Locating Latanya:
The Situated Production of Identity Artifacts in Classroom Interaction

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Classroom interaction has been productively studied as a site for the social construction of identity. While social constructivist interpretations have advanced a relational, multiple, and fluid conception of identity, one difficult problem involves understanding how identities are stabilized during the course of interaction. In this article I argue that interactants define and stabilize identity by producing identity artifacts *with multimodal means, by constructing configurations of those artifacts, and by using those artifacts to project social space. These processes are argued to be central for interpreting how particular identity meanings are forged and stabilized out of all the available meanings of identity-in-interaction. The argument is developed through the close analysis of an episode of interaction from a high school English classroom in which one student, Latanya, was constructed by the other participants as being "ghetto." I interpret how constructing and relating multiple identity artifacts—including a banner displayed in the classroom, descriptions of the Black community, embodied spaces, and represented home geographies—serve to define and stabilize identity.*

Researchers from a number of different interpretive traditions, including cultural-historical studies (Diamondstone, 1997; Gutierrez, Rymes, & Larson, 1995; Minick, 1993), feminist studies (Kramarae & Treichler, 1990; Spender & Sarah, 1980), critical discourse analysis (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993; Lee, 1996; Lewis, 2001), and analyses of the constitution of classroom culture (Kamberelis, 2001; Rex & McEachen, 1999) have turned to the study of classroom interaction as a significant site of identity construction. Interactions in classrooms are a rich site for tracing how plural *sites of the self* (Holland, Lachicotte Jr., Skinner, & Cain, 1998) are constructed. This work, representing diverse analytic goals and theoretic orientations, has generally involved a critique of essentialist notions of cultural identity or of a unified, Cartesian notion of a single true self. Turning away from a perspective of identity-as-thing, this scholarship has advanced dialogic and postmodern no-

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tions of identity construction as a process of *identification* (Hall, 1996). The study of identification, or identity-in-practice, posits a turn toward relational notions of identity in which the focus of analysis is not the individual her or himself but the activity or practice through which the individual is being produced. In the case of schooling, therefore, researchers are compelled to consider not only individual case studies and personal accounts of identity formation but also group practices of identification or entire systems of activity (Cole, 1996; Engeström, 1987; Wertsch, 1998) across which identity construction may be traced.

Study Focus and Questions

While social constructivist interpretations have advanced relational, multiple, and fluid conceptions of identity, one difficult problem involves understanding how identities are stabilized in practice. In this study I consider the following questions: During the classroom interactions investigated, what processes were involved in stabilizing identity? Assuming that many possible identities may be socially constructed for (and by) an individual participant, through what processes were particular identities achieved and fixed over others? Moreover, in carrying out these processes, what types of mediating resources did participants draw upon and create? In this article I argue that classroom participants stabilized identity by producing *identity artifacts* from multimodal means, by articulating constructing configurations of these artifacts, and by using these artifacts to project and

constitute particular space-times. I also argue that these processes are central to interpreting how certain focal identity meanings are forged and stabilized among the numerous available meanings circulating in an interaction.

As a simple example of the use of identity artifacts, imagine an individual's attempting to construct the professional identity of a film character by drawing upon clothing ("she wears a suit"), objects ("she always carries a briefcase"), and social situations ("she talks to judges and juries"). Fixing the professional identity of this character as "lawyer" will rely upon how the suit, briefcase, and courtroom location artifacts are constructed and aligned by the individual. If the individual observer discusses the film with a friend, the activity of stabilizing the lawyer identity will be more or less socially contested and negotiated and in this process will come into contact with other forms of identification (e.g., class or gender). For this analysis the identity artifact is defined functionally as any instrument (sign, material object, embodied practice, etc.) that interactants make use of to shape the identity of an individual or group.

Such a definition of identity artifact is purposefully very broad. My concern is less the definition of an identity artifact as a precise thing as tracing how artifacts-in-use function to make identity itself thing-like. Stated otherwise, How do processes of artifactualization or reification give form to experience by congealing this experience into identity-shaping "thingness" (Wenger, 1998, p. 58)? In his discussion

of reification and its relation to practice, Wenger considers how reification condenses and organizes meaning. In the following I address the condensation and organization of identity meaning by analyzing the multimodality and configuration of artifacts.

I deploy a multimodal interpretation of interaction (e.g., including linguistic signs, material spaces, gesture, and material objects) not simply to offer a more complete picture of interaction but also to follow the particular configurations of semiotic and material resources that interactants draw upon in order to condense and stabilize meanings. The articulations of identity artifacts cannot be accessed by following any single modality; diverse artifacts are recruited and arrayed in co-signifying relations such that the range of possible interpretations of an identity narrows and congeals. In discourse analytic terms, an articulation implies the enunciation of signifying elements and also the meaning that is produced through their provisional relations. Thus, meaning is relational rather than an inherent property of any element (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985). The new artifactual wholes that are produced through the articulation of identity artifacts—recruited and assembled packages of mediating resources—may be thought of as *identity kits* (Gee, 1990) that are the products of interaction.

In addition to condensing and organizing meaning, Wenger (1998; cf. Holland et al., 1998) discusses how artifacts-in-practice (processes of reification) project meanings. Artifacts "are only the tip of an iceberg, which indicates larger contexts of significance realized in human practices. . . . They are the reflections of these practices, tokens of vast expanses of human meanings" (Wenger, p. 61). One means of understanding these projection processes advanced in the following is to analyze the relationship of identity artifacts to space-time construction. Not only are identity artifacts projected against the background of particular space-times, artifacts are also used for the *project* of creating space-time relations and articulating diverse space-times.

The central argument of this article is developed through the close analysis of an episode of classroom interaction from a high school English classroom in which one student, Latanya (a pseudonym, as are all names), was interpreted by the other participants as being "ghetto." I begin with the premise that neither being "ghetto" nor Latanya's identity carries a fixed meaning in the world. Rather, the definition of "ghetto" and its direct correspondence to Latanya is a social achievement. I interpret how the construction of and the relationships among multiple identity artifacts —including a banner displayed in the classroom, descriptions of the Black community, embodied spaces, and represented home geographies—are used to define and stabilize Latanya's identity as ghetto. Prior to the focal argument and analysis, in the following section I discuss theories that inform my analysis, including practice theory, cultural historical activity theory (CHAT), and theories of social space.

Theoretical Overview

The analysis of identity artifacts is motivated by my desire to develop an analytic construct that contributes to a practice theory of identity. Identity-shaping discourses and practices must be enacted and recognized (Gee, 2000); they are not simply available in the circulation of social meanings. Because the meanings of social worlds are indeterminate, perspectival, and intensely ideological (Gee, 2000; Voloshinov, 1929/1973), enactive and recognition work is always an ongoing struggle. A practice theory of identity aims to account for the ways in which identity is stabilized *and* changed during the course of interaction, keeping one eye on social structuring while not losing sight that social processes may be unpredictably transformed through social and individual agency. Holland et al. (1998) describe such a practice theory of identity as striking a middle position between the culturalist position (where identity is preconstituted in a given moral/social world) and the radical constructivist position (where all identity is produced on-the-ground of interaction). An analysis of identity artifacts-in-practice mediates between these positions of radical fixity and flow. In the following I briefly sketch some of the theories that I draw upon, considering first the relationship of artifact mediation to identity construction; second, the ways in which artifacts are configured together in semiotic and power relations; and third, the relations of artifacts to social space.

Artifacts, Identity, and Activity

Informed by CHAT perspectives (Engeström, 1999; Leont'ev, 1981; Vygotsky, 1978), an artifact may be broadly defined as any instrument that mediates between subjects in interaction and the object of their activity. This broad definition indexes how human activity is always mediated by artifacts of various sorts (e.g., material tools and signs), moves toward one or more objects (continually negotiated social purposed), and has particular outcomes. Following this line of thought, the identity artifact may then be defined as any instrument (material tool, embodied space, text, discourse, etc.) that mediates identity-shaping activity. Artifacts are material/symbolic configurations that are used as "living tools of the self" (Holland et al., 1998, p. 28). A focus upon artifacts in identity production provides a means of examining how human behavior is controlled neither from the inside of individuals (e.g., through biological urges) nor from abstracted social forces on the outside. Rather, humans control themselves from the outside with artifacts (Engeström, 1999; Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch, 1998). To date, work in CHAT has been primarily concerned with the historical development and use of established or *given* cultural artifacts, how the transformation of such artifacts changes activity and activity systems, and how artifacts are able to import meaning from one time period into another (e.g., Lemke, 2000). Much less attention has been given to the on-line

creation of new artifacts during the course of activity (Engeström, 1999). This latter concern with the novel, on-the-ground production of artifacts is the primary emphasis of the present analysis.

A broad definition of artifact as any mediational means, informed by CHAT, would not draw sharp distinctions between semiotic and material artifacts in activity for various reasons. It is difficult not to find at least some material dimension of all mediational means; even sound waves are material (Wertsch, 1998). Secondly, the materiality of artifacts is always deeply embedded in their ideational (cultural and historical) meanings (Cole, 1996). Third, transformations between the semiotic and material realizations of any artifact are in constant flux, as are the realizations of any artifact as *internal* (e.g., mental models, scenarios) or *external* (charts, diagrams, material tools). Rather, while one might productively argue for the affordances of a given artifact to be taken up in certain ways (Gibson, 1979), the function of an artifact cannot be fixed by its inherent qualities (Engeström, 1999). Alternatively, artifacts-in-use may be analyzed according to their functions in activity, such as Engeström's distinctions among *why artifacts*, *what artifacts*, etc. (1990; 1999). In this study I follow this approach of defining artifacts according to function.

While artifacts are not analytically separated on the basis of their material or semiotic qualities in the present analysis, the relations between material artifacts (e.g., arranging embodied spaces according to racial identity) and semiotic artifacts (e.g., invoking the Black community) function to establish meaning and position for identities. In order to fix the more abstract and diffuse meanings of spoken signs, participants use the here-and-now world of the classroom and creatively point to, knock on, and otherwise shape relations of meaning. Semiotically, meaning is achieved not through the artifacts themselves but through their relations to one another. Hence, such configurations are continually coordinated, resisted, and blocked in the processes of self and other-identification.

Artifact Configurations

The configuring of relations between persons and artifacts and the articulation of diverse artifacts is a critically important means of condensing and organizing meaning. Wenger's (1998) definition of identity as a "layering of events of participation and reification" (p. 151) resonates with the present perspective on artifact configuration. Wenger's particular concern is how reification processes exist in an ongoing duality with participation. Brockmeier (2001) also describes identity as a layering of texts and insists upon the multi-modality of these texts: Identification is "an ongoing cultural construction that takes place simultaneously in several discursive orders" (p. 218). Brockmeier illustrates the layers of (national) identity texts through the image of the palimpsest. In his view identity is "a text being written over previous texts, manuscripts, or other writing material, but in a way that the earlier layers of writing can shine

through the more recent layers" (pp. 221-222).

In Brockmeier's (2001) postmodern, intertextual view of identity, texts refer to other texts in a stream of responsive relations such that texts, voices, and identities are continually hybridized (Kamberelis, 2001). The palimpsest described by Brockmeier suggests not only the historical interpretation of identity (as indexed by "layers") but also a socio-spatial interpretation of the multiple, dialogic texts that are brought into co-present relation with one another.

While artifact mediation as described by CHAT-related perspectives has emphasized the social, cultural, and historical use and transformation of artifacts in activity, this work has been less inclined to emphasize relations of power as indexed and constructed through artifacts. Yet tracing the online ways in which persons align or distance themselves and others with artifacts is one critical means of following how identity-constructing discourses are embodied and symbolized in practice (Foucault, 1979; Gee, 1990). Articulating CHAT perspectives, practice theory, and critical social theory, Holland et al. (1998) discuss how artifacts are produced and used as "indices of positioning" (p. 133) as a means of marking power relationships in the social construction of identity. Over time, in situated practice, artifacts participate in the construction of the habitus (Bourdieu, 1977); people act into, reproduce, and change relations of power through the use of artifacts (Holland et al., 1998). In the following

analysis the development of relations between material and semiotic artifacts appears to be especially critical for congealing particular interpretations.

Artifact Projection and Social Space

The projection function of artifacts is discussed by Holland et al. (1998), who consider how *cultural artifacts* function as pivots or openings to what they term *figured worlds*, defined as "socially and culturally constructed realm[s] of interpretation in which particular characters and actors are recognized, significance is assigned to certain acts, and particular outcomes are valued over others" (p. 52). Thus, the figured world is not only a projected story about life but a story with a basic level of organization in which actors, action, and associated meanings are simplified while signifying recognizable social positions. For instance, the authors discuss the figured world of romance in the lives of college women. One cultural artifact that has functioned to project the world of romance and to signal that one was identified with this world was add-a-beads, popular among sorority women during the time of Holland and Skinner's (1987) study. The figured world projected by this world is a typified narrative in which an attractive "guy" and "girl" are drawn to each other, the guy shows his affection by buying things for the girl and taking her places, and she in turn shows her affection by allowing the relationship to become more intimate (Holland et al., 1998, p. 102; Holland & Skinner, 1987). Pivoting or shifting from one figured world to another is produced with artifacts and

their capacity to shift the "perceptual, cognitive, affective, and practical frame of activity" (Holland et al., p. 63).

In the following analysis I draw upon the notion of figured worlds as typified narratives of social activity but am more directly concerned with the ways in which artifacts are used for projecting "larger contexts of significance" as described by Wenger (1998, p. 61) and Holland et al. (1998). More specifically, I focus on the construction of space–time or social space, which concerns the figured world, but more directly, the material-semiotic grounds on which the figured world narrative is played out). Two important relationships of identity artifacts to social space index how space is produced through social relationships and then becomes a product for future relations. First, identity artifacts contribute to the constitution of social space in their projections of meaning. Social space is not simply acted into but is dynamic and relational, produced through social–material relations of practice. Thus, as Lefebvre (1991) argues, the objective of ongoing analysis must be toward the production of space and not toward "things in space" (p. 37). A basic convergence between cultural-historical activity theory (e.g., Cole, 1996; Engeström, Miettinen, & Punamäki, 1999; Wertsch, 1998) and developing theories of social space (e.g., Harvey, 1996; Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1996) is that social space, like sociocultural context, is considered to be historical, produced within activity, and unable to be analytically separated from activity. Spatial productions constrain and enable productions of iden-

tity, including, for example, the construction of racial identity (Haymes, 1995). An analysis of the production of social space is an analysis of the production of social relationships, implying an emphasis upon relationships of power that are articulated across material and symbolic resources. Constructed space-times and the multiple relations among them are critically important sites to be mapped for an understanding of identity and culture, but at the same time they are prone to escape modernist social scientific desires for mapping (Gregory, 1994; Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1996).

Secondly, identity artifacts are *projected against* particular social spaces and interpreted in relation to them. An identity artifact that is out of place in one social space (e.g., a brightly-colored shirt at a funeral) is entirely at home in another social space (at a party). And, like funerals and parties, social spaces do not simply exist in the world but are social constructions against which artifacts are interpreted as more or less marked, more or less appropriate, and more or less powerful. Thus, participants in interaction do not simply mark identity artifacts but also foreground or index the social spaces that give them grounds for this marking. In particular, in this analysis I am concerned with how schooling is constituted as an abstract space and how this abstract space provides for the interpretation of identity artifacts projected up against it.

Researchers of language and literacy practices are yet in the early stages of considering such practices through

theories of social space, third space, and human geography (Dressman, 1997; Gutiérrez, Banquedano-López, & Turner, 1997; Hagood, 2001; Hirst, in press; Leander, 2001, 2002, in press; McCarthey & Moje, 2002; Sheehy, 1999). For the following analysis, to engage processes and resources involved in the production of social space at a micro-level, I consider embodied positions and practices as well as representations of social space. I draw upon Kendon (1990) and related work (e.g., Goffman, 1981; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1996; Suchman, 1996) as a means of tracing how space is structured through bodies as a shared and unshared resource. I also analyze discursive representations of space and time, critically significant as they "arise out of the world of social practices but then become a form of regulation of those practices" (Harvey, 1996, p. 212). Participants in interaction frequently contest space-time representations because they are tied up with power and regulation. Additionally, participants in interaction produce such representations in multiples. Therefore, an analysis of space-time representations as these representations are articulated with embodied spaces allows a consideration of how identities are arrayed, aligned, and separated in practice.

Contexts of the Investigation
School and Program Contexts
Data for this study were drawn from an extended, 10-month ethnographic study examining the relations of school-related discourse to the production of social space (Leander, 1999). Kempton

High, a mid-sized urban high school in a moderately sized midwestern city (approx. 1,100 students and 100,000 residents), was the primary institutional context for the study. The school was the oldest high school in the city and between the two high schools in the city had the most racially (65% White European American, 26% African American, 5% Asian American, 4% Hispanic American) and socioeconomically diverse student population. The participants in this study were 2 teachers and the junior level students within the Kempton Technological Academy (KTA), a school-within-a-school at Kempton High in its 4th year of development during the research period. The KTA was funded in its first 3 years primarily through school district funds but also partially through a special state board grant, through a local business consortium, and through the Junior Partnership Training Academy (JTPA), a state organization assisting low-income students in obtaining summer employment and job training. Most KTA students took all four of their core subjects (English, social studies, math, and science) within the program and took electives in the regular school. During my academic year of fieldwork, however, the juniors took only English and history together, which were often taught as integrated American Studies.

The American Studies teachers were Maureen Tsekos (English), a White European American in her 11th year of teaching, and Sid Bartoli (History), a White European American in his 5th year of teaching. My relationship to Sid and Maureen had developed over the

course of the previous school year, during which I had conducted a 5-month ethnographic study on curriculum integration in the junior level Academy. While I was the primary researcher in the study, Maureen, Sid, and I regularly interacted about the study, the students, and our personal lives. My relationship to the two teachers and 36 students shifted over the course of activities and space-times to include participant observer, classroom assistant, after-school activity helper, and occasionally, substitute teacher.

Classroom Activity Context

The focal interaction of this research was situated as part of a Derogatory Terms Activity. The activity was connected thematically with the reading and study of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, which was being approached as a problematic text; Maureen and Sid used the text to engage students in discussions of race, language, and cultural identity. More broadly, the students at this point were in the midst of a unit on civil rights and racism within American Studies. Maureen had developed the Derogatory Terms Activity at a private school in which she previously taught. Her purpose in the activity was for the students to investigate language/power issues by listing, categorizing, and critically reflecting upon derogatory terms associated with particular groups. In the first period of a double class session, students were directed to meet with a small group and to list all of the derogatory terms they knew that could be used to "put down" a particular group. The students spread out in small groups across the two classrooms. The students were encouraged not to "hold back" but to list any terms that came to mind. The mood in the rooms during this time ranged from nervousness, to giddiness, to shyness and reluctance to engage in the activity on the part of some of the students.

At the end of this class period and the beginning of the next, students were directed to Room 251 (a barn-like room often used for large group activity) and were told to take their group lists and to copy them onto a large (approximately 18 by 3 foot) banner. The banner would serve as a master list for the classroom discussion. One stipulation Maureen made was that each derogatory term should only appear on the banner once. During this copying activity, in which two or three students from each (4-5 student) group participated, there was a good deal of shouting and bantering back and forth that evidenced students' group ownership of certain terms and consequently their group and individual connections to the banner itself. After the banner was completed, several students posted it on the wall of Room 251, as directed by the teachers. After a few minutes during which a number of the students read the banner in a noticeably excited atmosphere, the teachers moved the group into a discussion.

Prior to actually talking about the banner, the two teachers took turns reading aloud the words on the banner. The reading seemed to be a highly important part of the entire activity, emphasizing the laminated (Goffman, 1981) quality of the activity as existing

within and extending well beyond school spaces. Several students remarked in the ensuing discussion the shock of having their teachers *ventriloquate* (Bakhtin, 1981) words such as "trick-ass bitches" and "motha fucka," even though the teachers seemed to deliberately read the words as objects, facing the list and emotionlessly rattling them off quickly.

While social spaces in which students (and teachers) use derogatory language are not entirely bounded from schooling, the activity radically disrupted the ways in which the classroom was made to be distant from social spaces involving derogatory language. In this manner the activity itself destabilized social spaces (and therefore, identities) as it foregrounded social relationships that are present (yet often hidden) in the classroom as a heterogeneous space. Destabilization was accomplished through many aspects of the activity, including how it materially produced the classroom space. The banner materially translated the school wall into a graffiti space. Moreover, the production of this graffiti space was linked, as a sanctioned school activity, to all of the students in the classroom. Secondly, students were encouraged in the activity to use the derogatory language but at the same time to objectify it and speak about it at a meta-level, hybridizing an academic analytic space with social spaces more saturated with the use of derogatory terms.

Geographies and Histories of Participation

While this analysis focuses on just a few minutes in time, it is important to recognize that the production of social spaces and identities is stretched across longer periods of time. By foregrounding the on-the-ground, creative production of artifacts and identities, the analysis risks understating the ways in which participants not only shape but are also shaped by social histories and geographies. In the following I would like to give at least some sense of the histories and geographies of participation in this group as recorded through the ethnographic study (Leander, 1999). First, the KTA itself, as a school-within-a-school, was an important identity-shaping production of social space for the students. The students were physically segregated from the regular program students for part of the day, and many of the KTA students had parallel schedules in the school day beyond the KTA. Important for the present analysis, the junior class of the KTA was also going through a shift of racial identity during the time of my study. In the ninth-grade year of this group of students, the KTA was comprised of approximately 70% White European American students. While most of the KTA students had been together since their ninth-grade year, in the junior year 7 African American students and one White European student transferred from the regular Kempton academic program to the KTA. Moreover, 3 White European American students had dropped out of the KTA program after their sophomore years. In brief, over the course of 2 years, the junior-level KTA (as well as the KTA at large) was losing White European American and gaining African American students

such that the numbers of African American and White European American students had become roughly equal during the year of my ethnography. Many African American students reported that they were attracted to the KTA because its teachers were known to care for and help African American students. Sid and Maureen were often cited as advocates and excellent teachers by African American students. Some of the White European American students, and especially some of the males, expressed resentment in interviews about the changing population of the junior-level KTA. The following interaction is analyzed in relation to the ongoing production of the junior-level KTA as a racial and cultural space.

The students' typified embodied positions in the classroom also indicate the socio-spatial structuring of identity over time. I have represented how the students were spatially positioned in Room 251 during this interaction (Figure 1). (Students created their own pseudonyms for the study; see the Appendix for the name key for Figures 1, 2, and 4.) These arrangements of bodies in Room 251 (and other classrooms) were quite consistent with respect to race, gender, class, and other qualities of difference; student self-selection of seating followed common patterns of embodied space that were reproduced, with some variation, throughout the school year. The top of the diagram represents stage left of the classroom. All of the students along one wall (top of the diagram) of the classroom were African American except one (Stephen, a Pacific Islander). Hooper,

Darrijah, and Mayoosha were also African American, seated in the back left corner of the classroom. Darrijah and Mayoosha would often choose the corner and be engaged in private commentary about the classroom activity. The remaining students (15 of 30 present) were White European American, with the exceptions of Latanya, Robert, and Shameen, who were located centrally in the classroom, and Nicole (who has one African American and one White European American parent and who was considered by classmates to be one of the "White girls"). The clustering of the "White girls" (Chelle, Heidi, Nicole, Leslie, Tracey) was typical for this group, as was the grouping of Marie and Catherine (White European American females with higher social and economic status in the school), the large line or group of African American students, the positioning of Stephen (Pacific Islander) with the African American students, and the proximity of Ian, Sam, and Ben (considered "preppy" White European American males). A few of the students (e.g., Ashley, Chris) were social "floaters," but most students seemed to position themselves consistently with the same groups. Many of the students had long school and neighborhood histories with these friends, and 2 of the students (Terrence and Hooper) were cousins. Additionally, the locations of these groups vis-a-vis one another were fairly stable.

In the F-formation diagrams the oval figures represent individuals, with pointed segments representing direction of body orientation. Head orienta-
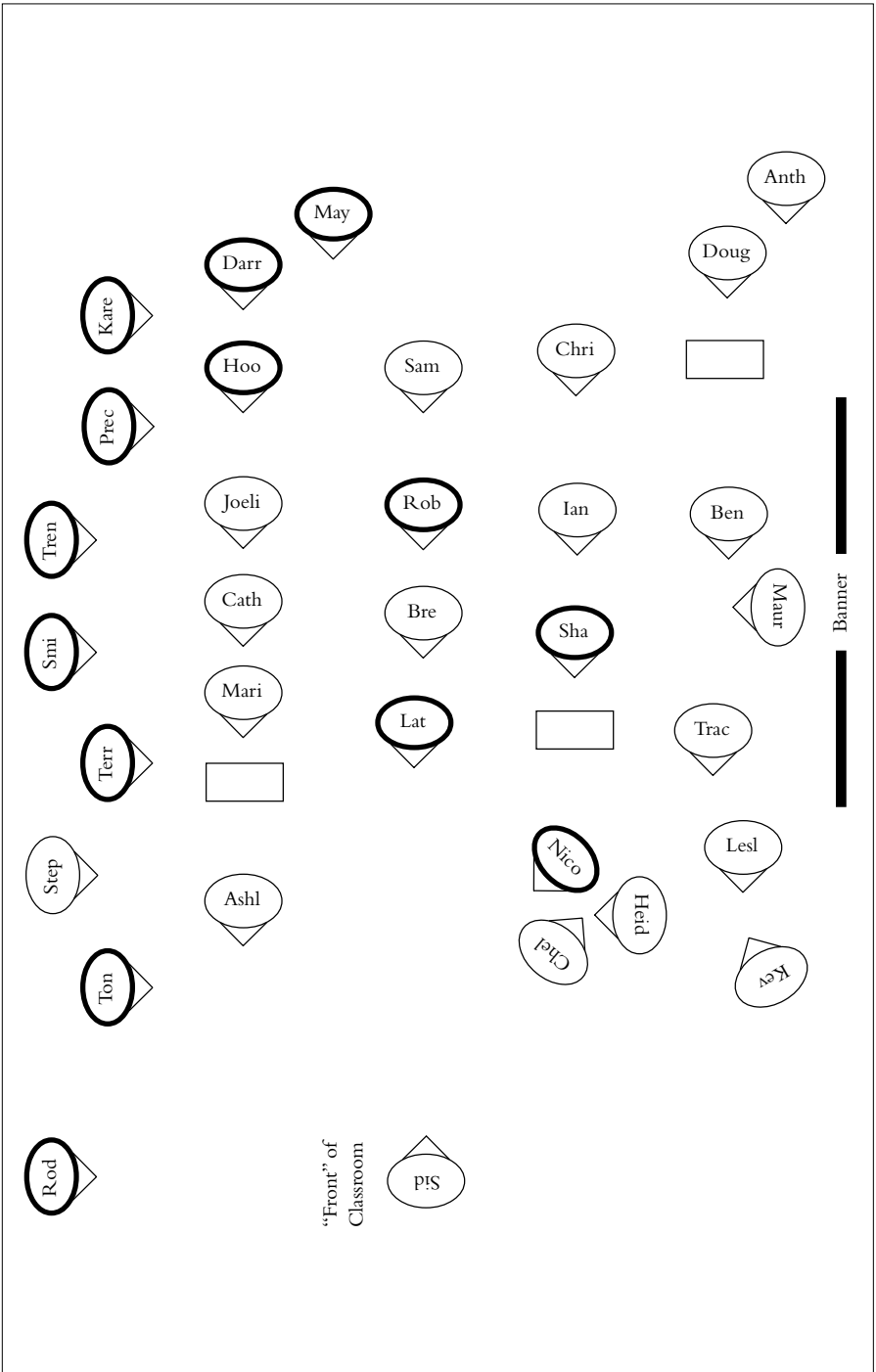
Figure 1. Embodied spaces at outset of interaction.

tion and gaze to the side and over the shoulder are represented with modified figures. As much of this analysis considers the *marking* of racial identity as a social achievement, bolded ovals are used to represent African American participants, and non-bolded ovals represent White European American participants (except for Stephen, who is Pacific Islander). Solid line ovals represent the established positions of individuals (based upon trunk positions when seated), dotted line ovals represent their previous positions or positions they took up along a path of movement to the present position. Dotted lines represent the "path of movement through space of an individual" (Kendon, 1990, pp. 228-229). I have used solid arrows to represent the coordination of eye gaze and body orientation. Empty desks are represented by rectangles.

Shameen and Latanya, who are central to this analysis, have important socio-spatial histories in the classroom. Shameen, a bright and talented African American male who was struggling to maintain minimum academic grades during his junior year, tended to position himself in the center of activity and seemed to take delight in raising the emotional and interactional pitch of classroom events. Maureen and Sid and other teachers in the KTA frequently spoke of power struggles with Shameen over control of the class (even though Shameen commented on more than one occasion that Sid was one of his most admired teachers since he began school.) Latanya was new to the KTA in her junior year. While she had several

African American friends enrolled in it, Latanya kept largely to herself in classroom activities and appeared to be serious about her academic work in the KTA. Because she struggled as a reader, Latanya was also enrolled in the school in a special program that gave her additional study and reading help for one hour per day. While this program created another level of identity separation for Latanya from other social spaces, she seemed to approach these issues in a very practical light, prioritizing her own academic success well above her school-based relationships to social groups. Latanya decided to leave the KTA during the second semester of her junior year and return to the regular program at Kempton. My interest in the focal interaction is also informed by its material effects—how it appeared to help (re)locate Latanya out of the KTA junior class.

In terms of participation practices, three durable space-time patterns seem particularly important. First, according to the reports of the students and verified by my observations, Maureen and Sid used much more discussion and student presentation in their teaching than did most other teachers at the KTA or Kempton. The students particularly seemed to enjoy discussions; many remarked that it was their favorite classroom activity. Secondly, Sid and Maureen shared a common practice of nominating several next speakers in a row such that participation was largely dependent upon how assertive one was and how one could plan ahead to jump into the conversation. Several students would shoot up their hands to speak at

once, and Sid or Maureen would call out an order of names that the students were supposed to remember. Sometimes this pattern was interrupted by the teachers (e.g., they nominated students themselves), and sometimes it was abandoned by students in the rapid struggle for the floor (as in the present focal discussion). Third, discussions among this group were largely male dominated. While the numbers of males in the junior class outweighed the number of females only by a few (20 to 16), the discussion included few turns at talk by the females. Among the females, the "White girls" were the least apt to become involved in discussions (Leander, 2002).

Method
Data Collection
Making use of a number of ethnographic research techniques, the study was informed by assumptions of interpretive-constructivist research (Erickson, 1986; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Data were collected through interviewing, video recording, field notes, and the collection of material artifacts (e.g., assignments, student papers and projects, institutional documents regarding the Academy). Because I was attempting to capture a range of activity and its relation to spoken discourse within the research, including the mapping of embodied activity, classroom discussions were videotaped. For video recording an Hi8 video camera was placed on a tripod at the side of the room. Interaction was simultaneously audiotaped with three microphones and a mini-mixer. Unclear parts of the

videotape were cross-checked with the audiotape. The focal interaction (5 minutes, 50 seconds) was selected from a corpus of data that includes 85 hours of audiotaped interaction (large and small student group discussions) and 45 hours of videotaped interaction over a 10 month period. The videotape of the focal interaction was digitized, and a transcript and figures of embodied positions and practices were produced by repeatedly reviewing the digitized transcript.

As part of the discourse-based ethnography, several episodes of interaction videotaped during the course of the year, including the present interaction, were presented to small groups of students, and their responses to these episodes were elicited in group interview format. Latanya, 19 other participating students (20 of 30 students in the interaction), Sid and Maureen, and a former teacher of many of the students in this group (from the tenth grade in the KTA) gave video-based responses to the interaction. Responses to the video-taped interactions were elicited following discourse-based interview practices (Odell, Goswami, & Herrington, 1983) and consisted primarily of pausing the videotape at different points (or asking the participants to pause it) and asking the participants for an interpretation of what was happening at that given moment. Participants were asked to interpret their own and others' interactions during the episode. These responses were audiotaped and transcribed. There are a number of questions, beyond the scope of this paper, that such a methodology needs to address, including how participating in

viewing, pausing, and rewinding a vid-
eotape is different from participating in
an interaction, the space-time status of
video-response texts with respect to
transcripts of classroom interaction, and
the participation of the researcher across
these events. In this study my purpose
in using video-response data has been,
first, to challenge analyses based upon
researcher interpretations alone and
second, to suggest the importance of
post-hoc interpretations for the analysis
of identity artifacts, which are partially
interpreted by their ability to be fixed
across time in the memories of partici-
pants. I have maintained that looking
more intently *at* an interaction also
involves considering the space-times
around and *after* an interaction.

Analysis

I selected the focal interaction for
analysis from the corpus of data because
it appeared to be an event that, in
destabilizing normative classroom prac-
tices, brought those practices to light. I
based my selection upon how this
interaction and the entire derogatory
terms activity were repeatedly referred
to by the students as a highly memo-
rable event. Analysis of the transcript
proceeded dialogically, that is, by trac-
ing how the texts of the class (speech,
gestures, embodied spaces) responded
to one another and anticipated future
responses (Bakhtin, 1981). I arrived at
the interpretations of the functions of
identity artifacts by following respon-
sive uptake. This dialogic interpretation
crossed modalities; for instance, em-
bodied movements and positions were
interpreted as responsive to the verbal

discourse. Confirming and disconfirm-
ing examples of the identity processes
described in the analysis were sought,
and in the analysis I have attempted to
highlight alternate plausible interpreta-
tions in several instances. The analysis of
the transcript was informed by and
triangulated with the students' and
teachers' interpretations in video-based
interviews. The interviews also served
as a means of collecting additional
interpretive data and were used as a
type of member-checking of my initial
interpretations.

To trace and represent how mate-
rial-symbolic spaces are constructed
through bodies, gesture, and material
objects, I draw primarily upon Kendon's
(1990) development of the face-forma-
tion (F-formation) system. While
Kendon's concerns are primarily prag-
matic and are worked out through
studies of small group interaction, I
draw upon his work in analyzing how
embodied classroom spaces are parsed
or *regionalized* (Giddens, 1984) by
interactants in the working of power.
Participants construct their positions
vis-a-vis others with their bodies and
with other available material. The prob-
lem that interactants face is what to
treat as relevant context to interaction,
and they resolve this problem in part by
demarcating the world of a selected
encounter from the rest of the world
around them. Entering an F-formation
is an "excellent means by which inter-
actional and therefore social and psy-
chological 'withness' may be established"
(Kendon, 1992, p. 330). Others have
described this "withness" through a
language of power relations or social

positioning (Davies & Harré, 1990). Kendon (1990) describes an F-formation as arising "whenever two or more people sustain a spatial and orientational relationship in which the space between them is one to which they have equal, direct, and exclusive access" (p. 209). Kendon argues that the orientation of the lower body (*o-space*) highly determines the orientation of individuals or their *transactional segment* that extends forward from them.

I also analyze discursive representations of space and time, critically significant as they "arise out of the world of social practices but then become a form of regulation of those practices" (Harvey, 1996, p. 212). A primary tool that I draw upon for analyzing space-time representations in language is Bakhtin's (1981) theory of the chronotope or "time space" (cf. Morson & Emerson, 1990). In particular I focus upon the use of an *abstract space* indexed within schooled discourse. In abstract space (or space-time) involving a distanced emotional stance vis-a-vis others and social landscapes, participants avoid peopling figured worlds with themselves and co-present others. Rather, social relations, particularly in discussions of race, gender, and other topics with great personal and political import, center around other people in other space-times. Abstract space may be thought of as a broadly dispersed figured world in that it involves relations of identifiable people (teachers and students in the classroom) who carry out institutional tasks (e.g., discussing, writing) and who have recognizable perspectives on these tasks

(e.g., not becoming emotionally involved). As such, activity may *pivot* toward abstract space through particular artifacts that function as tips of the *schooled identity* iceberg. In the following analysis abstract space becomes remarkable when it is violated through processes of reification that construct and foreground particular individual and group identities.

Results

This study is based upon an episode of classroom discourse[1] that seemed to be universally interpreted by participants as an example of one student's, Latanya, being "ghetto." While African American students were more prone than White European American students to use the word "ghetto" in describing Latanya's behavior, there seemed to be a general agreement that Latanya lost face or embarrassed herself in the interaction and as a result was negatively positioned vis-a-vis the class. For instance, while watching it on videotape, Robert (African American) gave a retrospective account of Latanya's being corrected in the midst of the interaction:

KEVIN: Why—why are a lot of people correcting her? I mean, shouting at Tanya, "thank you for the biography" and all that?

ROBERT: You know, they know how she is. She's always been like that. She'll snap real quick.

Mayoosha (African American), when asked if Latanya was "acting ghetto" in the interaction, simply stated

"She *is* ghetto!" Even Latanya herself seemed to agree with the other participants that she acted "ghetto" during the interaction:

And I did kind of act, I did kind of act like I was ghetto, because of the way I snapped. Cause I know people turned around, I don't know.

Unlike the African American students, the White European American students were much more likely to criticize not just Latanya but all African American participants, as in Marie's following critique of their "taking out the wrong context" and being immature:

I was actually surprised, because, you know, we sat down as a group to take this, you know, in a mature way, and we're handling it fine, but then all it took was one person, to set everything off, and, you know, they took out the wrong *context*, and, it just kind of made it seem like, you know, a little kid's playground. They put out the mature ways.

My questioning about the interaction begins with participants' retrospective summarizing of it as an instance of being "ghetto." As the interaction was a powerful marking of identity for Latanya, in respect to the class and for the co-production of Whiteness and Black identity in "symbiotic relation" (Fine, 1997, p. 58), I consider how "ghetto" is constructed on-the-ground in relation to the construction of identity artifacts.

Overview of Focal Interaction

A brief summary of the focal interaction follows, which might assist the reading of the analysis. The focal interaction began with Ian's (White Euro-

pean American) response to an earlier utterance by Latanya. This earlier utterance, which was not clearly transcribable, involved Latanya's use of the word "honky" in the classroom. Latanya's utterance could be interpreted in many different ways; my particular concern is its interpretive uptake and the ensuing interaction. Ian began by comparing Latanya's use of "honky" with how it would be a "whole different story" if he were to use the racial slur "nigger." Latanya denied that she was "trying to say it like that," relating her use of the term "honky" to the classroom activity with the banner. As Latanya began to be prompted to "calm down" by Tony (African American), Ian appeared to back off from critiquing Latanya directly and only claimed to be making a general point, and Maureen (White European American) interjected that "no word used to describe a White person" is "as powerful as nigger." Maureen, the teacher, seemed to be making the argument that derogatory terms for African Americans, which derive from a history of oppression by White European Americans, carry the weight of this oppression unlike derogatory terms directed toward White European Americans.

Maureen then shifted the discussion briefly to sexuality, which is a fascinating moment of interaction between several males and her in which a great deal of posturing about sexual prowess occurred. Sam (White European American) then invoked a story about a boy in the hallway "last week" who called him a "Jewish bastard" and attempted to use the story as an ex-

ample of his own ethnic oppression, and how he was "more of a minority than anyone in [that] class." After mixed and troubling reactions to Sam's story, Sam asserted that "the *Black* community is the only community that seems to like really find a pattern" of racial abuse.

After some challenge to Sam's point, Benjamin (White European American) picked up Ian's earlier argument about the difference between the use of "nigger" by Whites and "honky" by Blacks. Latanya asked Benjamin in a loud voice, "Are you referring to me?" and then repeated a defense of her use of "honky" as a "slip." Latanya became increasingly upset and used a great deal of hand gesture and a loud voice, turning to face Benjamin, who was seated in the back corner, as she spoke. Several other students also immediately corrected Latanya; 3 African American males (Tony, Terrence, Smitty) and 1 African American female (Darrijah) were most audible on tape.

At this point there was also a sharp transition in the interaction as Latanya faced Shameen (African American) and addressed him. (Shameen's report from the interview was that he said "Stop acting *ghetto*.") With very intense emotion and high volume Latanya told Shameen that she "ain't never been in no ghetto" and defended her family life (house, clothes, food) as non-ghetto. During this defense Shameen was injecting the word "Ye::ah!" in a kind of call-and-response style to Latanya's claims, circling his arm in the air. The emotional pitch of the entire interaction was at its height during this interchange: There was both a great

deal of background noise through others' comments and also a great deal of student "shushing" of Latanya and of one another. Sid (White European American) and Maureen, who were watching the interaction unfold, moved in to respond, quietly separating Latanya and Shameen with their bodies and gestures. Maureen stated, "I think we have a little problem here," and Rod (African American) fell off of his stool and onto the floor, laughing and holding his stomach.

Analysis of Segments 1 and 2
In the following analysis of identity-in-practice, I focus upon the situated construction of various identity artifacts and trace how relations among them are achieved. Across the first two segments of interaction, I trace how the banner of derogatory terms was constructed as an artifact of Latanya's identity. Secondly, I consider how Ian strategically separated his identity from Latanya's through his discursive construction of abstract space and embodied denial of a shared interactional space. Third, I trace how the "Black community" began to be constructed as an artifact by Ian and Sam, who drew upon embodied and discursive resources.

The following transcription conventions are used in the data I report:

= latched speech of different speakers
+ ongoing speech of the same speaker; line broken to permit display of overlaps
(   ) inaudible speech, relative to length of space

[overlapping speech of two or
      more speakers temporally linked by
      brackets

. . . pause of one-half second or longer

(talk) questionable transcriptions

because stressed word

NOW emphatic stress

°sorry° de-emphasized speech, spoken
      softly

ha::rd lengthened sound or syllable

((   )) additional detail, including
      embodied activity

Segment 1

1. IAN: I just want to know, Latanya
    said, like those honky, I mean, but
    like if I said, yeah, those nigger—
    huh! ((aspirated tone, hand over
    mouth)) that would be like a whole
    different story I was wondering how
    that was=

2. LATANYA: No, see ((rotating body in
    chair to face Ian, leaning toward
    him)) I wasn't saying it like that, I
    mean, we was usin' the words, ((ex-
    tending hand out in front of her in
    direction of banner, palm up)) and I
    was just—I wasn't tryin to say it like
    that

3. IAN: I'm just saying that when a
    Black person makes fun of a White
    ((Sam slams hand down on desk and
    turns his head toward Ian))—like the
    White person's race=((Ian facing to-
    ward teacher while speaking))

4. LATANYA: It wasn't that, I was talk-
    ing about the words

5. IAN: No no no—not now, ((turns
    head toward Latanya)) I'm just
          saying+
          [

6. TONY: CALM DOWN THERE

7. IAN: that when a Black person
    makes fun of a White person's
    race—not in this case, I'm just say-
    ing White people don't get mad but
    if I just said, like, "nigger," HUH.
    ((flicks pencil upwards))

8. LATANYA: ((orienting head and
    trunk more directly to Ian)) NO, I'm
          not (   )
          [

9. MAUREEN: Let me ask you someth-

10. ROBERT: ((turning head toward Ian,
    body facing forward)) That's because
    you don't have to take it the way we
    do.

11. MAUREEN: O.k., let me interject
    something, then Sam. Do you really
    think, it seems to me, and I'll throw
    this out as an idea for you to think
    about before Sam goes, like, cer-
    tain—certain groups have been
    more historically repressed than oth-
    ers, right? It seems to me that there
    is *no* word that you can use to de-
    scribe a White person that is as pow-
    erful as °nigger°. Like, you can call
    me a cracker, you can call me a
    honky, I'm not even gonna *blink*. I
    mean, it would be weird, it would be
    very *weird*, but it wouldn't really . . .
    hurt me. I think if I called somebody
    a nigger it would be very painful.
    Did you notice? ((starting to point
    back toward banner))

12. ROBERT: (Painful for who?)

13. MAUREEN: Well it would be very
    hard for me to do it, for one thing,
    ((extending arm in back of her to-
    ward banner while speaking, still fac-
    ing class)) another thing is, I noticed
    there are lots of terms ((rotates trunk

and head quarter turn to face banner more directly)) to describe sexually active heterosexual women up here.

Latanya and the Banner as Co-produced Artifacts

While the classroom discussion initially focused upon the banner, its unstable institutional meanings in the classroom, and the general categories of sociocultural identity represented upon it (e.g., race, physical disability, ethnicity, gender), Ian introduced Latanya as a new *pivot* (Vygotsky, 1930) for collective reflection concerning derogatory language. The banner was a liminal space or thirdspace (Gutierrez et al., 1995; Soja, 1996); it was a highly unstable hybridization of the institutional classroom, media spaces, youth cultural spaces, and taboo spaces of imagined and observed racists, sexists, and classists. As such, the meaning of the banner was highly unstable and was more open for interpretation than were other possible artifacts. Perhaps because of these instabilities, even while Maureen had destabilized the classroom social space through the banner activity, she maintained some stability by objectifying the derogatory language as *on the banner* and not *in* the classroom interaction. Ian, however, began to build a relation between the banner as a world of derogatory language and the here-and-now world of Latanya's behavior. Concurrently, Ian was positioning himself as being "[made] fun of" (line 7) and as outside such immoral action himself, situating himself only imaginatively and conditionally in relation to the use of "nigger" (e.g., "if I said", line 1). Moreover, the Latanya-banner relation borrowed meaning from the developing relation between the classroom and the banner. Because the banner, as an artifact, was shaped by the classroom's reactions to it, aligning Latanya with the banner borrowed these reactions in a dialogic relationship of responsive texts (Bakhtin, 1981) for the interpretation of Latanya. Thus, Ian's construction of Latanya's identity—being offended, offering critique, and suggesting one's distance from the object in question—began to *rhyme* responsively with the group's reaction to the banner, a response that had been collectively rehearsed and might be seen as institutionally appropriate.

Latanya (line 2) attempted to turn the focus of attention back upon the banner and dissociate it from her identity and relations to other identities in the classroom. Latanya explained her use of "honky" as situated on the banner-as-list of objectified language for the classroom activity ("we was usin' the words," line 2). Latanya shaped a counter-position to Ian's claim about her derogatory use of the term with her body as well (see Figure 2). Latanya's trunk was turned a quarter turn in her desk chair, which permitted her to face the banner and teacher. To further emphasize the relation of her discourse to the banner, Latanya extended her hand in space toward the banner, palm up, as she related "we was 'usin the words" (line 2). Latanya's hand extension functioned to locate her identity in relation to the classroom activity as part of a "we." By contrast, Ian constructed
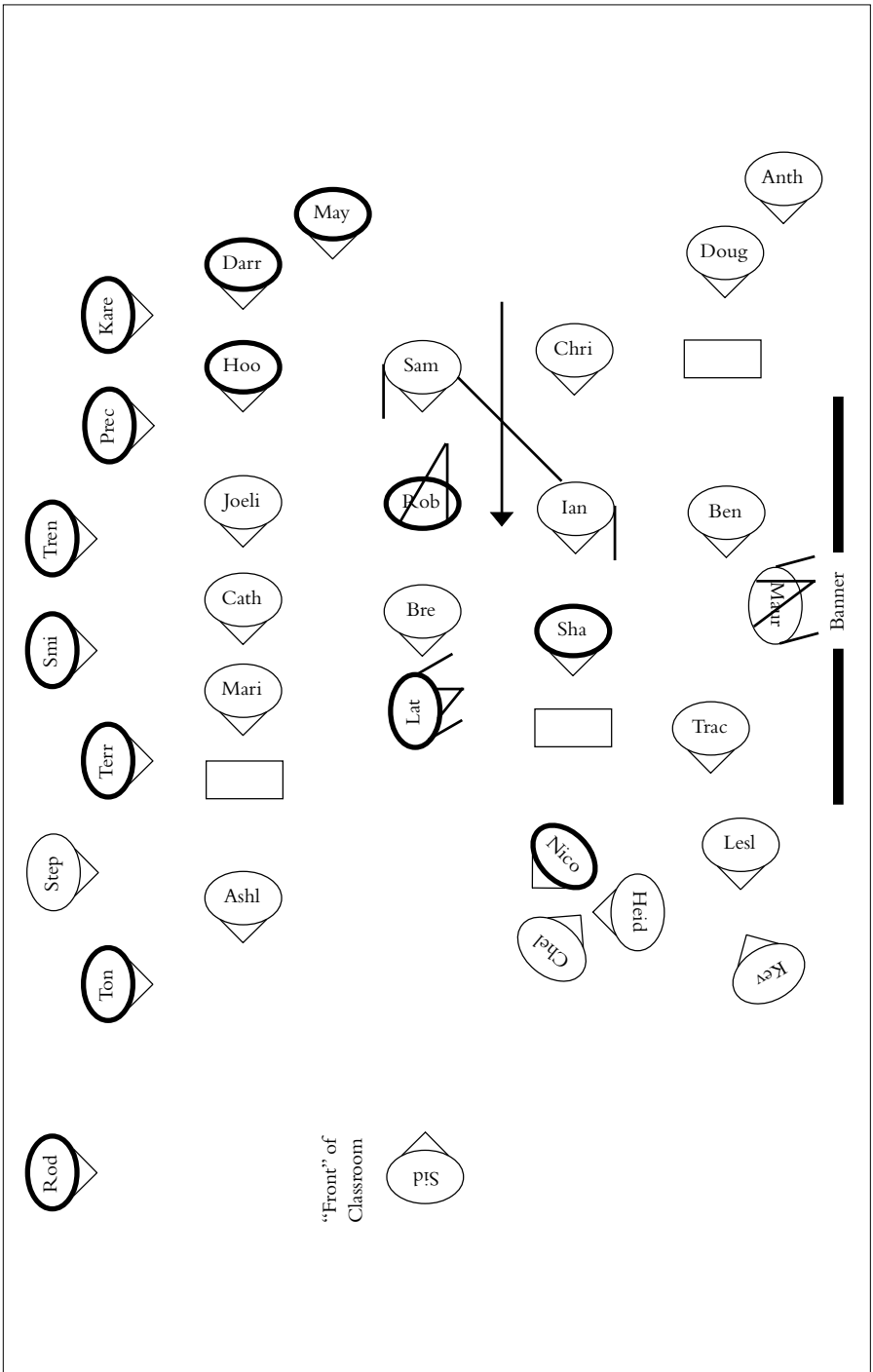
Figure 2. Embodied spaces during interaction Segments 1 and 2.

an alignment of the derogatory practices of the banner with Latanya as a unique individual who was violating appropriate social and institutional practices. Ian's critique (line 1) and Latanya's defense (line 2) index how the meaning of the banner as an identity artifact was highly indeterminate and was dependent upon how the banner was recruited and aligned for the ideological project of forging the identity of Latanya or a generalized classroom "we."

The initial interaction also begins to indicate how the banner artifact was used to project competing social spaces which are suggested in Latanya's, "I wasn't saying it like that, I mean, we was usin' the words" (line 2). Latanya argued that her action must be as situated in the classroom activity space-time of "usin' the words," rather than "like that"—in a space-time of open racial derogation (line 2). From her embodied position facing the banner, Latanya could easily rotate toward Ian in the back of the classroom, which she did as she communicated to Ian that she was not saying [honky] "like that" (line 2). Latanya's rotation of her trunk in her chair and of her head toward Ian (see Figure 2) indicated her attempts to build an interactional space with him to address his critique, to construct interactional *withness* with him through a shared F-formation (Kendon, 1990). In terms of the present analysis, Latanya's embodied orientation to Ian was an artifact that projected a shared social space of interaction. It is ironic that Latanya attempted to build this relation of entering into interaction with Ian, given the way in which he initiated the project of unfavorably positioning her. Ian, unsurprisingly, continued to face forward, at times glancing to his left in the direction of the teacher (Maureen). Ian appeared to look past Latanya, giving an embodied message that he was not going to engage with her. Concurrently, in his resistance to Latanya's bidding, Ian constructed an embodied artifact of himself as "good student," facing forward and addressing the teacher. From a relational perspective on social space, Ian was not simply projecting a separate space from Latanya but suggesting the relative power of his (institutional classroom) space with respect to Latanya's (taboo, banner) space. In this case and many others, students projected their activity toward the front of the classroom even when the teacher was not present in the front. This orientation, I would argue, was only partially related to the affordances of forward-facing school desks and chairs. It was also indicative of the way in which student bodies are disciplined (Foucault, 1979) to produce institutional space; facing forward stabilizes one's identity as a well-trained student.

Maureen attempted to reshape Ian's initial identity constructions. Her transitions in lines 11 and 13 are particularly telling examples of the unstable power and identity relations in the interaction and the multimodal resources that interactants drew upon in order to represent and stabilize identity. After introducing the argument that the power of derogatory terms must be interpreted through the histories of social groups (as relative oppressors or oppressed), Maureen momentarily fig-

ured a world in which she was, first, a victim of derogation (line 11). In proposing another social space, Maureen diverted the interaction away from the spaces of Ian's critique of Latanya. This diversion or blocking was enacted in an embodied sense as well—Maureen was positioned between the students and the banner, a key contested artifact. Maureen first took the position of addressee in the (imagined) derogatory act, displacing Ian (who assumed a position as addressee of Latanya's claimed derogatory use of "honky"). Maureen proposed herself, as a White person, as someone who could evaluate (and perhaps model for future responses) the effects of a derogatory term against Whites: "you can call me a honky, I'm not even gonna *blink*." (line 11). Then, momentarily, Maureen shifted her position to that of the author or perpetrator of the derogatory term "nigger," concluding that using the term would be "very painful" (line 11). That Maureen did not intend to stay with this example for long was indexed by the fact that she began to shift the attention of the group back to the banner, pointing and introducing a new focus with "Did you notice?" (line 11). Robert, however, interrupted Maureen's line with "Painful for who?" Interactionally, Robert could have been seeking clarification on whether Maureen would be pained by or cause pain by calling someone a "nigger." Yet it is also possible that Robert, as an African American, was challenging Maureen's imagined scene and analysis—the identity artifact she presented of herself as experiencing pain from the (imagined) derogation of

an African American. In this latter interpretation, "Painful for who?" shifted the nature of the scene/artifact and called into question Maureen's identity and identification with racial others. Robert's uptake of Maureen's attempt suggests the risks in proposing oneself as a resource or example amid interactional identity work. Once proposed, the artifacts one makes available (e.g., one's body, stories, gestures, texts, and the like) can be recruited by others for any number of identity projects.

Maureen had already begun moving the interaction in a new direction with "Did you notice?" (line 11) and was not distracted long by Robert's remark, seamlessly linking her response to Robert in the first half of line 13 to her movement toward the banner-as-list. The transition in line 13 is noteworthy in that Maureen, after offering a reason why using the term "nigger" would be painful for her, used the term "for one thing," suggesting that she could offer a list of reasons. This "for one thing" was linked seamlessly onto "another thing I noticed," which hearkened back to "Did you notice?" and forward to where she wanted to move the interaction. The seamless movement from "for one thing" (through which Maureen was managing her own identity relations vis-a-vis Robert) to "another thing" (through which Maureen appeared to be regrounding the interaction away from racial identity) is a telling example of the complexity and proximity of identity constructions that Maureen was engaging in and managing as a teacher. Maureen's embodied transition toward

the banner was less subtle than was Latanya's. With "Did you notice?" (line 11), Maureen reached back into space behind her toward the banner, while still facing forward toward the class. During Robert's challenge and her response (lines 12-13) Maureen kept her arm extended toward the banner, and in shifting the discussion toward issues of gender and sexuality, Maureen then turned to face the banner more directly (see Figure 2) as if orchestrating the gaze of the class to turn away from one another and toward the banner. Maureen attempted to refocus the discussion on issues of gender, pointing out that while there is a wide derogatory vocabulary to describe "sexually active heterosexual women" (line 13), there are only very few terms to describe sexually active heterosexual men (line 14 and following). The spoken and embodied responses by the males, as well as the silence by the females in the room, served to ratify and even celebrate the classroom space as male-dominated. (The male-dominated identity work of the entire interaction is considered somewhat in the following, yet is not the focus of the present analysis for concerns of space.)

Dis-identification with Latanya and Affirming the Classroom as an Abstract Space

The micro-analysis of positioning dynamics provides a means of understanding how the positioning of self and other were interdependent and co-constructed. Moreover, because these co-constructions involved mediating artifacts, they simultaneously constructed and positioned these artifacts for identity work. Here, the positions Ian forged for himself and Latanya were importantly intertwined with his use of artifacts to project the classroom as an abstract space. Ian qualified his question with "I just want to know" and yet finished the utterance with the answer to his own (rhetorical) question "that would be like a whole different story" (line 1). However, Ian backed off naming Latanya in the statement at this point and shifted to "Black person" and "White person" (line 3). When Latanya responded again, Ian again qualified: "no no no—not now. I'm just saying" (line 5), a separation from current action that Ian emphasized with "not in this case" (line 7). In his discourse Ian was careful to construct two social spaces at once. Beside projecting the local classroom as a place in which Latanya has used a derogatory term for Whites (line 1), Ian also constructed an abstract space of a "Black person" and a "White person." Ian situated his remarks, which were not related to "this case" (line 7), in no-space and no-time (line 3). This abstract relation of time and space to situated action, as a chronotope (time-space) (Bakhtin, 1981), is a regular practice in schooled interaction and is a structuring of institutional power (Leander, 1999). What I have termed *abstract space* is illuminated as *adventure time* in Bakhtin's analysis of the Greek romance. Time-space in the Greek Romance is mere background to the activity of a hero. While there are frequently very rich descriptions of local places, such scenes

of action are interchangeable: "what happens in Babylon could just as well happen in Egypt or Byzantium or vice versa" (p. 100). This abstraction of activity from the particular details of individual countries, "with their social or political structure, with their culture or history" (p. 100) is a significant ideological construct, instantiating an imagined independence of human action and sociocultural structure. Agency is severely limited as neither social world nor hero changes from the course of events that unfolds in predetermined, fatalistic fashion. Once the hero "*endures* the game fate plays,*" she or he emerges from this game "with his *identity* absolutely changed" (p. 105, emphasis in original).

Departures from such active abstraction to a here-and-now often signify important instances of identity work. While Ian positioned Latanya as actively attacking him and other White people, he was also careful to identify himself as engaged in positioning her in this manner. By projecting the classroom as an abstract space, Ian provided a means of interpreting and separating his own (appropriate) actions and identity from Latanya's marked, inappropriate identity. Ian moved his critique forward carefully in a way that protected his own identity, not making his position as a critic of Latanya too obvious. Ian constructed an escape for himself by both saying and "unsaying" Latanya's position. Ian avoided the problem of making the "saying" of these critical remarks too readily associated with himself as speaker, such that others might recruit this "saying" as an identity

artifact to construct his identity.

Of central importance as the interaction unfolded is that the abstract space of the classroom was not static or fully developed in Ian's comments but rather was offered as a way of interpreting Latanya's and others' anticipated reactions. In other terms, Latanya and others did not simply respond to Ian's constructions of the banner-Latanya-abstract space relations. Rather, they acted into these constructions, helping to extend them, change them, and offer interpretations of them in the achievement of identity. Ian claimed that whereas "White people don't get mad" (line 7), with Black people, on the other hand, it is a "whole different story" (line 1). As Latanya began to defend herself to Ian and the others and attempted to interject into Ian's ongoing talk, her volume rose and her speech accelerated, which began to be policed by Tony, who called out to Latanya "CALM DOWN THERE" (line 6). Across lines 1-8, as Ian continued to construct his position, Latanya engaged three times, with a sense of increasing emotional tension. Ian marched on in his speech as Latanya attempted to interject and defend herself, thus modeling the White student's being not mad and asking questions while Latanya modeled the Black student's getting upset and interrupting him. Even Tony's loud "calming" of Latanya helped to construct Ian's figured world, in which Black people create a "whole different story" than simple questions directed to the teacher.

The "Black Community" as Artifact
The representation of Latanya as a

"Black person" in antagonistic relationship to a "White person," as suggested by Ian in line 3 and affirmed in line 7, was a critically significant move for creating a realm of interpretation in which "Latanya" and "Black" and "Ian" and "White" became co-signifiers. This relation was important for the co-construction of individual and collective identity and also because the construction of the "Black community" as an artifact projected an entire figured world of the "Black community" through which the activity of Latanya and other African Americans in the class could be interpreted. The Latanya/Black community relation was differently constructed by participants as the interaction advanced and was not predictable from assumed racial or cultural categories or "communities" alone (Moje, 2000).

The "Black community" artifact was configured as a type of "identity kit" (Gee, 1990) or alignment of artifacts that are symbolic and embodied and that may be traced at the micro level. In this part of the analysis, I focus particularly upon how spoken discourse about the "Black community" was anchored to embodied productions of Black and White social spaces. Embodied arrangements do not simply mean in and of themselves. While embodied texts may afford one meaning rather than another (e.g., the segregation of White and Black students), this meaning must be made. White bodies and Black bodies are made to signify in an ongoing construction of an interpretive world; bodies and groupings of bodies are enacted (Gee, 2000)

or figured as more or less meaningful; bodies are used as material-semiotic artifacts (Lemke, 2000) with shifting interpretations across time and space.

Immediately after Ian noted that "when a Black makes fun of a White" (line 3), extending his earlier claim about unfair social relations, Sam slammed his hand down on his desktop and turned his head slightly toward Ian (see Figure 2). Based upon Sam's later affirmative uptake of Ian's remarks, this movement and noise can be interpreted as an act of strong identification and agreement, using the (literally) ready-to-hand resource of the desktop. Sam carried out with his body the anger that Ian was asserting in speech. Bourdieu (1977) describes how Kabyle men constantly and jointly maintain vigilance for slights to their honor, in ways even beyond their awareness (Holland et al., 1998). Sam's hand slam, read responsively, was a strong emotional agreement with Ian, an artifact that signaled their ideological alignment. The hand slam also called attention to Sam's embodied position in relation to Ian's and also to Latanya's (indicated by line connecting Sam and Ian in Figure 2). The two males were aligned as a matched pair facing forward; their social and ideological alignments vis-a-vis Latanya and the abstract space of the classroom were carefully managed with a face-forward orientation.

Shortly following the interaction as transcribed in Segment 1, Sam figured a world in which he was offended by someone in the hallway who called him a "Jewish bastard" (see complete transcript). When Sam introduced this

world and his immediate reaction, he again slammed his hand down on the desk, an action that *rhymed* with his responsive earlier agreement with Ian's invoking of Black people's making fun of White people (Segment 1, line 3). Sam's story, in which he was provoked but then backed off from fighting, can be interpreted as a lesson on how to be appropriately offended. Yet Sam's story and its figured world of courage and almost-action was problematic. Sam's story indexed once again why proposing one's self (embodied position, story, or present action) in the classroom can be fraught with unpredictable outcomes, since such proposals may be recruited by others in the ongoing stream of identity construction. Robert made a noise, shook his head, and put his hand over his face; several other students vocalized responses that implied critical distancing or disbelief. There was no apparent agreement or disagreement concerning Sam's claim of being "more of a minority than anyone else in *this class*," and Sam's angry reaction even got critiqued as not unlike the reactions of the "Black community," as can be seen in Segment 2:

Segment 2

41. SAM: It's just that there's a distinct difference between like, like a kyke, and a nigger, and a honky and that kind of stuff, ((SHAMEEN raising hand, facing forward)) and it seems to me like Ian says, just like the Black community is the only community that seems to like, really find like a pattern with that, and get offended

to the point where they have to like, do something about it.

42. ROBERT: ((Glancing back and speaking over shoulder)) °But you got offended to the point where you were gonna do something when they called you a kyke°

43. SAM: No, I know, it's just like, it's the same exact thing, but since there's a bigger community of Black people in this classroom even, then there are Jews then it's just like a totally different bigger thing.

The construction of Sam's identity through his story, its critical uptake by class members, and the production of other identity artifacts could fruitfully be analyzed. One of the complexities to follow seems to be the way in which he shifted positions between a critique of the Black community and a critique of the school and classroom communities for not appreciating and recognizing his minority status as a Jew. Sam's nonconsistent identification was criticized by a few White European American students in their responses to the video segment.

For the present analysis my focus is not upon Sam's identity per se but upon how he extended Ian's construction of the "Black community." A key distinction that Sam was making while constructing his own identity in contrast to that of African Americans was that while he acted alone (as a Jewish person in a school with few Jews), Blacks acted as a community. That is, unlike Sam and others, who acted or resisted negative responses individually, and unlike any

other community (line 41), the Black community appeared to respond en masse. Sam extended Ian's identity artifact of the Black people who get mad (in contrast to White people who do not, Segment 1, line 3) with the statement that the "Black community" seemed to "find like a pattern" with offense and "do something about it" (line 41). The "Black community" identity artifact was thus more fully constructed as it was made to project a narrative or semi-defined figured world of how African Americans relate to one another and to other communities. Sam also located or anchored Black community action and identity in the here-and-now of the classroom (line 43). Indexed in Figure 2, this location was signaled by Sam's hand slams and the coordinated forward-facing positions of Ian and him, which functioned as a socio-spatial artifact of White identity. The ongoing construction of the Black community as artifact, and its relation to Latanya's identity, is analyzed below.

Analysis of Segment 3

Analyzing the third segment of interaction (see Figure 3), I consider how Latanya became increasingly ghettoized in practice. I interpret this achievement in relation to the ongoing embodied and discursive production of race through identity artifacts and in relation to policing and trading upon race, gender, and student-related forms of identification. Finally, I turn to Latanya's representation of her home space and how it functioned as an artifact that projected a racial and class-based geography.

The Ongoing Production of "White Space"

How might Latanya's quick and intense emotional reaction to Ben's statement be interpreted? As stated earlier, most classroom participants retrospectively interpreted Latanya's reaction as an episode of "being ghetto": It reflected her propensity to "snap." As an alternative to understanding "being ghetto" as somehow located in Latanya's person, I will begin by considering how the classroom participants produced identity artifacts in the flow of interaction and formed relations among them such that Latanya was practiced as ghetto. Latanya's reaction to this practice made sense, assuming that she understood that what was at stake was not simply whether or not she had engaged in a particular (immoral) act but how her identity was being shaped and stabilized through the course of the interaction.

Ben's statement, "Ian was saying, that, a:h, it's not okay to call—a White person cannot call a Black person a *nigger*, but a Black person can call somebody a *honky*" (line 47), mirrored both Ian's and Sam's positions. As with the earlier statements, the general terms of "a White person" and "a Black person" were used, invoking the abstract space of classroom interaction. As, in Bakhtin's (1981) terms, it is not from dictionaries that people get their words but from actual speakers, the word "honky" was saturated with Latanya's speech and identity. It is therefore not surprising that Latanya acted as if Ben was joining in the criticism of her in addition to how she was likely drawing upon historical patterns she had

Segment 3

47. BENJAMIN: ((leaning back, putting left foot up on chair)), Ian was saying, that, a:h, it's not okay to call—a White person cannot call a Black person a *nigger*, but a Black person can call somebody a *honky*, and=

                            [

48. LATANYA: ARE YOU REFERRING TO ME BECAUSE I DIDN'T MEAN TO SAY IT, DANG, WHY EVERYBODY+

                           [

49. SHAMEEN: TANYA

50. LATANYA: TRYING TO BLAME IT ALL ON ME—IT SLIPPED—WE SIT+ ((right hand pointing forward with words "we sit here being in the class"))

                [

51. SHAMEEN: (*save your voice*) ((leaning closer to Latanya, over desk. Vocalizations by at least two others are audible.))

52. LATANYA: HERE BEING IN THE CLASS SAYING ALL THESE WORDS GOING AROUND IN MY HEAD ((circling right hand to side of head, leaning in direction of Ben)) . SO NOW YOU'RE TRYING TO BRING+ ((Shameen beating hand on desk))

             [

53. SHAMEEN: (*Save your voice*) ((beating hand on desk more forcefully))

54. LATANYA: IT ON ME—IF YOU GOT A PROBLEM WITH THAT, WE CAN+ ((With "on me," Latanya leaning in direction of Ben. Kareena puts hand over her face, leans sideways and whispers to Terrence.))

                       [

55. SHAMEEN: *I'm gonna take this coat off and put it over her head*. ((Looking toward Maureen, begins to remove coat.))

56. LATANYA: (DANG) I DON'T CARE (   )+

                [

57. TONY: WHAT ARE YOU TALKIN' ABOUT ((Terrence laughing))

58. LATANYA: I DON'T CARE (   ) ALL Y'ALL

           [

59. TONY: STOP CHILLIN 'TANYA ((hitting cardboard tube on leg; Terrence laughing.))

      [

60. TERRENCE: Chow-chow chow mein do::wn.

              [

61. MALE: TIME OUT

         [

62. SMITTY: WHAT'S REALLY GOIN' ON

           [

63. TONY: He ain't talkin' about you, *Tanya*+ ((Hooper leans back in his seat, folds arms; Tim begins laughing; after "GOIN' ON," Maureen takes position between Latanya and Ben; Heidi looks up at researcher [Kevin].))

64. TONY: *Tanya*

Figure 3. Transcript of Segment 3.

65. MAYOOSHA: Straight up
66. SHAMEEN: (Stop acting *ghetto*) ((this line inferred and reported from interview data))
67. LATANYA: YOU TALK ABOUT THE GHETTO ((looking toward Shameen)) I AIN'T NEVER BEEN IN NO GHETTO, MY MAMA'S ALWAYS GOT A HOUSE
AND WE AIN'T NEVER+   [   ]
68. SHAMEEN: YE:::AH ((broadly
swings left arm in air, toward Latanya, with "YE:::AH")).

                                        [
69. TONY: Alright, *thank you*
for the biography, Tanya ((Sid moves between Shameen and Latanya, places hand on Shameen's shoulder.))
70. LATANYA: (BEEN NO BAG WOMAN) MY MAMA WORK AT KRAFT AND+
                                [   ]
71. SHAMEEN: YE::AH
72. LATANYA: WE KEEP FOOD AND WE KEEP FOOD AND CLOTHES ON OUR
BACK AND A ROOF+   [
73. TONY: ALRIGHT TANYA, THANK YOU FOR YOUR
BIOGRAPHY
                                        [   ]
74. SHAMEEN: YE:::AH ((broad arm swing))
75. LATANYA: OVER OUR HEAD AND (BOOKS) IN OUR HOUSE AND NOT A
(   ) ((Maureen moves toward Latanya, touches her right shoulder; Sid swings from position in front of Shameen and toward Latanya, places hand on her left shoulder.))
76. TONY: THANK YOU FOR THE BIOGRAPHY (FRIEND) ((At "THE BIOGRAPHY," Rod falls off stool, laughing, rolling to side on floor.))
77. MAUREEN: I a:h, I think we have a little problem here.+
                                [
78. ROD: He said "*thank you for your biography*" ((stands,
moves toward Tony. Catherine turns toward Marie, smiles, covers her face with a sheet of paper.))
79. MAUREEN: I think when I call on somebody they have the right to speak without interruption.

Figure 3. Transcript of Segment 3 continued.

observed over time of alignments among Ian, Sam, and Ben and others. At the same time the direction of Ben's statement was indeterminate; its meaning in this case was largely dependent upon Latanya's uptake. It is possible that Ben was summarizing Ian's statement in order to disagree with it, clarify it, change the topic, or pursue some other purpose. Yet Latanya's quick response cut the statement off at a point where it was mere summary of Ian's position, thus helping to coordinate the Ian–Sam–Ben alignment. In other terms, Latanya's response served to establish the function of Ben's (truncated) statement as an artifact of her own identity.

Latanya likely was also responding to the way in which Ben's embodied contribution continued a line of White

male defense across the back of the classroom (indicated by the line among Sam, Ian, and Ben in Figure 3). While three students' repeating similar utterances may not seem adequate for Latanya's feeling of being under siege (e.g., "WHY EVERYBODY TRYING TO BLAME IT ALL ON ME", lines 48 and 50), in terms of how space, race, and identity relations were constructed in the class, Ben's addition was highly significant. Latanya, who was seated sideways, would have in her gaze a class that was primarily White European American. I have suggested Latanya's current perspective on what constitutes "the class" with a shaded region in Figure 4. From Latanya's point of view, the embodied and symbolic alignment of Ian, Sam, and Ben would appear as a powerful alignment of White critique along one entire "side" of the class (materially, the back of the room) as she continued to face the teacher and banner. The aligned bodies (and speech) functioned as identity artifacts critically positioning Latanya, comprising what might be termed "White space." The embodied configuration confronted Latanya with the way in which she (badly) represented the "Black community," which was primarily seated behind her.

At a more micro level this repeated critique was indexed in the participants' mirrored positionings in their seats. First, as noted in the cases of Ian and Sam, Ben directed his comments not to Latanya but to the teacher, facing forward and only glancing over at Latanya momentarily. From the perspective of the viewer, such an oblique gaze helped to position Latanya as an object rather than engage her intersubjectively (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1999). Additionally, as Ben began to speak, he assumed an embodied position of nonchalance—a bodily hexis (Bourdieu, 1977) of being comfortable in the space of the classroom and having control over it. Leaning back, Ben put his foot up on the empty desk chair in front of him (line 47). He shifted lower in his seat and spoke, facing the teacher, in low tones with little affect. Ben assumed a position of being in control: cool and emotionally distanced, dialogically anticipating Latanya's stiffened body and forward lean when she responded to him with great intensity.

The Policing of Raced, Gendered, and Student Identities

Several students attempted to shush Latanya as she wielded her defense with increasing volume, stress, and broad gestures. The transcript of Segment 3 is a deliberate simplification of a high amount of simultaneous interaction but nevertheless indexes how Shameen, Tony, Terrence, Smitty, several unidentified speakers, and Maureen and Sid corrected Latanya with their words and their bodies (see Figure 4), mediating her identity and their own with artifacts. My particular concern in this section is how these corrections co-constructed the raced, gendered, and student identities of Latanya and those correcting her. Shameen was most active in the policing, with the repeated remark "Save your voice!" (lines 51 and 53). Shameen focused his response with intensity yet was also at low volume, as

is evident by its unclear transcription (indicated by parentheses). The transcript and diagram (see Figure 4) index how Shameen attempted to secure a semi-private F-formation with Latanya for this corrective commentary by looking directly and intently at her and by leaning closer toward her. Even the way in which Shameen beat his hand on his desk seemed initially to be a means of calling her out of her interactional space with Ben and into interaction with him. Additionally, based upon the micro-history of the interaction, as well as upon post-interaction interview data, I interpret this communication between Shameen and Latanya as an insider-to-insider measure to protect Latanya's identity and collective African American identity, both of which were under the gaze and critique of the White males.

When his semi-private policing was not effective, Shameen addressed Maureen, calling attention to Latanya's behavior, announcing and beginning to mime that he was going to "*take this coat off and put it over her head*" (line 55). Shameen shifted from a semi-private policing of Latanya to a more public critique and distancing from her. The stated and mimed covering with a coat was an identity artifact that positioned Shameen as collaborating with the teacher in maintaining classroom control over Latanya-as-student who was threatening this control. This example is just one of many that indexes how the interaction was not a simple distribution of power along racial lines or along any other single construction of individual or community identity

(Moje, 2000). This is not a story of simple solidarity within racial groups and of divisions among them. When racial (or other) collective identity is produced and recruited, it also must be interpreted against and simultaneous to other dynamic processes of identification, including student, gender, and class identification (following).

Immediately following, Tony's correction of Latanya (WHAT ARE YOU TALKIN' ABOUT . . . STOP CHILLIN' TANYA, lines 57 and 59) was at much higher volume than was Shameen's, and was at moments shouted through a large cardboard tube, which Tony also banged against his leg (see Figure 3). Following Tony's correction, Terrence, Tim, an unidentified male, Smitty, Hooper, and Maureen all responded with closely overlapping corrections of Latanya. In one sense the evolving responses were highly unstable. Note that while Shameen's early responses (Save your voice!) were issued as a directive, Tony challenged Latanya with a question (WHAT ARE YOU TALKIN' ABOUT?, line 57), and Smitty's question (WHAT'S REALLY GOIN' ON?, line 62) seemed addressed to the entire group and could possibly be read as a critique of the entire episode (including the activity of the White males). While these responses may potentially serve different communicative purposes, through Latanya's uptake they are constructed primarily as acts of silencing. Such an interpretation is also supported by shifting from a temporal perspective on the interactions to a spatial perspective, considering how the simultaneity of many
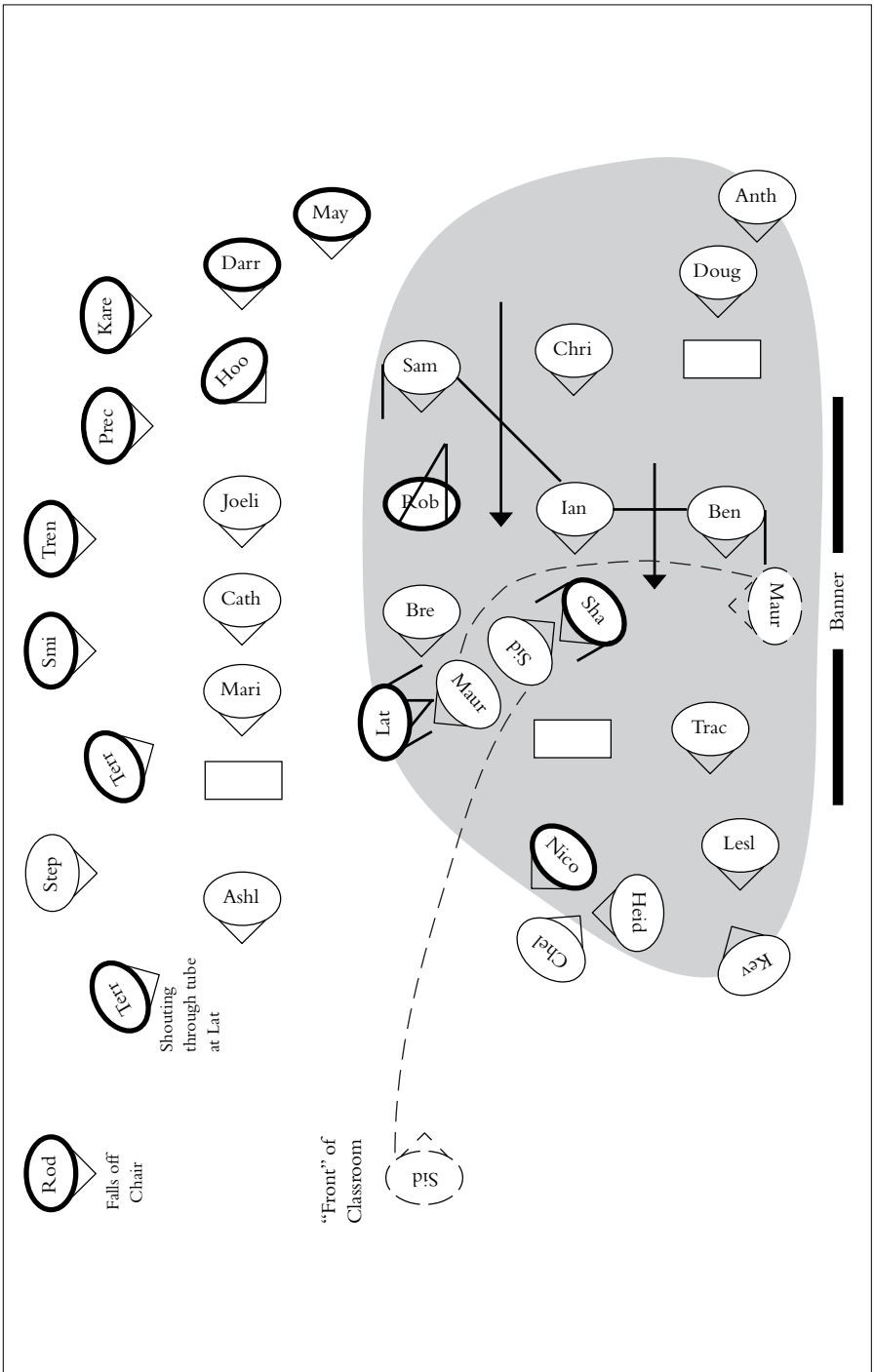
Figure 4. Embodied spaces during interaction Segment 3.

responses functioned to silence Latanya through the control of the speaking space (Leander, 2002).

In order to represent better the proximity and simultaneity of multiple interactions, a brief segment of the transcript is represented below (see Figure 5) in a staff format, much like a musical score (Ehlich, 1993; Hengst, 1998; Leander, 2002). The transcript indexes the manner in which the inter-action reached a pitch of many simulta-neous and multimodal interactions that were organized around Latanya and her identity. For instance, note, in the first and second stanzas of Figure 5, the close proximity of the use of objects (Tony's hitting the cardboard tube on his leg), verbal corrections (Tony, Terrence, an unidentified male, and Smitty), laughter (Tim), gesture (Hooper's leaning back, folding arms; Heidi gazing at the cam-era), and a shifting position in the classroom space (Maureen). Addition-ally, the gaze of all of the other interactants upon Latanya is suggested by marking their presence in the staff transcript as well as in Figure 4. The mass accumulation of these responses—artifacts of Latanya's identity—were configured in a few seconds time to configure the classroom space around the marking of Latanya's identity. Brockmeier's (2001) image of identity as a palimpsest, comprised of multiple layers that are visible through one another, is particularly helpful. Yet while Brockmeier (2001) emphasizes the tem-poral or historical dimensions of the palimpsest, here the distribution of multiple, dialogic artifacts is configured across space.

The policing of racial identity was also enacted as a policing and construc-tion of gender. With the exception of Maureen (the teacher), all of those publicly responding to Latanya were African American males. The particular kinds of critiques (e.g., Terrence: "chow mein, do::wn" (line 60) and Tony "STOP CHILLIN, TANYA", line 59) constructed Latanya as an emotionally out-of-control female. This male gaze and policing was not countered by either the African American or White European American females, who may thus be seen as complicit in this con-struction of gender. The only clearly visible reactions from females during the course of the interaction were those of Mayoosha (African American), who seemed to be supporting Tony's correc-tion of Latanya; that of Heidi (White European American), who looked up with a perplexed expression at the researcher (line 63); and that of Catherine (White European Ameri-can), who smiled, covered her face with a sheet of paper as if to remove herself from the social space, and turned to-ward her friend Marie (line 78). More-over, if this gendered construction of Latanya (and the classroom) is associ-ated with the earlier interactions with the White European American males, Latanya was interactionally and literally surrounded by males who were en-gaged in critiquing and silencing her. Those most involved in silencing Latanya in this segment (Tony, Terrence, Smitty, and Shameen) formed a line of male critique along the back (right-hand) wall that extended inward past Latanya through Shameen. This em-

```
Latanya:      (              )        I DON'T CARE (                    )
Shameen:
Terrence:                              *
Tony:         WHAT ARE YOU TALKIN ABOUT?        STOP**CHILLIN' TANYA
33 Others:
────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────
Notes:                              *Laughing    **Hitting cardboard tube on leg.
```

```
Latanya:      ALL Y'ALL
Terrence:     Chow-chow   chow mein, do::wn.
Tim:                                   **
Male:                           TIME OUT!
Smitty:                         WHAT'S REALLY GOIN' ON?
Hooper:       *
Maureen:                                            ***
Heidi:                                              ****
Tony:                           He ain't talkin' about you, Tanya!
27 Others:
────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────
Notes:        *Leans back in seat, folds arms.   **Laughing.
                      ***Takes position between Latanya and Ben.
                          ****Looks up at Kevin, filming.
```

```
Latanya:          YOU TALK ABOUT THE *GHETTO, I AIN'T NEVER BEEN IN
Terrence:
Smitty:
Mayoosha:         Straight up
Tony:         Tanya!
32 Others:
────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────
Notes:                      *Repeatedly pointing at Shameen while speaking.
```

```
 Latanya:     NO GHETTO, MY MAMA'S ALWAYS GOT A HOUSE AND WE AIN'T
Shameen:                                        *YE:::AH
Tony:                                           Alright, thank
33 Others:
────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────
Notes:                      *Broadly swings left arm in air, toward Latanya.
```

Figure 5. Score-based transcript.

bodied identity artifact, if interpreted together with the embodied artifact comprised by Ian, Sam, and Ben, projects the classroom as a male–gendered social space that was complexly laminated with its shifting construction as a racialized space.

Shameen shifted between more private and public critiques of Latanya, seeming to pull into more public interactions when she failed to take up his private cultural cues. Shortly after announcing he was going to cover her head with a coat, Shameen quietly

made a remark to Latanya that was inaudible in the video recording but that was reported by him and Latanya to be "stop acting *ghetto*" (line 66). In response to his correction, Latanya became increasingly upset and directly confronted Shameen. Her speech rose to a shout as she defended her home identity as non-ghetto. During this defense Shameen was smiling and interjected repeatedly, in choral response-style fashion, "YE::AH" (lines 68, 71, and 74). As Latanya's emotional pitch heightened, Shameen encouraged her outburst further. Commenting upon his activity later, Shameen admitted, "I was messin' with her." While Shameen was privately and publicly policing Latanya's actions earlier in the interaction, which has been interpreted in part as protecting her and his own racial identity, at this juncture he seems to more radically have separated himself from her. Shameen's separation can be interpreted as a means of sacrificing Latanya's identity for protecting (and hence, still policing) African American identity. In goading Latanya on, Shameen positioned himself as outside her identity and behavior and having some control over her behavior. Simultaneously, by "messin' with her" Shameen could also further destabilize the status quo in classroom interaction. Like Ian, Shameen could get something going in the classroom and sacrifice something of Latanya's identity in the process. The entire process was a dynamic achievement that could not be predicted from the outset in relation to stable classroom goals or collective identities. The interactants built off one another's re-sponses in determining where to move the interaction next, they constructed and articulated identity artifacts in this process, and they traded in their own as well as one another's forms of identification in the service of social–interactional goals.

The atmosphere in the classroom became carnivalesque—Latanya's anger seemed to become an increasingly amusing center of attention and hub of activity that was mirrored and escalated by others. While some continued to correct her (Tony), others laughed (e.g., Terrence and Rod), and Rod fell off his stool at the end in what appears to be a drumroll-type of big finish (line 76). Thus, while "ghetto" became ultimately associated with Latanya's practice—a set of remembered artifacts of how she "snapped" and acted inappropriately—several participants jointly practiced the social production of "ghetto" around Latanya. In this sense Shameen's activity of "messin' with" Latanya may be considered as somewhat similar to Ian's, who also worked to press Latanya into action and therefore upset the normal course of things. Moreover, both participants' actions were well situated in the entire Derogatory Terms Activity itself, which was developed as a type of "thirdspace" activity (Gutierrez et al., 1995). The unfolding of the interaction suggests that just as increasingly dialogical and "thirdspace" activities might open up new possibilities for identity and practice—might lead to "refiguring" the world other than it is (Holland et al., 1998)—such productions might also be used as spaces of punishment and

control, creating (re)stabilized worlds that are symbolized and enacted much as they have routinely been in remote geographies and repeated histories.

The Projection of Ghetto Geography with Identity Artifacts

While the expression "acting ghetto" implies a set of social practices, it also organizes and projects an imaginary geography and adherent ways of being embedded within a particular space-time. Ghetto is a term saturated (Bakhtin, 1981) with geographical and historical meaning. To be called "ghetto" or to tease and self-deprecate with ghetto identity is to recruit reified geographical-historical identity types for identity-in-practice. The association of ghetto identity with ghetto geography is my particular concern in the following analysis. More specifically, how did Shameen's "stop acting *ghetto*" (line 66) function as an identity artifact for Latanya, projecting a particular social space to which she responded? Secondly, how in turn did Latanya's defense—a description of her home geography—function as an identity artifact? In the following analysis, I draw from the interaction as well as from post hoc, video-based interpretations of it by Latanya and other participants.

Even though at this point in the interaction Shameen had publicly threatened to put a coat over Latanya's head, he returned to respond to her at a more semi-private level with "stop acting *ghetto*." He was perhaps policing again their shared African American identity, policing her African American

female identity, or both. That Shameen's "stop acting *ghetto*" was semi-private is evidenced by the fact that it was not picked up on the classroom audio and video tapes. However, it was interpreted as public enough by Latanya to prompt her highly engaged defense. While the entire interaction was interpreted (post hoc) as an example of Latanya's acting ghetto, within the interaction this exchange was the first time that meaning was constructed for the term "ghetto," and this meaning was geographical. This segment of interaction seems to provide a means of adding to and helping to organize Latanya's ghetto "identity kit" (Gee, 1990). For Latanya, Shameen's "stop acting ghetto" functioned as an identity artifact that projected an entire social space: an imagined geography (Gregory, 1994) of the ghetto and ghetto identity. Yet Latanya responded not simply to her own image of the ghetto but to how she interpreted ghetto geography and identity to be constructed in the White imagination.

The interpretation that Latanya was responding to the White imagination of ghetto is evidenced in the embodied details of the situated interaction. Namely, while Latanya was apparently addressing Shameen with her claims that she was not from the ghetto (lines 67, 70, 72, and 75), the direction she was facing within the space of the classroom was toward the White students behind Shameen, including Ian and Ben (Figure 3). Latanya's loud voice may therefore be read as not simply a direct effect of her emotional upset or even as a direct response to Shameen

alone but also as a strategy to speak into the space beyond Shameen, to reconfigure apparent "bystanders" as "ratified participants" (Goffman, 1981, p. 136), a way of letting everybody know, and in particular, every (White) body producing the social space beyond Shameen.

This interpretation was supported in a video-based interview of the interaction during which Latanya related how some White European American students essentialize Blackness, locating African American students in the ghetto. She argued that although she knew she was being played with by Shameen, it was the association of her identity with ghetto in relation to the White European American students that bothered her the most:

KEVIN: He's playing with you here?
LATANYA: Yeah.
KEVIN: And you know he's playing with you, when you're going through it?
LATANYA: Yeah.
Kevin: But it still makes you mad, because
LATANYA: Because the way he said it in front of all the White people, cause that's how—that's how they look at you, really.

Latanya's explanation of "that's how they look at you" was most clear from another interview:

I felt like Shameen was sitting there and trying to bring up, like, somebody was *living in* the ghetto, and I was like, hold on, I'm letting everybody know, I'm not *from* no ghetto. My mamma work hard, you know. I was letting them know, my mamma, since *she work at Kraft* she work hard, you know what I'm saying, she *bought a house* with— I'm not *from* no ghetto. And that's how, some White people single some Black people out, you know, and they're like *from the north end*, or they're from the ghetto, or whatever they want to call the ghetto. . . . The thing that made me mad is that Shameen was going to bust out, saying, and all those White people in the room, and I was like ((sing-songy voice)), "Shameen, no, no you did not say that." I was just upset.

Geographical locations (italicized) were ubiquitous in Latanya's interpretation; she separated herself from the ghetto as a place where one lives by indexing the location of her mother's job and her family's ownership of a house. Ghetto was a place that she was neither living in nor from. Her commentary related not only the close relations of ghetto identity and ghetto locale but also the co-construction of ghetto and Black in the White imagination ("whatever they want to call the ghetto"). Latanya's geographical meaning of "being ghetto" indexed a heightened double-consciousness (DuBois, 1997) about the meaning of ghetto as interpreted through the perspectives of Whites: "And that's how, some White people single some Black people out, you know, and they're like from the north end, or they're from the ghetto."

In Smith's (1993) terms Latanya was responding to the "racialization of residential space" (p. 133), which involves the fixing or mapping of particular behaviors, attitudes, and values onto residential location. This process serves as a means to essentialize racial identities:

When referring to the racialization of residential space, I mean the process by which residential location is taken as an index of the attitudes, values, behavioral inclinations and social norms of the kinds of people who are

assumed to live in particular "black" or "white," inner city or suburban, neighborhoods. Once the "black inner city" is isolated in this way, the image of racial segregation is mustered as spurious evidence of the supposedly natural origins of social ("racial") differentiation. (p. 87)

The racialization of residential space is a particular case of constituting an identity artifact that condenses and projects an entire identity narrative. Yet, in Latanya's post hoc response, at stake was not only racial identification but the constructed relations between class-based and race-based identification. This synchrony (McCarthy, 1993) of identity (poor, from the ghetto, and African American) was something that Latanya described as socially constructed. Importantly, this class-based distinction was not applied to all African Americans in Latanya's sketch; rather, she described how "some White people single some Black people out." Thus, at stake for Latanya was not simply her identification as an African American but whether or not she would be singled out as ghetto Black in the White imagination. For Latanya, Shameen's "stop acting *ghetto*" may have achieved just this type of singling out in addition to the way in which she was becoming increasingly isolated (dissociated with all collective identities) as the interaction moved forward.

Just as Latanya directly confronted Ian's and Ben's positioning of her, she directly confronted Shameen's critique that she was being ghetto, attempting to deconstruct this critique by separating her own home geography from ghetto geography (e.g., MY MAMA'S ALWAYS GOT A HOUSE AND WE

AIN'T NEVER (BEEN NO BAG WOMAN) MY MAMA WORK AT KRAFT, lines 67, 70, 72, and 75). Latanya's attempt to reposition herself failed remarkably; that is, her response "re-marked" her as ghetto. Rather than dismantling the way in which "stop acting *ghetto*" projected a particular social space, Latanya's response actually constructed another identity artifact for herself that served to further project a ghetto social space. First, her self-defense indexed Latanya's misfit with middle-class identity in that she flagged economic issues as achievements rather than as middle-class assumptions. When Latanya marshaled evidence of her non-ghetto identity, including her family's having a house, food, clothes, and books, her entire process of foregrounding such identity markers supported rather than negated an association of class, location, and ghetto identity. By marking her (working-class) family identity, Latanya did not separate herself from the ghetto but rather unsuccessfully confronted the fact that (White, middle-class) privilege was unmarked and in fact gained much of its power by remaining unmarked (Fine, Weis, & Powell, 1997). Interactionally speaking, this interpretation was supported by the fact that Latanya's (home) geography-based defense of not being ghetto was only met with increased laughter (Rod), ridicule (Tony), and bodily separation from Shameen (Sid and Maureen).

A second, more general, way in which Latanya's defense put her identity at risk was that it was noticeably located against the abstract space of the

classroom. Rather than maintaining the classroom as a space in which no identity in particular is the focus of attention and interpretation, Latanya forcefully made a claim about her identity, including information on what her home and mother's workplace were like. In this manner she acted directly counter to the practice of talking about no one in particular. Tony's repeated "THANK YOU FOR THE BIOGRAPHY" (lines 73 and 77) was a particularly noteworthy attempt at silencing Latanya's description of her home space, positioning Latanya's self and family identity as being too present—an entire book where a few words would do. As analyzed in the examples above (e.g., Sam and Maureen), proposing one's story, self-description, or action as a resource available for the construction of identity, even when (or perhaps, especially when) this resource is intended as evidence of personal strength, is fraught with risk and is unpredictable in its uptake.

Contrasting Constructions of Individual and Collective Identity

Although the analysis of data began with the observation that all of the student participants seemed to interpret Latanya as acting ghetto, in this final section I consider some post-interaction data that suggests how African American and White European American students differently interpreted the interaction. Specifically, I argue that while some of the African American students corrected Latanya's actions and contrasted them with their own, the White European American students generally interpreted Latanya's actions as representative of collective African American identity. In other terms, not only were identity artifacts constructed and aligned in the construction of Latanya's identity, but for many White European American students Latanya's actions in the interaction became an artifactual whole or "identity kit" (Gee, 1990) through which they interpreted collective African American identity.

Following this particular class period, a group of Latanya's African American friends from this class met with her over lunch and corrected her for being ghetto in the classroom. This interaction, in the more private "homeplace" of the lunchroom table (hooks, 1997), appeared to be a highly-charged moment of group identification and (re)construction: a critique of behavior related not to African American identity in general but to the particular realization of African American community identity within the junior-level Academy. Moreover, the cafeteria meeting seemed a significant example of how classroom social spaces extend into other social spaces and are laminated with them. I gathered accounts of this meeting, and Latanya brought it up again within the video-stimulated response:

KEVIN: How did you feel that—how did you feel that the class, responded to what you were saying?
LATANYA: I really—Be quiet, and just let that boy talk.
KEVIN: Who said that?
LATANYA: Kareena. She said, "You don't need to say anything you could just

be quiet and let that boy talk. But you see, that's the difference. Kareena—she's not the type of person that will snap. She will sit there and take a lot—no matter who it's from, Black or White. Girl will just sit there like, "Oh well" you know "whatever." But you see, that's not me.

Kareena's advice to Latanya seemed to involve not simply a way of avoiding being ghetto but a way of handling racial comments from White students like "that boy" (Ben). Latanya disagreed with what she interpreted as Kareena's weakness in "tak[ing] it" from both Black and White people, separating herself as not sustaining such abuse. At the same time Latanya later criticized herself for acting ghetto in the interaction. Latanya sensed herself to be trapped: If she responded to Ian's and Bens' remarks, she would be positioned as ghetto, while if she didn't respond, she would be weak in her own eyes. Moreover, the construction of racial identity as reflected in the cafeteria conversation did not merely involve the relationships among the students and their racial identities but suggests how these identity relationships were mediated by the projected reactions of a teacher: "[Kareena] was like, 'You should have just kept your mouth closed. Because you know how Mr. Bartoli is gonna think.' But I was, I don't really care who thinks what." Latanya did not indicate her understanding of "how Mr. Bartoli is gonna think," but it is interesting nevertheless to consider that the teacher was invoked as a potential critic.

Kareena's invocation of Mr. Bartoli suggests how racial identification was interpreted through the eyes of the (raced, classed, gendered) teacher. Moreover, Mr. Bartoli may well have signified the students' academic identity, which was repeatedly related to racial identity issues by the African American students. Kareena's lesson was, in part, that Latanya should place more importance on the teacher's construction of her than on that of another student: "just be quiet and let that boy talk."

In a video-based interview with Rod and me, Tony suggested a doubled position with respect to Latanya. On the one hand, he asserted his critical distance from her behavior, while on the other hand, he indexed his racial affiliation with her:

TONY: She was acting up in class, and she didn't *have* to, and I told her to calm down. And she didn't listen, so I started talking about something else.

KEVIN: So she, so she should calm down for herself or for the class.

ROD: Herself.

TONY: For herself. Because see, she's making herself look herself look worse in front of the *class*, and then that gives them a bad perception of Black people, that we don't—we can't stay focused. That we always gotta snap on somebody. We can't stay to the topic or whatever.

In Tony's response, Latanya made herself look bad and also harmed the perception of "Black people" in the eyes of "the class." Moreover, note that

Tony used the word "class" to describe Latanya's critics rather than "White people," indexing how race-based and school-based identities were closely intertwined. This relationship is also suggested in Tony's description of a (White) class critique of Latanya/Black people as behavioral ("we always gotta snap on somebody") and also academic ("we can't stay to the topic").

The White European American students in the class, however, positioned themselves as entirely separated from Latanya's identity and largely interpreted the interaction as a reflection of African American collective identity. The episode as a configured whole was an artifact of both Black identity and Latanya's identity; the two were mapped cleanly onto one another. In the post-hoc video responses of White European American students, Latanya was never mentioned as being policed or critiqued by other African American students. Rather, Latanya appeared to be acting like the other African American students; her being emotionally upset was interpreted as a real-life example of Ian's claim that whereas "White people don't get mad" (Segment 1, line 7), it's a "whole different story" with Black people (Segment 1, line 1). Importantly, here was also another moment of the Black community disrupting normative classroom practices and classroom control, as indexed in Catherine and Marie's analyses of their responses in the midst of the classroom interaction

KEVIN: What—I just saw for just a sec-ond, I saw you for just a second, Marie, sitting in the middle, and I'm wondering, what is she thinking?

MARIE: ((laughs)) It's like Catherine, we're probably just looking at each other and started like laughing a little bit. It's like, Catherine and I probably just sit back, and instead of putting our views in or whatever, we know this is too out of control, we can't even get our points in, Catherine and I will kind of sit back and relate to each other. It almost gets to a point where it's funny, because, there's the day in and day out.

Marie's remarks index how, in school settings, achievements of identity are not only shaped at the level of any identity group but are also laminated with the construction of the school space-as-institution. The interpretation of the interaction as about African American identity is perhaps not surprising interactionally, given the quick unfolding of interaction, given that African American students were the key participants, and given that those correcting Latanya needed to raise their voices to address her. This response and positioning by the White European Americans are still less surprising, however, if the entire event is considered as the tip of a social, historical, and geographical iceberg of meaning: the projection of a social space of the "Black community" and its figured worlds in the White imagination. From this perspective Latanya's actions were seen as simply reflecting the mores of the "Black community."

Discussion
Summary
Latanya was retrospectively character-ized as being ghetto by the other participants in the interaction. For some the interaction was also noted as evi-dence that Latanya was naturally "ghetto" well beyond this classroom episode. Yet the data suggest how a ghetto identity is a joint social accom-plishment that involves materials, bod-ies, talk, constructions of community, and institutional practices in the pro-duction and relation of memorable identity artifacts. Latanya became posi-tioned during the interaction, but the language of positioning seems too weak a characterization of the identity work that was accomplished, understating the multiple resources and relations through which identities are achieved. Rather, while focusing upon the inter-actional practices of positioning (Davies & Harré, 1990), the analysis suggests how stabilizing of Latanya's identity is achieved through a dynamic network of relations among identity artifacts. This networking or coordination is not interpreted as a pre-given strategy but as something that is produced through the joint action of participants (Kendon, 1985; Shotter, 1993).

In the following I summarize and extend the central argument in the data analysis that the interactional work of stabilizing identity is mediated by multimodal artifacts and that the con-figuration of these artifacts serves a major function in stabilizing identity. Rather than beginning with the inher-ent qualities of artifacts, this analysis focuses upon the processes whereby artifacts co-stabilize and fix identities. Within these processes, material arti-facts have certain affordances that seem particularly important to consider in classroom interaction. Further, among the range of resources that function as identity artifacts, some artifacts seem especially associated with the projec-tion of space-time. I consider the sig-nificance of projection for organizing identity across contexts of meaning, especially in relation to the mainte-nance or disruption of abstract space in schooling.

Multimodality and Artifact Configuration
The analysis begins to reflect how embodied and verbally constructed ar-tifacts create openings for one another and become mutually sustaining. Thus, the significance of multimodality goes well beyond simply expanding the repertoire of communicative modali-ties analyzed in literacy classrooms. Rather, for participants the stabilization (and likely the destablization) of iden-tity processes are essentially achieved through multimodal relations and must be traced as such. For example, the embodied practice of White identity (e.g., Sam's hand slams, Ian's refusal to engage Latanya's interactional space, and the spatial alignment of Sam-Ian-Ben) functioned dialogically with their verbal critique of Latanya and their verbal construction of the "Black com-munity." The data also index how, once identity artifacts are brought to the floor of interaction, they are reified by a broad range of witting and unwitting participants. The interactions of Ian,

Sam, and Ben functioned not only to cast the "Black community" into a particular kind of thing (e.g., a single group, prone to act out of anger) but also functioned to prompt responses from Latanya and other African Americans that sustained this particular reification. Thus, to say that the "Black community" is jointly produced as an identity artifact is not to make a claim that it is produced with jointly distributed agency or just as all participants in the interaction would like it to be. Rather, the data and analysis point to a particularly insidious means of agitating an interaction (e.g., by Ian, Sam, Ben, and Shameen) such that individual and group identities act into and help to sustain the social space sketched for them, perhaps in the very process of countering this social space and its available positions. One key to this means of interaction seems to be the ability to critique without making this critique overly apparent; to talk concurrently about someone and no one in particular.

Identity artifacts may be read diachronically synchronically (Gutiérrez & Stone, 2000), as a collection or palimpsest of multiple texts (Brockmeier, 2001) to be interpreted historically and geographically. The accumulation of multiple artifacts at a given moment helps to support the image of what some would call the "natural" identity of a particular "individual" across the segments of space-time comprising an interaction. For example, in the closing moments of the focal interaction, Latanya was ghettoized by being interactionally and materially isolated

from co-present others. She was separated from Shameen and other students by the bodies of Sid and Maureen, and, in back of her, reactions to her involved ongoing correction and ridicule (e.g., Tony, Rod, and others). These artifacts assumed a reifying function in relation to Latanya's representation of her home space, to ruptures of the institutional abstract space, and to other historically and spatially layered artifacts within the episode and well beyond it geographically and historically.

By not defining artifacts on the basis of their material or semiotic nature, this analysis has foregrounded the ways in which material-semiotic meanings are forged through relations. Yet in this classroom interaction, material artifacts (bodies, embodied spaces, objects) seemed to be a particularly important resource for stabilizing identity. It might appear that material artifacts are more naturally durable than semiotic artifacts (e.g., a building is permanent, a name is ephemeral). However, I would argue that the apparent durability of material artifacts is not why they are powerful resources in identity-stabilizing processes. On the contrary, semiotic resources (words, stories, entire discourses) may be much more durable than a school desk or building.

The dominance of concepts and signs over material reality seems to be Lefebvre's (1991) thought in his discussion of "conceptualized space" or "representations of space" (p. 38). Yet two affordances of material artifacts seem particularly important for stabilizing identity in interaction. First, material

artifacts anchor relatively diffuse semiotic artifacts into the here-and-now. When the meaning of the "Black community" is up for grabs, it can be anchored and enacted in the present moment—realized in the visible alignments of Black and White bodies. Said otherwise, the achieved relations between the "Black community" notion as a semiotic artifact and the "Black community" as realized in a material artifact enables interactants to straddle space-times. This process is somewhat the inverse of projection (where an entire world is opened up by a metaphor, bit of narrative, image) in that broadly distributed meanings are anchored or congealed in a material instantiation. Secondly, material artifacts can be pointed at, placed between persons, fixed as the object of common vision, and otherwise aligned and arrayed in material interactional spaces. This affordance of material artifacts and the way in which interactants attune to them is evident in the banner episode. The episode indicates that the material presence of an artifact can remain pivotal in interaction even as its meanings are negotiated, which depends in part upon the alignments of persons to it in material space (e.g., through proximity and orientation).

Space-Time Projection and Abstract Space

The data analysis is decidedly a more critical reading of hegemony in the practice of identity than is suggested by Holland et al. (1998), who seek to recover the agency of participants who improvise and remake social relationships even while acting into historical figurings of identities. I appreciate and share these inclinations to follow individuals' decisions and actions that structure new openings for identity. The above analysis could be critiqued and productively extended by a greater focus upon Latanya's own action and agency; she was not a social dupe. Yet some instances in which Latanya did assume agency were used against her, such as her assertions about her home and family context. The way in which this action and others were recruited by others and used to further shape a ghetto identity for Latanya raises questions about what it means to assume agency in classroom interaction. It may be, in some instances, that classroom interaction directly conflicts with an ethic of personal engagement. That is, while *high participation* is valued and rewarded (socially and institutionally), *engagement* of one's identities as an individual with a social and cultural life, within and beyond school, is avoided, policed, and only very carefully negotiated.

An important means by which identity is made available to the interactional floor is through the projection of space-times of identification by artifacts. In the present analysis instances involving the projection of space-time included Latanya's interpretation of Shameen's "stop acting *ghetto*" as well as in Latanya's ensuing description of her home geography. Latanya seems to want her home space description to say just what it says—that her mother had a job, that she has always had clothing, a house, etc. Yet, problematically for Latanya, her description said much

more than she wanted: It projected an entire social space in which people talked about "clothes on our back" and a "roof over our heads" as an accomplishment. Bakhtin (1981) terms the manner in which a word or mention of an event carries with it the memory or meaning of a space-time a *chronotopic motif*. The motif, unlike the well developed chronotope (time-space) developed and recognized across a span of social life, points toward a time-space, is a "condensed reminder of the kind of time and space that typically function there" (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 374). The straddling or spanning of space-times is realized through the motif as it calls up another social space to be considered along with the current space of interaction; such social spaces are "laminated" (Goffman, 1981, p. 154). As in Holland et. al's (1998) analysis of the figured world, what seems important for the function of the identity artifact to project social space is the typification of this social space, over time, such that it may be captured in a few words or an image. Thus, along with the kind of analysis presented above, which emphasizes the novel, on-line production of identity artifacts, the chronotopic motif evidences how it is important to trace the stabilization of identity artifacts across long and broad spans of historical and geographical development.

In the project or game of school discussion, abstract space seems to be regularly projected. Knowing when and when not to produce abstract space is an important means of staying in the game of interaction as a participant while carefully negotiating one's identity. Ian, Sam, and Ben were skilled enough that even while they were central players in the construction of Latanya as ghetto, in the end it was Latanya who was corrected for interrupting Ben, who "has a right to speak without interruption." Shameen privately policed Latanya's identity as if located in abstract space for a time and then made use of Latanya's reaction and identity in his move to shift the classroom toward the carnivalesque. What is at stake in such instances is a refined use of the institution of schooling—a practice of schooled power that is tied up with the practice of identity construction. In other instances students assert their identities but carefully manage such assertions by shaping private or semi-private spaces of interaction. One noteworthy example is Robert's response to Ian's question about why Black people get angrier over the use of derogatory terms than White people: "That's because you don't have to take it the way we do" (Segment 1, line 10). Robert responded with a particularly fine-tuned relation to abstract space as well as to the ways in which "Black community" identity was being constructed in the interaction. First, Robert displayed low affect in a brief response that summarized a position without creating a narrative or figured world of self. Secondly, Robert's body continued to face forward, and he only briefly looked over his shoulder at Ian. Unlike Latanya, who sat sideways in her chair and attempted to construct a common transactional segment (Kendon, 1990) with Ian, Robert merely

turned and spoke into Ian's transactional segment as a conversational aside and quickly pulled out of it. In so doing Robert responded to Ian's comment without inviting ongoing interaction and maintained his embodied identity as student through his face-forward orientation. (A similar form of response is evidenced by Robert in line 41.) Robert's response accomplished at least three goals at once: addressing Ian's critique, maintaining his interactional position as good student, and avoiding displays of his own identity in the public space of the classroom. At the same time, Robert's response illuminates why and how the abstract space of the classroom was reproduced, demonstrating how hegemony operates in classrooms.

Implications

In this analysis I have attempted to expand current approaches to the analysis of identity in interaction. First, to analyze a focal interaction, I have drawn on participants' post-hoc, video-based interpretations of the focal interaction, as well as other ethnographic data. Secondly, I argue for and illustrate the value of analyzing multiple modalities in classroom interaction. Examining identity-in-practice in the English language arts classroom may be described as a project of expansion, moving from the texts *in the class* to an analysis of the texts *of the class*. While the importance of considering embodied practices or the bodily habitus is often admitted in studies of classroom interaction, actual analyses of the embodiment is relatively rare (critiqued in Luke, 1996). Interpre-

tations of identity construction within any given interaction are enabled or constrained by how identity is considered to be mediated. An approach that considers not only linguistic signs but also embodied positions, gestures, materials, and physical space, as well as the relations among these modalities, seems especially critical for the analysis of identity relations. At issue in these interpretations is not only how other modalities might support, contradict, or serve different functions than the verbal modality but how multiple semiotic and material artifacts are configured together to shape identities. In particular, the embodied spaces that participants are constructing with one another reveal much about the social spaces and figured worlds, claimed or implied, that they are jointly acting "into."

One implication of this study for teaching English language arts involves reconsidering what is meant by how open classroom dialogues are to student participation (Nystrand, 1997). Beyond changing ways of organizing interaction (e.g., having more student-student interactions, and fewer IRE [Initiation-Response-Evaluation] sequences [Mehan, 1979]), teachers need to consider how classroom practices of interaction are open to the identities of diverse learners. How might the types of institutional practices that privilege certain identities over others be disrupted? This transformation is much more difficult to make than it might appear, as power is distributed across a range of participants in the classroom (Candela, 1999), and oppressive practices are often not visible, especially in

the rapid stream of classroom interaction. Despite their admirable skill in managing the tensions of this situation, what may have allowed Sid and Maureen to relocate Latanya more effectively as an important contributor to the interaction?

While Sid and Maureen involved students in a great deal of student-student interaction and while they transformed the content of the dialogue to address the language and lives of the students' worlds, neither of these practices provided a means of changing the direction of how identities were fixed in the flow of interaction. A partial response to this teaching dilemma involves interrupting not only participation structures or focal texts for interaction but also the contexts that these interactions depended upon. In particular, the data and analysis point to the need to make visible and to critique the routine construction of abstract social space, a no-time, no-space situated outside locally embodied social relations.

Abstract space appears to be an important resource used for the reproduction of White privilege in practice, even when such reproduction is carried out by non-White students (as in the case of Robert). The production of abstract space posits that people are disembedded from the social worlds in which their action is carried out: The space-time cultural context neither supports nor conflicts with human activity. Hence, human activity is essentially asocial and acultural—removed from sociocultural structure and practices. As such, the production of abstract space

will support those students who have the most to gain by denying culture and cultural privilege, including occasions of classroom interaction during which students are engaged in cultural examination and critique. Because space is constituted through discursive and embodied practices, disrupting abstract space will involve developing teaching practices that direct students to reground their texts, bodies, and discourses in the social, cultural, and political contexts of one another's lives and in the collective life they are shaping together in school. Whether or not such a pedagogy can be accomplished by large group discussion is an open question.

Finally, while I have emphasized the repressive working of identity artifacts in this article, English language arts classrooms and teacher education would be well-served to consider how desirable identity artifacts may be positively constructed and used in practice. While analyses of power tend to consider the negative dynamics of power, these same analyses can be useful for producing new relationships of power (Foucault, 1979) and new relationships of identity and learning. How are students' identities materially reified in artifacts? Where do these artifacts travel, and how do they function as indices of social positioning? In the stream of teaching and learning practices, those interested in these questions might productively consider how student papers, embodied spaces, test scores, and statements in the flow of interaction are articulated and layered in stabilizing or opening up possible identities.

Note

Author Note

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APPENDIX: NAME KEY TO FIGURES 1, 2, AND 4

Anth: Anthony	Heid: Heidi	Mau: Maureen	Sam: Sam
Ashl: Ashley	Hoo: Hooper	(Teacher)	Sha: Shameen
Ben: Benjamin	Ian: Ian	Mari: Marie	Sid: Sid (Teacher)
Bre: Brett	Joe: Joeline	May: Mayoosha	Step: Stephen
Cath: Catherine	Kare: Kareena	Mik: Mike	Terr: Terreyal
Chel: Chelle	Kev: Kevin	Nico: Nicole	Ton: Tony
Chri: Chris	(Researcher)	Prec: Precious	Tren: Trent
Darr: Darrijah	Lat: Latanya	Rob: Robert	Trac: Tracey
Doug: Doug	Lesl: Leslie	Rod: Rod	Wil: Willie

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