	STUDENT SCRIPT
T:	Now.	
	(0.6)	
T:	One of the attorneys. (.),	
	who argued the Brown ca:se?	
	(0.5)	
T:	Later: (.) was a justice	
	o::n the Supre:me Court.	
	Who was that man.	
	(1.0)	
		S: (Al Green)=
		S: =Thomas [Jefferson.
		S: [Good question!
		S: [(Alice J. Walker)
T:	[Sara.	
Sar:	[Thoroughgood Marshall.	
T:	[Sara	
T:	O:::h, honey, there's our second	
	[(((scattered applause))	

As the above excerpt suggests, the students and the teacher in this classroom have a largely symbiotic relationship. The students have developed agility within their own script, returning to the Al Green theme and adding names random enough to sustain their opposition to the teacher's right-answer search.[13] The teacher, however, has also maintained control of his script, finally fielding a correct answer from Sara. But if true communicative competence is the ability to shift rapidly and accommodate different keys, then neither the teacher script nor the student script shows mastery of this skill. The very symbiosis between the two scripts usually enables peaceful coexistence, but rarely an actual exchange of worldviews between students and teacher. It is only when the script and counterscript let loose of their rigid keying that each classroom member's "internal dialogization" becomes relevant as part of the "social heteroglossia."

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[13] See Gutierrez and Larson (1994) for a full discussion of the "right answer search" dynamic.

Approaching that social heteroglossia will be the subject of the third section below.

"What Happens If You're Half Black and Half White?": The Non-Scripted Locus of Societal Critique

The Unscripted Space

In this classroom, while it is usually the case that teacher and student counter-scripts remain distinct, the students and teacher occasionally meet in the same "key" and share information that is not characteristic of either the teacher or student script. It is in this unscripted third space that student and teacher cultural interests, or internal dialogizations, become available to each other, where actual cross-cultural communication is possible, and where public artifacts such as the newspaper text, and even historical events, are available for critique and contestation.

In the example below, because a student has momentarily drawn the teacher away from the current events contest key in order to ask a question of her own, the text is placed in the third space, apart from both the teacher and the student script:

3a)   **Third Space**

S: What if they're half Black and half White.
S: [( )
T: [What if who's (.) what.
S: What if the kid's half White and half Black
      where do they g- what *school* do they go to?
S: (They don't have) half Black
T: In the South you weren't half anything.
S: see?
T: In the South if you were even a teeny (.)' weeny
Ss: [Hah hah hah hah hah
T: [(.) eentsy bit Black,
S: [↑Heh heh.
T: [You were Black.

In this excerpt. teacher and student contributions are noticeably in a key that differs from both the teacher's and the students' scripts. The student who asks the questions has noticeably departed from the key outside the teacher script. She is not tossing out yet another name of a musician or pop icon, but has asked a question of more personal and social import. In turn, the teacher has departed from his own scripted quiz and has given an important and potentially contro-versial answer to the student question. In fact, there was no evidence of verbal underlife in this brief interactional sequence; instead, students attended to the speaker. As it turns out, this answer is not only controversial, but also highly relevant to at least one student in the class. who is herself "half Black and half

White." The personal and social relevance of this line of questioning may in fact be what draws the students and teacher into the same key, or into this unscripted third space.

"Tania Confused": Teacher and Student Scripts as "Safe" Places

Unfortunately, in this classroom, the personal relevance of the new line of questioning in the third space also brings the possibility for change, which is inherent in the third space, quickly to a close:

3b) TEACHER SCRIPT	Third Space	STUDENT SCRIPT
	T: [You were black.	
	S: Huh huh	
		S: <u>Tania confused.</u>
		Ss: Heh heh heh heh heh heh heh heh
T: Alright. Speaking of the <u>Supreme Court,</u> ↑<u>Ju::st</u> this week the President (0.2) u:h, ↑nominated (0.2) someone=		
		S: =Michael Jackson=

Though certainly both students and teacher are highly competent within their own separate scripts, this particular classroom community does not have enough interactional experience in the third space to mediate participation and, thus, learning in this new key. The students are quick to relegate the personal yet relevant to a joke about "Tania," who is half Black and half White. Almost simultaneously, the teacher re-invokes his own script and continues the quiz with the next question about the Supreme Court. Thus, the opportunity for contesting class standards, such as the history of racism in this country or attitudes about miscegenation, goes unheeded.

Both teacher and students quickly retreat from this uncomfortable territory, seeking refuge in their more comfortable, predictable scripts. The students are quick to make a joke out of their shared knowledge about the relevance of this question to Tania; in the next moment and with great facility, they return to the name-listing student script, swiftly adding "Michael Jackson." Equally responsible for this retreat from the third space, the teacher is quick to resume his questioning with an abrupt "speaking of the Supreme Court." Actually, the class was not speaking of the Supreme Court; one student was speaking about issues highly relevant to the students and worthy of discussion as "current events" as well. The possibility of merging student interest with instructional goals has been abandoned.

Maintaining the Third Space: Separate Scripts Are Not Equal

Also abandoned is the opportunity for both students and the teacher to work together outside of their own scripts and achieve a productive social heteroglossia in the classroom, opening their own internal discourse to the diversity and difference that breathe life into a classroom and a society. As long as the teacher does not permit an underlife to challenge the monologism of his own script, there is little room for true dialogue in this classroom. As long as the students remain satisfied or contained within a separate script, there is no space for manipulation of the teacher's imposed class habitus. While both students and teacher are highly confident within their own scripts, these scripts are separate, but not equal. It is this imbalance that makes the continued parallel scripts unproductive and the classroom resistant to change.

However, it is within a "space of regulated confrontation" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 384), or *third space,* that an opening for contesting the transcendent script develops. We have observed that a prerequisite for a dialogic and potentially disruptive underlife is what has been identified as a responsive/collaborative script (Gutierrez, 1993). A responsive-collaborative script is dialogic not because it is dyadic, but because it is continually structured by tension, by the conflict necessary between the conversants, and between self and other as one voice "refracts" another. It is precisely this tension — this relationship between script and counterscript or this juxtaposition of relative perspectives involving struggle among competing voices — that creates and maintains the third space.

The Third Space: A Disruptive Underlife

In this article, we have presented the notion of the third space as a framework for redefining what counts as effective classroom practice. Effective practice, in this sense, exists in contexts in which various cultures, discourses, and knowledges are made available to all classroom participants, and thus become resources for mediating learning. It is within this third space that students and teachers can bridge the various social spaces within classrooms. This bridge creates the potential to rewrite and contest extant texts and discursive practices. It becomes possible for both teacher and student to redefine what counts as knowledge. We have illustrated in this article that as long as the student script remains separate from the teacher script, the students create a contained form of underlife. In contrast, in the third space, a different and disruptive form of underlife develops. A disruptive form of underlife, by definition, has as its goal the radical restructuring of classroom practices and teacher and student scripts. Thus, although the reasons for the construction of underlife are varied, as are the stories of classroom life, it is in these various constructions that the politics of identity can be addressed.

If we conceive of the struggle for intersubjectivity in terms of social heteroglossia, then the potential for intersubjectivity exists when the teacher and student depart from their rigidly scripted and exclusive social spaces. The disruptive nature of the third space allows for the commingling of various social and cul-

tural perspectives, the existence of multiple scripts, and the potential to contest the transcendent script. It is within this space that instructional conversation (Green & Wallat, 1981) develops a sociocultural conscience.

In our more recent studies of communities of effective practice for linguistically and culturally diverse student populations, we have identified classroom communities whose participants construct classroom life within this third space.[14] These are more than reform-oriented classrooms that boast new methods and materials. Rather, these are classrooms in which there has been a dramatic shift in the identity, roles, and scripts offered in the classroom. Unlike traditional classrooms in which identities and rules of participation are scripted and students are marginalized, in communities of effective practice, instruction is re-keyed so that participation is more symmetrical and heteroglossic. The construction of such classrooms requires more than simply "adding-on" the student script; it requires jointly constructing a new sociocultural terrain in the classroom where both student and teacher not only actively resist the monologic transcendent script, but, more importantly, also create a meaningful context for learning. For example, in one Spanish-language kindergarten classroom populated with immigrant Mexican and Central American students, we observed the co-construction of a community of learners in which both the teacher's and students' local knowledge is used to transform what counts as learning. In this particular classroom, the teacher, an Anglo fluent in Spanish, extends his own understandings of his students' lives by participating regularly in the social, political, and cultural activities of this economically poor and largely immigrant neighborhood. In this way, the local knowledge of the community is integrated into the classroom curriculum, in contrast to the way that multicultural content is often superficially inserted into the curriculum. Rather, the teacher and students use their local knowledge as the vehicle for the development of multiple kinds of literacy. Thus, a routine classroom activity such as the selection of a special person of the day (La persona especial) becomes an occasion not only to honor each day a different member of the community, but also becomes an occasion to transform jointly the official space of the classroom. Through interaction in the third space, students have access to joint participation (Rogoff, 1990) and strategic assistance (Levine, 1993). What is learned through the moment-to-moment interactions in these classrooms, then, is a repertoire of strategies as well as content and sociocultural and linguistic knowledge.

By creating this space for dramatic shifts in what counts as knowledge and knowledge representation, communities of effective practice become disruptive forms of underlife that challenge teaching practices that currently limit the roles, social spaces, and forms of knowledge available to students and teachers. Reconceptualizing reform as a disruptive form of underlife also serves to redefine what counts as curriculum. Curriculum, as social heteroglossia, is a constructed text, a mosaic of the multiple texts of the participants; it is the social

practice of the classroom. Redefining curriculum as social practice forces the abandonment of monologic instruction and provides the social and cognitive rationale for including and constructing multiple forms of knowing. Through joint participation in a disruptive form of underlife, such as that found in the third space, both teachers and students are afforded the opportunity to relinquish traditional notions of power and the need for rigid and structured power relations as requisites for learning. These new power arrangements begin to rupture the transcendent script invoked at the local school site. In this way, the exclusiveness of existing contexts for learning for both teachers and students is exposed.

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