

ABSTRACT

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REVISITING THE SILENCE OF ASIAN
IMMIGRANT STUDENTS: THE
NEGOTIATION OF KOREAN IMMIGRANT
STUDENTS' IDENTITIES IN SCIENCE
CLASSROOMS

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This dissertation is a study about Korean immigrant students' identities, including academic identities related to science learning and identities along various social dimensions. I explore how Korean immigrant students participate in science classrooms and how they enact and negotiate their identities in their classroom discursive participation. My dissertation is motivated by the increasing attention in educational research to the intersectionality between science learning and various dimensions of identities (e.g., gender, race, ethnicity, social networks) and a dearth of such research addressing Asian immigrant students. Asian immigrant students are stereotyped as quiet and successful learners, particularly in science and mathematics classes, and their success is often explained by cultural differences. I confront this static and oversimplified notion of cultural differences and Asians' academic success and examine the intersectionality between science learning and identities of Asian immigrant students, with the specific case of Korean immigrants. Drawing upon cultural historical and sociolinguistic

perspectives of identity, I propose a theoretical framework that underscores multiple levels of contexts (macro level, meso level, personal, and micro level contexts) in understanding and analyzing students' identities. Based on a year-long ethnographic study in two high school Advanced Placement Biology classes in a public high school, I present the meso level contexts of the focal school and biology classes, and in-depth analyses of three focal students. The findings illustrate: (1) how meso level contexts play a critical role in these students' identities and science classroom participation, (2) how the meso level contexts are reinterpreted and have different meanings to different students depending on their personal contexts, and (3) how students negotiated their positions to achieve certain identity goals. I discuss the implications of the findings for the science education of racially, ethnically, and linguistically diverse students, particularly given the increasing number of immigrant students in U.S. classrooms, and for the education of Asian immigrant students.

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SCIENCE CLASSROOMS

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Motivation for the dissertation

1.1.1 My journey as an immigrant in the U.S. educational system

I am a Korean female who was born and completed her education to a master's degree in South Korea. Five years ago, I moved to the United States to pursue a doctoral degree in science education. Before coming to the United States, I anticipated potential challenges to a certain extent. I knew that I would not speak or write English perfectly, studying and learning in English would not be easy, and I would be surrounded by and have to interact with non-Korean people. Yet, I did not know how serious those challenges would be and how much I would change and develop a new set of characteristics in response to those challenges. Because my personal experience in the United States influenced how and why I approach the research problem of my dissertation, I would like open with a short autobiography of my life in the United States.

I vividly recall the first class meeting at the University of Maryland about two weeks after my arrival in the United States. The class was a day-long session, and before lunch, the instructors gave the students a packet of reading materials and asked us to read it during the lunch. Of course, I could not complete the reading during the approximately hour-long lunch. I thought that if I were given enough time (if I had received the reading material in advance of the meeting), I would have been able to read it. I also remember, when my close friend first heard me speaking in Korean, she, likely surprised that I could speak without halting between words, said, "Wow, Minjung, you speak so fast!" I will

never forget the moment when my other friend said, “I can imitate how you pronounce *so*,” and how hard I cried¹.

As I experienced moments like these, I became less confident in myself with respect to my English proficiency, interpersonal skills, and even intellectual capability that must be mediated by English. In addition, I became quiet. Instead of speaking with people, I just smiled at them and came to avoid social settings in which I had to talk with many people. Perhaps, it would be more precise to say that people started to perceive me as being quiet and calm and not liking social interactions. I, of course, tried to mingle with people. However, whenever I went out to socialize with people, I found myself not being able to be a part of the group and, in turn, became more demoralized. I hated to see people’s expressions when they did not understand my joke and situations when everyone laughed loudly except for me. I hated to see people pretend to understand what I said but not actually understand me. I was intimidated and even scared in situations in which I had to interact with people. One strategy to deal with the challenge was to not want to be with them. I wished to protect myself from deep depression. I indeed became quiet and did not socialize with people, which, I believe, reinforced how people perceived me.

As time passed, I came to feel better and gradually recovered my self-confidence. In classes, however, I still could not speak up. Sometimes, I was worried that the instructor had already mentioned what I was going to ask. At other times, although I desperately wanted to say something and argue with another speaker in the class, I could

¹ Considering relational ethics (Ellis, 2007), I note that both of these people are my great supporters, and we are still very good friends. I do not think that they intended to intimidate or tease me. Rather, those two remarks, which could have been simply banter, reminded me of my status as a non-native English speaker and triggered other memories related to it.

not find a moment to interrupt. I waited for other people to finish what they were saying, but the discussion moved in another direction, or the instructor wanted to wrap up the discussion. Sometimes, I was even worried that people in the classroom would be surprised if I, as someone who is quiet, raised my hand and said something.

In the time that I have been at Maryland, I have interacted with many international students from Korea who came to the United States in pursuit of advanced degrees or adolescent Korean immigrant students who attended U.S. public middle and high schools. When I have talked with them about their school experiences, I have often heard of experiences and struggles similar to what I went through. More often than not, we conclude that we hate classes that promote discussion, and we just want to sit in the classroom, take notes, and study on our own. I have come to think that the challenges and changes in personalities, characteristics, and identities after relocation to the United States may not happen only to me, but also to other immigrant students from Korea and perhaps other countries.

My own experiences of classroom participation, social interactions, and identity development after migration motivated me to pursue this line of research. I wanted to investigate how immigrant adolescent students, especially those from Korea who are situated in contexts similar to my own, encounter and deal with challenges that I experienced. I wanted to examine carefully how their personalities and identities are developed, shaped, and reshaped through their post-immigration experiences, and if those challenges and identities influence their science classroom participation and learning. In addition to my personal experiences, existing literature also seems to warrant careful research about Asian immigrant students and their science classroom learning

experiences. In the next section, I will discuss the existing literature concerning Asian immigrant students and classroom learning in science education research.

First, I start with a brief review about science education research that investigates science academic identity to understand and describe students' science learning. Despite the increasing research focus on identity in science education, in particular for the learning of minority students, Asian immigrant students have been rarely studied in science education research, let alone the science academic identity of these students. Studies about Asian immigrants show that these students experience severe challenges in school and warrant further studies addressing Asian immigrant students in U.S. classrooms. As a subgroup of Asian immigrants, I focus on Korean immigrants in the dissertation. I conducted a study about Korean immigrant students prior to the dissertation, which I briefly review because the study provided both theoretical and methodological implications for the dissertation.

1.1.2 Situating the dissertation in education research

1.1.2.1. Academic identity as a lens to understand students' science learning

As science education research expands its focus from individual students' conceptual learning to the sociocultural meaning of learning (Barab & Duffy, 2000), scholars consider the development of students' academic identities related to science to be a central component of learning. Some researchers argue that students should develop identities as scientists who engage in authentic processes of doing science, such as scientific reasoning and argumentation (e.g., Reveles, Cordova, & Kelly, 2004). Other researchers frame the science classroom as a community of practice (e.g., Olitsky, 2007; Reveles & B. A. Brown, 2008). These researchers argue that students should develop

identities as legitimate and central members of the science classroom, as well as competent science learners, through participation in classroom learning activities. Despite varying foci, it is generally agreed upon that students' academic identities related to science co-develop with science learning, and these identities are central to characterizing science learning.

Research on science identity development is grounded in sociocultural views of learning, assuming that the science classroom is not isolated but rather situated within larger social, cultural, and historical contexts (Lemke, 2001). Rather than assuming that individuals learn objective knowledge about scientific facts and the process of scientific inquiry, scholars adopting the sociocultural lens are concerned about social and interpersonal interactions through which students learn culturally-defined scientific discourse and representation. Beyond mere cognitive explanations of science learning, aspects of learners' affect (e.g., interests, attitudes, and motivation toward science) and agency are highlighted as essential factors that facilitate or impede students' learning. Importantly, both cognitive and affective aspects of learning are not regarded as individual attributes but as influenced by learners' cultural practices and experiences, as well as the communities to which they belong (Cole, 1996; Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003; Nasir, 2002; Ogbu, 1987).

Moreover, development of students' academic identity related to science is intertwined with their identities as defined by various social, cultural, and historical contexts. Science learning and belonging to a science learning community have sociocultural meanings defined within larger sociocultural structures and influenced by social discourse. For instance, in some social settings, science learning is related to high-

status social identity, such as being smart (Olitsky, 2007). In other settings, being successful at science is regarded as being a “geek” or a “nerd” and is associated with masculinity (Archer et al., 2010). These science-related identities may conflict with the ways in which some students view themselves and are perceived by others. Students who are from ethnic or racial groups that are not associated with success in science may not have access to resources for science learning and participation in science classrooms. Thus, science learning requires negotiation between students’ identities along various social dimensions and their academic identities with respect to science learning.

From this theoretical framework, some science education studies have focused on the intersections between science identity development and other dimensions of identity. Such studies explore science identity development of groups that are traditionally marginalized in the field of science (e.g., Brickhouse & Potter, 2001; Kahveci, Southerland, & Gilmer, 2008; Kozoll & Osborne, 2004; Malone & Barabino, 2009). For instance, Brickhouse and Potter show how two young women of color in an urban school experienced being positioned as less capable, and how this positioning impeded the development of their science identities. Similarly, Malone and Barabino studied the lived experiences of science graduate students of color through the lens of identity. Their findings illustrate how students from marginalized groups experienced invisibility, undervaluation, and exclusion.

Despite this growing body of research addressing the science learning of minority students, including issues of race, gender, social class, and immigration, Asian immigrant students have rarely been examined with regard to their science academic identity. Rather, studies on Asian immigrant students are largely focused on the fact that they

perform well on average and are framed within the perspective of cultural differences. Given the complex contexts in which Asian immigrant students are situated in U.S. educational settings, it is important to explore the identities of these immigrant students as a means to provide a more nuanced understanding of their science learning.

1.1.2.2. Asian Immigrant Students in U.S. Classrooms

While several science education studies have made efforts to facilitate the engagement and retention of students from cultural, ethnic, and linguistic minorities in science, Asian immigrant students have rarely been studied. One salient reason may be that, as a group, the academic achievement of Asian immigrant students is comparable to or above that of White students across disciplines and measures, including standardized test scores (e.g., National Assessment of Educational Progress [NAEP], Scholastic Aptitude Test [SAT]), grade point average (GPA), and high school completion rate (Kao & Thompson, 2003). In particular, students of Asian descent tend to enroll in more science courses in high school than students from other racial groups (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2007). Also, the science achievement of Asian students in NAEP is comparable to that of White students and higher than that of Black and Latino students (Rodriguez, 1997). As a result, Asian immigrant students are homogeneously stereotyped as successful, high achieving, “model minority” students (S. J. Lee, 2009). In various media and academic research, Asian immigrants are almost universally portrayed as being successful in schooling (Chou & Feagin, 2008). This success is often attributed to socializing influences, such as origins of immigration (e.g., Ogbu, 1987), as well as family and cultural influences, such as parental expectations and an emphasis on working hard (e.g., Chen & Stevenson, 1995; Schneider & Y. Lee, 1990).

Although Asian immigrant students' relatively high performance may be evidenced by distal measures (e.g., standardized tests, GPA) in some disciplines and for some students, stereotypes regarding these students' academic achievement are overly simplified and inappropriately generalized (Lew, 2006). The discourse that Asian immigrant students are academically successful is problematic and misleading for three reasons. First, the stereotype has resulted in the masking of challenges that underperforming Asian immigrant students face in school learning, as well as ethnic and socioeconomic diversity among Asian immigrant students (O. Lee, 1997). Not all Asian immigrant students enjoy academic success or the parental support and social capital that facilitate academic success (Lew, 2006; Olsen, 1997). Second, by relying largely on achievement on distal measures (Nasir & Hand, 2006), some educational research studies implicitly or explicitly assume that attaining high scores and grades satisfies goals of education. However, high-achieving science students may not know how to use learned scientific concepts in innovative problem-solving situations (Greeno et al., 1998). Research has found that some high-achieving students successfully play the game of schooling in which academic success is measured by indicators such as the attainment of a high GPA and acceptance to good colleges (Pope, 2001), rather than engage in scientific inquiry and other more sophisticated reasoning processes (Carlone, 2004). Third, research that explores the academic success of Asian immigrants based on distal measures does not consider the development of these students' identities as competent learners and legitimate members of learning communities, which is essential to learning (Barab & Duffy, 2000; Lave & Wenger, 1991).

Although I agree that success on school tests may be one of the goals of education, science education research on Asian immigrant students should also explore these students' participation in learning practices, engagement in science learning, and development of science academic identity. Thus, in this dissertation, I explore how and why Asian immigrant students participate in science classroom activities and the natures of their academic identities related to science learning. In doing so, I ground my theoretical framework in sociocultural views of learning. In particular, I focus on Asian students' discursive participation in the science classroom community and identities with respect to science and science class.

Academic identity development, as aforementioned, is not separable from other features of identity. That is, science identity development is intertwined with other dimensions of identity, such as race, gender, and immigration. In particular, Asian immigrant students are racial minorities who are considered perpetual foreigners even generations after immigration (Tuan, 1998; Wu, 2002); cultural minorities, whose cultural values and practices are believed to be discrepant from norms in the U.S. (e.g., Ho, 1994; H. S. Kim, 2002; Markus & Kitayama, 1991), and linguistic minorities who are portrayed as having heavy accents despite years of living in the United States (Chou & Feagin, 2008). To capture the complexity of situations in which Asian immigrant students are placed and their lived experiences in such contexts, I draw on a notion of identity (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Holland, Skinner, Lachicotte Jr., & Cain, 1998; Wortham, 2006) as a type of person that emerges from practices of interpersonal interactions and is also influenced by larger social structures, power relations, and widely-circulating social discourse.

In this dissertation, therefore, I focus on Asian immigrant students' academic identities related to science learning and their identities along other dimensions (e.g., race, ethnicity, language, personality, relationships with other students) by examining their classroom discursive participation and narratives. In particular, this dissertation investigates Korean immigrant students. While Asian immigrant students may share some characteristics and issues as racial, cultural, and linguistic minorities, each ethnic group has a unique history of immigration and characteristics with respect to their immigrant community. By focusing on one ethnic group (Korean) in a particular region and school (Parkview High in Parkview City²), I aim to avoid unintended pan-ethnic generalizations across Asian immigrants and instead focus on specific issues represented by Korean immigrant students in a particular local context. However, the results of this study may be applicable to other immigrant students who are situated in contexts similar to those in this study.

1.1.2.3. Korean immigrant students³

Korean immigrants have comprised one of the fastest-growing immigrant populations in the U.S. since the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965 (Lew, 2006). In the 2000 U.S. census, approximately 1.2 million people reported being of Korean descent (Barnes & Bennett, 2002), and almost 80% of these people reported being foreign-born (Reeves & Bennett, 2004). In the 2005 American Community Survey, the estimated

² All names of schools, cities, and study participants are pseudonyms.

³ Throughout this dissertation, I use *Korean immigrant students* to refer to Korean-born immigrant students and American-born students who have at least one Korean immigrant parent. While children of immigrant parents are often defined as 1.5-generation (e.g., Rumbaut & Ima, 1988) or second-generation immigrants (e.g., Portes & M. Zhou, 1993), I will use the term immigrant students for the purpose of clarity in this study.

number of individuals of Korean descent who were under the age of 18 was about 261,000, and 38% of this population was foreign-born (NCES, 2007).

Despite the growing number of Korean immigrants and the large proportion of foreign-born Korean immigrant students, little is known about Korean immigrant students and their schooling experiences. Instead, Korean immigrant students are lumped together with other Asian immigrant students, especially those of East Asian descent (e.g., Chinese, Japanese), and are predominantly believed to be quiet and successful high-achievers (e.g., Liu, 2001; H. S. Kim, 2002, 2008). One notable study focused on Korean immigrant students is Lew's research (2006). Drawing upon interview data with both high-achieving students and students who dropped out of high school, she shows that the model minority stereotype does not hold true to all Korean immigrant students and that their success or failure is largely influenced by parental support and economic and social resources.

A recent social change in Korea adds another layer of complexity to the prevalent monolithic image of successful model minority. Since the late 1990s, the number of elementary and secondary school aged students who move to English speaking countries has increased, and this trend, which had been limited to a small number of wealthy families, has rapidly grown among middle class families (Finch & Kim, 2012). These students and families leave Korea to pursue better educational opportunities and to support their children's English language learning. This educational migration has been explained by Koreans' high aspiration for education and issues related to the Korean educational system, such as intensive competition and a focus on exams rather than meaningful learning (e.g., Y. M. Kim & Greene, 2003). Recently, theories also focus on

globalization, the economic crisis of Korea in the late 1990s, and subsequent job insecurity as critical factors that have driven Koreans to move out of Korea in pursuit of educational opportunities (Cho, 2005; Koo, 2007; J. Park, 2009). According to these explanations, as a strategy to respond to neoliberal globalization, the Korean Ministry of Education and private sector industry placed an emphasis on proficiency in English. As a result, competence in English and experiences and educational degrees in English speaking countries, especially in North America, have increasingly become forms of social capital and critical factors in securing job appointments and promotion.

The transnational educational migration resulted in a new family structure, often called *Kirogi* family, in which the mother moves to a foreign country with her children and the father stays in Korea and supports the family financially (Finch & Kim, 2012). Fathers visit the mother and children a few times a year; the families maintain such life style for years, often until the children's college entrance. These *Kirogi* parents value the children's education in English-speaking countries and the children's attainment of English proficiency and educational degrees in those countries more than their marital relationship and other social dimensions of family life (H. Lee, 2010). Thus, despite media reports about negative aspects of the *Kirogi* family structure (e.g., family crisis, issues related to children's psychological, linguistic, and academic development), many parents desire to send their children to schools in English-speaking countries (Koo, 2007; H. Lee, 2010; J. Park, 2009). Considering the increasing number of Korean immigrant students in the U.S. and the complex picture of their immigration, a closer look at Korean immigrant students' schooling experiences is warranted.

Another important social factor that has not been addressed in education research on Korean immigrant students is religion. Many Korean immigrants in the United States attend Protestant churches that are run and attended by Korean immigrants (Min, 1992). According to several early studies, between 1970 and 1990 the number of churches increased by 27 times while Korean immigrants increased by 10 times, and Korean ethnic church attendees accounted for over 70% of the Korean immigrant population in the late 1980s (Hurh & K. C. Kim, 1990; H. S. Kim & Min, 1992). Interestingly, Protestantism has not been the numerically majority religion in Korea, yet those who participate in co-ethnic Protestant churches are predominant in Korean immigrant communities in the United States (Min & D. Y. Kim, 2005). This implies that Korean immigrant churches may play roles other than religious and spiritual service for those communities.

In his early study, for instance, Min (1992) identified four primary social functions that Korean churches serve: developing fellowship, maintaining Korean cultural tradition, offering social services targeted at other co-ethnic immigrants, and providing social status and positions for some Korean immigrants within the church community. In addition to these functions, Kwon, Ebaugh, and Hagan (1997) report that Korean ethnic churches provide a network for Koreans who run businesses, which mostly benefit those who cater to Korean communities. Zhou and Kim (2006) show that Korean—and Chinese—ethnic churches even play an educational role through, for instance, after school programs or heritage language classes. While it appears to be debatable whether Korean churches contribute to the maintenance and transmission of Korean cultural traditions to younger generations and their development of ethnic identities (see Chong, 1998; Min & D. Y. Kim, 2005), Korean churches seem to be

important sites for Korean immigrants to congregate, build social networks, and share particular practices among their members. This is similar to many Korean immigrant students in that they develop co-ethnic social networks, friendship, and dynamics as participating in churches (Ryu, 2012a). In this regard, whether and what Korean churches are available in a local neighborhood is critical to understanding a local Korean immigrant community and social dynamics within the Korean community.

In this dissertation, I aim to understand Korean immigrant students in U.S. high school science classrooms. To this end, I examine the lived experiences of Korean immigrant students as they are shaped within social, cultural, and historical contexts. As I will show, the reviewed factors that influence life and learning of Korean immigrant students—socioeconomic status, *Kirogi* family contexts, and religion—were relevant to participants of this dissertation to a varying degree. I note that the focus on Korean immigrant students does not mean that I assume homogeneity within Korean immigrant students in the United States. Rather, I show diversity in participants' experiences as situated in particular local contexts and personal contexts (e.g., immigration contexts, family contexts).

1.1.3 Previous study on Korean immigrants in science classrooms

In addition to the motivations discussed above, a previous study (Ryu, 2012a) I conducted has both theoretical and methodological implications for my dissertation. In this previous study, I focused on Korean immigrant students' discursive participation in various social settings, including science classrooms, and examined how and why they participate in discourse in science classroom settings. Specifically, I asked:

1. How do Korean immigrant students view their discursive participation in science classrooms?
2. What are the reasons, from their perspectives, that they speak, act, and interact in science classrooms in the ways that they describe?
3. How do they negotiate and/or re-author identities to participate in science classroom discourse?

To answer these questions, I interviewed seven Korean immigrant middle and high school students. The participants reported that they were not willing to speak up in classrooms in general as well as in science classrooms. I found that the primary reason for their reticence in class was their discomfort talking with classmates who were not close to them and from whom they often felt othered. This feeling of otherness was attributable to their a) attachment to Korean immigrants, b) lack of shared background knowledge with other peers, and c) positioning as non-native English speakers. These participants, however, were not passive in these contexts, but negotiated their identities and situations to find alternative ways of participating, such as volunteering to take particular roles in group work situations or establishing trusting relationships with teachers.

The analysis revealed that students' participation in science classrooms was nested in the broader contexts of their schooling practices, which were largely shaped by their immigrant experiences, family contexts, and local school and neighborhood contexts. Although my initial questions addressed Korean immigrant students' participation in science classrooms, the findings indicated that I, as a science education researcher, should understand more broadly the circumstances of immigrant students' lives and

identities that influence their speech, actions, and interactions in science learning situations.

Theoretically, this study led me to conceptualize identity more broadly, taking into account various contexts (including classroom, school, and neighborhood) and social relationships with surrounding peers. In other words, students' science classroom participation cannot be understood without understanding who they are in the science classroom as well as in other settings in which they develop their identities.

Methodologically, this study suggested that interview data may not be enough to understand students' classroom participation and learning. Thus, in the dissertation, I investigate Korean immigrant students' perceived identities through interviews as well as classroom observations that demonstrate how their identities are enacted in science classrooms.

1.2 Research questions

In the dissertation, I ask,

How are Korean immigrant students' identities, including academic identities related to science learning and identities along various social dimensions, enacted in science classroom settings?

To answer the research question, I specifically ask two sub-questions,

- What positions are offered to students of Korean descent in science classroom settings?
- How do these students negotiate available positions and contexts in science classrooms to enact these identities?

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

In this section, I briefly review studies on situated learning theory in order to theoretically define learning and narrow the focus of the dissertation. Based on the review, I define learning as an attaining of disciplinary content and academic identity development through classroom participation. I further argue that classroom participation involves students' identities along various social dimensions (e.g., ethnicity, immigrant status, social network). Finally, I discuss my theoretical framework, which draws primarily upon cultural historical and sociolinguistic perspectives on identity. The theoretical framework provides the foundation upon which I understand and describe what identity is, how it develops, and its relation to the environment.

2.1 Situated learning and academic identity development

Since the late twentieth century, many scholars of learning theory have investigated the social nature and the situatedness of learning, in addition to individual thinkers' cognition (Barab & Duffy, 2000). Situated learning theory emphasizes reciprocal interactions between students and teachers and assumes that knowledge is constructed through these interpersonal interactions. In this view, learning is assumed to be highly context-dependent and knowledge is constructed culturally and socially. Through the process of learning, learners also develop identities as members in communities of specific practices. For instance, a newcomer to a tailoring community may develop an identity as a tailor by participating in common tailoring practices, such as ironing, cutting, and sewing clothes (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

As Barab and Duffy (2000) indicate, two distinct perspectives derive from situated learning theory. One perspective is psychological in nature and concerns the

application of situated learning theory to school contexts. This psychological approach often promotes the design of classroom environments in which students learn specific concepts by participating in “authentic” activities that reflect expert practices. Students’ learning of academic concepts by participating in carefully designed activities may be analogous to craft apprenticeship, where apprentices learn the skills and tools of a craft through authentic work experience. Accordingly, this first approach is often called a “cognitive apprenticeship” (J. S. Brown, Collins, & Duguid, 1989).

The second approach of situated learning theory is anthropological in nature. Lave and Wenger (1991) define learning as increasing participation in a community of practice from a peripheral to a central role in the community. Lave and Wenger clearly distinguish their situated learning theory from the psychological approach and redefine situated learning as cultural historical learning theory. This cultural historical learning theory assumes three important tenets. First, they argue that every activity *is* situated in specific situations and environments, as opposed to the argument of the cognitive perspective that learners should be engaged in situated activities. Second, practices are not merely reifications of abstract, decontextualized, and general knowledge. Refuting a distinction between concrete and abstract knowledge, they argue that a specific situation in which practices are conducted always implies generality of the embedded knowledge, and general knowledge can have meanings only in a specific situation. Third, they argue that learning is not just situated in practice, but that learning *is* an aspect of activity and “an integral part of generative social practice in the lived-in world” (p. 35).

This cultural historical perspective on situated learning theory puts an emphasis on the meaning of community and the development of identity in relation to the practices

of a community (Barab & Duffy, 2000). Wenger (1998) argues that a community is defined by a coherent set of practices and is characterized as mutual engagement among members of the community, a joint enterprise, and shared repertoire. Increasing participation in the practices of a community allows for the development of identity as a legitimate participant, and this process of identity development is a trajectory of learning (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Newcomers to a community are engaged in peripheral but legitimate activities of practice of the community and are gradually introduced to more central and various aspects of the practice. As newcomers change their role in the community, their identity also develops from a peripheral participant to a central or full participant of the community.

Drawing on the cultural historical approach of situated learning theory, I view a school classroom as a community of learners wherein students shape their identities as learners and class members through participating in various learning practices (A. L. Brown & Campione, 1994; Greeno et al., 1998). Newcomers to the community of learners, when they first enter a school or a new class at the beginning of a year, are often guided by the teacher and enact peripheral and fragmented, but legitimate activities of learning. As students regularly engage in classroom learning activities, they may learn disciplinary content and develop their identities as active and central members of the community. In this regard, I define academic learning as learning of disciplinary content and also development of positive academic identities with respect to the discipline through participation in disciplinary learning practices and activities as a legitimate member. In this dissertation, I am particularly interested in students' participation in science classroom learning practices and the science classroom community given the

assumption that such participation facilitates their learning of science content and development of positive academic identities.

Individuals' identities, however, are multi-faceted and vary depending on situations and roles in various contexts. While students may shape their identity in relation to school science learning, they also develop identities along other dimensions, such as institutionalized categories (e.g., race, ethnicity, gender), non-institutionalized labels (e.g., nerd, geek, outsider), relationships to other people or society, and social circumstances (Eckert, 1989; Kozoll & Osborne, 2004). In addition, the community of learners, namely the school classroom, is not separated from other communities or the world more broadly (Lemke, 2001). This community of learners is interconnected with communities of teachers, parents, and neighbors, which are nested in the larger sociocultural, historical, and political world. In light of these interconnections, I argue that we should study individual students holistically in relation to the communities in which they participate, rather than compartmentalize a whole person or complex world and look at only one aspect of them (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Thus, although the focal concern of the study is Korean immigrant students' identities as science learners, their science learning identities should not be separated from other dimensions of their identities (Wortham, 2006) and should be understood in relation to society outside of the classroom (Barab & Duffy, 2000).

Thus, I ground my theoretical framework in research discussing identity in an inclusive manner. In the following section, I develop the conceptualization of identity that informs this dissertation, particularly concerning its relation to contexts of one's life. I discuss the theoretical framework through which I view identity, contexts that influence

multiple identities, and agency that allows people to enact and negotiate among multiple identities. Specifically, I aim to develop a theoretical framework to understand how identities along various social dimensions—such as race, ethnicity, language, social network, immigrant status, and personality, which are often assumed to be irrelevant to students’ learning and developing of academic identities—play a role in students’ science classroom participation and, in turn, the development of academic identities related to science and their learning of science.

2.2 Identity

As discussed in the previous section, many educational researchers have emphasized students’ identities and their influence on learning both in science and in other disciplines (e.g., B. A. Brown, Reveles, & Kelly, 2005; Gee, 2001; Nasir, 2002; Reveles, Cordova, & Kelly, 2004). Despite general agreement on the importance of understanding students’ identity development in their learning, research communities have not reached a consensus about the meaning of identity. The construct of identity is used in various disciplines, such as psychology, social psychology, anthropology, and sociology, and each discipline has different definitions and theories (Holland et al., 1998). In this section, I discuss my conceptualization of identity, primarily drawing on cultural historical and sociolinguistic perspectives on identity.

2.2.1 Social construction of identity

I define identity as a type (or label, kind) of personhood, the ways in which an individual and surrounding people view the person, and draw primarily upon Holland et al. (1998), Wortham (2006), and Bucholtz and Hall (2005) in my conceptualization of identity. Holland et al. define identity as “the way a person understands and views

himself, and is often viewed by others, at least in certain situations – a perception of self that can be fairly constantly achieved” (p. 68). Identity develops “as an outcome of living in, through, and around the cultural forms practiced in social life” (Holland et al. 1998, p. 8) and through dialectic and dialogic interactions with the environment, cultural artifacts, and surrounding people.

The most important principle in understanding identity is that identities are socially constructed or emerge from social interactions and discourses. This perspective is distinct from other perspectives, such as cross-cultural psychology and anthropology, that treat races or ethnicities as distinct cultures and assume people within a particular ethnic group share cultural characteristics and senses of self (Holland et al., 1998). Also, it is different from the perspective of social psychologists, in which social identity is defined as a classification of a person along existing social categories (e.g., Ashforth & Mael, 1989). According to social psychologists, people make such categorizations based on prototypical characteristics or stereotypes associated with certain groups of people, such as “loud Black girls” and “quiet Asian boys.”

However, identities are not wholly dictated by large sociocultural structure, nor does the identification process reside within an individual’s cognitive realm. Identities and identifications involve social interactions and one’s interpretation of the interactions in practices that are situated in contexts. At the same time, the social process of one’s identification is affected by bureaucracies and institutions that have developed categorizations and prototypes of people to distinguish people according to social normative models (Wortham, 2006). As Holland et al. (1998) argue, people’s identities

are “socially constructed through the mediation of powerful discourses and their artifacts – tax forms, census categories, curriculum vitae, and the like” (p. 26).

In this regard, identity is social and, thus, in relation with the environment and people in it, and identification occurs socially and relationally. To illustrate the social construction of identity, consider the identity of ‘quiet student.’ In order for a student to develop the quiet student identity, the student must be involved in a social interactional situation (e.g., classrooms), in which participants (e.g., students) are expected to talk. In this setting, he should not frequently speak compared to other people in the situation and/or in violation of a norm about how much participants should talk. Further, his relative reticence and divergence from the norm should be recognized by others in that interactional setting. Under this condition, the person would be identified as a quiet person.

However, an individual’s identities do not emerge simply from one interactional event, but through participating in *multiple* events (Wortham, 2006). If the particular way in which the person speaks, acts, and interacts occurs only once, what he enacts in that moment may disappear and not develop as an identity for him. In addition, when the person’s identities are not yet established, his speech and action may be interpreted by others in several ways. If similar interactional situations occur with the same group of people (or an adequate number of people who recognize and interpret his enactment in a consistent way) and he repeatedly enacts similar behaviors, his ways of speaking, acting, and interacting would start to be recognized as a more or less stable identity. For instance, in the example of a quiet student identity, if the student is quiet for only one day of his class, he may not develop a quiet person identity. If the person does not verbalize

across multiple events (e.g., in multiple sessions of the same class or multiple classes), he develops the identity of a quiet person as other people recognize him as quiet and he continues to choose to be quiet.

Furthermore, people enact multiple identities depending on what a particular social dimension is concerned and in what social setting he is situated. As discussed earlier, people perceive themselves and are perceived along various social dimensions: for instance, a student is identified in terms of institutionalized categories (e.g., race, ethnicity) as well as non-institutionalized dimensions (e.g., how successful a student is in science classes, and how popular the student is among peers). To continue the example, the quiet student may have another identity with respect to race or ethnicity (e.g., Korean ethnic identity) or another identity with respect to his social networks or romantic relationships (e.g., a popular student). In addition, one's identity along one social dimension is enacted differently in different social interactional settings—I conceptualize this as another feature of the multiplicity of identities. For example, the quiet student may not carry around the quiet student identity to different social settings. The student may be talkative in other social settings, such as in a setting with his close friends or in a church in which he socializes with people who share religion (Ryu, 2012a). Even Korean ethnic identity, which seems fixed, may also be flexible: in some settings (e.g., home with Korean family) the student may enact Koreanness more—speak Korean, dress in Korean clothing styles, and eat Korean food—but in other settings (e.g., work places with non-Koreans), he may do so less. In other words, identities are changeable and malleable, and an individual can be viewed and view himself in multiple ways (e.g., both “quiet” and “non-quiet”).

2.2.2 Agency in identity formation

Importantly, the quiet student is not only identified as quiet by surrounding people, but he *enacts* the quiet person characteristic by choosing not to speak, unless some explicit rule of the setting dictates that he not speak. The Korean-identified person *chooses* to enact Koreanness in some settings by speaking Korean, dressing in Korean clothing styles, and eating Korean food. In that the individual chooses what to enact, he is an active agent who exercises his agency. However, a person is not a free-wheeling agent who can enact any kind of identity that he wishes because his agency is constrained by contexts. As Holland and Lave (2001) argue, a person authors the world and people in it, and, at the same time, other people also author the world, people in it, and him, which results in constraints on individual's agency and possible identities.

In order to choose to *enact*—speak, act, and interact—a certain identity, an individual *makes sense* of—actively and agentively interprets and assigns meanings to—the given *contexts*—an environment that surrounds a person, in which the person's practices are situated, and that provides resources that the person utilizes in order to speak, act, and interact in a particular way—with respect to constraints and affordances for him. For instance, an individual makes sense of an interactional setting: where he is, with whom he interacts, his relationship with surrounding people in the setting, the norms of the setting, the expectations of him, how other people perceive him, what he can do, and what identities his behavior may cue. This sense-making provides the individual with ideas about what kinds of person he can be and other people perceive him as in the setting. That is, based on this subject sense-making of the constraints and affordances within the contexts, the person recognizes *positions*—possibilities of what to enact in an

interactional setting, which are not yet fixed as identities and could potentially develop to a more or less stable identity of the person—and choose to enact a certain position among those available to him. Because positions are recognized through an individual’s sense-making of the contexts, those positions are contingent on the particular interactional situation as well as dependent on broader contexts. Once a person chooses what to enact in the particular interactional setting, which I refer to his *identity goal*, the person makes efforts to enact the chosen position and to be perceived as that position by surrounding people. I argue that this series of processes—sense-making of contexts, recognizing available positions, choosing a certain position, and enacting the chosen identity—involves the individual’s *agency* in the sense that the individual decides what resources to draw on, how to interpret the resources, what to enact, and how to navigate the interactional situation to achieve the identity goal. In addition, the processes are mediated by social interactions in the sense that the individual constantly receives feedback from surrounding people (e.g., verbal responses, facial expression, gestures) and, thus, the sense that he makes evolves and the identity goal is negotiated. As the enactment of a selected position is recognized by other people and they process in their own sense making, the position may develop as the individual’s stable identity in the setting.

Consider⁴ the quiet student identity example again and assume the student is an immigrant from an Asian country. He first must make sense of the classroom situation and himself in the setting: He is a student, immigrant, and Asian, and let us also assume that in this setting he is surrounded by many White and Black students, a White or Black

⁴ For a more detailed illustration of this process (sense-making of contexts, recognizing available positions, and choosing to enact a position), see Appendix C on my own experience in one particular interactional setting.

teacher, and native English speakers. He then may draw on a broader context, such as how immigrants are viewed and English language learners are evaluated in the United States and in his school. He may draw on his personal experiences, such as his experiences of racial or linguistic discrimination. Based on such sense-making, he would recognize available positions that he can enact in the classroom setting. The positions may include a quiet but studious model immigrant student, a quiet, passive, and non-academic Asian immigrant, or an exaggeratedly social, talkative, and funny student who deliberately displays his status as an immigrant and English language learner. Among these possible positions that he recognizes, he chooses to enact the quiet and studious one.

In the illustration of the quiet student, he engages different kinds of resources that involve different levels and grain sizes of contexts, such as Americans' perceptions of immigrants (a sociohistorical level), his own experiences as an immigrant (a personal history, aspects of which other Asian immigrants may or may not have experienced), and the context of the moment of interaction (an event level). To understand and analytically describe these different scales of contexts, I suggest four different levels of contexts that involve different timescales and grain sizes—the macro level, meso level, personal and micro level contexts (Figure 1).

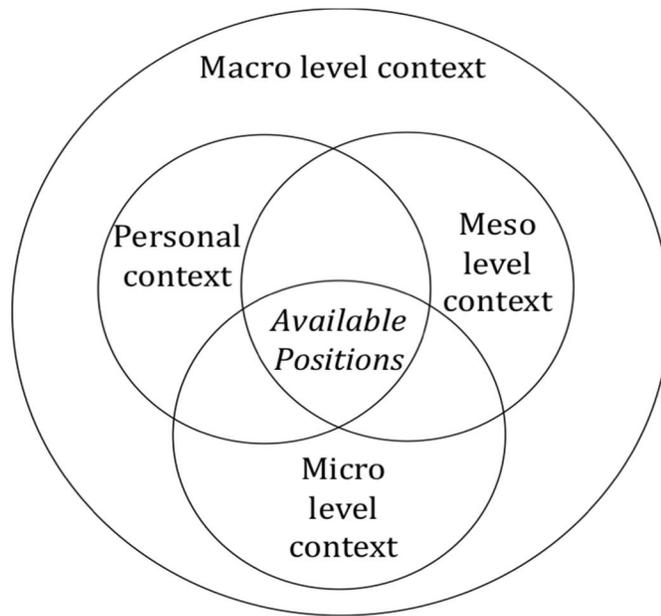


Figure 1 Multiple levels of contexts

2.2.3 Four different levels of contexts in different time scales

Wortham (2006) argues that social identification should be considered at three distinct timescales: *sociohistorical*, *local*, and *event* timescales. Individuals' social identities emerge through linguistic interactions during each *event* (e.g., a particular classroom discursive moment); yet in a single event, multiple interpretations of signs are possible. As time passes and similar events occur multiple times, interpretations of cues for identities are solidified in a specific interpretation, and *local* models for interpretation develop in a physically bounded setting, such as a class or a school. Models of interpretations could also circulate in a society or in a cultural group for a longer period time, at a *sociohistorical* timescale. Identities at the sociohistorical timescale may include “a loud Black girl,” “a failing Latino student,” or “a mild and meek Asian boy.”

Adopting and modifying Wortham's conceptualization about different timescales in explaining social identification, I define four different levels in examining and describing contexts that are relevant to understanding students' identities. My conceptualization of three levels of contexts, macro, meso, and micro level contexts is analogous to Wortham's use of sociohistorical, local, and event timescales. Although a group of students that attends a school and participates in a particular classroom activity in a specific moment may share macro, meso, and micro level contexts, they may draw upon different personal resources. To take into consideration the resources that are relevant to an individual but not others in the same social setting (e.g., an individual's life trajectory and familial situations), I add another level of context, personal context. As Figure 1 illustrates, the meso level, micro level, and personal contexts are nested in the macro level contexts in the sense that every social, interactional event happens within a larger society. As the intersectional space in Figure 1 implies, I argue that in each interactional moment, the meso level, micro level, and personal contexts intersect in a specific interactional moment and provide a set of available positions to the individual through the mediation of one's sense-making.

As the broadest level of contexts, *the macro level contexts* mean cultural, historical, and sociopolitical contexts that correspond with Wortham's use of sociohistorical timescale. For example, macro level contexts may include social structures, power relationships, inter-racial conflicts, stereotypes, and identity models that are circulating and relevant in a broader society. I define an *identity model* as a storyline associated with a particular identity that circulates in a particular context. An identity model is similar to a stereotype in the sense that they both describe prototypical

characteristics of a particular type of person. However, I distinguish identity model from stereotype by the levels of contexts that these two concepts inhabit—stereotypes apply to macro level contexts whereas identity models can also develop in meso level contexts. In particular, my dissertation concerns identity models that have developed in and inhabit Parkview High, which may or may not be consistent with other school settings and therefore may not circulate at the socio-historical level. As Wortham argues, identity models at a sociohistorical timescale play a role in individual’s identity development at a local or event timescale by influencing how indeterminate signs and cues are interpreted in local situations. Concerning Asian immigrants, model minorities (S. J. Lee, 2009), identities associated with voluntary and involuntary immigration (Ogbu, 1987), and forever foreigner stereotypes (Reyes, 2007) are examples of identity models at a sociohistorical timescale that have been circulating in the United States for decades.

However, the macro level contexts are not sufficient for describing and understanding the tensions and struggles that an individual may encounter in everyday life. While nested in the macro level contexts, distinct contexts are also shaped at the meso level. I define *the meso level contexts* as relevant resources in locally physically bounded settings, such as classrooms, schools, and neighborhoods. As a simple example, the quiet Asian immigrant that I discussed earlier may experience the classroom setting with predominantly White students, with predominantly Black students, or with many other Asian immigrants in radically different ways. The meso level contexts reflect, but reinterpret the macro level contexts. For instance, at Parkview High, FOB (Fresh Off Boat) and Twinkie identity models were relevant meso level identity models that were circulating among students. As I will discuss in Chapter 4, these identity models reflect

macro level contexts (e.g., linguistic ideology and assimilation ideology of the United States, youth culture of Korea), but were rendered in particular ways at Parkview High that are distinct from how those identity models are interpreted in a broader society or in other school settings.

In addition to these two levels of contexts, the *personal contexts* that an individual brings to a particular interactional setting are critical in recognizing available positions in interactional moments. The personal contexts concern the environment and resources that are relevant to an individual, including personal history and family situations. An individual utilizes resources provided in the personal contexts (e.g., family background) and engages them to make sense of an interactional situation (e.g., interpreting a given situation reflecting on the similar situation that he experienced previously) and to recognize available positions. As will be shown in the analysis chapters of the dissertation, an immigration trajectory and experience of discrimination (Chapter 5) and a particular family structure resulting from immigration (Chapter 6) are examples of personal contexts that influence available positions for these students in social interactional situations.

Finally, I define the *micro level context* as the contingency of an interactional moment. The micro level context corresponds to Wortham's notion of event timescale. Various aspects of a moment of interaction, such as what resources are available in the moment, what other individuals are involved, and where the action is taking place, influence what positions are available in the moment and how an individual speaks, acts, and interacts. In understanding micro level contexts, participants in the interactional

setting are particularly important because they bring their own ways of understanding and interpreting the interactional situation, which may be drawn upon their personal contexts.

2.2.4 Identity as both flexible and stable

Finally, I point out that identity is both flexible and stable. As discussed earlier in this chapter, people have multiple identities that are chosen and displayed differently in different social settings. In addition, people continuously and constantly develop identities as they encounter new people in new interactional settings and interact with them, and the process of development is not finalized and does not result in a final form of identity. In this regard, identity is flexible and ever-changing. However, this does not mean that an individual enacts completely different identities in different situations. An individual's ways of speaking, acting, and interacting may be found to be consistent across multiple times and events. This is not because the person has essentialized identities, but because the contexts in which the person makes sense, exercises agency, and improvises his action in a certain way are re-occurring within his environment. In turn, his identities and practices are stabilized to some extent when similar contexts of interactions are provided.

In my dissertation, I will argue that an individual's identities may be enacted stably in different social interactional settings with similar participants and with a different group of people as well. Going back to the example of the quiet student identity, a student who is quiet in his science class is more likely to be quiet in his math class. Because many students in his science class may be in his math class in the same school, he would be perceived as a certain type of person in a consistent way by those overlapping students, which influences the range of available positions to him in the math

class. In a high school setting, as students typically attend a school for four years and attend the same elementary and middle school, individual students' social relationships and identities develop and stabilize, because individual students' identities circulate among those students for several years. Moreover, even if the participants in interactional situations do not overlap, the interactional settings in different moments may share some characteristics (e.g., social roles and dynamics, practices). Thus, the individual may interpret the setting similarly and expect similar kinds of interactions in this different interactional setting. For instance, let us say that the quiet student transfers to a new school. He would not see the teachers or students from his old school and may be able to develop a new identity in this new interactional setting, such as an assertive student. However, if the relevant characteristics of social interactional settings in the two schools are adequately similar (e.g., a class has an adult teacher and a group of students, the teacher gives a lecture while students sit in the classroom, and the class has racial and ethnic compositions similar to those in the previous school), he may speak, act, and interact in a similar way. Then, his identity as a quiet student may start to develop in this new setting as well.

Based on this theoretical understanding of identity, my dissertation aims to understand identities of Korean immigrant students and describe how their identities are enacted in science classroom settings. I analyze the local contexts of the high school that I call Parkview High in general and the specific contexts of the AP Biology classrooms. In addition, to understand individual students' sense-making of the contexts and identity enactment, I closely analyzed three focal students, Mike, Melody, and Yun Ho. In these analyses, I also examined these focal students' personal contexts to understand their

affordances and limitations (e.g., familial contexts, pre- and post-immigration experiences, identities developed through those experiences), how the meso level contexts influenced available identities to individual students, how they negotiated positions available to them in micro level contexts in science classrooms, and how these enactments of identities shape their classroom participation and potentially influence their learning in their science class.

2.3 Overview of the dissertation

In Chapter 3, I describe and discuss the methodology of my dissertation. It consists of six sub-sections: methodological assumptions, research contexts, data collection methods, principles of data analysis, methodological reflections, and translation and transcription conventions. The discussion of data analysis methods will be focused on overall principles of analytic methods since the four analysis chapters (Chapters 4 – 7) draw on different parts of the large corpus of data and utilize different analytic methods. I include methodological reflections because the data collection methods involved me as a person throughout the data collection and analysis process and, accordingly, my positionality is important in understanding how I approach the study participants, collected the data, and analyzed the data. Finally, because the data are partly in English and partly in Korean, I established a convention for translating and transcribing data, which is discussed in the last subsection of Chapter 3.

In Chapter 4, I analyze and discuss the local context of Parkview High. As I found that two identity models of Korean immigrants are relevant in understanding many Korean immigrant students, including two of my focal students, Melody and Mike, I lay out the meso level contexts focusing on the two identity models circulating at Parkview

High before discussing the focal students individually in later chapters. Then, I discuss three focal students: Mike in Chapter 5, Melody in Chapter 6, and Yun Ho in Chapter 7. Each chapter addresses different issues facing Korean immigrant students, focuses on different parts of the four levels of contexts, analyzes different elements of the data corpus, and employs different analysis methods. The case of Mike represents identity formation through experiences of racism, re-identification in new school contexts, and the influence of identities in classroom participation and learning. Theoretically, his case focuses on personal contexts, the intersection between personal contexts and meso level contexts, and re-authorization of identities in a longitudinal timescale. In the case of Melody, I show how hybrid classroom practices (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, & Tejada, 1999) unfold and impact students' learning in more complicated ways than often expected, especially in a classroom with students having varying background knowledge, sense of humor, and relationships with the teacher. In particular, for students like Melody, who do not possess resources that the teacher assumes to be part of students' everyday language and experiences, these hybrid practices create a constraint to learning the content and participating in the classroom community. Despite Melody's efforts to overcome this constraint, the meso level and personal contexts do not sufficiently support or even impede her learning and participation in the biology class. In terms of theory, the case of Melody focuses on and magnifies the meso level contexts of Parkview High and the focal biology class. In the case of Yun Ho, I closely analyze a fifteen-minute classroom episode in which Yun Ho and other students participate. This analysis draws on various identities of Yun Ho and other students circulating in Parkview High. The analysis shows how Yun Ho and these other students position each other, respond to each

other's positioning, and negotiate their positions and discursive goals, and how those complex interactional pushes and pulls shape the fifteen-minute episode. By focusing on a micro moment of the classroom discourse, this chapter show how the identities of students are represented and interpreted in the contingencies of micro contexts.

Given these distinct foci and analysis methods, each analytic chapter includes: (1) a brief literature review that addresses the issues presented in the chapter, (2) a description of the chapter's analytic focus, which serves to answer the overarching research questions and helps me concentrate on the specific issues of the case, and (3) a methods section including descriptions of both the data primarily used and specific analytic methods employed. Following the four analysis chapters, I discuss the overall findings and implications of the dissertation. By organizing the dissertation in this particular way, I aim to discuss the challenges and issues that Korean immigrant students face as well as validate the theoretical framework. Although each chapter highlights bounded aspects of the theoretical framework, the dissertation as a whole shows how the framework serves to understand how students recognize available positions, enact certain positions among those available, are recognized as certain identities, and how those identities are intertwined with their learning.

Chapter 3: Methods

3.1 Classroom ethnography

My dissertation employs ethnographic data collection methods: classroom participant observation, teacher interviews, student interviews, and parent interviews. I conducted daily observations of two AP Biology classes from the end of September 2010 through the beginning of May 2011 and interviewed several members of Parkview High (both students and teachers), as well as parents of Korean immigrant students. Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (1995) define ethnography as a study of groups of people, who are not previously well known, through participant observation in their everyday lives. From their perspective, the heart of ethnography resides in gaining first-hand experience of unfamiliar cultural settings through immersion and taking the social role of the ethnographer in the settings studied. In my research site, I was able to become close to the research participants and their lives through participation in their classes, and through this participation, I generated video and audio recordings as well as written documents (i.e., field notes) based on my observations, experiences, reflections, and contemporary interpretations.

More specifically, Gordon, Holland, and Lahelma (2001) define ethnography in education as research on and in educational institutions employing participant observation and/or permanent recordings of everyday life in natural educational settings. Adopting this definition, I view the methods of this study as ethnographic for three reasons. First, I collected data in natural educational settings through participant observation to investigate and understand the nature of social interactions among students and teachers without manipulating classroom practices. Participant observation is

“establishing a place in some natural settings on a relatively long-term basis in order to investigate, experience and represent the social life and social processes that occur in that setting” (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2001, p. 352). Second, through participant observation, I produced videotapes of observed classrooms and written field note accounts. Producing written documents is a critical element of ethnography. In addition, videotaping techniques are especially applicable to classroom settings since the space and time of observations are often limited to the classroom and class periods. Lastly, during almost one academic year of data collection, I observed the selected AP Biology classrooms at every class meeting (approximately 60 school visits), built a sense of trust and rapport to a certain extent, and interviewed the participants.

While this dissertation employs a wide range of ethnographic data collection methods, the methods have some limitations. First, the quality of videotapes may not be adequate to capture some details of classroom interactions. Since I was only able to install one video camera in the corner of the classroom due to restrictions from the Institutional Review Board, the video and audio recordings were limited with respect to some details of utterances, especially unofficial scripts, and non-verbal behaviors, such as eye gaze or facial expressions of students. While these limitations exist, I tried to capture the details as much as possible by using additional strategically-placed audio recorders and generating a student utterance map in real-time during the observations. Second, despite the importance of the first encounters between a teacher and her students, I could not observe the classes for the first few weeks of the school year. The first day of my entry to the classroom was the sixth class meeting. To account for missing these

important class interactions, I included questions addressing what happened during these classes in interviews with the teacher and students.

In sum, this study employed daily classroom observations over the course of an academic year, from which I produced video recordings and field notes, and interviews with the participants. In the following sections, I describe the research contexts and participants, detailed data collection methods and formats, overall data analysis approaches, methodological reflections, and translation and transcription conventions.

3.2 Research contexts and participants

Data collection occurred at Parkview High School, in the city of Parkview, Western County, a suburban area near Washington D.C. In the 2000 Census, Western County was found to have the sixth largest Korean immigrant population in the U.S. (Center for Korean American and American Studies, n.d.). I chose to conduct this study at a high school since social identification starts to develop and becomes recognizable among peers during adolescence when students engage in expanded social relationships and identify themselves with respect to certain social categories (Eckert, 1989). Further, during the high school years, students often make decisions regarding their life path after compulsory education. In making such decisions, immigrant students' identities may play a critical role, and course choices or learning attitudes in schools may be influenced by how students envision their future careers (S. J. Lee, 2009). Thus, by observing and interviewing Korean immigrant high school students, I expected to understand such complex relationships between their social identification and science class participation.

Parkview High School was selected primarily on the basis of its location and number of students of Korean descent. During the 2008-2009 school year, 309 students at

the school reported that Korean is spoken at home⁵, which accounts for approximately 15% of the enrolled student body. Among these 309 students, 191 students reported to be Korean-born immigrants. In the same school year, Asian or Pacific Islanders⁶ accounted for 30% of the total students, followed by Hispanic (11%) and Black (10%) students. Approximately 17% of the total students received free or reduced-price meals, and 13% of the students were categorized as having limited English proficiency.

Many Korean businesses are located near the school, such as Korean restaurants, churches, after-school institutes, and Asian grocery markets. When I met the principal of the school, he informed me that a big Korean Methodist church had just moved to Parkview. Since the church's relocation plan was announced, he explained, the Korean population in the area has been dramatically growing. He further mentioned that at a nearby public elementary school, almost 70% of the students are Asian, and the majority of them are Korean. Since many of the students at the elementary school will be students at Parkview High in a few years, he believed that the numbers of Korean immigrant students would increase in the future. After the first meeting with the principal, I was able to locate information about the elementary school and the Korean church. Although Asian or Pacific islanders accounted for only 50% of student enrollment at the elementary school, Korean online articles indeed mentioned that the relocation of the church opened "a new era for the Parkview Korean community and businesses"

⁵ The data came from an email communication with the chair of the research screening office of Western County Public Schools. In the email, the chair did not clarify if the students spoke Korean or if only their parents spoke Korean. From my anecdotal experience, in many Korean immigrant families, immigrant parents use Korean, and their children use English. Thus, I believe that the count does not necessarily mean that the 309 students actually spoke Korean at home.

⁶ I adopted the labels used by the Western County Public School system.

(NewStarDC.com, 2010; Washington DC Joongang Newspaper; 2010). These articles reported that new businesses, such as Korean restaurants, bakery cafes, and grocery shops, opened recently, and the number of Korean immigrant students at local public schools was increasing.

During September 2010, I met with four teachers (two biology and two physics) who were recommended by the principal and the science department chair of Parkview High. After observing twelve classes they were teaching, I purposefully selected two Advanced Placement (AP) Biology classes (4th and 6th periods) taught by Ms. Davis for intensive observations during the 2010-2011 school year. My criteria for classroom selection included 1) the numbers of Korean immigrant students in the classrooms, 2) the learning environments created by the teacher, and 3) my preliminary observations of student participation patterns. I identified the numbers of Korean immigrant students by their names in the class roster with the help of Ms. Davis, since she already knew the ethnicity of some students. We estimated that thirteen students in her 4th period and eight students in her 6th period are of Korean descent, from a total of 31 students in each class. Later, it turned out that twelve students in 4th period (9 of 21 girls, 3 of 10 boys) and nine students in 6th period (1 of 19 girls, 8 of 12 boys) students are ethnically Korean. Ms. Davis encouraged students to answer and ask questions during the class and casually interacted with students by making jokes or teasing students. She also frequently used examples from everyday experiences and analogies to explain concepts and mechanisms in biology.

While the ways Ms. Davis set the class and interacted with students were fairly consistent between the two classes, the climate of the two classes and participation

patterns of Korean immigrant students were contrasting based on my preliminary observations. In the 4th period, students were relatively calm and quiet. Their seats were organized neatly, and they often raised hands to answer Ms. Davis' questions. Korean immigrant students in this class were relatively quiet and did not frequently answer or ask questions. Notably, I found that some Korean girls sat together, talked to each other in Korean, and made their own group during labs. In contrast, the atmosphere of the 6th period class was relatively active, and students were vivacious and talkative. They often made jokes with, were teased by, and teased Ms. Davis in class. When Ms. Davis gave a monologic lecture, students often interrupted to ask questions without raising their hands. Interestingly, Korean immigrant students in this class, mostly boys, were among those who dominated the class discussion and most actively interacted with Ms. Davis. They interjected to ask questions and expressed surprise or made jokes about what Ms. Davis said. When the teacher gave the class a bit of free time before the bell rang, some of the Korean boys walked up to Ms. Davis and joked around with her. While comparing and contrasting the two classes is not the focus of my dissertation, by choosing the two discrepant classes, I expected to investigate a wider range of students' characteristics and their participation.

Parkview High implements block period scheduling. The school has A and B days, and students have different class schedules on A and B days. The 4th and 6th period class meets every B day for about 90 minutes. When I started the field observation, Ms. Davis was pregnant. While her due date was May 2011, starting in January 2011 she developed a serious condition regarding her pregnancy and took maternity leave earlier than she had expected. In January 2011, the two classes had several days with temporary

substitute teachers during her absence. Starting on February 8, 2011, the classes had a long-term substitute teacher, Ms. Wilson, a White woman who was a retired high school biology teacher. However, from the first day, Ms. Wilson and students did not seem to get along with each other well. The students often shared their complaints with me, including that Ms. Wilson “does not teach,” does not know the content well, does not help them prepare for the AP Biology exam, does not grade fairly, and talks too much about her personal life. Ms. Wilson seemed to think students in her classes did not make an effort and were demanding.

The students’ aversion to Ms. Wilson became quite serious, and they responded to the situation in various ways. Some students talked to the science department supervisor concerning her inadequate teaching, one student initiated a voluntary study group, another student tried to get his friends to petition to have her fired and get a new teacher (which did not happen), and some students seemed to hire private biology tutors. In early March 2011, one student sent an anonymous email to Ms. Wilson that concerns her “teaching habits” and asks to help students “pass the AP exam.” A few days after Ms. Wilson received the email, parents of the author of the email came to the school to meet with the principal and science department supervisor and appeal to them. During March and April 2011, students’ claims became more official—other teachers even expressed their concerns about Ms. Wilson and her relationship with the students to me. Finally, at the end of April 2011 after spring break, another substitute teacher, Ms. Park, came to teach the class. She was an American-born Korean woman in her mid 20’s, an alumna of Parkview High, and currently a master of education student. She taught Ms. Davis’ classes for three weeks until the AP Biology exam. During her period of teaching, she

assigned lab activities, provided AP exam preparation materials, and let students work on lab activities and study with the materials rather than verbally delivering structured lessons to the class. After the AP exams were completed, on May 16, 2011, Ms. Davis came back to teach. Many students excitedly welcomed Ms. Davis and complained about Ms. Wilson. That was my last official visit to the school.

For the dissertation, I decided to focus primarily on data collected while Ms. Davis was teaching. Although meaningful moments occurred while the two substitute teachers were teaching, the classroom contexts were too different from the earlier classes with Ms. Davis to address sufficiently in this study.

3.3 Data collection

3.3.1 Classroom observations

On September 22, 2010, I first met the students and observed classes. After observing several classes, on October 8, 2010, I announced that I was going to conduct a year-long study in the 4th and 6th period classes. After collecting assent and consent forms, I started to videotape the class on October 21, 2010. When I first started videotaping, I installed a camera in one of the back corners of the classroom (Figure 2). However, the quality of the video and audio captured from this location was not good enough to identify who spoke and what was said. To better capture the students' utterances, I also put a voice recorder at the front of the classroom. In addition, to identify student speakers and take notes about their speech, students' facial expressions, and movements that were not captured on video, I sat in the front corner of the classroom diagonal to the video camera (the white arrow in Figure 2). Then, I revised the IRB to install the camera in the front corner of the room where I was sitting. Starting on

December 8, 2010, I switched the location of camera to the front corner (the white arrow in Figure 2), and I moved myself to the front center of the classroom (the black arrow in Figure 2). Figure 3 is a static image taken from the final camera location.



Figure 2 An image captured from the back corner of the classroom



Figure 3 An image captured from the front corner of the classroom

I consistently observed most of the 4th and 6th period AP Biology sessions until March 2011. The days that I did not observe were students' test days during which content learning activities did not occur for the entire class period. In April 2011 while Ms. Wilson was teaching the class, I missed several sessions due to my attending educational research conferences. After Ms. Park started to teach the classes, I visited the classes for three sessions out of seven total class sessions that she taught. Although I missed some opportunities to collect data that might have been informative, I believe that the data were saturated in the sense that the ways in which students interacted with each other and with the teacher were stabilized toward the end of the school year.

From the classroom observations, while the specific data sources varied each day depending on the situation, overall I collected five different types of data: video recordings, audio recordings, student utterance maps, observation field notes, and

Camtasia video data for my data entries. As explained previously, I installed a video camera at the back corner of the classroom for about a month and half starting on October 21, 2010, and at the front corner of the classroom for the rest of the data collection period starting on December 6, 2010. During whole class discussions, I always placed the voice recorder in a location far from the video camera in the classroom and near students who frequently spoke. When students were engaged in group activities, I placed the audio recorder on one of the students' tables, mostly at groups that Korean students joined. Because of the restriction from the school district that I should not move the video camera during class, I could not collect video data that closely captured students' engagement in group work. Thus, the audio data were the most useful (and often the only) data source available for recording students' interactions during group activities.

In addition to video and audio data, I took notes about students' participation. During teacher-led whole-class discussions, I generated student utterance maps in Microsoft Excel (see an example in Table 1). As I typed the speaker's name under the *Name* column, Excel automatically recorded the time in the *Time 1* column. The student utterance map also includes an *Utterance* column, in which I documented what the student said as closely as possible, and a *Behavior* column, in which I documented several common actions that speakers displayed. The actions included, among others, raising a hand (HR), asking a question (AQ), or answering the teacher's question (AN). In addition, to record other actions, such as moving to a new seat, falling asleep, or gesturing, I included an *Other Action* column and a *Time 2* column. The benefit of generating these maps during class observations was to keep track of the speakers of utterances as precisely as possible. To complement the student utterance maps, I recorded

my computer screen and the sound around my computer with Camtasia, a screen-recording software application. Since Camtasia recorded the computer screen, showing my ongoing typing, with the sound simultaneously occurring, I was able to compare my typing with students' utterances when necessary. In addition to this intended use of the Camtasia files, when teachers approached me and had short conversations with me, these conversations were also recorded. Thus, when I wished to listen to the recording of a particular moment in a given conversation, I was able to locate the moment using the file.

Lastly, I also wrote field notes, which documented less structured observations of the class and unofficial conversations with some students and the teacher. The field notes served as an important data source that captured students' group activities. For instance, I wrote field notes regarding how students formed their groups and how they interacted with each other within a group and between groups. To write field notes, I used Yojimbo, a note-taking computer application in which I could keep track of the date each note was produced, tag notes, sort notes, and search for words. I wrote the field notes mostly when the class had group activities or immediately after an observation. Among these five data sources, video recordings and observation field notes are the main sources that I extensively watched and read to complete my analysis. I did not systematically utilize the entire corpus of audio files, student utterance maps, and Camtasia files, but rather used them as auxiliary materials. I extracted and analyzed parts of these three data sources when I identified them to be important and necessary in understanding and analyzing video recordings and field notes.

As a final remark, I point out that I do not assume that video recordings are less subject to a priori assumptions or my interpretive lens than field notes (Emerson, Fretz, &

Shaw, 1995). I, as a researcher, made decisions about where to install the equipment and where to point the camera. The benefit of having classroom recordings, therefore, rests on the capability to analyze the classroom interactions more closely using recorded utterances, gestures, and postures rather than the attainment of an objective data source. Thus, the videotapes and field notes of the classroom observations complement each other and serve as the primary data sources for my dissertation. In the process of analyzing the video recordings, I heavily relied on the field notes in navigating through the large corpus of video recordings and focusing on relevant pieces of data.

Table 1 An example of a student utterance map

Time 1	Name	Utterance	Behavior	Other Actions	Time 2
9:43:57 AM	G1		AQ	DAVIS SPILLED WATER A LITTLE ON THE G4'S TABLE AND SHE EXCLAIMED, "!"	9:42:46 AM
9:57:24 AM	G2		AN, WHEN DAVIS COMES NEAR TO HER SEAT.	THEY ARE DOING ELECTROPHORESIS.	9:43:30 AM
9:57:26 AM	G3		AN	G4, G5 TALK TO B1 IN KOREAN. G10 SAID, "# \$ % & # ' ()" B1 RESPONDS IN KOREAN TO THEM.	9:44:34 AM
10:00:00 AM	B1	HOW ABOUT 7?		DAVIS SHOWS HOW TO USE MICROPIPETTES.	9:45:19 AM
10:16:24 AM	G1		HR, AQ	DAVIS TELLS G6 AND G7 THAT ONE OF THEM MOVES TO THE GROUP OF G8 AND G9.	9:46:07 AM
10:17:16 AM	AUDREY			G4 MIMICS DAVIS SAYING, "PUT THE FOOD AWAY" AND G10 SAYS, "* + & .))* + &))"	9:49:00 AM

3.3.2 Student interviews

My dissertation included interviews with various members of the focal AP Biology classes and some other members of Parkview High. I consider an interview to be an active process that “create[s] a narrative” via the interaction between the participant and me, not a process through which the interviewer seeks better or honest answers from the interviewee (Fontana & Frey 2008, p. 117). The narratives that we mutually generate are culturally, historically, and sociopolitically bounded and negotiated in the contingency of the interactional moments. The interviews were ethnographic in that the interview processes involved ethical and empathetic engagement based on respectful and on-going relationships (Heyl, 2001). To build trusting and respectful relationships with students, I tried to take opportunities to talk casually to them during lab activities in class and during lunch, initiating conversations about the focal classes and their general school lives before interviewing the students more formally.

After I observed students in their classes and interacted with them for about four months, I began interviewing students on January 20, 2011. I interviewed a total of 26 students, 20 of whom were of Korean descent. I developed three sets of interview questions, and from the 20 students of Korean descent initially interviewed, I ended up having 16 students complete all three sets of interviews. The four students with whom I did not conduct the second and third interviews were students who I did not select as focal students or with whom I failed to develop a sufficient rapport to facilitate their sharing their stories with me. I note that among the 16 students, one student, Eva, was not enrolled in either the 4th or 6th period classes. She was taking another section of AP Biology that was also taught by Ms. Davis and was a close friend of some of the Korean

girls in the 4th period class. Through my field work, I came to know and develop a rapport with her, and she volunteered to be interviewed.

The format of the interviews was semi-structured. In the three-interview sequence, the first interview focused on students' views of themselves with respect to schooling and biology learning. I asked questions like why they decided to take AP Biology, what they think of the focal class, and how and why they participate in learning activities in the focal class as well as in other classes. In addition, I prepared individualized questions specific to each student based on my observations of his or her classroom participation. I also explored their general affiliations with respect to science by asking what courses they have taken and what career they wish to pursue in the future. During the second interview, I focused on students' social lives outside of the focal classrooms, such as their friends and after-school activities. By asking such questions, I aimed to learn about their social networks and identities along these social dimensions. The third interview explored their immigration experiences. I asked when, how, and why they or their parents came to the U.S., as well as about their lives as immigrants (Appendix A).

3.3.3 Unofficial observations and interactions

In addition to the official observations that were video recorded during the class periods, I occasionally visited Ms. Davis' classroom during "Communication, Achievement, Teamwork, Success" (CATS) time, during which students freely sit and study together in the classroom, and also after school. Starting in early December 2010, I also visited the school cafeteria and library media center during lunch on B days and occasionally on A days when the 4th and 6th period AP Biology classes did not meet.

During these unofficial observations, I observed how students interacted with each other (e.g., with whom they interacted, what kinds of topics they talked about, what language they used). Particularly in the school cafeteria and library media center, I found and sat with students (mostly Korean) from the focal classes, asked questions, and had unstructured conversations. I asked mainly about the biology class or school-related questions, and when students were talking about specific topics among themselves, I asked about those topics too. I wrote field notes about these observations and conversations every day after the school visit.

I designed such unofficial observations and interactions to establish a rapport with the students and, thus, help students see the interviews as extensions of these unofficial conversations (Eder & Fingerson, 2001). I believe that these interactions indeed helped me develop a rapport and sense of trust to a certain degree. For example, one Korean boy referred to me as “my best friend” (in English), students were often willing to tell me about stories regarding themselves and the school, and occasionally some newly-arrived Korean girls and I enthusiastically talked about Korean television shows. When Ms. Wilson was the substitute teacher and the students were dissatisfied with her, many students shared their complaints with me, and one student even asked me, “Can you teach us?” In addition, I expected, through these observations and interactions, to better understand the participants and formulate specific interview questions based on my understandings (Spradley, 1979). By observing students in the school cafeteria, I came to know with whom they mostly interact in the school outside the focal biology class. Such observations allowed me to design some interview questions specific to each participant and to understand their answers better by being able to connect them to my observations.

Several students were very willing to talk to me, asked me questions regarding my schooling and immigration experiences in Korea and the United States, and voluntarily shared their experiences and feelings. These conversations that occurred in unstructured settings became useful data sources for understanding how Korean immigrant students positioned themselves in relation to other students in the school.

3.3.4 Parent interviews

During the second and third interviews with student participants, I explained that I wished to interview their parents and recruited parents by sending a letter through the students. Among the 16 students who completed all three interviews, five parents agreed to meet and have an interview with me. Two of the five parents were focal students' (Melody's and Yun Ho's) mothers. I designed parent interview questions in an attempt to understand familial contexts and their influence on students' immigrant experiences. During the interviews, I asked how they came to live in the United States and in Parkview City, how they viewed and supported their child's science learning and schooling, what social networks they developed, and how they used such networks to support their child's schooling (Appendix B). All parent interviews were audio recorded.

3.3.5 Teacher interviews

I had two audio-recorded semi-structured interviews with Ms. Davis, one with an ESOL teacher, and one with a school counselor of Korean descent who served many Korean immigrant students. All interviews were conducted at least three months after my initial observation in the school, except for the first interview with Ms. Davis. Thus, I was able to prepare interview questions based on my observations of the focal biology classes, school settings, and Ms. Davis' interactions with students. In the two interviews

with Ms. Davis, I asked about her vision of science teaching (e.g., teaching practices, beliefs about science learning), interactions with Korean immigrant students in general, and her specific teaching strategies in the classes. I decided to interview an ESOL teacher to ask about ESOL education regulations in the school and Western County.

Additionally, Parkview High had a Korean counselor, and she sponsored the Korean club at the school. I spoke with her multiple times in school, and she came to know about my research. I decided to interview her to ask about her perspectives and perceptions about Korean immigrant students in Parkview in general.

In addition to the semi-structured interviews, I developed a trusting relationship with Ms. Davis, and she often explained her instructional decisions to me, such as how she grouped students, or her concerns about some Korean students. Sometimes, I asked her questions in the moment when interesting episodes occurred.

3.4 Data analysis

As mentioned previously, each analytic chapter focuses on different sources in the broad data corpus and employs distinct data analysis methods. Thus, I will reserve discussion of the specific data and analysis methods for each chapter. In this section, I briefly discuss my overall approach to the entire data set and principles of data analysis.

The two main data collection methods were classroom observations and student interviews, which resulted in two main data sources. I argue that the process of data interpretation and analysis started from the moment that I collected data. For my classroom observations, I installed a video camera and audio recorder in places that I believed would provide useful data for understanding participants' interactions and classroom contexts based on my sense-making in the moment. In the school cafeteria and

media center, I selectively approached students whom I believed would let me join their conversations based on my classroom observations and interpretations of them. In developing the specific interview questions, although I had a pre-designed set of interview questions, I modified specific details of the questions to fit individual students based on my preliminary interpretations of classroom observations. In addition, what the students shared with me during the interviews informed me in determining on what part of the classroom I would focus more. In this regard, the two main data collection methods complemented each other. Also, analyses of the two main data sources heavily influenced each other. When I started a full-fledged analysis of the collected data after completing data collection, I watched the classroom video recordings and the interview data alternately rather than completing an analysis of classroom video recordings without looking at interviews or vice versa. Watching and analyzing interview and classroom recordings informed each other in the sense that what I learned from the interview recordings informed my decisions about what part of the data I should look at more closely in the classroom recordings and vice versa.

While data from classroom observations and interviews were complementary and informed each other in collecting and analyzing the data, the ways that I analyzed the interview recordings and classroom recordings were quite distinct. To analyze the interview data, I watched or listened to the recordings of all the interviews, transcribed them verbatim, and recorded non-verbal aspects of the interviews (e.g., facial expressions, pauses) when I interpreted them as relevant to answering my questions (Bird, 2005). When I determined that the substance of the conversation that I had with participants was not directly relevant to answering my questions, I wrote brief notes

about what was said. I watched the interview video recordings and read the transcripts multiple times to identify themes. As van Manen (1990) argues, I view themes as intransitive outcomes of the researcher's sense-making, as opposed to "objects one encounters at certain points or moments in a text" (p. 87). Thus, identifying themes is a creative process to develop "symbolic forms" (p. 88) of what makes sense to me. In identifying and generating themes that I call "open coding" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008), I focused on particular questions in which I was interested during each stage of data analysis. For instance, for the analysis of the school contexts that I will discuss in Chapter 4, I identified a block of interview data that demonstrated how participants perceive different groups of Korean immigrants in the school. Sometimes, the process was more open-ended and exploratory, and at other times, it was more focused in the sense that I coded blocks of data by the categories that I had developed. As I repeated the process multiple times, I refined the codes as well as recategorized already-coded data blocks when needed. In addition to this open coding method in which I identified emerging themes, I employed the principles of axial coding methods, in which I elaborated my sense-making of participants' lived experiences by connecting the generated themes in the open coding (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). These processes were not linear but dynamically and dialogically interconnected with each other.

To analyze the classroom video recordings, I reviewed the recordings and identified critical episodes for potential close analysis (Erickson, 2006). The definition of critical episodes varied depending on the purpose of the analysis in each phase of the analytical process. During the early phase of analysis, I carefully watched the entire class period (roughly 90 minutes long) for the first three sessions. In this phase, identification

of critical episodes was open-ended and exploratory. Mostly, I stopped at interactional moments in which students were involved, such as when students interrupted and had exchanges with Ms. Davis, or Ms. Davis solicited students' participation and had exchanges. Then, I bounded the beginning and ending of each episode by the flow and topic of the episode, tagged each episode, and analyzed. In analyzing, I transcribed and noted students' paralinguistic features or non-verbal behaviors, such as laughter, movement, body posture, and gesture. From each moment, I primarily analyzed who participated in the interactional moment, in what ways they participated, and what messages were communicated in the discursive moment with respect to the identities of students. I identified approximately ten episodes in each period and developed several emerging themes about these classroom episodes, such as humor, use of everyday examples, and use of analogies.

After watching the first three full sessions, my analysis of classroom video recordings became more focused. I did not watch entire videos, but selectively watched several portions of the video recordings to identify critical episodes. In selecting episodes for close analysis, I drew heavily on my classroom observation field notes and student utterance maps. As I carefully read the notes, I identified episodes in which the themes identified in the previous phase seemed to unfold, as well as episodes in which the three focal students were involved. I located these selected episodes in the classroom video recordings, identified critical episodes out of these selected episodes, and followed the same procedure that I used to analyze the critical episodes in the previous phase. In addition, to analyze the interactions of the focal students, I listened to the audio

recordings of the episodes that the focal students were involved in and analyzed their interactions with the same methods described.

Based on a preliminary analysis of the interviews and classroom video recordings—transcribing the interview data, identifying critical themes in classroom video recordings early in the school year, and reading field notes—I selected three focal students. The selection of the three focal students was not aimed at comparing and contrasting them along certain criteria. Rather, the three cases were chosen because, taken together, the three cases complementarily demonstrate my theoretical framework. As I argued in Chapter 2, the four different levels of context (i.e., macro level, meso level, personal, and micro level contexts) should be taken into consideration in order to understand students' identities and their science classroom participation. While all four levels of context are relevant to the three focal student cases, I chose the three focal students to highlight distinct parts of the theoretical framework (Figure 1) in each case. In the case of Mike, his personal contexts (e.g., migration trajectory, experiences of racism) saliently influenced the ways in which he perceived schooling, the focal biology class, and his relationships with peers, as well as the ways in which he participated in social activities and the focal class. In the case of Melody, the meso contexts of Parkview High, in which relatively recently-arrived Korean immigrants were marginalized, had a significant impact on how she participated in the focal class. In the case of Yun Ho, I turn to the micro level contexts, in which Yun Ho gave a ten-minute speech to the focal class, and show how personal and meso level contexts unfold in the discursive moment and how multiple participants in the moment negotiate their identities and discursive goals in moment-to-moment interactions. In each analytic chapter (Chapters 4-7), I will discuss,

in more detail, the scope of data and specific analytic methods employed.

3.5 Methodological reflections

My dissertation heavily involved interactions with study participants. During the nine-month data collection period, I interacted with teachers and staff members at Parkview High, students, and their parents. Because of the interpersonal nature of the data collection methods, my identities, especially in relation to my study and the study participants, were critically influential to the kinds of data I ended up collecting. Even if someone else went to the research site and was given the exact same research setting, that person would not have collected the same data that I collected. This imaginary researcher might have installed the video camera and audio recorder in different locations or angles, observed different moments of interactions, and listened to different moments of conversations than I did. Students might have told different parts of their life stories to this person than what they told me. Acknowledging this complexity from the first day I visited the school, I was cautious about who I wanted to be in the school and how I wanted people in the school to perceive me. In other words, I consciously and constantly thought about my identities and positionings and attempted to manage them throughout the data collection period. In this section, I briefly discuss my positionings and negotiation of my identities throughout the research process, from the data collection to the actual writing, and challenges and affordances that arose.

3.5.1 My relationship with members of Parkview High

As a reminder, I am Korean and had been in the United States for less than four years at the time of data collection. However, at Parkview High, I did not want to be viewed as a Korean. Although it would be obvious that I am ethnically Asian (and even

Korean) from my physical appearance and name, I did not want to be perceived as a person who recently moved from Korea. I wanted to blend in with people at Parkview High. My attempt to manage identities started from selecting clothes to wear. When I first visited Parkview High to be introduced to the classes, I picked clothes such as inexpensive faded jeans, a T-shirt with a plain design, and a sporty jacket, which I would not wear when meeting Korean friends or my family. Also, for the first month of data collection, although I heard some Korean students speaking Korean, I did not initiate speaking Korean with them. I could not articulate why I did not want to be perceived as a newly-arrived Korean, but I wanted to look like “them” without clearly knowing who “they” were.

Before long, I realized that I was not interacting with a homogeneous group, which made my identity management harder. Parkview High consisted of diverse members, whose roles were different (e.g., teachers, administrators, students), whose racial categorizations were different, and whose interests were different (or even conflicting). That is, “they” were not all the same. I had to think about with whom I interacted in each moment of interaction and who I wanted to be in relation to that person. With faculty and staff members, I wished to be viewed as a professional researcher who knows what is going on in the school and is confident of my work. With students, I wished to develop close and trusting relationships and did not want them to think of me as a university researcher or a teacher.

I admit that the management was not easy, and I am not sure whether my identity goals were achieved. In the science teacher lounge, in which I spent time during lunch or between class periods while waiting for scheduled interviews, I had interactions with

science teachers. While I wanted to enact a professional researcher identity, I was worried about my lack of knowledge of U.S. school systems, mainly regarding the daily practices of a public high school, and my broken English. Sometimes, I did not understand what the science teachers were saying, and at other times, I could not jump into their conversations even when I wished to say something. Consequently, I became quiet in many interactional situations at Parkview High, as I had been at my own University. In particular, after reading Newton's (2003) article about racialized experiences of Asian pre-service teachers in schools, I became more concerned about how the science teachers viewed me and what Ms. Davis thought of me.

Relationship-building with students was not easier in any sense. I believe that with some students, I achieved a certain level of trust and rapport, while with other students I did not. Sometimes I tried to be playful with some students, particularly because that is how Ms. Davis interacted with most students. However, in some cases, I could not achieve the intended interactional goal (to be humorous with students, to have playful conversations). One day, I found Dongsoo (Korean) and Nick (Chinese) in the classroom after the other students had left the room, and Dongsoo was looking at a piece of paper while trying to finish his mathematics homework. I smiled and said, in an exaggerated tone of voice, "Oh, are you copying Nick's homework?" Unexpectedly, Dongsoo refuted and answered, "This is a class note" in a serious tone of voice. I did not know how to respond and simply asked what class they were taking, heard their answer (multivariable calculus), and left them. A few seconds later when the two boys were about to leave the classroom, Ms. Davis also asked them, "Are you guys cheating?" Surprisingly, their response was radically different than how they had responded to me.

They took her interrogation as a joke and exchanged a few turns in a playful manner, and Nick even said he would pay five dollars to keep her from reporting their cheating attempt to the math teacher. Clearly, Dongsoo and Nick did not seem to see me as a potential joke exchanger, whereas they saw Ms. Davis as such a person. Unfortunately, I was not able to invent effective ways to interact with Dongsoo nor to achieve a trusting and relaxed relationship with him until the end of my field work.

Another challenge in establishing relationships with immigrant students was my identities and roles, especially concerning my relational positioning vis-à-vis the relationship between teachers and students. Certainly, the role as a researcher was the most important role that I had to assign myself in the research setting. I went to the setting to collect data to answer certain research questions that I wanted to understand. However, the ultimate goal of my research, although I acknowledge that achieving this goal with this research project alone was almost impossible, was to help immigrant students' learning of science. In addition, even if I could not be of substantial help to them in learning science, I wished, at least, to be a person like a mentor with whom they could discuss their challenges and struggles and who could understand them. Sometimes, as those multiple goals conflicted, my identities conflicted as well. In moments in which students did not understand the teacher's instructions, I could not decide whether I should explain the instructions to them or remain an outsider observer. In other moments in which I heard students communicating in Korean about challenging curriculum topics, I was not sure if talking to the teacher about what was challenging to them would help them or result in their positioning me as a spy, communicating their unofficial scripts to the teacher.

The interactional challenges vis-à-vis the relations between teachers and students was exacerbated when Ms. Wilson taught the classes as a substitute teacher. Ms. Wilson and the students were in a conflict, and I could not be fully on the students' side nor on Ms. Wilson's side. After a few sessions of Ms. Wilson's teaching, I asked students what they thought about Ms. Wilson. Students' responses were mostly negative, and after answering, they often asked me what I thought about her teaching. I did not know what to say to them because of my position in the school. I wanted to hear how students were thinking regarding the classroom conditions because I hoped to capture how they responded to the challenging situation through what they said. However, when I heard students furiously expressing their anger, I was conflicted. In those moments, as a person who wished to understand and support the students, I wanted to express my sympathy to them. As a former teacher and science education researcher, I wanted to say what I thought was good and bad about her teaching. However, as a graduate student whose data collection was partially dependent on Ms. Wilson's agreement with my data collection activity in her classes and whose positional status in the school was lower than the teachers, I did not want to comment negatively on her teaching because I did not want to cause any problems (and, in the worst-case scenario, be forced out of her classes). Ms. Wilson also complained about her students during class and before or after class. Because of my positional status in relation to her, I did not want to oppose her. Yet, because I wanted to hear more about how she perceived the situation, I had to express a certain level of sympathy to lead her to talk more. She might have noticed that I was hearing students' complaints, but because of confidentiality (and because I indeed wanted to protect students from her), I did not want to tell her what students had told me, and I had

to pretend that I had not heard anything from the students. In addition, because I did not want to give an impression to the students that I was an ally of the teacher, I tried to avoid situations in which Ms. Wilson might whisper something to me in a friendly manner during class sessions. This triangular relationship among the students, Ms. Wilson, and myself resulted in an awkward position for me. In every moment at the school, I had to be aware of with whom I was interacting, who was around me, what I heard from whom, what information I should keep confidential, and to whom I should not tell what.

The most serious challenge involved my building relationships with students. “They,” as students, were not monolithic in any sense. As mentioned earlier, during the early days of my field work, I dressed in plain jeans and shirts in an attempt not to look like a Korean. Some Korean immigrant girls, however, dressed in Korean style. They often put on girly or feminine fashions, such as short skirts or pants, stockings, long leather boots, loose-fit neat dresses, and tops with ribbons and frills, which I would expect to see from women in their late teens or early twenties in Korea. Sometimes I even wondered where and how they were able to get such Korean-looking clothes. In addition, they spoke mostly Korean with friends. They ate Korean food during lunch, including Korean lunch boxes with rice, boiled Korean sweet potatoes, and Korean breads. Later, I learned that those students were newly-arrived Koreans that were called FOBs in the school and had usually been in the United States for two to six years. I was curious about their stories and wanted to get close to them. I decided to change how I spoke, acted, and interacted in order to enact my Koreanness more openly, such as wearing Korean-style clothes and speaking Korean with them.

The transition was not easy because I had been trying to conceal my Koreanness. Even after I decided to speak Korean with these Korean immigrants, Korean did not come out of mouth easily. The difficulty was not because I do not speak Korean fluently, but because to enact even a slightly different persona in the same setting was not trivial. I vividly recall that on one day, after I decided to speak Korean to Korean-speaking girls, a Korean student named Melody exclaimed “*Oh, gosh*” in Korean as I startled her, and I automatically and unintentionally responded “Sorry” in English. I remember how much I regretted and complained to my friend after school that day about how I carelessly ended up speaking in English. After that day, I made my mind up to speak Korean, and I approached Melody and started speaking Korean to her. As expected, I felt awkward for a second. Yet, unexpectedly, we had one important thing to share: a sense of loneliness as newly-arrived immigrants and nostalgia for what we left in Korea. We talked about Korean television shows, Korean foods, and fun activities to do in Korea. Also, we talked about how boring life in the area was, as it was not easy to go out without driving, and there were no fun things to do. What struck me most was their asking me if I do not feel lonely⁷. I felt their sense of loneliness and also recognized that they positioned me as someone like them, who recently moved from Korea and missed life in Korea.

As I developed close relationships, to a certain extent, with Korean-speaking recently-arrived Koreans, I became worried that I was not developing the same kinds of relationships with earlier immigrants who primarily spoke English. I admit that I did not feel as comfortable interacting with English-speaking Koreans as with Korean-speaking

⁷ They asked this question in Korean. In Korean, In Korean, negative questions often connote that the askers assume the positive state to be true. In this regard, the Korean students seemed to think that I would feel lonely in this country.

Koreans. I did not recognize this relative discomfort until I started to interact with Korean-speaking girls and became closer to them. One day, in the school cafeteria, I was sitting with Korean-speaking girls. We were freely chatting about Korean television shows, school-related topics, and other students in Korean. Not surprisingly, the cafeteria was very loud with the student crowd, and I could not hear clearly what the Korean girls were saying. I asked them to repeat what they had said several times, and they did. At one point in time, I misunderstood their saying “senior” as “Sin Hee,” which sounded like a typical Korean girl’s name. Without any concerns, I asked back, “*What? Did you say, Sin Hee?*” All the girls laughed out loud and teased me for not hearing them correctly. Then, I realized that I did not often ask English-speaking students to repeat what they had said in the cafeteria even though I often could not hear and did not understand what they said. I simply assumed that they were talking about something I did not know, or that I did not understand their English. This experience made me reflect on how I interacted differently with Korean-speaking recent immigrants and English-speaking early immigrants. I do not think I did not develop any trusting and meaningful relationship with those English-speaking Koreans. Yet, I shared more with recent arrivals (e.g., language proficiency, experiences of schooling in both Korea and America, nostalgia for living in Korea), I felt more comfortable with them and was more engaged when interacting with them.

My interaction with White students, especially White girls, was limited. With some White girls, I rarely talked. Occasionally, I saw White girls enrolled in the two focal classes sitting in the cafeteria with many other White students. I wished to sit there and hear what they were saying. Yet, I did not even try once. In part, because my focus was on Korean immigrant students, I was able to justify to myself that I did not have to

interact with White girls. However, I could not articulate or explain clearly why I did not try, until later when a Korean told me how she felt about White students.

3.5.2 My relationship to my research

My relational struggles and negotiations of identities were not limited to the interactions with members of Parkview High. I also struggled in my positioning in relation to my research, both in terms of how close and distant I should keep myself in collecting and analyzing the data and how I should present the relation between me and the study to academic communities. During the entire period of data collection, I was very much attached to my research and the study participants, especially those who were struggling in school in various dimensions. While observing the classes and interviewing students, sometimes I became emotional and almost burst into tears. As a sympathetic human being and as an immigrant, I became angry at several ways in which Asian immigrants were treated in class and emotional about how they felt marginalized and demoralized in school. I was conflicted about whether I should express my emotion and anger to the participants in those moments. More importantly, I was not sure if my emotional involvement was legitimate or not. In other words, I was worried that being emotional would degrade the rigor of my study and discredit me as a researcher.

Often, I saw myself in immigrant students, as well as them in myself. For instance, on an early visit after my initial introduction to the class, students were engaged in a group activity, and Korean-speaking Korean girls made a group among themselves. When I approached them, they did not allow any space for me to join. It appeared as if they tried to “exclude” anyone outside of their group as some teachers and early immigrant Koreans had said they did. Yet, as I experienced interactional situations

similar to those the Korean immigrants experienced in the classroom, I developed a new way of understanding how they may have felt in such situations. That is, I realized that they may not be excluding other people but *protecting* themselves from outside people, who are actually in the mainstream and who marginalize them. The following is an excerpt from a field note about how I experienced a similar situation as the Korean immigrants in one of the focal classes:

Yesterday, I went to the AERA brown lecture with my friend. We were sitting in a big round dinner table, and others were also sitting in the same table. One woman tried to talk to people in the same table. He [my friend] said, "*That person again initiates conversations. It feels a little uncomfortable. What if she talks to us?*" Then, he started to speak in English. His point was, "I don't know what language I speak in such situation. Since we speak only within us, we don't have to use English. But by using Korean, it may look like we keep other people from joining our conversation." Then, we used both English and Korean. I think the woman talked to all other people in the table, but not to us until the end. We were thinking, maybe we looked so strong the woman could not speak to us. Maybe we are Asian, so she felt we are different? Or, maybe because we were speaking in Korean, so she thought we didn't speak English well? Or maybe because of some protective mechanism, we looked like "not liking other people to talk to us. (Field note, 10/29/2010)

In the situation in which my Korean friend and I were surrounded by English-speaking Americans, we were conflicted about what language we should speak and if we should express a welcoming attitude to the speaker. I still do not understand why the woman did

not say a word to us while greeting and talking to all of the other people at the table. However, I believe that to a certain extent, we gave off (Goffman, 1959) an unwelcoming attitude through eye gaze, body posture, and tone of voice. However, I assert that this was not because we wanted to *exclude* her, but because we wanted to *protect* ourselves from the feeling of failure that we would have felt if we ended up not being legitimate participants in the conversation. That is, rather than trying and failing to mix with other people, we chose not to participate in the activity. I thought that the Korean girls in the focal classes may have been doing the same that I did in the social setting with English-speaking (and American-born) people.

In another example during an interview, one Korean girl, Eva, said that White students are “*scary*,” even how their faces look. I did not understand what her sense of fear meant. After the interview, while observing a class session, I looked at a White girl’s face and thought of what Eva told me. Suddenly, I felt that they indeed looked “*scary*” and came to realize that this was part of the reason that I could not ask for clarification when I did not understand English-speaking students’ utterances in the noisy cafeteria and could not initiate interactions with White girls from the focal classes. I was worried that they would judge or evaluate me negatively. I was worried that they would discredit me because I speak English with a foreign accent, that they would evaluate my English as incompetent based on the fact that I could not hear them in the noisy cafeteria, or that they would think I am not a good person to talk to because I do not understand many culturally-relevant topics in their conversations. I realized that students’ White faces and, more importantly, the Americanness and linguistic majority that their White faces imply signaled all those worries and intimidated me. Simply put, I was intimidated by their

nativity and their language, and often White students' faces automatically cued their privileged position and my marginalized position. Eva may have thought as I did.

As the two examples show, I understood Korean immigrant students through myself and understood myself better through them. A positive aspect of such mirrored experiences was that the experiences provided me with another channel to understand how my participants make sense of the world and why they think and enact their identities in particular ways. However, the challenge was to decide how much I could interpret participants' sense-making in their speech and action based on my sense-making of my speech and action in similar situations. I had no means to know if my participants indeed felt as I felt. I did not have evidence to support that what I felt was how the immigrants felt. Thus, I was conflicted as to how much I could and should infer through the mirrored experiences.

In academic communities, I faced another issue with respect to how to present myself in relation to my study and how to present my study in relation to my identities. Although I maintain that my dissertation was in part personally motivated, I did not want people to perceive that my dissertation was simply personally motivated, and I did not want to sound like an angry Asian woman without any scholarly rigor. However, some people appeared to think this way. For instance, at a conference, I was introduced to a Korean science education researcher. When I explained what I was doing for my dissertation, he responded by saying, "*So you are studying your own struggles, right?*" I perceived his comment as embarrassing and demeaning. At the same time, I came to think that there must be many other people who think like him whether or not they verbally express it to me. After having this experience, I realized another reason why I

did not want to be viewed as a newly-arrived Korean or look like “them.” I did not want to hear, “Oh, you study your people” as a racial, ethnic, and linguistic minority researcher. I wished to position my study as scholarly, rigorous, and valuable rather than as a study that is personally motivated and conveniently designed as a minority researcher.

My determination that I did not want to be viewed as a minority scholar who was motivated by her own struggles and studied her own people made it difficult when I was asked to write my positionality for a manuscript. When I submitted a manuscript from a preliminary finding of this dissertation⁸, the reviewers asked me to write about my positionality concerning who I am and what my relationship was with the study participant. Because of the nature of the data collection and analysis methods, they recommended that I provide more information for readers about me as an analytic tool and consider “subjectivities” in the research process. My advisor recommended that I write briefly about what challenges and tensions I experienced as a newly-arrived immigrant and immigrant student and how the experience shaped my perspective in understanding the study participant. While I fully understood the reviewers’ concerns and appreciated my advisor’s recommendations, I was conflicted in making a decision about how much I should and I wanted to show about myself to the readers, and I ended up in tears. In a sense, I did not want to disclose my struggles as an immigrant to unknown readers as a vulnerable human being. As a researcher, I was also worried if writing about personal matters would discredit the rigor of my study. In addition, I was angry because

⁸ This is a short version of Chapter 5. The manuscript (Ryu, 2012b) will be published in the seventh volume of an Asian and Pacific American educational research anthology series by Information Age Publishing.

the researcher *is* the analytic tool of his research regardless of its methodological approach in the sense that the researcher is the person who decides where to look, on what part of the data to focus, and what specific tools to use to analyze the data and make claims. With all these struggles, I had to negotiate my identities with academic communities and in the presenting of my research, considering who I wanted to be in my writing and what the research community considers to be academic rigor.

3.5.3 Concerns post data collection

After completing the data collection and leaving the research site, I felt a sense of discomfort in my mind. For a while, I did not know what the feeling was, but I sensed strange discomfort when I worked with the interview or classroom data. Then one day, I read Ellis (2007) about relational ethics and realized that the feeling was a sense of guilt. By relational ethics, Ellis means the ethical concerns in writing what participants shared with researchers through personal or intimate relationships with the researchers. That is, the concern is if it is ethical to share study participants' personal stories with the public through the researcher's writing, without permission from the participants. In studies employing autoethnography, the participants are the writers and their friends and family, who have not necessarily given permission to the writers to write about them. For some studies in which participants were aware that researchers were conducting a study and agreed to participate, such as in traditional ethnography studies, the ethical concerns may be less than in the case of autoethnography. However, even in such cases, through the lengthy data collection process, study participants often develop close relationships with researchers and share their intimate stories. Then, the question still remains as to whether

the researchers have the right to disclose stories that participants may have shared in interactional situations thought to be private.

While I do not think I developed the close relationships with study participants that Ellis (2007) described, my study participants obviously shared private matters with me, such as their life stories, immigration status, struggles in their families, and tensions among friends. Although I had permission to hear their stories and write about them, I was not sure whether I had a right to hear their personal matters to accomplish my research goals. Indeed, while talking to me in informal situations, a few students asked me if the conversations would be part of my data and be analyzed. I always answered “yes,” and they stepped away. I was ethically loaded in the sense that I wished to develop close relationships with them to hear their stories. However, the fact that I tried to build rapport not to authentically befriend them but to collect my dissertation data bothered me. While I do not know how they thought about my presence in their school, I felt strongly as if I owed them something. The fact that I went to the research site, developed a certain level of personal relationship, collected data, and left the site *without* giving them anything back made me feel guilty. On the day that I identified the sense of discomfort as a sense of guilt, I cried again – my last tears during the course of this study.

3.5.4 Affordances and limitations

Obviously, I do not have answers to all of the concerns that I have encountered in the data collection and analysis process, and I may encounter similar or different kinds of challenges in the future when I conduct other research studies. Despite ongoing challenges and the possibly unresolvable nature of these struggles, I briefly discuss three important lessons and strategies with respect to what I have learned.

One important lesson from data collection is that the insider-outsider distinction, often discussed in qualitative research methods, is not drawn consistently, and to be an *insider* in a research site is not possible nor always useful. In a cultural setting that a researcher wants to study, there is more than one interest group, and they are sometimes in agreement and other times in conflict. A researcher cannot be an ally to all groups in the setting. Furthermore, it is not possible for a researcher to identify with only one subgroup in the setting. The researcher may be identified with one group along one dimension, but not in other dimensions. For instance, in some occasions and along some dimensions, I identified myself with recently-arrived Korean immigrants and shared many experiences with them. Yet, at other times and along other dimensions, I had to and did associate myself with earlier immigrants, who were in a conflicting position with respect to the recent arrivals. During an interview with an early immigrant, Mike, he expressed his aversion to recently-immigrated students, but said, “*You are a FOB [recently immigrated] woman too, right? But [FOBs ideas] are different from mine.*” This utterance indicates that Mike, an early immigrant, identified me as a recent immigrant likely in terms of my years of living in the United States and language, which indicates that he did not identify me with him. However, as evidenced in “*But [FOBs ideas] are different from mine,*” along other dimensions—likely how I thought and acted at the school—he identified me with him, but not with other typical recently-immigrated Korean girls at the school.

I believe that this selectivity and flexibility in my identities was possible by being an outsider. While I often tried to interact with students and be close to them, I also maintained a certain distance from them. I was a non-member in the setting and

maintained that status. Thus, I was not cast in the identity models circulating in the setting. In addition, when I was conflicted between my identities and roles with respect to the relations (and conflicts) between the teachers and students, my solution was to stay an outsider. By maintaining distance and being an outsider, I was not charged with relational responsibilities, such as empathizing with or supporting one side. I believe that I might not have collected some important pieces of information by being an outsider. However, by being an outsider to a certain extent, I was able to listen to different stories from different interest groups and to make decisions about what to enact when my multiple identities conflicted with each other.

Second, to address the concern of my subjectivity as the analytic tool, I made my presence transparent in writing about both data collection and analysis. In writing about data collection, I treated myself as an agentive and live participant in the research site, not a relation-free and interaction-free data assembler. I interacted with the participants and developed certain kinds of relations with the participants, and I collected specific types of data given my particular relationships with them. In every interactional moment, both the participants and I tried to make sense of each other, interpret each other's utterances based on that sense-making, and respond accordingly, which became my data. When analyzing the data, I often inferred, without direct evidence, what happened in interactional moments and what the participants' sense-making was in those moments. In writing about those occasions, I made it clear what is my sense-making and what is my analysis of their sense-making mirrored in my sense-making.

As one last remark, to address relational ethics, I disclosed and discussed any piece of information about the participants when it was absolutely needed to make my

claim. Among the pieces of data that could be private (e.g., family crises, relationships with their peers), I found some parts of the data to be useful and worth discussing because the data provided detailed contexts of the participants' lives and facilitated my claims. Encountering these conflicts, I evaluated whether a particular piece of data was crucial to understanding the participants and for making my argument and disclosed it only if absolutely necessary. When these two goals (making important claims and maintaining relational ethics) were in conflict, I tried to find other pieces of data to show instead. In addition, after leaving the research site, I occasionally sent notes to check in with the student participants with whom I often interacted. So far, the students seem to be busy enjoying their college freshmen lifestyle and have forgotten about me and my research. I will never know what impact my research had on their lives— if they liked talking to me, if they felt obligated to share their stories with me, if they came to reflect on their lives as immigrants and science learners, and how they remembered being observed and interviewed by an adult from a university—and maybe it did not have any impact. Regardless, I dedicate my research, to a certain degree, to reporting the stories and struggles of these immigrant students, which have been invisible, and ultimately helping students situated in circumstances similar to those of my participants. By doing so, I can partially relieve the sense of guilt and resolve the relational ethics I am charged with, if not entirely.

3.6 Data translation and transcription

My data were partly in English and partly in Korean. Since English was the official language in the class, the classroom video and audio recordings were mostly in English. However, classroom recordings also captured some Korean immigrant students'

unofficial conversations spoken in Korean. Interviews were done in both English and Korean. While I asked which language they preferred to use at the beginning of the first interview, the language of the interview was mainly determined by what language I used in interacting with individual students, which also roughly corresponded with students' socializing language in school. In interviews with some students, we often switched between the two languages for various reasons. Mainly, the code switching occurred when students who spoke English with me wanted to say Korean phrases that are not easily translatable to English. When I transcribed interview and classroom recordings, I transcribed in the language spoken. In addition, my field notes included writings in English and Korean. I mostly wrote the field notes in English. However, I used Korean when students spoke short words or sentences in Korean and I wanted to capture the meaning of their utterances as they are in Korean. When summarizing the content of conversations was the main purpose of note taking, I wrote in English.

In analyzing the data, I read and coded in the language presented and used English in developing codes, themes, and writing analysis. I translated Korean data to English only when I quoted the raw data in writing papers and sharing findings with English readers. A reason for analyzing written data in the original language was to save time. However, more than that, I aimed to capture meanings and connotations embedded in Korean as well as linguistic features that provide critical evidence to answer my research questions, which may be lost in the process of translation. For instance, the use and switch of sentence subjects in Korean or the use of particular Korean lexicons provided important clues in understanding participants' sense-making.

When translating and representing Korean quotes in English, I employed several conventions depending on the purpose of the analysis of the particular data piece. In the translation of interview data, conveying the meaning that the speaker intended to communicate is the main purpose. Thus, I did not translate word by word, but translated by the meaning unit, mainly a clause or sentence. Due to the inevitable ambiguity of language, this process implies my interpretation in the process of translation, which may diminish the authenticity of direct quotes. In particular, in cases in which words and phrases are not directly translatable into English and in which sentences can have more than one meaning, this translation issue becomes nontrivial. In Korean, people often omit the subject of a sentence assuming that interlocutors have a shared understanding about the subject of the sentence. This particular practice induces more ambiguity when the presumed intersubjectivity is not achieved. Acknowledging these potential ambiguities, I translated and presented direct quotes with minimal intervention of interpretation within a given meaning unit. When the ambiguity of meaning is nontrivial and no simple direct translation seems to be possible, I consulted other Korean-English bilingual speakers and footnoted possible alternative interpretations. When any direct quote was originally spoken in Korean and translated into English, I italicized the font.

Among Korean words or phrases students used, some have connotations and social meanings, especially when used in certain contexts, and induce issues that are not translatable into short phrases. For instance, '*senpay*' in Korean means someone's friends who go to the same school (or work at the same place) and are a few years older than the person. This word could simply be translated to upper classmate (or oldtimer) in English. Yet, in certain contexts, this word connotes a strict age hierarchy and particular practices

that are performed by a certain group of people. In cases like this, in which words and phrases connote meanings beyond what the simple direct translation can communicate, I did not translate the word, but Romanized and put in a single quotation mark, followed by the English-translated meaning in parentheses if needed. Also, when students code switched during interviews, if the section of switch was as short as one or two words, I followed the same convention to note the code switching. I Romanized Korean phrases following Yale Romanization conventions (Martin, 1992).

In translating and representing moments of classroom discourse in which understanding the discursive interactions is the main focus, maintaining and presenting the authenticity of the discursive moves is more important than in the previous case. Importantly, Korean immigrant students often code switched between Korean and English in classroom interactions. To acknowledge students' code switching in these naturally occurring interactions, I adopted and modified the translation conventions used by Martin-Beltran (2010). In quoting exchanges between students, I provide original utterances with Korean phrases Romanized and placed between single quotation marks as well as English translations next to the original transcript. As I discussed, some Korean words are not directly translatable into English, especially words with grammatical functions rather than translatable meanings. For instance, the subject and object of a sentence, which are nouns or pronouns, are usually followed by grammatical function words indicating the function of the nouns used in the sentence (e.g., subject markers or object markers). In translating Korean into English, those markers are not translated because English does not have analogous grammatical function words, but rather indicate the function of the preceding nouns in the sentence. In naturally occurring talk, however,

<i>italics</i>	original utterance in Korean and translated
Bold	stress on a word or phrases with paralinguistic features (e.g., tonal change)
‘ ’	Romanization of Korean words
?	interrogation or uncertainty implied by employing specific interrogating sentence structure or rising intonation

I also note that unlike some conversational analysts, I did not use comma (,) and period (.) with particular conventions, but rather conformed to commonly-accepted grammatical usage. That is, I used commas to indicate short pauses and grammatical chunks of phrases and periods for sentence endings. I chose to use commas and periods in this way because of readability as well as because maintaining their locations is not feasible in the translation of transcripts.

Chapter 4: Meso Level Context of Parkview High School

4.1 Data corpus and analysis

In this chapter, I describe and discuss the meso level contexts of Parkview High, mainly focusing on the identity models of Korean immigrant students. As discussed in previous chapters, understanding of meso level contexts is critical to further understanding individual students, since the meso level contexts provide an overview concerning what positions are available to individual students and how they negotiate positions within the meso level contexts. Meso level contexts are affected by and draw on resources from the macro level, cultural, historical, and sociopolitical contexts. However, as specific people in the setting make sense of the contexts in specific ways, perform certain practices, and interact in specific ways, the meso level contexts are reinvented—not determined by the macro level contexts—and new meanings are assigned to identity models circulating broadly in a larger society. Given this premise, I analyze the meso level contexts of Parkview High.

To examine identity models circulating at Parkview High, I primarily analyzed student interview data. As I read the transcripts and watched the video recordings of interviews multiple times, I identified excerpts focusing on how the participants describe Korean immigrant students at Parkview High (i.e., models of identity). I developed themes to describe those excerpts using principles of open coding and made connections between the identified themes to develop more elaborated and coherent understanding of the data. I supplemented this with analysis of field notes: I located records of observations and conversations I had with members (teachers and students) of Parkview High that are relevant to the identity models that were developed from the analysis of

interview data. The analysis processes of interview data and field notes did not proceed linearly, but I reiterated the processes several times in a non-linear manner as one process informed the other.

4.2 Literature review

At Parkview High, ethnically Korean students account for approximately 15% of the student body. At a glance, these Korean students appeared to form a homogenous ethnic group and to socialize with others in the ethnic group. However, they further categorized themselves into two distinct groups—in their words, “Twinkie” and “FOB.” The use of these racial slurs, Twinkie and FOB, to indicate a certain group of Asian immigrants or Asian Americans is not new. Twinkie often refers to an Americanized or White-washed Asian American, and FOB⁹, which stands for “Fresh Off the Boat,” refers to an Asian who newly immigrated (Jung & C. Lee, 2004). Twinkies are perceived to have acculturated and assimilated to American (or White middle class) cultural and linguistic norms, such as speaking fluent English, engaging in (White middle class) American cultural practices, and eating American foods, whereas characteristics of FOBs are associated with their foreignness (Jeon, 2007; Marinari, 2006; Reyes, 2007). FOBs speak the language of their origin, socialize with other FOBs, and align themselves with the culture of their origin.

A few scholars have investigated how the labels of Twinkie and FOB are socially and linguistically constructed and manifested. Jeon (2007) shows how among Korean American college students FOBness was viewed as a failure of acculturation and how

⁹ While some studies (e.g., Reyes, 2007) show that people pronounced FOB each letter individually (i.e., /ef-o-bi/), all participants in my dissertation pronounced it as /fa:b/. Often, students also used its derivative form, FOBby.

particular features of Korean Americans, especially use of Korean language, are indicators of FOBness. Shankar (2008) similarly discusses language ideology, foreignness of students labeled FOB, and the interaction between the label and socioeconomic class. In her study with Desi (South Asian American) students in Silicon Valley, she found that Desi teens labeled FOB, who were mostly from middle class families unlike “popular” Desi teens from the upper middle class, intentionally chose to speak various languages, including standard English, Desi-accented English, California slang, and Spanish, and drew on linguistic resources of each language in different interactional situations. Despite their strategic navigation in the multilingual space, given the social discourse and school contexts conforming to monolingual English ideology, these students were negatively judged as not being fluent in English and being foreign, and their code switching to Punjabi cued their marginalized FOB position. In an ethnographic study in Hawai’i, Talmy (2004) shows how students resist the marginalized position of FOB. In this study, newly arrived immigrants often resisted being positioned as FOBs by positioning other newly arrived students as FOB. This process, Talmy argues, socially reproduced the linguistic hierarchy that they actually wanted to reject.

The review of studies about Asian Americans and the labels concerning the extent of acculturation and assimilation suggests that the specific manifestation of identity models for Twinkie and FOB vary depending on the meso level context, such as the school and neighborhood. As individuals in a particular local setting draw upon the macro level contexts as resources for interpreting each other’s identity, identity models in a school are mediated by the broader social political contexts. However, people in a local setting render and recontextualize the macro level contexts and generate particular meso

level identity models (Marinari, 2006; Reyes, 2007; Wortham, 2006). For this reason, it is worth investigating identity models circulating at Parkview High.

Yet, I find several cross-cutting themes in the studies about Twinkie and FOB labels: the interaction between the label and language use, a loose relationship between the label and years of living in the United States, and the marginalized position of FOB. Students identified as FOBs are perceived to speak their home language predominantly or speak English with an Asian accent whether these linguistic features are intentionally chosen or attributable to limited English proficiency. While the metaphoric assumption of the term FOB is recent arrival to the United States, the actual label FOB is, at best, only loosely related to the time of immigration (Marinari, 2004). For instance, Shankar (2008) found that the FOB label was given even to second and third generation immigrants. Most importantly, the FOB label is marginalized and occupies a lower social hierarchical rank than White or Twinkie.

These features of Twinkie and FOB reflect two main macro level ideologies: monolingual English ideology (Jeon, 2007) and assimilation ideology (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997). Immigrants are expected to master English and eventually speak English only, and by attaining English proficiency and cultural competence, they gain upward mobility and are blended with mainstream White American culture. FOBs are those who fail to acculturate to and assimilate with the United States because they cannot speak (or speak foreign-accented) English and maintain the cultural values and practices of their origin. Thus, they are positioned lower in a social hierarchy.

The Twinkie and FOB labels at Parkview shared these characteristics to a certain extent. FOBs were viewed as speaking predominantly Korean, conforming to Korean

cultural practices, and enjoying Korean pop culture. Once a student was labeled as part of one group, it seemed *hard*—not impossible—to be recategorized to the other. In particular, students who were labeled FOBs could not easily become Twinkies even years after immigration. For example, Ms. Kim, the only Korean counselor at Parkview High, immigrated as a high school student and has lived in the United States for more than 20 years, but said she is a FOB. In this regard, the labels were more or less static rather than stages of acculturation or assimilation. Yet, some students claimed to be able to recategorize (i.e., from FOB to Twinkie or vice versa) as they socialized with different groups of students or changed how they interacted. Thus, the labels were not fixed in an absolute sense, but were changeable to a certain extent. Additionally, as I show in the next section, FOB students were marginalized by Twinkies at Parkview High.

A few features of macro level contexts that affect the local identity models of Twinkie and FOB are also attributable to the current situation in Korea. One such contextual aspect is the increased number of educational migration to English-speaking countries. As discussed in Chapter 1, as a response to neoliberal globalization, many families of school-aged students move from Korea to English-speaking countries in pursuit of English proficiency, experiences of Western cultural practices—mainly those of North America—and educational degrees in those countries (Cho, 2005; Koo, 2007; J. Park, 2009). Since the late 1990s, this educational migration is not limited to wealthy families but broadly committed by middle class families as a form of family immigration or split household (Finch & Kim, 2012). Accordingly, Korean students in U.S. elementary and secondary schools have rapidly increased and seem to shape particular practices that are not necessarily the same as those of early Korean immigrants (e.g., split

household, social network, import of Korean youth culture to the United States and export of U.S. youth culture to Korea).

In addition, the impact of juvenile delinquent groups in Korea is noteworthy. According to a report published by the Korean Institute of Criminology (이동진, 2003), increasing numbers of adolescent students join juvenile delinquent groups, often called *Ilcin*, and their delinquent behaviors have become so prevalent that they are referred to as '*Ilcin Mwonhwa*' (*Ilcin* culture). These juvenile delinquent groups are characterized by the following salient features: 1) children typically join a group in the 5th or 6th grade, 2) an extremely strict age hierarchy exists within a group, 3) the delinquent groups primarily serve as entertainment among the members, and 4) they are often involved in school violence. Students who participate in such activities are also called '*Nonun.ay*,' meaning "Playing kids." '*Nonun.ay*'s who belong to '*Ilcin*' are often described as wearing lots of make-up (in case of girl '*Nonun.ay*'), going to '*PC Pang*¹⁰' or '*Nolay Pang*¹¹', and drinking and smoking. Within their group, younger classmates ('*Hwupay*') must obey older classmates ('*Senpay*'), and when necessary for maintaining this strict hierarchy, the older classmates beat the younger members. Targeting outsiders, they demand money that they use for their entertainment (e.g., to buy food, cigarettes, and alcohol, to pay for '*PC Pang*' and '*Nolay Pang*'), and many cases of school violence seem to be committed by those delinquent groups identified as '*Ilcin*.'

Although I have not found any research addressing the migration of '*Ilcin*' practices or students involved in those practices to the United States, some evidence

¹⁰ A Korean-style Internet café where adolescents and young adults often play computer and Internet games.

¹¹ A Korean-style karaoke.

suggests that there has been an influx of those students and their practices. For instance, at a high school in California, two Korean immigrant students, 17-years-old and 19-years-old, were involved in a fistfight, from which one student died due to severe brain damage. While both the U.S. and Korean media did not disclose many details of the case, it was reported that, “The boys apparently had an ongoing dispute but [a representative] would only say it may have stemmed from cultural differences between the U.S. and Korea” (The Seattle Times, 12/17/2010). A Korean news media outlet (YTN) reported that they got into a fight over the use of the honorific title ‘*Hyeng*’ (a proper title for older friends between men). That is, the two students were not the same age, despite being in the same grade. The older student might have asked the younger one to address him ‘*Hyeng*,’ and the younger one might have refused to do so, resulting in the fatal altercation. While these two students’ relation to ‘*Ilcin*’ and their identification prior to their immigration are not known, the norms and practices are quite similar to those of Korean ‘*Ilcin*.’ I note that while social tensions around proper titles among friends of different ages are not uncommon, those tensions are often rather subtle and rarely result in fights. More importantly, in the United States, Korean youth gang and juvenile delinquent groups are recently increasing. Choo (2007) describes several kinds of youth gangs involving Korean immigrants in New York and New Jersey Korean towns. One such kind is a group that is mainly formed among FOB-labeled Koreans. While he does not discuss its potential connection to ‘*Ilcin*’ practices in Korea, several features described as characteristics of this group are very similar to Korean ‘*Ilcin*’ practices, such as a strict age hierarchy, ways of entertaining (e.g., drinking, socializing at ‘*PC Pangs*’),

and linguistic features (e.g., '*Jjang*,' meaning a person who can beat all other students at fistfights in a school or a class).

Multiple pieces of data found in this dissertation suggest that those particular practices of Korean juvenile delinquent groups have traveled from Korea to Parkview High with a large influx of recent immigrants from Korea. As I show in more detail in this chapter, the ways that the study participants described recently arrived Korean immigrants were similar to how '*Ilcin*' adolescents behave and are perceived to behave in Korea; one student actually used the particular terms used to describe the delinquent group (e.g., '*Ilcin*,' '*Senpay*,' '*Hwupay*'). In addition, a few remarks from teachers suggest that some recent Korean immigrants enact certain practices similar to those of these youth groups in Korea.

In this chapter, I describe how Twinkie and FOB are distinguished and discuss how macro level contexts—particularly, monolingual English and assimilation ideology in evaluating and positioning immigrants in the United States, the increasing number of adolescent immigrants from Korea to the United States, *Ilcin* culture circulating among Korean youth in Korea—result in new meanings in the meso contexts of Parkview High in which a certain group of immigrants have settled and developed a Korean community. Importantly, I show how Twinkies marginalize FOBs and how the FOBs experience the school environment with respect to their social relationships and positions. Before delving into a deeper analysis, I should note that the interview data do not represent the perspectives of all Korean immigrants. In particular, the study participants are selective in the sense that I observed and interviewed only Korean immigrants enrolled in AP Biology classes. It seems likely that a certain group of students (presumably, more

academically-oriented and school-adapted) was enrolled in advanced science classes, and, thus, my data may not fully include voices from other groups (presumably, less academically-oriented and school-adapted). I am specifically concerned whether FOBs that Twinkie-labeled students had in mind when they referred to FOBs may not be exactly the same group of FOB-labeled students whom I interviewed for this study. That is, there seemed to be several sub-groups of FOBs at Parkview High. Even with this caveat, I feel confident arguing that the newcomer Korean immigrants in my study were marginalized at Parkview High to a certain extent and belong to a broader category of FOB.

4.3 Identity models at Parkview High

4.3.1 Ambiguity, but reality of the labels

At Parkview High, the label Twinkie was often given to students of Korean descent who were born in the United States or immigrated during or before the primary grades of elementary school; FOB applied to students who immigrated during or after the upper grades of elementary school. However, this age-based criterion was ambiguous. For instance, some students explained their identity ambiguously, such as “*I am supposed to be a FOB, but I am a Twinkie*” (Mike) or “*I am a FOB, but who is in Twinkie*” (Mark), meaning that they opted to be Twinkies although their more objective categorization would be FOBs. Perhaps, the best way to define Twinkie and FOB may be circulatory, saying that those who socialize with Twinkies are Twinkies and similarly for FOBs.

Despite this ambiguity, fairly stable identity models of Twinkie and FOB appeared to circulate in the school. For instance, students explained, “*He is an exception [from the model of FOB].*” That is, although he is a FOB by the immigration age

criterion, his ways of speaking and acting do not conform to the FOB identity model, which implies that agreed upon models of the Twinkie and FOB identities were established among students. Most of the Korean students that I interviewed described their social network in these terms and reported that Twinkies and FOBs do not often cross borders to socialize with peers in the other group. Korean students often know others across the group border, but they rarely socialize with each other.

In interviews with Korean immigrant students, the distinction or separation between Twinkie and FOB came up frequently, and many students raised the issue voluntarily:

And then, basically, there is senior Twinkie group, senior FOB group, junior Twinkie, FOB group. Everyone knows each other. Just they don't hang out together, I guess. (Steve)

So, when I came here, middle school, I didn't notice the difference. But then, when I got into high school, it's suddenly divided up, Koreans only hang out Koreans. And even within Koreans, there are classes. There is like FOB. Even within FOB, there is another class. There is like high class FOB, low class FOB. (Gyung)

Gyung reported that Korean immigrant students usually do not socialize with other ethnic and racial groups, and even within the Korean group, sub-groups exist. As Gyung's explanation (and those of some other students) shows, the distinction between the two groups was not clear when they were younger. The categorization started to appear in their secondary school years; Gyung asserted that it began in high school and some other students said middle school. In Gyung's explanation, separation by "class" seems to

mean different sub-groups, referring to the degree to which the student displays the prototypical characteristics of newcomers. That is, “high class FOB” means a group of students who conform to the characteristics of FOBs very strongly and “low class FOB” refers to those who conform to those characteristics but less strongly than “high class FOB.” Assuming shared understandings of who are Twinkies and FOBs, students often identified themselves and explained their social networks vis-à-vis these two distinct identities of Koreans at Parkview.

As discussed earlier, Twinkies and FOB Koreans were mainly differentiated by the year of their immigration. Importantly, however, the distinction and separation between the two groups were not simply a matter of immigration status. Students in Twinkie and FOB groups spoke different languages, enjoyed different youth culture, and were seen as conforming to different cultural values and practices. More importantly, the newcomer Koreans were positioned in a negative identity model and thus were often marginalized by the oldtimers.

4.3.2 FOBs and language

As the immigration year criterion in distinguishing oldtimers and newcomers implies, language use was the biggest discriminating factor between the two groups. Twinkies were seen as speaking primarily English, and FOBs primarily Korean. Regarding language, Gyung explained, “When two people meet, if they first say ‘*annyeonghaseyyo*’ (Hello) that means they are FOB. If they say hi, they are Twinkie.”

The tendency of FOBs to speak Korean more often was often attributed to their limited English proficiency. According to Twinkie Koreans, FOBs *cannot* speak English, and, thus, socialize only with those who speak Korean and speak only Korean. As a

result, these students who stay within a Korean-speaking FOB group do not learn adequate English:

And there is a lot of Koreans that came from Korea not that long ago. So they hang out together 'cuz they can't speak English. And they both know Korean fluently. And that's how group starts like that. And then, Koreans tend to jump in and Korean group is like made. And Koreans only hang out with each other 'cuz they know each other. (Steve)

And then, there are, there are some students trying to keep themselves in cliques. Like in Korean cliques, so they end up not learning English very well, and they stay in those cliques for a while. And then there are other students, one of my friends, he came here like three or four years ago. And he has a lot of different friendship, like with other races, and so he learned English, he picked up English pretty fast. (Brian)

Brian's remark shows that he perceived whether recently arrived Koreans socialize with Korean-speaking peers or seek out diverse friendship as a personal choice. If immigrants *decide* to branch out and seek friendship with English-speaking peers, they will learn English. If not, they fail to learn English. Along the same lines, Lindsay explicitly criticized Korean students who speak Korean, "They don't try to learn English." That is, Twinkie-labeled Koreans asserted that although new immigrants should break out of their own group and seek friendships with English-speaking peers, they do not try. As such, Twinkies often viewed FOBs' failure to speak fluent English as a personal problem without acknowledging other potential social factors, such as the school and class system, ESOL support, or a school climate unwelcoming to immigrant students who do not speak

fluent English.

In addition, while Twinkie-identified students considered learning and mastering English as something that immigrants have to accomplish, they did not always consider the positive aspects of being proficient in Korean. For instance, Lindsay said, “I know I should be better at Korean but at the same time, I don't <get> graded on Korean.”

Another student, Mark, who speaks both Korean and English fluently, said that he wants to be more fluent at English than Korean:

Mark: *... I think I am more proficient in Korean than in English, and I wish to be better in English.*

I: *Why?*

Mark: *Just because here is America, to live in America, it would be advantageous to be more proficient in English for taking SAT or English classes.*

I: *Do you mean you want to be more proficient in English than how you are now, or in comparison between English and Korean, you want to be more proficient in English than you are in Korean?*

Mark: *I wish to be more proficient in English than in Korean. Sometimes, among my friends, there are kids who speak very poor Korean but are really good at English. Then, I think like, ah, will I become like them someday? ((giggling)) ... Because my family is not so unfamiliar to English, I think if I have spoken Korean less fluently than how I do now, there wouldn't be any difficulty living [and communicating] with my family.*

The two students, Lindsay and Mark did not perceive the merits and benefits of speaking Korean. English was viewed as a means to achieve success in schooling or social status in the United States. Because Korean does not have tangible benefits other than communicating with Korean-only-speakers, as opposed to English, a critical prerequisite for learning new knowledge and eventually achieving academic and social success, they did not want to bother attaining proficiency in Korean.

Within this local model of FOBs and language proficiency, perceptions of FOBs were that they speak Korean only, cannot speak English, do not try hard enough to learn English, and socialize only with Korean-speaking peers. Among Twinkies, none of these characteristics were valued but rather considered a symptom of failure of acculturation.

4.3.3 FOBs and Korean culture

In addition to their differential use of language, Twinkies were perceived to be more “Americanized,” while FOBs retained many aspects of Korean culture. For instance, FOBs were perceived to dress in Korean styles, watch Korean television shows, and conform to Korean cultural practices, such as using the appropriate honorific language with adults and older peers. Mark argued, “FOBs are Korean style, Korean school, Korean friends, Korean culture. But then like, Twinkie people are really Americanized. ... I mean, the biggest difference is the culture.” Some students asserted that simply from style of dress it is evident that FOBs are different from Twinkies. For instance, Susan explained that “the FOB guys wear tighter pants than Twinkie guys.” Gyung similarly said, “You can tell that what kind of people that is, even within Korean, by looking at their dress, the way they do their hair.” Gyung, identifying himself as a Twinkie, explained that FOB boys usually have long hair and further said, “In the

morning I go to the bathroom. There is like ten Korean guys like in front of mirror just going like this,” as demonstrating how they adjust their hair in front of their ears.

At Parkview High, I in fact observed how Korean students dressed and did their hair differently from many other students. While I was not able to identify if those students were Twinkies or FOBs, some Korean boys wore tight (usually black) jeans, often called skinny jeans, and had long hair that covered their forehead and sometimes even a part of their eyes. Girls also dressed in particular styles that were quite different from other ethnic and racial groups at Parkview High. Some Korean girls often wore tight jeans or leggings, feminine dresses, and long boots. Sometimes, they wore clothes with girly frills, and at other times they wore stylish, loose-fit knit dresses. Korean FOB boys' outfits were different from White, Black, or Twinkie-identified Korean boys' (e.g., David, Mike), who usually wore loose and straight-leg jeans, sporty outfits (e.g., training pants), and sometimes short pants; Korean FOB girls' outfits were different from other girls', who usually wore rather simple, straight-leg jeans with tight and low-cut tops or tees. When I watched Korean television shows, I recognized how the dress styles of some Korean immigrant students were similar to those of contemporary Korean television stars.

Another Korean cultural practice to which FOBs were seen as conforming was the use of an honorific form¹² of language for older friends. In Korea, when two people talk to each other, the younger should employ a specific formality, called '*contaymal*' when speaking to someone older, which is grammatically different from the familiar form,

¹² An honorific form of Korean is used when speaking to a recipient who is above the speaker in social hierarchy (e.g., an older person, a boss at work) or among people who are not close to each other (e.g., strangers).

called '*panmal*.' While the use of the honorific or familiar form is determined by agreement between the two people, in most cases, a younger person never addresses an older person using his given name only. For instance, in the interview with me, Susan, a junior, addressed Melody, a senior, as "Melody *Enni*" although Melody was not present. Gyung specifically expressed his resistance to this practice by saying, "... you have to use '*contaymal*' to each other just for one year differences. <even in school> I don't do that."

Similar to the unwelcoming attitude toward speaking Korean, some Twinkie-identified students assumed that since Korean immigrants left Korea for the United States, they should conform to American cultural norms and give up Korean cultural practices. In David's words, "They still think that they are in Korea and behave the way they want. But really, it's not the case. Here we are in America."

4.3.4 FOBs and their social networks

The ethnic, racial, and linguistic segregation at Parkview High was prevalent in the entire school; it was not limited to the separation between Twinkie and FOB Koreans. In the two focal AP Biology classes, as well as the cafeteria, students sat and socialized within their own ethnic, racial, and linguistic groups. At first glance, the segregation was not apparent to me. Since students' skin tones and hair colors were rather in continuum, not as discrete as the often-used color metaphor implies (White, Brown, Yellow, and Black), it was not easy to see how they were separated based on the physical appearances presumed for each race and ethnicity. In addition, not *all* students were segregated and sat only with students of the same ethnic and racial group. Certainly, some students crossed ethnic and racial boundaries and socialized with peers of other ethnic and racial groups.

As I tried to find students in the focal classes and paid closer attention to with whom they were sitting during lunch, I realized how students were racially, ethnically, and linguistically segregated in the lunch room. Many students almost always sat at the same table with the same group of students during my data collection period, and Korean immigrant students knew where other Korean students would be sitting in the large school cafeteria. Roughly speaking, I was able to identify separate groups, at least, for Korean-speaking FOB Koreans, English-speaking Twinkie Koreans, English-speaking Asian students including Twinkie Koreans, and English-speaking Asian Indians. Since I was more interested in Korean students, I was not able to locate where White students in the focal classes sat. When I intentionally looked for some White students enrolled in the focal classes, I found them often sitting at all White students' tables.

The pattern was similar in the classroom. Korean-speaking FOB-labeled students sat next to each other and formed their own group to socialize and collaborate. English-speaking Twinkie-labeled students did not always sit with Korean students, yet these students sat close to other English-speaking Korean and Asian students and frequently interacted with them. Like myself, Ms. Davis appeared to have not recognized such segregations until this particular school year when she paid close attention to the separation (2010-2011). She explained that as she took a class about differentiated classroom teaching methods as part of her professional development, she became aware of that issue. Although she usually let students choose their own work group, during my observation period, she intentionally assigned students to work groups on two occasions to encourage students to interact with peers interracially. On October 8, 2010, Ms. Davis had students conduct a Jigsaw activity in which they worked with peers with whom they

did not usually interact. She explained to me that she had not noticed that students always work with the same racial students until recently. While saying that to me, she found a group of five or six White girls and quietly exclaimed to me, “Oh, my God. This group is all White girls.” She said that she wanted to mix students and encourage them to talk more to each other.

As such, students at Parkview High were segregated by their racial, ethnic, and linguistic affiliations, and further separation was also evident between Twinkie and FOB Koreans. Simply put, ethnically Korean students did not often interact with other racial and ethnic groups, and among those ethnic Koreans, they were further divided into Twinkies and FOBs. Further, this segregation between Twinkies and FOBs was not limited to school classrooms and the school cafeteria, but also existed in cyberspace. FOBs usually connected with their friends through Microsoft Network (MSN), whereas Twinkies used American Online Instant Messenger (AIM). Mike, who had both Twinkie and FOB friends, used MSN and AIM to chat with two different groups of friends. Outside of Parkview High, FOBs often went to Korean restaurants and Korean bakery cafes to meet with their friends.

However, Twinkies’ understanding of the segregation was quite different than how I understood the separation—as a grouping phenomenon grounded on ethnic, racial, and linguistic affiliation and as happening among most students. Twinkie-labeled Koreans seemed to assume that only FOBs were segregated and that they chose to stay in their own group. In David’s words,

Because in a lot of my classes, like Koreans don't like to speak up, and they have seat next to other Koreans. And they don't participate in class a lot. ... I feel like, FOBs are like very, they like to congregate with each other. (David)

Mark more explicitly asserted that FOBs isolated themselves from the dominant culture as he reported about his experience with the Korean club in the school. The Korean club was supervised by the Korean immigrant teacher, Ms. Kim. She said that they usually watch Korean television shows, talk about Korean pop culture, and promote Korean culture in the school by, for instance, having a Korean luncheon and performing Korean dance for the school's international night. She explained that recently several non-Korean students who do not speak Korean joined the club because they were interested in Korean pop culture, and she recognized the need to expand the repertoires to embrace those non-Korean-speaking students. Known as a FOB club, the Korean club appeared to provide a safe space for recently arrived Korean immigrants to express their interest in Korean pop culture, connect with other students who share the common interest, and also offer resources for non-Korean students who want to enjoy Korean pop culture. Mark perceived these benefits and comfort that Korean students may receive from the Korean club in a slightly different way:

... 'cuz like Korean club, like, we are in America really. I just feel like it's just like, separating oneself from like the American society. So like, I mean, mostly people there were like FOBs. ... Like, all they, students speak Korean. And then, they don't try to like, in my opinion, those people don't try to like hang around with other people, except for their particular group.

That is, Mark perceived the club as a venue for FOBs to isolate themselves from and stay away from “the American society,” although they should be integrated into it. As this remark indicates, Twinkie-labeled students believed that FOBs isolated themselves from the rest of the world, and they held negative attitudes toward FOBs presumed self-isolation.

4.3.5 FOBs and academic performance

In terms of school performance, Twinkie-labeled Koreans viewed FOBs as unsuccessful. For instance, Lindsay said, “They [Korean-speaking Korean students] are, the students who don't do well at school.” Similarly, Mike explained, “*Twinkies do well in school, but FOBs don't.*” In understanding this local identity model of the newcomer Koreans’ school performance, it is important to describe the neighborhood and socioeconomic backgrounds of Korean immigrants in Parkview City. As I mentioned previously, Parkview City is a newly formed Korean town and quite far from a central city in which many high paying and professional jobs are available. Unlike some other cities in Western County, where many Koreans come from affluent backgrounds and parents have professional occupations, Korean immigrants in Parkview City were reported to come from the lower middle class in Korea (Personal communication with Dr. Larry Shinagawa, the director of the Asian American Studies Program at the University of Maryland). Many Korean businesses, such as Korean restaurants and grocery shops, were established, and many Korean immigrants live within this ethnic enclave. In fact, parents of many Korean participants lived in apartments or small townhomes, and their parents were hired in Korean businesses in low paying jobs. In addition, through the interviews with Korean immigrants, I did not find students from the affluent

neighborhoods known for the wealthy families that send their children to the United States for educational reasons. My personal communication with Dr. Shinagawa and my observations suggest that Korean immigrants in Parkview City were indeed from lower socioeconomic classes.

Regarding the social class of Korean immigrants in Parkview City, Mike explained that while his family came to the United States for his and his brother's "education," this was not the case for many other Korean immigrants in Parkview City. Many Koreans immigrated after having an "*accident*," such as divorce or failure of a business. To Mike, immigration for education seemed to imply a family context in which parents and children care about education, the children try hard to achieve academic success, and the parents can and do financially and affectively support their children's education; however, families that decided to immigrate as a way to cope with the those "*accidents*" may not be focused on their children's schooling, likely because of other more serious family issues and crises. According to Mike, parents of Twinkies did not want their children to socialize with FOBs because FOBs are not academically successful, often bring bad habits from Korea, and, thus, cannot be helpful to their Twinkie children by any means.

The local model of FOBs in terms of performance was also evidenced in the interview with Eva. When she talked about her close friend, Minjoo, who immigrated two years prior, Eva positioned Minjoo as an unusual case of recently arrived Korean in many regards, including her academic success. Eva explained, "*She was unique. ... Minjoo was*

*different from those kids*¹³. *She performs well in school. She <was> perceived differently.*¹⁴” Her remark clearly shows a prevalent negative image of newcomers, namely that many recently arrived immigrants do not study hard and care about schooling, and thus perform poorly. Interestingly, Eva had lived in the United States for approximately six years and identified herself as a FOB. However, she held ideas about the newcomer Koreans similar to those that Twinkie-identified students possessed and wanted to distinguish herself from those who had arrived more recently. Her disaffiliation with more recent immigrants also suggests the influx of *Ilcin* culture and students who belonged to such communities, which I discuss in more detail in the following section.

4.3.6 FOBs and aggressive behaviors

Another negative reputation of the newcomer Koreans among Twinkies was their aggressiveness. One reason that the Twinkie-identified students thought the FOBs were aggressive was their frequent use of bad Korean words. Lindsay argued,

They always say bad things in Korean about American people or something because they can't understand it. And they say a lot of bad things about teachers but teacher can't understand anything so they don't say anything. I suppose, if I am going to insult someone, at least, you know it's in English and you understand.

¹³ In the interview, Eva used the term ‘*nonun.ay.*’ As discussed earlier, this refers to a particular kind of adolescent who engages in several practices characteristic of ‘*Ilcin*’ culture.

¹⁴ Because of the very common characteristic of Korean language that often omits the subject of a sentence, the meaning of this sentence is ambiguous. Possible interpretations are 1) Minjoo perceives the world differently than other recent immigrants do or 2) other students view Minjoo differently than they view other recent immigrants. In both cases, Eva tried to convey the message that Minjoo is different from some other recently arrived Korean immigrants.

Similarly, Mark said, “Like, the language they speak. So if I just walk around the school and see those FOBs, all I hear is ‘yok’ (curse word). So it's like, ‘yel.yetelp, ciuc¹⁵.’”

Sungjin, who moved around elementary school graduation but resisted being a FOB, said, “*In addition, their [FOBs'] way of speaking and acting was cheap. It was cheap and aggressive, so it didn't look good.*”

In addition to the use of bad Korean words, Mark argued that the newcomer Koreans are less calm, less patient, and not respectful of other people, whereas oldtimers know how to deal with frustrating situations in a more rational way:

You know, I mean, have you seen Korean kids in Korea? You know how they are like aggressive, I guess? ... I feel like, there is a Korean style of students, and like Americanized Korean students. So Americanized would be more like, American, they are like respect each other, they would be more like kind of, I don't really know how to explain it. Americanized Koreans like, more open-minded? ... *So, if things go wrong, FOBs tend to get angry and steamed, but American people tend to resolve the problem little by little. Rather than simply get furious, they try to come up with ideas to resolve the situations, such as how I should revise this so that the teacher would boost the score.* I guess they are more calm about it. I feel like, the thing that I was talking about aggressive is kind of the same thing. Since they are short temper, they become really angry for little stuff. Hmm, and just like the way they act is not gentle. The way they talk, too. The way they talk is like, ‘*ssoapwuthye*’ (speak out with sharp and irritating tone of voice) instead of like gentle again. Like that's what I am talking about aggressive. I guess, in a way that

¹⁵ Common Korean curse words.

that means more like, *'hwaltongcek'* (vibrant). But then, it's like in a bad way. I mean, not a bad way, but kind of aggressive way.

As the interview excerpt shows, in explaining the difference between FOBs and Twinkies, Mark attributed it to the difference between Korean and American culture. That is, according to Mark, Korean people in Korea have a shorter temper than Americans, and more Americanized Koreans, namely Twinkies, have learned American ways of dealing with situations, and, thus, are calmer and more rational than FOBs.

As mentioned, several pieces of evidence, especially students' reports concerning FOBs' aggressiveness, suggest the potential arrival of *Ilcin* practices and students who engage in those practices at Parkview High. For instance, when Eva described several newly arrived Korean immigrants, she said,

There are kids who have really, really soaked in Korean culture in Korea and perform practices of 'nonun.ay' even after coming here. There are kids who used to be 'nonun.ay' and came here. It's shown on them. They put on too much makeup to the extent that their face is White while their neck is yellow, make their hair strange, and don't carry book bags.

While she named these practices as "Korean culture," practices described in this excerpt are similar to characteristics of *Ilcin* youth in Korea (e.g., thick facial makeup, non-academically oriented identities). Later, Eva more explicitly mentioned several occurrences at Parkview High using several terms relevant to the juvenile delinquent groups, such as *'senpay,' 'hwupay,'* and *'Ilcin'*:

For instance, recently, among Korean kids, they make things like 'senpay,' 'hwupay,' 'Ilcin'. There were not such happenings when I was a freshman, but

those seem to happen a lot among freshmen nowadays. A few days ago, I heard that there was a big fight among freshmen because one kid claimed, “You should call me ‘senpay’ because I was born in early 1995 and you were in late 1995.” Also, a few days ago, kids fought and grabbed each other’s hair.

By definition, ‘senpay’ means upper classmates and ‘hwupay’ means lower classmates. In most social interactional situations in Korea, the person in a position of ‘hwupay’ between the two is expected to use the proper formality of Korean language. At first glance, Eva seems to refer to the general practice between upper and lower classmates. However, by saying “senpay, hwupay, Ilcin” in a row, she referred to the specific practices that are characteristics of *Ilcin* adolescent groups, such as a strict age hierarchy and violence.

Several teachers mentioned school violence involving Korean immigrants reflecting the strict age hierarchy among them. For instance, in one science class, three Korean girls were enrolled, and one was older than the other two. The teacher of the class, Ms. Brown, informed me that the older one demanded that the younger ones do her homework because she was older. Another teacher, Ms. Park, the second substitute in Ms. Davis’ class after Ms. Wilson left, was an American-born Korean and graduated Parkview High in 2003. She said that when she was in Parkview High as a student, teachers did not allow three or more Korean or Asian students to gather in school. In her words, “It was an unofficial policy. They said that students are not supposed to get together, but apparently teachers approached only to Asian kids and disturbed them.” She further explained that one of the reasons for this “unofficial policy” was that recent Korean immigrants often took Koreans outside of the school building and asked them to

greet properly or respect the upper classmates.

While I have not interviewed very recently arrived Koreans or asked specific questions to examine potential influence of *Ilcin* youth culture, these data show that the particular practices of some recent Korean immigrants with respect to the strict age hierarchy and violence have been an issue at Parkview High. Interestingly, these two teachers perceived those practices as “Korean culture.” Ms. Brown seemed to be hesitant to step into the conflict among the Korean girls, assuming that it is a “cultural” practice among Koreans. Ms. Park similarly believed that maintaining the strict age hierarchy is a traditional Korean value. I argue that this particular context at Parkview High, in which some recent arrivals from Korea engaged in practices similar to those of particular delinquent groups in Korea, influenced the identity model of FOBs specific to Parkview High. That is, FOBs were not simply perceived as failing to learn English and adopting American culture, but also as being violent, and the violence was assumed to be Korean traditional culture. I argue that this meso level identity model of FOB further marginalized FOB-labeled Korean immigrants as a group. Twinkie identified students evaluated FOBs as aggressive partly based on their observation of how FOBs spoke, acted, and interacted at Parkview (e.g., use of bad words, violent behaviors) and partly based on their knowledge about Korean youth culture. To those Twinkies, newcomer immigrants and Korean youth culture were aggressive, and, thus, they evaluated FOBs negatively, positioned FOBs in a lower social status, and wanted to distance themselves from FOBs.

4.3.7 Twinkies’ marginalization of FOBs

As shown previously, FOBs were identified with a negative identity model. For

instance, FOBs speak only Korean, cannot speak English fluently, stay within their own clique of other FOBs, do not give up Korean culture, and are aggressive. In this local identity model of FOB Koreans, Twinkies positioned themselves in opposition to FOBs. FOBs are those who fail to achieve a certain status, such as Americanness or Whiteness, and, thus, are divergent from a certain social norm. By marking differences of FOBs (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004) and positioning themselves in opposition to FOBs who are not Americanized, Twinkies identified themselves as those who have achieved a certain level of Americanness. For instance, David, born and raised in the United States, described his in-class participation pattern,

I am very loud. Hmm, I have to learn very hands-on, interactive. And I think it's more fun to be outspoken than always right, but take a chance rather than sitting back. I associate that with my American heritage, or the culture that I was brought up in. ... Because in a lot of my classes, like Koreans don't like to speak up, and they have seat next to other Koreans. And they don't participate in class a lot. But it's just not for me, I guess. I was born in Atlanta. So I (***) a lot White kids. And I went to private school for mostly White kids. So I was brought up that way.

In this excerpt, David equates being Americanized with learning White students' practices and identified himself as "American" because he had learned such practices through regular contacts with White children. In making this argument, he positioned himself in opposition to "Koreans," and by doing so, he set up his position as (or closer to) "American" or "White." Similarly, in the interview with Susan, when I asked how she distinguishes Twinkies and FOBs, she explained,

Oh, FOBs, they always speak Korean in school, they speak Korean among their

friends. And, hmm, I guess the way they dress is a little, no, I think it is pretty the same, except the guys, I think, the FOB guys wear tighter pants than Twinkie guys. If you look, it's true. And, they usually just hang out more by themselves. So, like, if you see one person, if you see one person hanging out with FOB person, you just kind of assume they are FOB too. And then, Twinkies aren't very good at Korean. And, we always speak English.

Susan, rather than explain in what ways FOBs and Twinkies are different, simply described how FOBs are and argued that Twinkies (i.e., “we”) are not like “them,” (i.e., FOBs). By contrasting Twinkies and FOBs as “we” and “them,” Susan positioned Twinkies as normal and FOBs as not conforming to the norms, through which she constructed the marked identity of FOBs as different than others (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004; Talmy, 2004). By marking FOBs, Susan positioned herself as unmarked—not one of those different others—and subsequently as a normal one who conforms to American norms.

These interview data show that Twinkies implicitly marginalized FOBs by positioning them as different from Americans and failing to achieve Americanness. Importantly, they attributed such failure to an individual’s problem. Some Twinkie-identified students more explicitly marginalized FOBs by saying that they do not like FOBs and their culture and do not want to socialize with newcomer Koreans. For instance, Gyung, when describing how recent immigrants act and interact, said that he hated many ways in which they act:

I used to hate FOBs 'cuz I didn't like they always follow celebrity, wanted to be someone that they are not.... I hate their culture. How you have to use

'contaymal' to each other just for one year differences (even in school). I don't do that. ... Oh, one thing that bugged me, in the morning I go to the bathroom. There is like ten Korean guys like in front of mirror just going like this ((gesturing)). I hated that so much. I do that, too, but that's too much.

Mark, who argued the FOBs tried to separate themselves from the American society and are aggressive, clearly expressed his opposition to FOBs:

In my case, it's a little hard for me to get along with FOBs than Twinkies. ... For me, I used to be in between that groups. So I would be able to join this group **and** this group. But then, nowadays, I feel like I am kind of like, I would like to avoid them, I guess, like the FOB group? And I like to join more the Korean American group, 'cuz I am more open-minded, I am not saying that they are bad or anything. ... So I am not going that [Korean club].

Because of the negative images in the identity model of FOBs, some students did not want other people to perceive them as FOBs or even to associate them with being Korean. Thus, they acted in ways that would not be associated with FOBness, such as speaking only English in public spaces. For instance, Lindsay, after explaining why she did not like Koreans, said, "So I don't like speaking Korean outside of my house." In addition, another Twinkie girl, Susan, did not speak Korean to her friends in school (in my observations during my data collection period). In the interview with me, she also said that her Korean is not as fluent as her English. Even when FOB-labeled students spoke Korean to her, I observed that she responded in English. In those interactions, it appeared as if she understood spoken Korean but could not speak well. Strikingly, however, one day in the focal class, she had to make a phone call to her mother with the

corded telephone in the classroom installed right next to my video camera. She spoke Korean to her mother, and her conversational Korean was as fluent as native Korean speakers of her age. This episode suggested that she may have chosen not to speak Korean in school settings although she could speak, rather than that she did not speak because she could not speak Korean.

Similarly, Eva said that she tends not to befriend Korean students who immigrated when they were older although she was not a Twinkie, either. She explained,

Kids who came late, well, I don't know. In a sense, I feel like they are different in some ways. Also, precedence? I also feel that a little. Such feeling that I have toward those kids also plays [in my tendency to not socialize with them]. Like, kids who came late often messed up things. Then, because of those kids, other late-comers are also perceived to act in the same ways. ... Seeing those happenings, I think I don't want to hang out with them, and I also tend to associate those late-comers to other late-comers who don't actually get involved in such activities. I don't know, but I feel like I am thinking in this way.

While speaking in Korean, she used an English word, “precedence” regarding her attitude toward more recent immigrants. While not clear, she appeared to mean a certain privilege that she may have but that newer immigrants do not, such as English proficiency, social network, school achievement, and resources that she may have attained through hard work after immigration. That is, this excerpt shows that Eva did not want to socialize with the recent arrivals in part because she wanted to maintain her privilege that she had achieved as someone who immigrated earlier than those students and in part because she did not want to be associated with the negative identity model of newcomers.

Mike, who had lived in Canada for two years and in the United States for approximately ten years, more explicitly expressed his desire to develop social networks with Twinkies. Although Mike named Twinkie Koreans as his closest friends, he explained, with candor, that he sometimes felt that he does not fit in the Twinkies' group and tried to adjust himself to that group (See Chapter 5 for details). Another recent immigrant, Sungjin showed a strong resistance to being positioned as a FOB. He immigrated during his 7th grade year and would be categorized as a FOB in many respects, such as immigration age and English proficiency. However, he did not like FOBs and hated to be viewed as a FOB. To avoid being categorized as a FOB, Sungjin tended not to ask questions about English in class, in order not to disclose his limited English proficiency. When I asked him how he asks questions in the focal class, he answered,

Sungjin: *It depends on the situation. If I think that something should be clarified right in that moment and think that otherwise it would get harder later, I would, my face ((snorting)), without caring about anything, ask, "What's that?" But if I think something would become substantial, I go home and study, and then if I still don't understand, I come in after school and ask the teacher or.*

I: *But, why, you know, you said that you become brazen-faced and ask.*

Sungjin: *Well, I meant putting a steel mask on my face¹⁶.*

I: *Okay, why? What do you mean?*

¹⁶ A Korean idiom meaning to risk embarrassment in a social situation.

Sungjin: *Because it's embarrassing, because I don't understand English and ask questions. What I really hate is to be recognized as a FOB. I mean, looking like I just came to America, I hate that, so.*

He further explained his concern about other students perceiving him as a FOB and alienating him:

Sungjin: *I am worried I would be perceived [as a FOB]. I hate that. Then, that makes American kids not welcome me. Honestly, there is this kind of impression, 'Oh, this kid can't speak English, it would be hard to communicate with him' for some kids.*

I: *Have you felt that from some kids?*

Sungjin: *Yes, as socializing with Twinkies, Americans, and Americanized Korean kids, I found that they basically hate such kids, and I was influenced by them. Since I hang out with them, I feel the same way when I see how Koreans behave and act out. Since I hate that and I don't want to be viewed in the same way.*

Sungjin tried hard not to disclose his limited English proficiency in classrooms because he did not want to be perceived as a FOB and be distanced from those who are American or Americanized. He wanted to be accepted as a member of the “Americanized” group. Thus, for him, asking a question requires the courage to risk being positioned as a FOB, as well as the negotiation of identities between the identity of his desire (i.e., to be a Twinkie) and others' perception (i.e., FOB).

4.3.8 FOBs' feeling of being marginalized

Importantly, recently arrived Korean immigrants in fact felt marginalized by Twinkies as well as “Americans.” The most salient marker of their feeling of being marginalized was their implicit resistance to being called FOB and associated with the negative identity model of FOB. Although they may not be able to avoid being categorized as FOBs, in their use of language and choice of terms, the resistance was evident. For instance, many Twinkie-identified students used the terms Twinkie and FOB to describe the two different categories of Korean immigrants and even called themselves Twinkie or claimed they were Twinkies. One student even said that he is a “super Twinkie” in a playful tone of voice. However, none of the FOB-labeled students willingly used the term FOB to describe themselves or their close friends, although sometimes they called the other Korean immigrant group Twinkies. Instead, they described their group of friends, to which they belong, as “*kids who came late*,” or simply “*my friends*.”

Additionally, in an interview with Jiyeon, she identified Twinkie-labeled Koreans with Americans. To my question as to if there are differences among Korean immigrant students, she answered:

Jiyeon: *Just, among kids who were educ, learned in Korea, some kids cannot easily get adjusted to [the school] here. Kids who lived here, like the second generations, they are the same as Americans.*

I: *Do you think they are really similar to American kids? The same?*

Jiyeon: *Yes, just their appearance is Korean. But inside them, they are totally American.*

While she did not articulate it as such, she seemed to think that Twinkie-labeled Koreans think and act like Americans and do not face the challenges that recently arrived Koreans may encounter as immigrants, such as difficulty adjusting or learning English. In talking about group activities in the biology class, she said she feels “*distance*” from “*American kids*” mainly because she cannot speak fluent English, and, thus, they cannot communicate with freely with others. In her explanation, it was not clear if she meant, by “*American,*” American-born students both from American parents and from Korean parents. Yet, this feeling of “*distance*” seemed to be attributed to both American students of American parents and Twinkie Koreans as she viewed those two ethnic and linguistic groups similarly.

When talking about her close friends, Jiyeon said most of her close friends immigrated to the United States during approximately the same year as she did. I asked if she had friends who came earlier or later than her, and she answered,

Among my close friends, there is almost no one who came later than me. Because my close friends, I started to become close with them from the 9th or 8th grade, [I] am not close with kids who just came, like in 10th and 11th. They came a little too late.

I further asked, “*Then, what about those who came earlier than you?*” Jiyeon answered, “*Well, those kids are mostly not close with us because they are mostly English-speaking kids.*” In answering this, she hesitated, paused a few times, and smiled bitterly saying, “*not close with us*” unlike how she had explained her lack of friendship with newer arrivals. In addition, when explaining the lack of friendship with newer comers, she omitted the subject of sentences, implying that the subject is herself and that she is not

close to newer arrivals, whereas when describing the lack of friendship with earlier arrivals, “*they*” (earlier arrivals) are not close to “*us*.” This sentence suggests how she felt marginalization by earlier arrivals, namely Twinkies, in two regards. First, in establishing (or not establishing) friendships with “them,” *they* had more control than she had in contrast to the case of newer arrivals. Because she immigrated earlier than those newer arrivals and had developed sufficient social networks by the time they arrived, she did not need to make more friends, and, thus, chose not to reach out to them. In her relationship with earlier arrivals, however, “*they*” chose not to socialize with her, and she had little to no control on it. More importantly, although I asked about *her* friendship, she explained with a first person plural, “*us*.” That is, the absence of her friendship building with earlier arrivals was not her own characteristic, but a group phenomenon, the absence of friendship between Twinkies and FOBs. This remark clearly shows that she partially attributed the absence of her friendship with Twinkies to the local level social structure in which Twinkies distanced FOBs.

Eva expressed a similar feeling of being marginalized by Twinkie Koreans. When I interviewed her in May 2011, she had been accepted at a prestigious flagship state university that many students consider the best college in the state. However, she was worried about going to the university, because from Parkview High, mostly “*Twinkies, Koreans who were born [here]*” were accepted and would go to that college. Eva explained,

But, I am not really close to them [Twinkies]. We could be acquaintances, but we are not so close. If I don't have people to hang out with, I will have no way but to stick with them. But they are close to each other within their group. So, if I join

them, I would have some kind of weird feeling. How could I explain this? I would feel like I am situated in an uncomfortable situation for nothing, and, I would be thinking like, ah, I should've stayed at home. I would feel like that is not a place where I am supposed to be.

In this excerpt, Eva expressed the unwelcoming climate that she would feel from Twinkies. That is, she was worried that she would not be able to socialize with Twinkies in that college, not because she did not like them, but because she would not fit in the Twinkies' group.

As the previous interview excerpt suggests, the attitudes that Twinkies and FOBs had toward each other were radically different. Regarding their lack of socialization across boundaries, while Twinkies expressed their intention of not socializing with FOBs and oppositional feeling toward them because of various negative characteristics of FOBs, FOB-labeled Koreans explained it in terms of a matter of access that they did not have. FOB-labeled students attributed their perceived ineligibility to belong to and socialize with Twinkies to their limited language proficiency and the sense of being alienated or unwelcomed by Twinkies. These discrepant reasons of not socializing with each other indicate that Twinkies marginalized FOBs and that FOBs indeed felt marginalized. Within this context, once students were labeled and identified as FOBs, it would be difficult for them to be re-categorized as Twinkies, if not impossible. As long as they stay in the same social setting (e.g., a classroom, school, neighborhood, church) with the same people, they would socialize with the same sub-group of people, and, thus, maintain their status as FOB.

4.4 Discussion

In this chapter, I discussed the local identity models about Korean immigrant students at Parkview High. At Parkview High, FOB Koreans were perceived negatively, especially by Twinkie-identified students. While the models were socially constructed in the meso level context of Parkview High, the models reflect the broader macro level contexts. Students' language efficiency was evaluated against monolingual English ideology, and their bilingual ability was not positively regarded. In addition, immigrant students were expected to assimilate to American culture, and, thus, FOB labeled students, who are not sufficiently assimilated, were viewed as failing to adjust and were positioned lower in the social hierarchy.

In positioning newcomer and oldtimer immigrants in the social hierarchy, especially among Korean immigrants, global ideologies that are recently formed and broadly circulating in Korea appear to be critical. As discussed earlier, global experiences, such as English proficiency, foreign experiences, adoption of Western cultural practices, and educational degrees in Western countries, are considered forms of symbolic capital. Given the macro level contexts in Korea, many Korean immigrant students move to the United States in pursuit of those assets, and speaking fluent English and participating in American cultural practices are regarded as very, if not the most, valuable accomplishments as immigrants in the United States. Some participants in the dissertation also migrated to the United States partially, or solely, in pursuit of these assets. As a result, those who failed to achieve or had not yet achieved such characteristics were positioned lower in the social hierarchy. That is, the relatively low social positioning of newcomer immigrants at Parkview was reflective of not only the

ideologies of the United States but also the dominant ideologies in recent Korean society. These macro level contexts in the United States and Korea provided resources for members of Parkview High, especially Korean immigrants, to evaluate each other's relative social positions.

Interestingly, oldtimers, labeled Twinkies, were viewed not only as proficient in English but also academically successful whereas FOB labeled newcomers were not academically successful and even aggressive. This appears to be attributable to the particular immigrant community in Parkview City. As mentioned earlier, Korean immigrants in Parkview City were largely from the lower middle class in Korea unlike a few other Korean-populated cities near Parkview. It is possible, perhaps likely, that many of the newcomer immigrant families might have had low socioeconomic status in Korea, their children might have not been prepared for English or academically successful in Korea, and they fail to perform well in school after immigration. It is also possible, perhaps likely, that some newcomer immigrants might have been involved in *Ilcin* activities in Korea and maintained those activities to a certain extent after immigration. For instance, Shin (2012) shows that newcomer Korean immigrants in Toronto who were from wealthy family backgrounds were able to shape more privileged identities than FOB or "Asian nerd" with their financial and experiential resources. However, I did not find identity models for newcomers with which newcomers could position themselves in higher social positions than oldtimer immigrants. I argue that this discrepancy between Korean immigrant communities in different local settings and the different ways in which the specific meanings of FOB and Twinkie are manifested are relevant to particular people and their personal contexts in the local setting. To understand particular

characteristics of the Korean immigrants in Parkview City, a further study of their socioeconomic, academic, and experiential background is needed.

As I discuss in following chapters, these meso level identity models are critical to understanding the identities of two focal students, Mike and Melody. Mike, perceiving the negative image associated with FOBs, repositioned himself as a Twinkie although he was a FOB for a few years. In contrast, Melody, who had been in the United States for six years, was identified as a FOB and could not socialize with students outside of the FOB boundary. These identities were represented and enacted in their biology classroom participation and influenced their biology learning. In Chapters 5 and 6, I will discuss the identities and classroom participation of Mike and Melody respectively, and, in doing so, I will draw on the findings of this chapter about the identity models of Twinkies and FOBs.

Chapter 5: Migration and Identity Trajectory—Case of Mike

This chapter focuses on a student named Mike and/or Kyung Soo. At a first glance, Mike appears to be a successful Korean immigrant student and even the epitome of the model minority. He performed well in the focal biology class and in school overall, was perceived as smart by the teacher, and was accepted to a flagship state university that many students consider the best university in the state. In the focal biology classroom, Mike was often playful and bantered with some students and Ms. Davis in mischievous ways, which drew my attention to him. As I came to know more about him, I found that his immigration experiences were much more complicated than the model minority stereotype presumes. I selected Mike for close analysis because his story of multiple migrations and unique experiences at different schools allowed me to understand the personal contexts that influenced his current identities and classroom participation. Also, he articulately conveyed how he viewed himself, others, and the world and how he felt about his situation, which helped me to clearly understand his sense-making.

The analysis in this chapter suggests several insights into Asian immigrants' identities and classroom participation. First, Mike's story provides an understanding of what it means to say that immigrants' identities are fluid and dynamically changing. He developed his identities in response to the environment in which he was situated (e.g., different schools that he attended and the climate that the school provided). The meso level contexts of Parkview High provided two identity models of Korean immigrant students, FOB and Twinkie, and Mike dynamically negotiated between those two identities. At the same time, his story shows how some parts of his identities were maintained stably. Through the hostile immigration experiences that he named as racial

discrimination and teachers' insufficient support for immigrant students, he developed an identity as an introverted person. His introverted identity remained and was displayed despite years of living in the United States.

Mike's story also shows how immigrant students' identities may influence their classroom participation. Mike brought his personal contexts to the focal biology class, and his personal contexts intersected with the meso level contexts—for instance, the FOB and Twinkie identity models and the biology classroom environment in which Ms. Davis casually interacted with students—making several positions available to him. In the focal biology class, he was quiet and did not frequently speak with the teacher in the whole class discussions—officially ask questions or answer the teacher's questions—compared to other active verbal participants. Instead, he managed to socialize with more successful students, from whom he could obtain necessary academic resources, and to be perceived as successful as those students. In addition to his success, the playfulness in his behaviors that was manifested in his interactions primarily with those students, several Koreans, and Ms. Davis appeared to help him achieve a more privileged immigrant Twinkie position.

Before presenting the analysis of Mike's case, I briefly review literature addressing identity development of Asian immigrants since his immigration experiences and the trajectory of identity formation reflect experiences of Asian immigrants. Then, I discuss Mike's experiences, identities, and their impact on his biology classroom participation.

5.1 Literature review

Immigrants, upon their arrival, learn the language and culture of the host country and shape new identities by living in and interacting with the new environment and people in it. Scholars often define these processes of learning and adjustment as assimilation or acculturation and investigate how immigrants undergo these processes. Assimilation is defined as the incorporation and absorption of individuals of minority culture into the dominant culture whereas acculturation is their mastery of the language of the host country and adaptation to its culture (Alba & Nee, 1997; Gibson, 1988; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

Early theories of assimilation have been subject to criticism due to their oversimplification of the complex challenges facing immigrants of color and their presumption of unidirectional assimilation into White mainstream culture (Goodwin, 2003; Kibria, 2002; S. J. Lee, 2005; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Rumbaut, 1994; Tuan, 1998; Uba, 1994). For instance, Asian immigrants and their children are reported to face challenges due to the cultural differences between their country of origin and the United States (Chung, 2011; Uba, 1994; C. Yeh & Inose, 2002; C. J. Yeh, et al., 2005). Early theories explain how immigrants and their children reconcile seemingly contradicting values and practices, by different types of coping strategies (S. Sue & D. S. Sue, 1971) or multiple developmental stages of racial and ethnic identity (Hurh, 1980; Phinney, 1993; D. W. Sue & Sue, 2008). Other scholars, however, criticize the rigidity and non-malleability of stage theories and have offered somewhat flexible models of acculturation (Goodwin, 2003; C. J. Yeh & Hwang, 2000). For instance, Gibson (1988) shows how Sikh immigrants and their high school children adopt the rules, practices, and language of

the dominant culture while maintaining their cultural values and ethnic identity, a process that she defines as acculturation without assimilation (see also, Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

Asian immigrants also face challenges due to larger sociopolitical structures, power relations, and racial hierarchy in the United States (Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Kibria, 1998; C. J. Kim, 1999; S. J. Lee, 2005). While not always obvious, Asian immigrants are vulnerable to explicit and implicit racial discrimination, ostracism, and racial subordination. For instance, Asian immigrants are not perceived as “Americans” but as “forever foreigners,” even years or generations after immigration (Wu, 2002). From a systematic racism perspective, Chou and Feagin (2008) attribute the perpetual foreignness of Asian immigrants to Anti-Asian racial framing. Children of Asian descent experience racism and discrimination from their childhood as a form of teasing and mocking about foods, physical appearance, and foreign accents. While those behaviors might be considered simply naïve childhood play, Chou and Feagin (2008) argue that even childhood teasing is framed by socially constructed notions of what is normal and what diverges from normal. As such experiences accumulate, Asian immigrants develop identities as Others (Goodwin, 2003) and strong ethnic and racial identities (Tuan, 1998).

Other critical factors that influence the ways in which immigrants of color and their children adjust to the United States and shape identities include local and familial contexts, such as the class status and neighborhood of the immigrant family as well as school contexts. Portes and Zhou (1993) suggest segmented assimilation as a way to describe and explain several varying assimilation patterns of current immigrants. According to this theory, immigrants undertake one of the three distinct assimilation paths, that is integration into the White middle class, assimilation to the socioeconomic

underclass, or preservation of immigrant solidarity, and the path is determined in part by familial, geographical, and sociopolitical contexts in which the immigrants are situated. Similarly, Lew (2006) compares high-achieving and dropout high school students of Korean descent and shows how class, socioeconomic status, and social network of the immigrant parents as well as school contexts influence the ways in which second generation Korean immigrants perform in school and develop their identity.

While such research addressing cultural, socio-contextual, and familial factors document and acknowledge the potential constraints on immigrants' identity development and schooling, these perspectives tend to consider the environment in a more or less deterministic way and fail to view an individual as an active, creative, and agentive entity (Gjerde, 2004; Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003; Nasir & Hand, 2006). In addition, studies addressing Asian immigrants, by and large, assume that a culture exists statically and is specific to a certain ethnic group; therefore, immigrants should choose one between the culture of their origin and that of the host country (Ngo, 2008). Several recent studies on Asian immigrants, in fact, show that ethnic identity is shaped and reshaped through the ongoing process of negotiation in which social structure and agency dialectically influence each other (Cheryan & Tsai, 2007; Danico, 2004; Jo, 2007; Kim-ju & Liem, 2003; Nagel, 1994; Okamura, 1981; Yip & Fuligni, 2002). From this approach, culture is defined in fluid terms, such as "a dynamic process constructed by each individual" (Hickey, 2007), and individual or group agency is foregrounded in perceiving the environment as well as maximizing the use of it. For instance, Chiu (2007), in her study of Lao immigrant adolescent boys, shows that these boys developed their identity associated with Blackness represented in the hip-hop style of their clothes, gestures, and

linguistic features, yet in some situations they affirm being Lao, Asian, or Asian American. To these Lao immigrant boys, adopting hip-hop style was connected to the media-inspired coolness and masculinity of Black youth culture and was their way of negotiating the circumstances in which they were rejected as being White and failed to comply with the model minority stereotype.

The analysis in this chapter addresses these tensions and challenges in understanding identities of Asian immigrants. Mike, as a member of society and in particular as an immigrant, was subject to the larger social structure (e.g., racism). Yet, he, as an active agent, made sense of the situation, found ways to deal with the unpleasant situation, negotiated his identities. Upon changes in the contexts (e.g., migration to new places), he reauthored his identities and found different ways of speaking, acting, and interacting. The detailed analysis of Mike will also show how identity negotiations were represented in the focal biology class.

5.2 Data corpus and analysis

The main data sources for this chapter were three interviews with Mike and the field notes documenting my informal interactions and conversations with him. In analyzing the interview and field note data, I focused on how he made sense of—interpreted and assigned meanings to—his immigration experiences and how he developed identities based on those sense-makings. I identified themes (van Manen, 1990) adopting principles of open coding and axial coding methods (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). In addition, I analyzed the classroom video recordings with guidance of field notes. I read field notes and the student utterance map, identified moments when Mike displayed recognizable speech, action, or interaction, and located the corresponding

excerpts in the video recordings. The analysis of those identified excerpts was primarily to see how his reported identities were enacted in the classroom and how other people responded to his enactment of identities.

5.3 Findings

5.3.1 My Initial Impressions of Mike

Mike is a senior Korean immigrant boy. In addition to his English name Mike, his Korean name was printed as “Kyung” on the class enrollment sheet. “Kyung” did not look like a complete Korean name as it seemed like it was missing a syllable. I came to know his full Korean first name, Kyung Soo¹⁷, from other Korean immigrant students. Toward the end of the school year, he informed me that he was accepted at the flagship state university and was very proud of himself. Mike always sat at a table at the back of the classroom with Sajan, a senior Indian boy, and Jisoo, a senior Korean girl, with whom he talked and worked (See Table 2). Mike seemed quite close to both of them, especially to Jisoo. They always worked in the same group and frequently had playful interactions and laughed together. He also often whispered to Jisoo, and they would burst into laughter. A White senior girl, Kate¹⁸ sat in front of their table and worked together with Mike, Jisoo, and Sajan. Another senior Indian boy, Deepak, was a close friend of Sajan and interacted with him frequently. Likely because of the close relationship between Deepak and Sajan, Mike also frequently interacted with Deepak. Although he sometimes playfully interacted with other Korean girls, such as Melody, the three sitting near his

¹⁷ Most Korean first names consist of two syllables. Because of its distinct structure, Koreans often place a blank space or hyphen between the two syllables when Romanizing their names (C. Park, 1999). However, when a blank space is used, the second syllable is frequently taken as the middle name regardless of the owner’s intention.

¹⁸ Later, she told me that her father is Latino.

seat (i.e., Jisoo, Sajan, Kate), and sometimes Deepak, were students with whom he always collaborated during group work. Interestingly, all four students were high achieving students in the focal class. Jisoo, who was quiet and did not interact with many students in the focal class, was accepted at the same flagship state university as Mike; Sajan perceived himself and was perceived by most students in the class as the highest achiever and smartest student in the focal class; Deepak, while sometimes rebellious, frequently attained the highest score on class tests in addition to Sajan; and Kate was always attentive and studious, never got involved in joke-making or rebellious episodes, and answered the teacher’s questions in a respectful manner.

Table 2 Arrangement of student seats in 4th period class
(Camera)

	(Deepak)*	Leslie			
Molly	Manish	John		Jisoo	Mike
Hailey	Adriene	Kelly		(Tahir)	Abhay
	Barbara	Maddie		Jasmine	Eunmi
Maria	Lindsay	Susan		Melody	Jiyeon
	Jessica	Kina		Mark	Hyun

		Teacher's desk
Me		(Camera)
		Smart board

*Student names embraced in a parenthesis mean that they often moved their seats.

When Mike interacted with Jisoo, Sajan, and Deepak, he was playful and chatty. He spoke mostly English in class, yet often spoke Korean to Jisoo when they chatted about non-academic topics or when he teased her. Mike’s interactions with Ms. Davis were often jovial as some other students’ were. When Ms. Davis introduced me and my research study to the class, Mike raised his hand and asked, “What is your hypothesis?” In that moment, it was not clear to me if he actually wanted to know my research “hypothesis,” if he wanted to make a joke with the class by asking and acting like a

person who screens or supervises research, or if he wanted to show off that he knows research-related processes and terminology, such as hypothesis, which students must have learned multiple times in science classes. Before I interpreted his intention to decide how to respond, Ms. Davis, almost without hesitation, answered with an exaggerated tone, “She is not going to tell you because then you will alter the result,” and the students all laughed. It became evident to me that part of his identities in the focal class is a playful and mischievous boy.

Mike was sometimes identified as playful as the previous example shows, yet at the same time, he was very studious during Ms. Davis’ lectures. He quietly listened to the teacher, looking serious. During whole class discussions, he seemed to be engaged, sometimes moved to a front seat in the class to see the slides better, and answered Ms. Davis’ questions or asked questions, although less frequently than other active verbal participants. When verbally participating, his voice was not loud enough to be captured clearly in the video unlike some other students, and he often quietly raised his hand and asked the teacher to repeat or clarify her explanations.

In this section, I briefly described how Mike spoke, acted, and interacted with peers and the teacher. In the following sections, I discuss his personal contexts in detail—multiple international migrations, his sense-making of the migration experiences—and how he participated in the focal biology classroom. Through the analysis, I will argue that his experiences of racism shaped his identity as an introverted person and non-active classroom participant in whole classroom discussion settings. However, given the local contexts of Parkview High, Mike strategically managed his identities and partly reauthored his identity as a Twinkie, perhaps granting him more symbolic capital. In

particular learning environment of focal biology class, he actively utilized and negotiated the contexts of the class in order to achieve his identity goal of being perceived as a Twinkie, which was represented by his humorous utterances and mischievous behaviors.

5.3.2 Mike's personal contexts

Mike was born and lived in Korea until his third grade year. His mother, older brother Kevin, and he moved to a metropolitan city in Canada while his father was still working in Korea. After the two years of living as a *Kirogi* family, his family reunited and moved to Farmfield, a small city in the Eastern seaboard of the United States, where his mother worked as a factory worker. They then moved again to Parkview City, which is about four hours away from Farmfield. In this section, I explore Mike's personal contexts, mainly focusing on his experiences over the course of migration—experiences of racism in school, insufficient support from teachers, and family situations.

5.3.2.1 International migration and experience of racism

Mike explained that while in Korea, his family had prepared for immigration a few years prior to their first migration to Canada, and that they had initially considered New Zealand and Canada as target countries. Mike remembered himself as a very lively, vocal, and sociable student during his first three years of his elementary school in Korea before moving abroad:

My older brother and I served as a class president every year. I liked to gather kids. I used to initiate other kids [to do something], and then got spanked by teachers ((laughing)). ... I don't know, but, just, I go out to the front. And when I was asked, why do you want to be the president, words just came out of my mouth. Other kids froze and said, ((in a stiff tone of voice)) I want to become the

president because of this. But I said, if I become the president, and then I just came up with ideas.

He further explained that even though he transferred to a new school every year, he was confident of himself and willing to stand in front of other students and show off. It seemed as if he liked to have the attention of peers and teachers and be a leader among his peers.

Mike's family moved to Canada when he was a third grader and settled in a predominantly White neighborhood with a pretty large population of Sikh Indians. In Canada, he had another name, Tom. On his first day of school in Canada, his teacher could not pronounce his Romanized Korean name correctly. The first name he could come up with at that moment was Tom since he used to watch the animation *Tom and Jerry* and, thus, asked the teacher to call him Tom. Mike remembered that in his school in Canada, students and teachers were very nice to him and supportive of him. For instance, one teacher found him doing well in mathematics and taught him advanced mathematics, and another teacher assigned him to play a solo in a school band concert. Although he did not speak English well, he served as the class president again, hung out with Canadian friends, and played sports with them. He said, "*I was confident as I used to be in Korea.*"

As a reason for the comfort and confidence that he felt, he mentioned that his parents paid school tuition whereas Canadian students did not pay. He believed, accordingly, that the teachers should treat him well and indeed treated him well. In addition, he did not experience any racism in Canada. In his words, "*There is no racism in Canada because kids are naïve. Also, there is no Black. In Canada, there was only one Black student in my class. And, White kids don't discriminate based on race.*" He felt that

Canadian, mostly White, students treated him as a visitor from a foreign country rather than a racial minority that might be a target of discrimination. He explained, “*They were curious about me. Well, people tend to be curious when a foreigner comes. Racism occurs when people think that you and I are the same but you are different.*” To him, Canadian people seemed to respect different characteristics of immigrants and take them as they are. Thus, they were curious about Korean culture and asked about Korea, and, to Mike, such interaction is attributable to naïve curiosity about an exotic culture and not to racism. He believed that racism occurs when people believe that everyone should conform to the same norm, such as physical appearance and ways of thinking, speaking, acting, and dressing. If a person diverts from the norm, the difference is not respected but interpreted as a failure to meet the norm. Thus, the different one becomes a target of discrimination. His sense-making of racism became clearer when Mike described his experience at Farmfield Middle.

Two years after moving to Canada, Mike and his family moved to Farmfield in the United States. Upon moving to the new country and to a new school, Mike and his brother tried to pick typical American names more thoughtfully. They found a list of common American names and searched starting at the letter A. He picked Mike and his brother picked Kevin. For Mike and his brother Kevin, it was very important to have a common American name familiar to many American students since many Americans could not pronounce their names correctly. Annoyed by people’s mispronunciation of his name, he wanted to have a name that people could pronounce easily and correctly. Because his Romanized Korean name was kept as his official name and was used in school and class registration, he always had to make sure that teachers used and

remembered his English name from the first day of a school year. In addition to the problem of mispronunciation, having a common English name was important because peers often made fun of Korean names that may sound weird or even have a strange meaning in English:

My older brother is Bong Soo. I think he might be more sensitive to his name because he was called Bong, Bong. ... Bong means Marijuana in slang. So kids in Farmfield laughed out more. If the teacher calls, Bong Kim, then, kids would be like, he is Bong, Marijuana. Kids play with names a lot, in their adolescence.

Unlike many Americans who choose to use a shortened name as a nickname to avoid using a long name or to be called by a cuter name, Mike and Kevin desperately wanted to have a common English name for other reasons. They did not want to be called mispronounced Korean names, which did not sound their real name. In addition, they did not want to be viewed as strange, having strange names like Marijuana, and to be teased about their names. To avoid the situation, they wanted to have a name prepared for school, which they could identify with them, and use consistently, rather than one made impulsively and used temporarily.

In Farmfield, Mike entered Farmfield Middle School as a sixth grader. He recalled that approximately 60% of the enrollment of Farmfield Middle was Black and 40% was White. Mike and Kevin were the only two ‘*hwangincong*¹⁹’ at the entire school.

¹⁹ In Korean, ‘*hwangincong*’ literally means Yellow people, that is Asian. To refer to Asian people, he could have used ‘*asiain*’ [Asian] or ‘*tongyangin*’ [Eastern people]. It is not clear why he used particularly ‘*hwangincong*’ among possible words. I note that while socially constructed meanings of Yellow may imply a derogatory sense toward Asians particularly in the context of the United States, Yellow in Korean, particularly in Korea, may not necessarily have the same connotation but merely mean Asian. Thus, the relation of ‘*hwangincong*’ to ‘*asiain*’ (or ‘*tongyangin*’) in Korean is not the same as

His memory at Farmfield Middle was colored by severe racial discrimination by students and teachers. Mike explained, “*But then, I came to America. No one knew me. Racism, and ‘hwangincong.’*” His experiences in Farmfield were in stark contrast to his experience in Canada where he was respected, encouraged to learn advanced mathematics, and approached by peers in friendly ways. He explained,

Racism is a matter of fact [in Farmfield]. There, Whites were all, [pause] I told you that in the school, my brother and I were the only two Yellow. In movies, watching movies, Bruce Lee or Jet Lee were the only ‘hwangincong’ that they know. Those two are all Chinese. But the kids asked me, “Do you know Bruce Lee?” What the heck? [laugh] Some kids didn’t even know where Korea is because they were so ignorant.

Although he spoke these words in a calm tone of voice, I was able to read his feelings about those experiences mostly from his choice of words. It appeared as if he expressed powerlessness in encountering unpleasant experiences as a racial minority and aversion to people who do not know much about outside of the United States and are not sensitive and knowledgeable enough to distinguish different countries in Asia.

About a year after their move to Farmfield, Mike was bullied by a group of Black students. One day he received a note from a Black girl saying that she liked Mike. Since he was not interested in her, he just threw the note away, and her friends found out that he

Yellow to Asian (or Eastern people) in English. However, I noticed that Mike used ‘hwangincong’ only when he described the contexts of Farmfield Middle in relation to his experience of discrimination and ostracism. In one other case, he said “Asian” when explaining Asian students at Parkview. Thus, it is also possible that his use of ‘hwangincong’ was more or less attributable to his experience of anti-Asian derogatory sentiment—for instance, he might have heard some people called him Yellow in that school. Acknowledging the possible different interpretations of his use of ‘hwangincong,’ I keep ‘hwangincong’ without translating it into Yellow or Asian.

had discarded her note. A few days later, when he was running track during his PE class, a Black girl hit his butt. He looked back and found ten other Black students chasing him. While he was not able to understand what they said exactly, they seemed to say, how an Asian boy could even dare to refuse her proposal, and furiously cursed at him with racial remarks. After that PE class, he found that his locker was broken and all his binders were dumped into a toilet. Mike talked about this incident only to his brother, and Kevin did not seem to get upset but was calm. Mike thought that Kevin may have frequently experienced this kind of bullying and, in turn, was not surprised or upset. It appeared as if both Mike and Kevin felt that they were incapable of responding to such bullying or discrimination in any way, so they just should resign themselves to the situation and live with it.

Mike interpreted those experiences of bullying and discrimination as attributable to his being different. He explained,

Since all the kids were in their adolescence, those who were different were persecuted. ... [My] Race was different, language was different, and also, because [I was] weird [to them]. They dressed in Black style. But I, coming from Korea, wore [clothes] like this ((pointing to his shirt)). There [at Farmfield], if you wear like this, they look at you strangely.

That is, according to Mike, adolescent students believe that everyone should be the same and conform to common norms. The norms in this case include being of the same race, speaking fluent English, and dressing in a certain style. Because he diverted from those norms, he was singled out and discriminated. In interpreting his discrimination by Black students, he also drew on his understanding of macro level social and historical contexts

of the United States. When I asked if he experienced similar kinds of racism at Parkview, he said he did not and explained,

Racism is really severe at Farmfield. Black kids severely discriminate on the grounds of race. Because they were discriminated against, they grew up in such way, they may want to discriminate based on race.

In this excerpt, he meant that Black Americans tend to discriminate against Asians because they were discriminated against by White people. To him, Black students' marginalization of Asian students was evident and was attributable to the social structure of the United States and long-lasting history of discrimination against Blacks.

To get through tough situations of racism, othering, and bullying at Farmfield, he decided to adjust himself to the culture of Black students in the hope of being accepted as a member of their group. After being bullied by a group of Black students, he started to wear hip hop style clothing, which the Black students mostly wore.

Back in Farmfield, for the first one year, I really struggled, but then for the last four or five months, I adjusted quickly and was totally Blackened. You wouldn't have recognized me if you saw me back then. I even used to wear strange clothes.

To Mike, being adjusted seemed to mean to assimilate to the majority by conforming to the cultural norms of the dominant group and, in turn, looking like people of the dominant group. Since at Farmfield Middle, Black students were predominant numerically and dominant in the social power dynamics, he had to follow their norms and adjust to them. While he did not explain if he was accepted as a member of that group and came to belong to it (or even a pseudo-member since he cannot be Black), Mike named his change as adjustment and contrasted the state of adjustment to the struggles

before the adjustment. Given this description, it appeared as if he achieved a certain level of acceptance from Black students and was not singled out as different. Interestingly, Mike explained that Kevin decided to study hard to get over the racism and denial at the school. Kevin “*only*” studied, and, at school graduation he was a valedictorian and received the principal’s award at the expense of friendship and acceptance by his peer group. Mike could not study as hard as his brother and instead decided to assimilate to Black students’ ways of being.

Because of the severe racism he experienced and his feeling of being othered, Mike explained, his confidence suffered at Farmfield. While his difference was respected and a target of curiosity in Canada, at Farmfield it was evaluated against certain norms. In this context, his uniqueness was interpreted as abnormal and a reason for discrimination because he was deviant from the norms.

7.3.2.2 Experiences of insufficient support of teachers

Mike’s unpleasant experiences and sense of being othered were not simply attributable to peers. He also reported unjust treatment or inadequate support from the school teachers. He asserted that teachers at Farmfield Middle did not respect students as human beings and spent time idly in school. Although it is not clear whether he meant teachers’ general attitude or their attitude specifically toward him, the teachers’ neglect of him, as someone different from others, was obvious to him. As expected, teachers at Farmfield Middle could not pronounce his name correctly. To Mike, the fact that teachers consistently called his name incorrectly was an indicator of their insufficient attention to and support of him. Mike explained with an episode he still remembered,

When the English teacher called my name from the roll, s/he might have found my

name strange. S/he called like Ka-young, Kiyong, Ki-young, Young. I still don't understand if s/he attempted to tease me or s/he called me like that to help me. But the kids all laughed. The teachers all said my name strangely. At that school, there was no such thing like respect for people. The teachers just sat there and wasted time. They didn't even say my name correctly.

Mike was not sure about the teacher's intention in trying to call his name "five times" incorrectly, yet, he was positioned as an odd and different being, one whose name was even not easily readable, and became an object of laughter. Regardless of the teacher's intention, Mike seemed to think that the teacher was insensitive and inattentive to the needs of students who are different from the majority. In addition, when he talked about the experience of bullying, I asked if he reported the bullying or discussed it with any teacher at Farmfield Middle. He answered, "*No, the teachers were also Black. What could they do even if I would've said? There were ten students, and school couldn't have expelled all of them. Also, how could I explain the situation?*" At Farmfield Middle, he seemed to learn helplessness in relation to the teachers and schools helping and protecting him from dangerous situations. He felt the helplessness partially due to teachers' neglectful attitude, the unsupportive school system in dealing with bullying or racial discrimination, and his understanding of broader social contexts regarding race. That is, having experienced discrimination by Black people, he may have thought that Black people would not be an advocate for him, a Korean.

Moreover, after moving to Farmfield, Mike encountered a huge challenge with respect to his English proficiency. Although he believed his English was pretty good in Canada, the teachers at Farmfield Middle discredited his English proficiency. In his

words, *“Even English, I thought I used to speak English well in Canada. ... Since they treated me like a scumbag [at Farmfield], I was shocked back then.”* When he submitted his first English essay, his teacher spoke to him, *“What the heck are you trying to say? What do you, what do you...”* Also, his paper was covered with lots of question marks, and he was disappointed and discouraged. While the teachers harshly criticized his English proficiency and evaluated his English as unintelligible, they did not provide adequate support for learning English. Rather, he was simply marked as an English language learner in classroom discursive situations without his status and needs as a new immigrant considered. For instance, one day at Farmfield Middle, a teacher asked the students to read a book, find words that they do not know, and bring them so that they could work on those words together as a class. Mike had a long list of words. Because his list was notably longer than others’, students started to recognize that the long list was Mike’s and whispered, *“Oh, is that [list] Mike’s?”* The teacher’s response was even more discouraging. Mike explained,

The teacher looked at my list and read out the first word and said, “‘Therefore.’ Everybody knows what that means, right?” Then, s/he went to the next word and said, “Everybody knows what that means, right” and went on and on like this. I really didn’t know the words. But because it was just me who didn’t know those words but other kids all knew, the teacher didn’t go over any of the words in my list. Then, s/he searched a dictionary for other kids’ words.

Mike explained that after migrating to Parkview City, he did not experience racism or discrimination like what he experienced at Farmfield. However, Mike thought that he still did not receive adequate support and assistance necessary to improve his

English proficiency. By the time that he arrived at Parkview City, his English had improved, but he might have needed additional assistance. Rather than systematic or careful assistance, he always received question marks on his writing assignments. I asked if he received any support from the school or teachers, he sarcastically answered, “*What supported me was a question mark*” and smiled bitterly. He further explained,

The question mark is detrimental to students’ mentality. Because, I write in English, do you think it makes sense that they cannot understand? The question marks feel like, I don’t want to read because you wrote carelessly, so [re-write and] bring it later. But I worked really hard to write. So I feel really bad. How could they not understand? It’s not that I wrote in Korean ((laughing)).

As this excerpt shows, Mike thought that the teachers did not offer the necessary instruction or adequate support, but simply marked him as incorrect. Perhaps, teachers could have tried to understand what he wrote, could have asked him what he wanted to express, could have written explanations about what was incorrect in his writing, or could have provided him with resources that he could use to learn and write English more appropriately. However, the teachers did not try anything but simply put question marks, which not only impeded his learning of adequate English but also hurt his feelings and confidence.

In a sense, Mike perceived the patterns of student-teacher interaction and lack of teachers’ close assistance and care for students as aspects of American culture. He explained that in Korea, teachers would reprimand students who received low grades and encourage them to study hard. Yet, in American schools, teachers accept the fact that some students would succeed and other would fail, and do not care for those failing

students. He believed American teachers even tend to further encourage high-achieving students and help them more, implying that failing students do not receive teacher's attention and instead become more marginalized. He said, "*American teachers are like machines that teach only the subject matters*" without concern about students' lives more generally. As such, Mike showed low expectations for American teachers in terms of building a relationship that may go beyond the relationship between a lesson provider and recipient; furthermore, he did not expect teachers to sincerely care about individual students' learning and achievement. American teachers simply do the job given to them like a machine, giving a lecture, testing students, and grading students' work.

However, Mike's sense making about differences between American and Korean teachers was at least partially caused by his experiences at Farmfield Middle. Mike remembered vividly how teachers at Farmfield Middle did not provide adequate support for him, and this experience resulted in his conclusion that "American" teachers do not care about their students. Mike said, "*But teachers here [at Parkview High], although they approach me a little friendly, I still feel the same as the teachers at Farmfield Middle.*" He found teachers at Parkview treat him a little friendlier than how teachers at Farmfield did. However, because of the vivid memory of being unsupported and neglected at Farmfield, he could not build trust with "American" teachers in general and did not believe that teachers at Parkview High would be a sincere help or support despite their friendlier attitude to him.

Importantly, those experiences that Mike had at Farmfield and partly at Parkview as an immigrant and linguistic minority played a critical role in how he interacted with people in school, especially teachers, and how he viewed himself. Mike developed an

entrenched sense of helplessness and distrust of teachers and felt that teachers would not help him or care about his academic success. Because he did not think that teachers would be a reliable supporter for him to learn and achieve academic success, Mike developed strategies for studying. He explained,

So, so, I do it by myself. Because I know that teachers wouldn't do, wouldn't take care of individual students and encourage them, I study alone at home. And just once in a while, I go to ask help for teachers.

... Without any other means, I studied by myself as going to 'Hak.wen'²⁰, with a help of my parents. In the school, I couldn't do anything better.

Instead of asking help for and interacting with school teachers, he relied on himself, his parents, and outside resources to improve his English and perform well in school subjects.

In addition, through the discouraging experiences as a non-native English speaker and of unsupportive teachers, the sense of self-confidence that he used to have in Korea suffered. In his words, *"And I couldn't speak English well. Teachers would be like, 'what is this?' and give me questions marks. So my confidence declined."* Because teachers perceived him as a limited English proficient student and a writer of unintelligible essays, Mike lost his confidence as a successful and peer-leading student. Furthermore, Mike reported that he developed an identity of being introverted as a result of his immigration experiences, especially those of discrimination at Farmfield Middle. In his words,

[After we moved to Farmfield] I became introverted. My older brother became much more introverted than me. He didn't have friends since there were only two 'hwangincong' [at Farmfield], my brother and me. So, because I am really

²⁰ Cram schools.

introverted, even now, because back then at Farmfield I was too disappointed and discouraged, even now, when I present something, I still feel scared. I am worried if I do something wrong and classmates laugh at me. Because that happened a lot at Farmfield.

Because of discouraging and depressing experiences at Farmfield Middle as a new immigrant, Mike became less confident about himself, introverted, and timid. Even after moving to Parkview City, his sense of decreased self-confidence did not recover and his identity as an introverted person was maintained to a certain extent.

In addition to Mike's past experiences and sense-making of those experiences, his family contexts appear to be important in understanding the ways in which Mike socialized with peers and Ms. Davis and participated in the focal class. His story of his family reflected several struggles typical of an immigrant and *Kirogi* family, such as a lack of financial and informational resources and perception of parental sacrifice for their children's future. In the next section, I describe Mike's family contexts briefly and how Mike made sense of the situation.

5.3.2.3 Family contexts

The four members of Mike's immediate family were the only members of his extended family in the United States. According to Mike, because they did not have other family members in America, his parents had to start everything from the scratch and could not receive help from anyone. After moving to the United States, his family was cheated by other Korean immigrants. Experiencing these tough situations, Mike and his family seemed to think that only people who can help and trust each other are the four family members. Moreover, Mike thought that his parents could not be a great help to

him in pursuing education in the United States mainly because of their lack of financial and informational resources.

Although I did not directly ask about their financial situation, Mike's family did not seem to be in good shape financially. His parents had owned a business in the past, but neither of them had a full time job at the time of my study. His mother worked part-time at a Korean grocery store, and his father was also hired by a Korean business and worked for only a few days per week. However, I do not believe that his family was in poverty either. Kevin, although receiving a loan, was attending a private college, and his parents could afford a car for the two children unlike other Korean immigrants. For example, many Korean immigrant students who I interviewed had only one car per household, so they were not free to go out and meet with friends. Regardless of objective measures of his family's economic situation, Mike thought that his family was tight on finances compared to his close friends whose parents were affluent and who went to a '*Hak.wen*' or had several tutors. Mike explained, "*Because my parents do not understand English, I have to read and check bill payments, so I know how much my parents have in their bank account,*" and he said that this family could not financially support him to have extra academic support. Mike seemed to think that if his family could afford his tutoring or '*Hak.wen*,' it would have been easier for him to get through his academic challenges and achieve success.

In addition to inadequate financial resources, his parents did not know what American parents who attended American schools may know (e.g., the U.S. school system, college applications, and course selections), since his parents were educated in Korea. When he needed someone to talk to regarding school related issues, he did not

talk to his parents because they could not provide informed advice. Even when he wanted to chat with his parents regarding what had happened in the school, he did not do so because they would not understand. The disadvantage due to their parents' relative lack of knowledge of U.S. schooling was more salient in the case of Kevin, the first one in the family who attended American school. Mike explained,

American kids usually take the SAT in their junior year. ... My brother didn't take it in his junior year. He couldn't because he didn't know about it, because no one told him. My parents also didn't know. They thought that the school would inform students regarding how to take the test, because in Korea the school sets up everything for the college entrance exam. ... So we looked up in the Internet and found out that students should do it on their own. It was not something taught in school.

Mike believed that despite the academic potential that Kevin had, because of the lack of information and resources to attain necessary information, he could not go to a more renowned college. Luckily, because his family came to know more about the U.S. educational system from Kevin's experiences, Mike did not encounter the same extent of trouble as Kevin encountered. In addition, Kevin, after all the experiences, became a good resource for Mike instead of his parents.

Despite these challenges and struggles, Mike and his family were strongly motivated to accomplish a certain degree of success in the United States and make sacrifices in their generation for better lives of their descendants. During the interview, Mike said that he had thought that his parents decided to come because American education is more advanced than Korean education. For instance, he thought that Korean

teachers emphasize simple memorization but American teachers encourage students to develop creativity and reasoning skills and to argue their opinions. Recently, however, he learned that his parents wanted to live in another country for quality of life, where his father would not have to overwork and where they could do what they want. In Korea, his father had to work late and drink after work, and did not have enough leisure time to spend with the family and children. Since he did not want his children and grandchildren to live such a life, he decided to move to another country. In Mike's words,

From my dad's perspective, you can do everything in the United States. The society does not require too much out of you. If I want to play flute, I play flute, if I want to play clarinet, I play clarinet. Like that, not just studying, but there are a lot of things that we can do.

His parents told Mike that as first-generation immigrants, they are meant to sacrifice for their descendants because once they establish a foundation and wealth in the new country, their children and later generations will be able to enjoy a financially stable, higher-quality life. Appreciating his parents' sacrifice, Mike wanted to reward them with his success, such as going to a prestigious college and having a high status occupation.

The fact that his family came to the United States for a better life does not simply mean that they wanted to work less and enjoy more leisure time. The life that they wished to live seemed to be the life of upper middle class in the United States, which secures finances and enjoys life with the secured finances. For instance, Mike wanted to be a doctor, establish himself financially, and then go to Africa to help children who do not have adequate medical care. When he told his mother about his future dream, his mother did not like the idea of going to Africa and responded, "*Do you think I brought you here*

to go to Africa?” This suggests that his parents immigrated to the United States to accomplish a certain level of success and move up to an upper middle class, for which they have sacrificed.

In sum, coming to the United States for quality of life, Mike’s parents were aware that they themselves could not achieve a luxurious life in their generation, but wanted to give it to their children, even if it meant sacrificing the quality of their own life. They wanted their children to study and work hard to move up to the mainstream upper middle class and eventually to enjoy the style of life that they have dreamt. While Mike seemed to live up to his parents’ expectations in part, he was also aware that he could not attain sufficient support from his parents, mostly in terms of information necessary for success in schooling and learning. Because of the perceived lack of help from teachers as well as parents, he appeared to try find another way to support himself: carefully managing his identity between a Twinkie and FOB while attaining the status of a Twinkie from the perspective of the teacher and other students. In the next section, I describe how Mike tried to accomplish this social interactional goal and the value of that Mike wished to get through the goals.

5.3.3 Mike in Parkview High and in the focal biology class

5.3.3.1 Mike in the school

After one and half years of living in Farmfield, Mike and his family moved to Parkview. Mike explained that his family decided to move to Parkview for two reasons: Western County is famous for high quality public education, especially among Korean immigrants, and a large number of Korean immigrants were settled in the area around Parkview City. He said his parents wanted to provide him and his brother with better

educational opportunities by sending them to a good public school, which seemed to refer to a school that sends many students to prestigious colleges. Among cities in Western County, they chose a city that has a large Korean immigrant community and schools of high reputation. While Mike did not clearly explain why his parents wanted to move to a neighborhood with many Korean immigrants, they may have wanted to feel less isolated and marginalized. Also, his parents may have wanted to be where they could find jobs and develop social networks relatively easily through the well-established Korean immigrant community. Indeed, as I mentioned previously, Mike's parents worked in the Korean enclave.

When Mike first transferred to a middle school in Parkview as a 7th grader, he eagerly wanted to make friends and belong to a peer group, especially a group of Korean friends. He explained that likely because of his experience of racial discrimination and bullying, he liked Korean people more and wanted to socialize with them. Getting to know and connecting to Korean students was possible because of the large Korean community and the large number of Korean students in the school he attended. However, when he moved to Parkview, because of his discouraging experiences in Farmfield, he had become timid and worried whether he would be rejected by Korean students. He was concerned, *“What if I approach them but they also hate me? What if they also think that I am strange? I still had such introverted personality, so I couldn't do well with kids.”* He thought that those Korean students were the final option for him to go to and rely on, and there would be no one with whom he could have socialized if they rejected him. Thus, he was worried and approaching them was not easy. It took courage for him.

While it was challenging, Mike gradually made a group of Korean friends. When he first moved to Parkview, he dressed in hip hop style clothes, such as oversized t-shirts and baggy pants that many Black students at Farmfield wore. He gradually changed to a new clothing style that Koreans often wear and mixed with Korean immigrant students. More importantly, he started to connect with a certain group of Korean immigrant students. As discussed extensively in Chapter 4, at Parkview High, Korean students make up two distinct groups—in students' words, Twinkie and FOB. As was true for other Korean immigrant students, the distinction and separation between the two groups was evident to Mike. Although he started out as a FOB in Parkview, he came to socialize more with Twinkies and re-position himself as a Twinkie.

In many interactional situations, Mike positioned himself as an oldtimer Korean and wanted to be viewed as an oldtimer. One day I came across him with a group of three Asian students. I sat at his table right across from him. While they were speaking in English, the other students at the table bowed to me, which led me to conclude that they are Korean. Although I did not ask, he told me, "We are all Koreans." Then, he asked me if I am Korean, and I answered yes. I believe he had likely known that I am Korean from my name, my facial appearance, my accent in English, which are often found among Korean immigrants, and the research that I was conducting. In addition, when I ran into him in the cafeteria, he *voluntarily* told me that he was sitting with Koreans, and this was not the first occasion he informed me that he was sitting with Koreans. This voluntary report made me more confident that he knew I am Korean because it might be irrelevant to tell a non-Korean adult that their ethnicity is Korean. In this regard, his interrogation as to whether I am Korean was not literally to inquire whether I am Korean, but to ask if I

am willing to enact my Koreanness and to see if it would be acceptable for him to enact his Koreanness with me. Based on this sense-making, I decided to enact my Koreanness more directly by asking him if he spoke Korean. As I expected, he started to enact his Koreanness by switching to Korean and said, “*Yes, I speak Korean well.*” Mike and his friends were talking about college preparation, so I asked some questions about his future plans and intended college major. While I was speaking to Mike and his friends, I saw another group of Korean students. I said, “*Ah, there are also Korean students over there.*” He looked at them, paused, and explained, “*We are Twinkies and they are FOB,*” implying that they are not the same type of Korean as him and his friends—he is a Twinkie, which is different from the FOBs.

Later, when I asked how Twinkies and FOBs are distinguished, Mike answered, without hesitation, “*I can tell by just looking at them. Twinkies dress like this* ((pointing his shirts)), *FOBs wear Korean clothes and put on makeup.*” Then, he further claimed about his identity, “*I am a FOB, but I look like a Twinkie.*” That is, based on the objective criteria (e.g., age of immigration to the United States), he is supposed to be a FOB. Yet, since he socialized with Twinkies as well as dressed and acted like them, he *is* a Twinkie. While the choice between a FOB and Twinkie was not available to all immigrants, Mike, who immigrated at a relatively early age and spoke English fairly fluently, was able to choose to be a Twinkie by socializing with and acting like Twinkies.

Yet, because he was a FOB when he first arrived at Parkview, some of his Twinkie friends’ parents did not like Mike. Even after he re-positioned himself and was re-positioned in the peer group as a Twinkie, one close friend’s mother still did not like him because she thought Mike was still a FOB. Mike argued, “*but, honestly, this year, I*

helped Dan and Heeseung [his Twinkie friends] more than they did this time. Especially in math, Dan got an A due to my help, and so did Heeseung.” In this excerpt, he asserted his identity as a Twinkie on the grounds of his academic achievement. That is, by arguing that his academic achievement reached an even higher level than some other Twinkies and that he was able to help other Twinkies, he resisted the position of a FOB who does not possess such academic potential as the local identity models of FOBs implied.

Mike’s resistance to being positioned as a FOB was in part evidenced in his answer when I asked if he talked to his friends about the question marks that he received on English writing assignments:

Oh, no, I can never talk about that [how many question marks I got and how difficult that situation is]. If I show them, they would think me strange. They would have just a few, two or three, but I have twelve question marks. So I don’t want to talk about that to friends, no matter how close we are.

His lower grades on his English writing assignments and question marks that indicate the teacher did not understand his writing could be understood as a sign of limited English proficiency to his friends. Showing the graded essays may lead his friends to position him as a FOB who does not know how to write English properly. Thus, he did not want to talk about those grades and disclose his status as a less (or limited) proficient English speaker.

However, Mike also very carefully managed his friendship with both FOBs and Twinkies. When I asked about his friends, he answered, *“Identity, for my identity, I tried to hang out with Twinkies half and FOBs half.”* He further articulated,

When hanging out with these [Twinkies], sometimes I feel like I don’t fit in their ways of thinking. But, I tried to adjust myself to them. But sometimes when I meet

with Dongsoo and Minsuk [FOBs], I found it feels so comfortable. So I realized that I used to think too much like American kids. Because I didn't like that [to think too much like Americans], sometimes I meet these FOB friends. Also, I like hanging out with them. But, in terms of closeness, I am closer to these friends [Twinkies].

Mike explained that FOBs and Twinkies have different conversational topics. FOBs talk about differences between Korea and America and what they want to do when visiting Korea whereas Twinkies talk more about their everyday life, such as what to eat or what to do. As a way to manage his friendship with the two distinct groups of peers, he readily switched the conversation topics and practices depending on with whom he was interacting. For instance, he went to *PC Pang* with FOB friends and to restaurants with Twinkies. Mike also had accounts for both AIM and MSN to connect to both of the groups—to log on AIM to chat with Twinkies and on MSN to chat with FOBs. Sometimes, he recognized negative aspects of Twinkies. For instance, he thought that Twinkies are selfish, for instance, because they did not want to share information necessary for academic success with his brother. They also do not know nor have Korean-specific emotions, such as ‘*Ceng*’ or ‘*Uyli*’²¹. He explained, “*English doesn’t even have the word, Uyli, but just friendship. Among [Twinkie] friends, since they don’t have the word, Uyli, I feel frustrated, so I hang out with these friends [FOB]. Because they have Uyli.*”

²¹ ‘*Ceng*’ means a sense of affection for and empathy with others, ‘*Uyli*’ means a sense of obligation and honor. Both ‘*Ceng*’ and ‘*Uyli*’ are often discussed as the basis of trust among people and associated with a collectivistic sense of ‘*Wuli*’ [us] in Korean culture (Yang, 2006; 정하영, 2006).

The ambivalent and fluid nature of Mike's identity combined with his desire to be positioned as a Twinkie in the school setting became more obvious when I asked which name, between his Korean name Kyung Soo and American name Mike, he uses to introduce himself to a new person:

Mike: *I introduce myself as Mike. Kyung Soo, when I first came from Korea, Kyung Soo was my name. The one I call Kyung Soo is Kyung Soo from Korea, and Mike is the one who grew up here in America. Obviously, I feel ashamed of Kyung Soo who came from Korea since he was treated badly. I don't want to be called that name except for by my family. But Mike, who grew up here, performs well in school, and studies hard. So by a new person, I like to be called Mike, and by my close friends, I like to be called Kyung Soo. Because if they call me Kyung Soo, I tell them about myself. In fact, Kyung Soo is one half of my life and Mike is the other half. If someone calls me Kyung Soo, he already knows me as Mike and calls me Kyung Soo, so I feel like he knows both sides of me. So I like close friends to call me Kyung Soo, but I let new people know only Mike.*

I: *Do you feel different when you are called Kyung Soo and Mike?*

Mike: *Yes, of course. Kyung Soo is, when I first came here, the one who was clumsy, like, what is this, and the one who was just teased without fighting back. That is Kyung Soo. Mike came here and studied. It is weird, the name, the feeling. The feeling is weird when I hear Mike and Kyung Soo.*

Mike assigned his two identities – a FOB who was struggling and a Twinkie who achieved academic success – to his two names, Kyung Soo and Mike. While he identified

with both of the identities, he pulled on and enacted each identity depending on the social and interactional goals that he wanted to achieve in a certain interactional moment.

Importantly, in the school and academic contexts in which his academic orientation and achievement are important, he wanted to be viewed as a Twinkie who had achieved a certain level of academic success, not as a struggling or failing FOB, and thus he wanted to be called Mike.

Mike's description about his social networks and identity provides insight into how he agentively positioned and re-positioned his identity with respect to the Korean immigrants' identity models circulating in the school and why he wanted to maintain friendships with both of the two groups. With FOB Korean friends, he may be able to enjoy his interest in and affection for Korean culture (e.g., memories about his life in Korea, Korean cultural practices, Korean-specific emotions), be more comfortable expressing his perspectives as a Korean and as an immigrant assuming that other FOBs would have similar perspectives, and be less worried about being judged about the way he speaks and thinks. Because the FOB friends share ways of thinking that he believed to be attributable to Korean culture, he may be more at ease and express his opinions or ideas more freely.

While those FOB friends can provide him with such comfort since they share many experiences and mentality (e.g., '*Ceng*,' '*Uyli*'), they may not be able to provide him with practical and symbolic resources necessary to achieve academic success in the context of Parkview High. What he does not have as an immigrant, such as a social network with a broader group of people, knowledge about American education system, and information for college preparation, would not be available to his FOB friends either.

His FOB friends would be struggling with English as much as, or even more than, he is. Their parents would not know what Mike's parents do not know because "*they did not grow up and go to schools here.*" Moreover, because at Parkview High, newly arrived immigrants are perceived negatively and positioned in a lower relational rank, socializing with FOBs would not benefit him symbolically. If he "*looked like*" a FOB, he would be cast in the identity model of FOBs and perceived, to a certain extent, as being academically unsuccessful, not being able to speak fluent English, not trying hard, and isolating himself from other peers. Most importantly, being positioned as a FOB would impede his access to other Twinkies who may have more practical and symbolic resources than FOBs. Thus, socializing and being identified as a FOB might be harmful for advancing to a higher social class and to mainstream American society.

In contrast, Twinkie friends have the practical and symbolic resources that he and other FOBs do not have. Although they are not in the mainstream American middle class, Twinkies may be a proxy for the upper social class and Mike could access them and their resources relatively easily. Because Twinkie parents are generally better established than FOB parents both financially and socially because they have been in the United States longer, they are able to support Twinkie children's academic success with various means. For example, one of Mike's close oldtimer friends had "*multiple private tutors,*" another friend's father owned '*Hak.wen,*' and another friend's grandmother also owned a private learning center. In addition, two of his oldtimer friends had American-born Korean mothers. Therefore, they could attain more assistance and knowledge from their parents, who had been educated in the United States and thus had varying degree of knowledge of the American educational system, as well as from work experiences and interactions with

a broader group of people. Likely due to these factors, Twinkies had obtained a more competitive status in the school or in the social hierarchy—in Mike’s words, “high class.” Mike thought that some parents of his Twinkie friends did not want their children to socialize and share these privileges with him because their children are “high class” and Mike is not. As implied in Mike’s report of the comfort that he felt with his FOB friends, Twinkies may not be able to provide the same kind of comfort; but they may offer different kinds of resources—mainly for school success and access to higher social rank.

In summary, Mike wanted to be positioned as a Twinkie by socializing with Twinkies and claiming his high academic achievement while carefully managing his group affiliation between Twinkies and FOBs. His identity goal—to balance friendships between high-achieving students who provide academic resources and FOBs who provide interactional and social comfort —was also evidenced in the focal biology class. In addition, Mike seemed to act and interact in particular ways partly to overcome the disadvantages that his other identity (e.g., introverted, timid person) may have caused. In the next section, I describe and discuss how he acted and interacted in the focal biology classroom.

5.3.3.2 Mike’s participation in the focal biology class

As discussed earlier in this chapter, Mike sometimes actively answered the teacher’s questions and asked questions, but he did not frequently initiate substantial verbal interactions with the teacher in whole class discussions, compared to other verbally active students. He sometimes asked simple questions or requests (e.g., “can you repeat that?”), but tended not to ask a question that would initiate extended discussion. Consistent with my observations, Mike described himself as “*a student who mainly*

studies alone and does not ask the teacher.” He explained, *“For some reason, I tend not to ask questions. I end up studying on my own.”* When he had questions, he tried to find an opportunity to interact with the teacher outside of the class setting such as after school. In class, he did not ask questions because he thought that he might be able to understand if he searched and studied later at home. He added, *“When I don’t understand something, usually other students don’t know either. So other kids ask the teacher to repeat,”* and he also could receive help by listening to the teacher’s answers to other students.

Although there may be various factors influencing the ways in which he participated in the biology classroom and how he viewed his participation, one important factor seems to be his past experiences. As discussed, after Mike had experienced discrimination and inadequate support from teachers, his self-esteem was damaged and he developed a sense of helplessness and distance from teachers. In turn, he became *“introverted”* and *“timid”* and came to believe that teachers would not support and encourage his learning unless he showed academic potential. It appeared that for these reasons, Mike did not want to speak out and overtly, and publicly, seek out the teacher’s help in the biology class. Instead, he established and utilized his own resources, such as studying alone and developing social networks that benefit him in achieving success in biology.

One way he utilized his social network in learning biology and achieving success was to choose group members who perform well in biology. As I described earlier, he usually collaborated with Jisoo, Sajan, and Kate, who generally performed well in the biology class; Sajan, in particular, was one of the highest achieving students in the biology class. Regarding his selection of work group members, Mike explained,

It is interesting, but even if the teacher doesn't assign, students who perform in a similar level group together. And I tried to join that group [high-achieving group] ((laughing)). Even though my grade is A, I am not-studying-hard A. But studying-hard A students receive 98%. Because I am not-studying-hard A, I get 93-94%. But because I am an A, I tried to join the hard-working A group. In the class, the best performing kids are Sajan and Kate, among the seniors, they are the two highest achieving students. So I join their group.

In part because Mike sat close to those students, he was able to form a work group with them. Yet, he also agentively chose to connect to and collaborate with them. Sajan was a particularly good resource for him in studying AP Biology. He said, *“For biology, I ask questions mostly to Sajan. But it's not like that I ask him a lot of questions [and he answers] since if I don't know, he doesn't know either. So we talk together, and while we talk, we come to understand.”*

While Mike wanted to work with high-achieving students and benefit from them, he was dissatisfied with interacting only with them. According to him, high-performing students do not want to get off task but instead only focus on class work. From his perspective, talking briefly off-topic would not be harmful and would make the activity more enjoyable. Because working with high-performing students would not involve such off-topic activities, he sometimes felt ‘*semeksemek*’ (awkward) with them. In addition, *“Thinking apart from performance,”* he wanted to work with students who he already knew and with whom he had established a certain level of friendship, likely Koreans. In his words, *“Because I am Korean and think a little differently from them [Americans] although we are not totally different,”* he felt more comfortable working with Koreans

and close friends. For example, he explained, Koreans would help each other after a student completes his or her own task whereas Americans do not do so.

For these reasons, Mike wanted to socialize more frequently with his close friends (e.g., Eunmi, Melody) in the focal class. He said he sometimes wanted to work in a group with those Korean friends and catch up. As I show in the next section, he in fact often interacted with them. However, his interactions with those girls were quite brief, and he had never formed a work group with those girls. It appeared as if he could not consider the group work, borrowing his words, “*apart from the performance.*” In other words, since success in the biology class is more important than building a social relationship, he tended to collaborate with high-performing students although it was less comfortable and less fun.

5.3.3.3 Mike’s enacted identity in the focal biology class

Another characteristic of his classroom interactions was to act playful and funny. As he had done when he asked what the hypothesis of my research is, he often joked with Ms. Davis and some other Korean students. This characteristic appeared to be Mike’s agentic use of the particular dynamics of the focal class and the teacher, to a certain extent. In the focal biology class, Ms. Davis and students very often engaged in fun, joking episodes, and several students jokingly acted disobediently. Ms. Davis was accepting of students’ funny and sometimes inappropriate comments. In such a classroom environment, he seemed to be able to be funny and disobedient while maintaining his status as an academically high achieving student. For example, one day when Ms. Davis asked him to pass out students’ worksheets, he smiled roguishly and did not do so. Another time, when Ms. Davis explained that a living fossil refers to a living species in

modern era that is also found as fossils from remote past, and asked students to give some examples of living fossil, Mike answered, “you,” meaning that Ms. Davis is a living fossil. These mischievous behaviors and comments were accepted and interpreted as he intended, that is as funny and as jokes rather than seriously inappropriate. In response to Mike in the first occasion, Ms. Davis yelled at Mike, “you lazy butt” with a playful tone of voice and did not reprimand him. In the second example too, after he said, “you,” students laughed out loud, and Ms. Davis took his utterance humorously and responded in a playful way by saying, “Who said that? Mike? Mike? Do you want me to get my spray bottle?” meaning that she would spray water on him as a punishment for teasing her. By responding in such a way, rather than reprimanding Mike officially, Ms. Davis acknowledged and approved of his joke-making attempt and, in turn, allowed him to be positioned as funny and playful in the class.

Interestingly, his playful and mischievous actions did not often involve long utterances or a loud voice. Rather, he did so nonverbally (e.g., resisting the teacher’s request) or used a simple and relatively short utterance (e.g., saying “you” quietly as an example of living fossil, asking a tangential academic question when Ms. Davis is close by) in a soft tone of voice, unlike some other students who shouted loudly and had extended exchanges with Ms. Davis. Perhaps, because he “*still feel(s) scared*” to speak up, after having depressing and traumatic experiences and because he was worried about making a mistake and other students laughing at him, he tended to speak softly and succinctly even when joking. Mike also utilized the pre-established relationship between Kevin and Ms. Davis. Mike thought that he started out in the class in a privileged position relative to other students because his brother was enrolled in Ms. Davis’ class in a

previous year and was a well-performing student. According to him, because Ms. Davis regarded Kevin highly, Ms. Davis might have a better impression of him as a younger brother of a high achiever. Perhaps, as a result, he may have thought that his mischievous actions would be less likely to be interpreted as disrupting or subverting but as simply playful, because Ms. Davis would know he is not disruptive but rather academically oriented, based on how Kevin was. By drawing upon these resources, Mike tried to play a playful and funny character in the focal class.

In addition to being playful and disobedient to the teacher and in whole classroom discussion situations, Mike often displayed mischievous behaviors with several Korean girls (e.g., Jisoo, Eunmi, Melody)—for instance, taking away Jisoo’s belongings and not giving them back, arguing playfully with her, or resisting the requests of some Korean girls. Frequently, during group activities or students’ free time in class, I heard Jisoo say, in a slightly annoyed, nagging voice, “Stop, Mike.” One day in class when the FOB Korean girls (e.g, Melody, Eunmi) asked him to hand papers to them, he refused to, and Eunmi shouted at him, “*Are you a man even when you act like that?*” meaning that he should have acted in a more mature way if he is a real man. This particular way of acting and interacting with peers was quite different from how he interacted with me. In the interviews and informal conversations with me, although he displayed his sense of humor and sarcasm, Mike expressed his opinions seriously and assertively.

By acting and interacting with Ms. Davis and peers in these ways, it appeared as if he wanted to accomplish the identity goal of being perceived as a student who is funny and playful, but also successful in the biology class, and confident, and a well-adjusted “Americanized” student who does not experience challenges in schooling and learning

biology. As discussed earlier, his interviews suggest that Mike did not want to disclose his struggles and the challenges he faced as an immigrant to friends, parents, or teachers. For instance, in explaining his use of two names, Kyung Soo and Mike, he wished that only people to whom he could show his past experience of failing as a new immigrant would call him Kyung Soo. Usually, he did not want other people to use his Korean name or know about the struggles in his past. In addition, he did not tell his friends about the question marks on his writing assignment. He even said, *“I have never told my parents. ... You are the first one to whom I talk about these experiences.”* Mike seemed to want to hide his struggles and thus avoid giving an impression to people that he had been failing or struggling.

An alternative identity that he could enact to disguise his struggles may be a boy who is playful, mischievous, and funny, but still successful. This identity may mask a part of his identities that he did not want to disclose, a FOB immigrant identity. Since recent immigrants do not have sufficient resources or support to easily achieve success in American schools, they may not perform well (or even fail) in school, as the FOB identity model implies at Parkview High. Alternatively, recent immigrants may resist being identified as this FOB identity model, which defines them as failing, and instead study hard to catch up with other students who were born in or adjusted to the United States. Mike’s brother Kevin appeared to choose this alternative pathway. Encountering challenging situations at Farmfield Middle, Kevin chose to study diligently to catch up or even outperform American-born-and-raised students. Students who study diligently and accomplish a certain level of success may be positioned against another model of newly arrived Asian immigrants, that is the hard-working, obedient model students that the

socially circulating model minority stereotype implies (S. J. Lee, 2009), although this model was not broadly circulating at Parkview High. Drawing upon this identity model broadly circulating at the macro level in the United States, people may identify students like Kevin as Asian immigrants who study hard to overcome disadvantages of immigrants and accomplish success mainly due to their strong work ethic, often attributed to Asian culture and their motivation to move up to higher social status.

However, Mike may not want to be viewed as either of the two types of immigrants—a failing recent immigrant or a diligent model Asian immigrant. His perception about academic failure of recent immigrants was evidenced in his saying, “*Twinkies do well in school, but FOBs don’t.*” His brother Kevin, as a FOB who resisted being a failing FOB, chose to study hard instead of “*adjusting*” to America. Mike did not seem to choose either of the two options and seemed to differentiate himself from any kind of new arrivals, either those who may struggle and fail in school or those who stretch themselves to achieve success. At Parkview High, several years after his initial immigration, it was indeed possible for him to achieve another academic identity, an identity of being successful *and* achieving the success without tremendous challenges or hard work.

The academic identity of a successful and funny student is different from the two academic identities often offered to recent immigrants, failing (e.g., many FOB students) or hard-working (e.g., Kevin), because of relaxedness that this identity implies. To him, the academic success of FOBs may imply that they had devoted enormous efforts to overcoming their disadvantages as an immigrant and language minority as his brother did. Yet, to students who already have privileges in schooling by speaking English

proficiently, knowing how to access necessary informational resources, and maintaining high-achieving social networks, academic success would be possible without extreme exertion. In this regard, the identity of a successful and funny student is more easily accessible to Twinkies than it is for FOBs. Thus, his enactment of the identity of a funny and successful student may help him be perceived as a Twinkie, and Mike chose to enact this identity.

Regarding his enactment of the playful character in the focal biology class, an alternative interpretation is possible: he may have the innate desire to be playful and mischievous among students, which was evidenced in how he was in Korea before immigration. After achieving a certain degree of acculturation and academic success, he finally came to be able to enact this preference. In other words, his enactment of a playful student was an outcome of his adjustment and being a Twinkie, rather than his attempt to be perceived as a Twinkie. However, I argue that in either of the two possible interpretations, his playfulness is associated with the degree to which he perceived that he adjusted and achieved Americanness. Whether he enacted the playfulness as a result of adjustment or as an attempt to cue his adjustment to surrounding people, it nonetheless signals his adjustment and Twinkie identity in social interactional settings like in the focal biology class. In this regard, enacting the successful and playful character means, both to Mike and people surrounding him, his success in achieving acculturation and Twinkieness accordingly.

In enacting a Twinkie who is high-achieving as well as playful, Mike seemed to negotiate his identities within the boundary of his knowledge, capability, and the specific classroom contexts. To a certain extent, the goal that Mike wanted to accomplish socially

and interactionally seemed to be achieved. He was viewed as a Twinkie among many Korean immigrant students and socialized more often with Twinkies, and, in turn, his identity as a Twinkie was reinforced. More importantly, Ms. Davis thought that Mike is “brilliant but lazy,” indicating that he was able to achieve a certain level of success in the biology class without working extremely hard. To Ms. Davis, those characteristics of Mike are the opposite of Kevin who was “not the brightest one” but “so determined.” At least to the biology teacher, Mike accomplished the goal of being perceived as academically successful without experiencing many challenges and putting in extra effort, as he felt was the case for other American-born-and-raised students.

5.4 Discussion

Mike’s story of immigration shows that over the course of his migrations, he transformed his identity with respect to classroom discursive situations from a playful, confident, and outgoing boy to an introverted but successful and playful Twinkie Korean immigrant. Throughout his path of migrations from one place to another, different situations and opportunities were made available to Mike. Simply put, at Farmfield Middle, where no Asian students were enrolled and African American students were predominant, he experienced severe racism and discrimination in the form of peers’ bullying and teachers’ inappropriate or inadequate attention. To get through those struggles, he decided to assimilate himself into African American youth culture by dressing and acting like the students around him. When he moved to Parkview, he found other opportunities. Parkview High enrolled a large population of Korean immigrant students where he could be “*Korean*” instead of ‘*hwangincong*.’ As the contrast between Farmfield and Parkview shows, the meso level contexts (e.g., the neighborhood,

surrounding people, school contexts) offered radically different possibilities of who to be and how to act.

However, his identity did not emerge solely from the contexts in which he was situated and by constraints imposed on him. Rather, Mike consistently made sense of the environment and his relation to it through dialogic interactions with it (Linger, 2001). He named his experience of bullying and mistreatment at Farmfield Middle as racism and discrimination against people with different ways of acting. Based on this understanding, he recognized the positions that were available to him. He thought that he could either study hard and outperform Black students or assimilate to their culture. At Parkview High, in contrast, for an ethnic Korean, two available options were a Twinkie, who associates himself more closely with American culture and connects with those who have more resources for academic success, and a FOB, who does not have such resources and struggles in school. In this context, he chose to be a Twinkie and wanted to be perceived as a Twinkie—he socialized with other Twinkie Koreans, acting as if he did not experience struggles in schooling (e.g., not disclosing the challenge in English, not discussing about the “question marks” with friends and family). His playful acting in the focal biology class helped him attain Twinkie identity in the classroom setting.

In Mike’s agentive choice and pursuit of becoming a Twinkie and belonging to the group of Twinkies, Kevin seemed to be influential. Mike admired Kevin for his aspiration to be academically successful, regarded his academic capability highly, and wanted to accomplish as much as Kevin did. Yet, despite his hard work and success in the middle and high school, Kevin was not accepted at a college that was as prestigious as his grades warranted. From Mike’s perspective, Kevin’s failure was partially

attributable to his FOB identity. As a new immigrant, Kevin did not have practical resources (e.g., information for college admission) and, more importantly, the symbolic capital that might have given him access to such resources more easily. While Kevin was hard-working and achieved academic success, some critical resources necessary for college admissions, which were shared among Twinkies and “Americans,” were not accessible to him. Mike’s sense-making about Kevin—a FOB who was hard working and successful but who had limited access to critical resources for an upward mobility—explains in part why he wanted to be viewed as a Twinkie and socialize with other Twinkies.

Mike’s identity was partly flexible and partly stabilized. While Mike wanted to be a Twinkie in social settings, he also articulated his identity as both a Twinkie and a FOB. Depending on the situation and his relation to others in that situation, he agentively chose one or the other to enact and display. For instance, in building trusting and comfortable friendships, he chose to be a FOB and socialized with FOBs, but in academic social settings (e.g., in class), he wanted to be a Twinkie. Although Mike achieved a certain degree of Americanness by enacting and being perceived as a Twinkie, experiences of discrimination as a racial minority and a language learner shaped his identity as an introverted person. Even after achieving a certain measure of success, the unpleasant experiences as an Asian immigrant and consequent identity kept him from being more active, vocal, and assertive in his biology classroom. As a result, he tended to not ask questions of the teacher and to study on his own, which had a critical impact on how he participated and interacted in the focal class.

In this chapter, the case of Mike showed how his personal contexts and meso level contexts unfold, how he negotiated his identities to achieve a certain goal given those contexts, and how his negotiation was enacted in the focal biology class. As mentioned earlier, Mike's case sheds light on the intersection between personal contexts and meso level contexts in shaping one's identities and classroom participation. In the following chapter, the case of Melody also focuses on the meso level contexts. However, unlike Mike's case, Melody's case shows how the local contexts positioned her as a FOB and constrained her participation in the classroom activities.

Chapter 6: Local Contexts and Discursive Identity—Case of Melody

6.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on a Korean immigrant student named Min Young. Ms. Davis called her by her English name, Melody, but her friends, who were Korean immigrants, used her Korean name, Min Young. In my interactions with students at Parkview High, I mostly used her Korean name, while I used her English name in my conversations with Ms. Davis. From the first day of my field work at Parkview High, Melody stood out to me as a Korean girl. This was not simply because she had slightly darker skin tone, black hair, almond-shaped eyes, and a small body, but she wore clothes, talked, walked, ate, and interacted differently than other students who might be labeled as American or Korean American. Melody, and her several Korean immigrant friends, looked as if they were Korean girls, in their late teens or early twenties, who were living in Korea. Melody frequently wore black leggings, a short skirt or dress, and long boots, and she wore hair pins with flowery ribbons, which were all in fashion in Korea. The girly looks that Melody often wore were different from the sporty looks of White girls or dressy looks of Black girls at Parkview High.

In the focal class, Melody sat close to several Korean immigrant girls—two Korean-born immigrants, Heejin and Jiyeon sat in the same row as her, and two other Korean-born immigrants, Minjoo and Eunmi and one American-born Korean, Jasmine sat right behind her (See Table 2). Melody mostly sat in the second row of the classroom, and two other Korean immigrant boys, Mark and Hyun, sat in front of her. With these Korean friends, Melody spoke Korean almost exclusively, and she did not often socialize

with students who did not speak Korean. She goofed around with other Korean-speaking students, such as speaking funny Korean words and sometimes making strange (Korean-accented) pronunciation or intonation of English phrases. When doing group work with her Korean friends, Melody and her close friend, Jiyeon sometimes talked about Korean shows and quietly sang Korean pop songs. On November 16, 2011, the class did a group activity. Students formed groups and summarized the topics that they had learned in preparation of an upcoming test. As usual, I walked around the room and observed students doing the work. At one point, I was standing behind Melody, who was working with other Korean girls, as usual, and she seemed to be unaware that I was there. When she noticed that I was standing behind her, she looked stunned and exclaimed, "*Oh, gosh!*" in Korean. I said, "Sorry" to her in English, and then she switched to English and replied, "It's okay." Her immediate Korean response made me think that she was mostly in Korean speaking mode in the focal class while I was in English speaking mode.

Sometimes, I felt that Melody and her other Korean speaking friends appeared to want to keep to themselves in their own clique. On October 4, 2010, when the class had a lab activity, the Korean girls, including Melody, formed a group. While they were working together on the lab activity, I walked around the classroom and looked at how each group worked together. The room became quite noisy, and students talked to each other about both academic topics related to the lab activity and some non-academic topics, as well. These Korean girls also made jokes, played around, teased each other, laughed, and spoke loudly and playfully to each other, as students in other groups did. In most groups, when I approached a group, a student who saw me first said, "Hi," or simply smiled, which I regarded as a sign of an invitation to their group space. With this

invitation, I was able to observe them closely and ask simple questions about the activity. These Korean girls, however, stood very close to each other, and did not turn their eyes outside of their small circle. They did not look at me nor allow me any space between them. I barely observed what they were doing over their shoulders and could not ask any question of them.

After observing how Melody enacted her Korean-ness by speaking Korean, dressing like Korean girls, and socializing almost only with Koreans, I decided to enact my Korean-ness more openly—giving up more American-looking clothes that I prepared for my field work, dressing in my Korean clothes, and trying to speak Korean with her. Initiating speaking Korean with her and other Korean students was challenging to me not because I did not speak Korean well or because I preferred speaking English. It was because I had already positioned myself as an English speaking person in the school and was always in English speaking mode, so it was hard to switch to the other language.

On December 15, 2011, during the lunch period, I went to the school cafeteria and found Melody sitting with a few girls. She was eating rice and small Korean dishes from a thermostat lunch box with chopsticks. As I walked toward her, she smiled and waved at me, which surprised and pleased me. She first asked me, "How is your research going?" I answered, "It is going well" and sat at her table. I heard that Korean students sitting with her were speaking in Korean. I thought I should switch to Korean and then started to speak Korean without any preceding remark. I felt strange for a few seconds, but soon became used to it. Because they were talking about college, I asked her to what college she had applied. She also asked me about my university, undergraduate college, and high school. When I answered I lived in Busan until high school graduation, she said, with

excitement, "*I live in Busan, too.*" This response struck me because she could not possibly live in Busan presently. She must be living in Parkview, and she should have said in past tense, "*I lived in Busan.*"

As I closely observed and interviewed Melody, I was convinced that her Korean-ness (e.g., dressing like a Korean, speaking Korean, interacting with many Koreans) did not simply mean her ethnicity, but had critical implications for who she was in terms of social relationships with teachers and other students and for her biology learning. Although she wanted to participate in the focal classroom and the classroom discourse, she could not easily do so. Participating in the biology classroom discursive practices required a certain level of knowledge in biology and an academic language proficiency in biology. Having adequate knowledge in biology and speaking the academic discourse of biology fluently may not be an easy task to achieve for any student, including native English speakers. Acknowledging the challenge, Ms. Davis employed several features of hybrid discourse practices that are suggested in science education research, such as including students' everyday languages in biology instruction, and the use of humor and popular culture (Brown & Spang, 2008; Moje, et al., 2004; Varelas, Becker, Luster, & Wenzel, 2002; Varelas, Pappas, & Rife, 2006).

Yet, the hybrid discourse practices in the focal class asked students to draw on a particular set of knowledge that some students, presumably American-born-and-raised students, might have learned outside of the biology classroom, such as through public media, everyday experiences commonly shared among students, and knowledge circulating among youth, as well as a substantial relationship with the teacher. The particular discursive practices employed in Ms. Davis' class fail to acknowledge the

discursive practices and funds of knowledge of other students who may not possess the presumed set of knowledge. Melody, like other recent immigrants, did not seem to have the necessary knowledge or have developed this relationship with the teacher, partly because the local school contexts that marginalized the newcomers, and partly because of the familial contexts in which her parents could not help her attain such knowledge or social network. The discursive practices in the focal biology class, rather than engaging her as a legitimate, vocal participant, positioned her as a limited English proficient student, which could be connected to and may have reinforced her FOB identity. In such challenging situations, Melody established a safe and comfortable space within her own peer group consisting of Korean immigrant students. In addition, Melody actively sought alternative ways of participating—alternative to conventionally defined participation, such as verbally expressing ideas in whole class discussions led by the teacher and being verbally engaged and actively leading in group work with classmates—and her attempts were sometimes noticed by the teacher and appreciated. While those efforts could have developed into the emergence of a new identity as a central participant in the class who is recognized as engaged in and contributing to the class, it appeared that she could not break out of her non-participant identity during the period of my data collection.

Given that Ms. Davis frequently employed several features of hybrid discursive practices in which she embraced characteristics of youths' everyday discourse, I review literature about hybrid practices in science education. Then, I briefly discuss the data corpus and analysis methods for this particular chapter followed by findings.

6.2 Literature review

The attempt to embrace the students' language uses and knowledges and employ them as resources in the teaching of minority students is not new and not limited to science education. In the research on literacy practices in a dual immersion elementary school, Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, and Tejada (1999) define the Third Space as a discursive space in which "alternative and competing discourses and positionings" (p. 286) come into contact (e.g., the intersection between academic discourse of a teacher and students' discourse) and argue that it provides "learning zones" availed by "hybrid language and schooling practices that bridge home and school" (p. 288). In this zone, students' language use and practices that are usually unauthorized in a classroom (e.g., students' home language, side talk, humor, local knowledge) are repositioned as unproblematic and normative practices and as resources for learning.

Cultural Modeling (C. D. Lee, 2006) is another approach leveraging students' language use and youth culture. Focused on African American students, Lee's Cultural Modeling Project identifies particular norms of speaking and reasoning in African American culture and proactively employs those features in literacy education of these students. Moll and colleagues (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & González, 1992) suggest an approach to identify and connect to students' lived experiences in their families and local communities, which they refer to as funds of knowledge. In this approach, the emphasis is not on the prototypical culture of a racial or ethnic group, but on the "strategic knowledge and related activities essential in households' functioning, development, and well-being" pertaining to "the social, economic, and productive activities of people *in a local region*" (p. 139, emphasis added). Through ethnographic studies of households in

students' local communities, they identify students' funds of knowledge and utilize them to engage students' lives and make school subjects more relevant to them.

Building on these theoretical underpinnings, many science education scholars propose to utilize hybrid practices that bridge students' cultural practices and those of scientific communities in order to facilitate students' science learning, especially for students of non-dominant groups (Bellocchi & Ritchie, 2011; Brown & Spang, 2008; Calabrese Barton & Tan, 2009; Moje, et al., 2004; Pappas, Varelas, Barry, & Rife, 2003; Rosebery, Ogonowski, DiSchino, & Warren, 2010; Roth, 2008; Wallace, 2004). Among those studies, I review four concepts and instructional approaches employed in creating hybrid practices in science classrooms.

6.2.1 Students' vernacular

Students employ unique semiotic resources and formations that they have learned in their everyday lives to express scientific understanding. These discursive practices are often different from semiotic resources and formations used in scientific communities, such as scientific vocabulary and a structure of scientific argument (Gomez, 2007). To address this discrepancy, Brown and Spang (2008) define vernacular as "commonly shared ways of communicating ... common among people of a common region or area" (p. 710) and view students' everyday language as vernacular that is different from the language of science. They argue that through creating and engaging in hybrid modes of vernacular and scientific language, students come to use scientific language as vernacular. Their ethnographic study of a fifth grade classroom containing 27 African American students shows how the teacher and students actively engage in such language hybridization. In this line of research, scholars propose that teachers should recognize and

acknowledge diverse ways that students talk about their scientific sense-making and create hybrid language practices to connect the language uses of science and students.

6.2.2 Students' funds of knowledge

Moje et al. (2004), drawing upon Gee's conceptualization of Discourse (Gee, 1996), discuss three different types of Discourses salient in science classrooms: disciplinary Discourses (ways of reading, writing, and talking about science), instructional and interactional Discourses (language used for various classroom learning practices), and social/everyday Discourses (ways of using language and funds of knowledge developed in homes and communities). They argue that these three different Discourses are resources to be actively engaged and that must be navigated for students to learn about the natural world in the science classroom. Based on an analysis of 30 middle school students from Latino/a neighborhoods, they identify four categories of funds to which students have access outside of science classrooms and that can be utilized in science classrooms: family (e.g., family experiences, parents' jobs), communities (e.g., experiences in local communities), peer (e.g., peer activities), and popular culture (e.g., music, media).

6.2.3 Youth genre

Varelas, Becker, Luster, and Wenzel (2002) conceptualize different types of language use in the science classroom as genres and identify three distinct genres that come into contact in science classrooms: science genre, classroom genre, and youth genre. Among these three distinct genres, youth genre displays characteristics of children, such as playfulness, intense expressions of affect, and argumentative stance. In their analysis of the oral and written work of students in a sixth grade, all African American

urban science class, the authors show how students engage affective and social aspects in scientific sense-making. By allowing the use of youth genre, the teacher offers opportunities for affectively engaged learning, developing ownership in the learning processes, and socially co-constructed learning.

6.2.4 Intertextual hybridity

Another possibility for connecting students and science stems from the notion of intertextual hybridity. Pappas, et al. (2003) define text as oral and written texts that represent certain meanings using a symbolic system. Through an analysis of the classroom discourse data from first and second grade science classrooms in an urban primary school, the authors identified several categories of intertextual connections. For instance, the teacher and students actively connected resources from media (e.g., television shows, movies) and generalized events (e.g., “water coming out of a faucet and going into a sink,” p. 472) in discussing class topics. The authors argue that juxtaposition of more than one text provides hybrid spaces that allow connections between experiences and knowledges familiar to students and science learning practices continuous with students’ experience, prior knowledge, and everyday life.

In the focal biology classes, Ms. Davis often established particular teaching practices that utilize features of research suggested hybrid practices. She employed some students’ everyday language use, pop culture in which some students might be interested, and humor in her instruction. While many students in the focal classes, presumably American-born-and-raised students, appeared to be engaged and enjoy her teaching practices, these practices also seemed to generate more challenges for Melody by failing to draw on her—and other newcomer immigrants’—funds of knowledge. Her school and

family contexts did not support her attaining resources that are necessary to participate in those practices. In the next section, I will lay out the data corpus and methods used in this analysis. Then, I discuss the findings about how and why Melody participated or did not participate in the focal biology class.

6.3 Data corpus and analysis

The primary data sources for the analysis of this chapter include interviews with Melody and her mother, classroom video recordings, and field notes. In addition, interviews with Ms. Davis and several other students were used complementarily.

Two distinct purposes guided my analysis of the classroom video data. One was to understand the discourse practices established in the focal class. In analyzing the classroom video recordings for this purpose, two questions guided me: (1) what opportunities for hybrid practices emerged in whole class discussions, and (2) what kinds of resources—conceptual, epistemological, and relational—were required to participate in those practices as a legitimate participant. I watched the classroom video recordings with the guidance of field notes and identified discursive episodes in which Ms. Davis and students engaged in hybrid practices during whole class discussions. I identified discursive episodes as *hybrid* when interactional approaches suggested from research were employed and students actively participated and were engaged, evidenced by, for example, students' actively sharing their experiences, laughter, and rejoinder. I note that hybrid practices in Ms. Davis' classes may not be exactly what the reviewed research studies suggest in that her teaching practices did not fully embrace the language practices and experiences of students who do not share her cultural and linguistic background. Nonetheless, Ms. Davis' teaching practices shared some aspects of hybrid practices,

which indeed connected some students' everyday knowledge and engaged them. In this regard, I name such episodes that actively draw on some students' language use and everyday experiences as hybrid practices. After identifying those episodes, typically composed of a few turns, I transcribed them, including descriptions of paralinguistic features (e.g., voice, pitch, rhythm) and nonverbal behaviors (e.g., gaze, gestures). I closely analyzed the transcript, with a particular focus on participation structure (Au, 1980), mainly concerning which individuals initiated, participated, and were engaged in the practices, as well as *contextualization cues*—any linguistic, paralinguistic, and nonverbal features signaling “what is happening at the moment of interaction” (Gumperz, 1982).

The other purpose of analyzing classroom video recordings was to understand Melody's classroom participation. I read field notes and the student utterance maps, identified moments that Melody displayed recognizable speech, action, or interaction, and located those moments in the video or audio recordings. The analysis of these episodes focused on the ways in which she spoke and acted and with whom she interacted. The analysis of classroom video and audio data was complemented by the analysis of interviews of Ms. Davis and some other students, which helped me to further understand the classroom contexts.

I analyzed the interview data and field notes thematically (van Manen, 1990). The main questions addressed in analyzing these two sources of data were how she perceived herself as a biology learner, member of the focal class, and immigrant. I also interviewed Melody's mother. Her interview was primarily used to understand the family context, mainly situations related to their immigration. The analyses of data from different sources

and at different grain sizes provided a situated understanding of how Melody spoke, acted, and interacted in the focal biology class.

6.4 Findings

I start this section by describing how Melody viewed herself as a biology student based on the analysis of her interview data. As this analysis shows, she viewed herself as an unsuccessful biology student and non-participant in the class against conventional class norms, such as that successful students attain high scores in tests, classroom participation is verbal participation in whole class discussions, and good group members are those who are verbally engaged in and lead group activities. To provide an understanding of why she was not successful and did not verbally participate, I present an analysis of (1) the classroom discursive practices, focused on the hybrid practices, (2) Melody's sense-making of her position at Parkview High where the two Korean immigrant identity models were established, and (3) her family contexts. Then, I describe Melody in the focal class more closely and show (1) how she was positioned as an English language learner, (2) how she formed working groups with friends, where she could actively engage in both lab activities and non-academic social interactions, and (3) how she tried to participate in the class and become a central participant of the class by engaging in alternative ways of participation.

6.4.1 Melody as an unsuccessful biology student and non-participant

In the first formal interview with Melody, I asked her to describe herself in the biology class. She started her answer with a big sigh:

Melody: *Ah ((sighing)), when sitting in the class, first of all, I become despondent and demoralized because of the teacher.*

I: *Oh, okay. In what sense do you feel like that?*

Melody: *Well, the teacher, I don't perform really well in that class. But, you know, by nature, teachers all, every teacher likes well-performing students.*

Melody thought that she did not perform well in the biology class, which made her feel demoralized in the class. She thought that the biology teacher, Ms. Davis, did not like her because she did not do well in the biology class. In evaluating her success, she made a comparison with other Korean students who were more successful in the class.

Interestingly, Melody said, "*I mean, kids who did well originally [in Korea] do well [in school] even after coming here [to America]. ... [Someone like] Minjoo?*" This answer implies that Melody thought that she would not have performed highly even if she were in Korea. The disposition shown in this answer indicates that Melody perceived a variability among Korean immigrant students in their academic achievement and thought that students carried their academic identities from Korea to a certain extent. In this short moment and throughout the entire interview with her, despite her unsuccessful academic identity that she perceived herself with respect to the focal biology class, I was able to see how much she cared about her performance in AP Biology and was frustrated because she was not doing well in the class. In the biology class, Melody actually did not receive good grades. On some class tests, she received low scores, and Ms. Davis expressed to me her worry about Melody.

I then asked how she did in group activities. Her answer was consistently negative and showed frustration that she wanted to do well but she could not:

Well, I tried hard to do well. I really like doing stuff. With kids, I really like to lead and engage actively. Although I always want to do all the work, because there are things that I don't understand in the lab instructions, I can't do well and so I feel frustrated and stuff.

While she was struggling in the focal class and wanted to perform better, she did not seem to seek out help from the teacher. When she had questions about biology, she often asked her Korean friends. When I asked if she sometimes requested help of Ms. Davis, she answered, "*The teacher, ah ((sighing)), it is hard to go to see her. It's scary.*" When explaining why she did not ask questions of Ms. Davis, Melody said,

If I started out asking questions when I had questions for the beginning, she would have probably taught me and we would have been closer. But I haven't asked what I didn't know, and I kept not asking until now, you know. So I feel a little like that if I ask now, she may think that I am so stupid.

She had developed a settled identity of a non-question-asker who does not interact with the teacher or ask questions in the focal biology class. She also expressed her desire to answer the teacher's questions in class and socialize with students outside her peer group and lamented her lack of interactions:

Well, when the teacher asks a question, I really want to answer. Even though I really want to answer, because I don't know the answer, I cannot answer. ... I also want to hang out [with English speaking peers], but I cannot.

In addition to her identities as a non-successful biology student, non-question-asker, and non-active interactor in the focal biology class, another stable identity she perceived for herself was a non-English-speaker. During the interview, she appeared to

think that her English proficiency was not sufficiently advanced. Melody, sitting with other Korean speaking girls, spoke mostly in Korean. Sometimes, when she was frustrated in class, she spoke words of irritation in Korean to other Koreans. In Melody's perception, her limited English proficiency was highly intertwined with her weak academic identity with respect to the biology class. She attributed her failure in interacting with classmates and participating in group work or class discussion in the focal AP Biology class largely to her limited English proficiency. When I asked her to describe her interaction with Ms. Davis and other classmates, she answered, in a discouraged and slightly furious tone, "*If I speak English well, I can [interact with peers] actively.*"

Not surprisingly, she explained the difficulty in studying biology mostly in terms of English proficiency:

I: *Do you have any difficulty studying biology, by any chance?*

Melody: *Because everything is in English, I don't feel like to do [study].*

I: *But other subjects are also in English. Is biology especially [difficult]?*

Melody: *It goes a little deeper, because it's an AP course, it's a little more difficult. It's too complicated. So, it is hard.*

I: *If you had learned biology in a Korean high school, would it have been different? What do you think?*

Melody: *It would have been different. It would have been a little easier.*

I: *Why do you think so?*

Melody: *First of all, it's in Korean.*

I: *But in science, you would still have unfamiliar terms in biology even in Korean as you have them here. How would that be different?*

Melody: *Ah, if there is a biology term, the definition is written, but here the explanation is still in English. So I don't know that explanation either, that doesn't make sense. But in Korean, I can understand a little, so it's a little easier.*

For Melody, the challenge was not simply biology content or English. Learning biology in English, involving dealing with both biology content and English, made the AP Biology class even harder.

In fact, Melody was more interested in social studies-related subjects than natural science-related subjects. Despite her genuine interest in social studies, Melody took more advanced courses in science and mathematics courses than in social studies. Melody explained that she wanted to pursue her post-secondary degrees in the field of medicine or pharmacy, partly because her dad wished her to do so and partly because she wished to have a professional career like her father and other extended family members. However, Melody's mother explained the reason for her pursuit of medical or pharmaceutical degrees from a slightly different viewpoint. She said that although Melody seemed to be talented in social science, because of her limited English proficiency, she could not and should not pursue a career in that field, and she should instead pursue a career in a natural science-related field. However, her mother was also worried about a career in a natural science-related field because “*She does not study hard*” and “*She does not like subject like chemistry.*” That is, Melody’s mother thought that Melody should not major in social

science because of her limited English proficiency, but at the same time, she may not be successful in the field of medicine because of the lack of her talent and interest in natural science-related subjects.

In addition to the consideration of her future career, Melody had another important reason for taking AP Biology: in her words, “*Students all take AP Biology,*” including her close friends. During the academic year of 2010-2011, Parkview High offered three AP Biology classes, and Ms. Davis taught all three sections. Her AP Biology, in fact, appeared to be popular among many academically-oriented students at Parkview High. In addition, a lot of Korean students took AP Biology. One Korean immigrant student said that AP Biology is a “*Koreans must-take*” course. Melody might have been influenced by such local discourse about the AP Biology class and Korean students and thought that since high-achieving students take AP Biology, she should take it, too.

More importantly, Melody tended to choose courses that she could take with her friends, because she felt more comfortable in a class with friends. She explained that if she did not have close friends in a class, she would be sitting quietly without actively participating in classroom discussion:

If I have friends [in a class], I don't really if I answer something wrong. Because we don't know each other, ah, they may think, this student would be like this and that one would be like that, you know. If I have at least one friend, I can take the class comfortably. But, [if not], it's just boring and stuff.

If she had close friends in a class, she would be more active and participate more and worry less about other students' judgments.

The analysis of her interviews suggests that Melody faced fairly serious challenges in studying AP Biology. She did not perform well and could not interact with the teacher and peers in the focal class, which she attributed mainly to her limited English proficiency. With respect to her limited English proficiency as a cause of her low performance and not-participating in the focal class, various questions arose: why she did not attain adequate English proficiency to learn biology; why she did not receive support for improving her English, which was necessary to learn AP Biology; what it means to speak fluent English in the focal biology classroom; and why she could not verbally express her ideas in the focal classroom within the extent to which her English proficiency may allow and interact with members of the class. To investigate these questions, I first analyze the discourses of the focal class. As I argued before, Ms. Davis frequently created hybrid discourse practices. In the next section, I describe hybrid practices that she employed and resources that were required to participate in those practices.

6.4.2 Biology classroom contexts

From the analysis of classroom video recordings, I identified four hybrid practices Ms. Davis employed to embrace students' language use and knowledge, as well as characteristics of youth culture: (1) use of simple lexicons and grammar, (2) use of presumed culturally familiar examples, such as watching television and other everyday experiences assumed to be shared by students, (3) the design of mnemonics and analogies that appeal to youth culture and draw on stereotypes circulating among youth, and (4) the use of analogies that cast students as characters—often unfavorable or undesirable characters—in a story (e.g., a bank robber, being “annoying,” and “having obnoxious

genes”). In this section, I provide examples of each category and discuss the resources required for students to verbally participate and be engaged in discourses in the focal class.

6.4.2.1 Everyday lexicons and grammar

In the focal biology class, Ms. Davis frequently asked the question, “What does that mean in English?” after reading explanations written on her class slides or describing a situation. In the interview with Ms. Davis, when asked what she intended by asking that question, she explained,

Hmm, they give me this definition, this long drawn-out textbook definition, that makes no sense to them at all. They are just repeating what the book said. And so when I said to explain it to me in English, I mean, explain it to me in words that you understand so that the rest of the class can understand. And, so one, they have to be able to comprehend it, but two if they have to think it out in their head, there is a better chance **they actually remember it**. Just like, my freshmen, when I tell them to write vocab list, I tell them to write the book definition and their definition ‘cuz if they write in their words, there is better chance it's going to sink in it and stay there ((pointing to her head with both hands)).

As the excerpt shows, Ms. Davis was worried about the linguistic features of biology. She thought that explanations in biology are not comprehensible for students because the biological explanations are complicated and employ linguistic features that students do not usually use in everyday life. Particularly, she was worried that biology has too many new technical terms and “is a whole new language” to students. By asking students to explain biological concepts “in their words,” she attempts to juxtapose “biology”

language and everyday language in order to facilitate students' comprehension, their ability to teach and learn from each other, and their retention of content.

The following is a short example illustrating how she asked the question and encouraged students to use their everyday language:

Ms. Davis: They bind to a target cell to elicit the response. What does that mean in English?

Kate: It means it binds to something, which causes response.

Ms. Davis: Good. It binds to something, which causes response. That's what it means in English.

In this excerpt, the question implies rephrasing the explanation from biology language to a new expression with everyday words and grammar. "A target cell" was replaced with "something," and a verb "elicit" was replaced with "cause." In addition to these words, the use of the infinitive in the biology language ("to elicit") was replaced with a "which" subordinate clause. The scientific sentence is more succinct due to the use of the infinitive and precise due to the specific term, "a target cell," whereas the sentence with everyday language has more words and is more like a sequential narrative. In these ways, Ms. Davis distinguishes biology language from everyday language ("English" in her words) and uses everyday language to facilitate students' sense-making.

6.4.2.2 Use of familiar examples

Ms. Davis used the question, "What does it mean in English" to ask students to interpret scientific data (e.g., results of biological experiments) or to provide concrete examples of abstract biological explanations:

Ms. Davis: Now, you watch *CSI*, and they say, ((imitating the voice of a male

investigator reading a prescribed line)) you are sharing 7 out of 13 loci; that means you are a familiar match. What does that mean in English?

Ss: You are the daddy. Daddy.

Ms. Davis: That's the daddy, that's the child. You share 50% of your DNA with your child. About 25% - 50% with siblings.

The question, “What does that mean in English?” in this example asks the students to interpret the data that two people share 7 out of 13 loci and to express the interpretation in everyday language. In interpreting this piece of information, students need to understand that parents and children share 50% of their DNA and to do the simple calculation that 7 out of 13 is slightly more than 50%. With these two pieces of information, students should be able to conclude that the test result means that the two people are in a parent-child relationship.

However, this question also asks students to engage their experience of watching the show *CSI*, and, to some extent, knowledge that they may have gained from the show. Students should know that *CSI* stands for Crime Scene Investigation and/or that it is a popular television series that deals with crime. It would be helpful, in interpreting the given data, to know that investigators in that show often employ advanced biotechnological techniques such as DNA profiling to solve crimes and capture criminals. When Ms. Davis said, “You are sharing 7 out of 13; that means you are a familiar match,” Ms. Davis imitated a low-pitched voice and her intonation cued script reading, implying that she was acting like an investigator (or a forensic scientist). If students had watched such scenes and were familiar with those texts, students would be more likely to

interpret the situation correctly. Another aspect of the task that the question implies is to re-interpret a typical scene in crime shows in biological terms. Since the students had learned why parents and children share approximately 50% of DNA and how scientists investigate similarity in the DNA of two people, those scenes would have a new meaning to them. In this way, in these kinds of interactions, students were encouraged, if not required, to activate and engage their knowledge from outside the biology classroom to understand the teacher's question, answer it, and re-interpret other knowledge from outside the biology classroom.

The use of examples that students may be familiar with from other experiences, such as watching television or other everyday experiences (e.g., building snowmen in winter), was a strategy that Ms. Davis often employed. In another instance, when explaining human growth hormone, Ms. Davis used examples of people or movie characters that have a deficiency or excess of human growth hormone. She first started with the munchkins in the *Wizard of Oz*, and she also mentioned the basketball player, *Yao Ming*, the wrestler, *Andre the Giant*, and the television show *Little People Big World*. In this case, students were explicitly asked to engage and share their prior knowledge of television shows and celebrities. When talking about these examples, Ms. Davis initially forgot the title of *Little People Big World* and *Yao Ming*'s name. Several students, in chorus, named *Little People Big World*, and a White girl, Kelly answered *Yao Ming*. She also added another example of a movie, *The Princess Bride*, in which *Andre the Giant* was cast as a giant, without the teacher's solicitation. Thus, students were encouraged to activate and engage their knowledge of pop culture, and Ms. Davis appeared to assume that students would know these examples and did not offer details about them. Similar to

the earlier example of *CSI*, to understand what the human growth hormone is and does, students did not necessarily have to be familiar with those examples. However, to verbally participate, be engaged in, and feel like a legitimate participant in the classroom discourse in this moment, students needed to draw on their knowledge of and experiences related to these instances of pop culture.

6.4.2.3 Use of mnemonics

Ms. Davis frequently used humorous analogies and mnemonics to facilitate students' understanding of how certain biological mechanisms work and their memorizing of relationships between biological concepts. For instance, in explaining two nitrogenous bases contained in DNA nucleotides, she introduced a mnemonic by writing and reciting, "If you are pure, you go on double date with Georgia. If you are single, you go to the pyramids with your cat." This mnemonic was designed to facilitate memorizing which organic compounds are contained in each DNA base and how many rings each organic compound has: that is, the organic compound purine has a double-ring structure and is contained in nitrogenous base Guanine (*G*) and Adenine (*A*), and pyrimidine has a single-ring structure and is contained in the other two bases of DNA, Cytosine (*C*) and Thymine (*T*).

For students to find this mnemonic useful, the two sentences should be comprehensible and the connections between the mnemonic and biology concepts should be noticeable. First, students should recognize the connections between words based on common phonemes (e.g., pure and purine, pyramid and pyrimidine), understand different meanings of the number words "double" (double date and double ring) and "single" (being single and a single ring), and see the connection between acronyms of Georgia (*G*

and A) and cat (C and T) and those of the four DNA bases. In addition, the mnemonic involves some characteristics of youth culture and knowledge, such as romantic relationships and dating, that may be accessible and interesting to high school students. In the context of romantic relationships, “pure” does not mean unmixed or not tainted, as it is used in many other conversational situations, such as in *pure water*, but means chaste. Similarly, “single” does not mean one in quantity as it is used in “single ring structure,” but means unmarried or not engaged in a romantic relationship.

More importantly, the connections between the three components (the name of the organic compound, the number of rings in the two organic compounds, and the types of DNA bases) in each sentence should be noticeable to the students. That is, they should connect pure (purine), a double date (double rings), and Georgia (G and A) in one thread, and single (a single ring), pyramids (pyrimidine), and cat (C and T) in the other thread. While seemingly irrelevant sets of information are in each situation, it may be helpful in making the connections if students draw on models related to a romantic relationship and dates that may be circulating among youth, particularly with respect to a double date and a single person. For instance, a double date connotes that the interaction between the two people in each couple would be chaste and the date would be less likely to end up in a sexual relationship. In this regard, if a person is “pure,” he or she would like to go on a double date. In addition, a cat is stereotypically associated with unmarried old women, as they are often referred to as *cat ladies*, such as portrayed in several recent television shows (e.g. Crazy Cat Lady in *The Simpsons*). Some students actually appeared to make these two connections. When Ms. Davis recited the mnemonic, students laughed after “a double date” in the first sentence, indicating that they did make the connection between

“pure” and “a double date.” Also in the second sentence, they laughed and exaggeratedly sighed for sympathy after “with your cat.”

Once students make these two connections (i.e., “pure” : “a double date” :: purine : double rings, “single” : “cat” :: a single ring : C and T), the other two remaining components—Georgia and pyramids—should be easily connected to the partially developed relationships although they are seemingly irrelevant to the storyline. That is, the first pair of purine and double rings needs the nitrogenous bases. Because between Georgia and pyramids, only Georgia represents DNA nitrogenous bases, Georgia should be connected to the pair purine and double rings. By the same token, the pair of single and cat needs the organic compound, which should be pyrimidine. By connecting Georgia and pyramids to the two existing connections, the mnemonic is completed, resulting in purine—double rings—Guanine and Adenine, and pyrimidine—a single ring—Cytosine and Thymine.

The teacher’s use of this mnemonic assumes that students can see connections that draw upon widely circulating models and stereotypes regarding romantic relationships. In addition, by employing topics that might interest teenage students, Ms. Davis seemed to expect that this mnemonic would appeal to teenage students in the class. In other words, in order to find this mnemonic funny, use the mnemonic to memorize the target relationships, and participate in this short, joking moment, students should understand the specific meanings of the words and have knowledge about models or stereotypes of romantic relationships circulating among youth. Assuming that these resources were shared by the students, Ms. Davis hoped that they would draw upon them in order to recall this biological content.

6.4.2.4 Analogies with participant examples.

Finally, Ms. Davis' frequently created analogies in which she employed students of the class as participant examples in the analogical narratives (Wortham, 2006) and teased those students by positioning them as unfavorable characters. In making those analogies, Ms. Davis chose students with whom she had developed a close or trusting relationship. Thus, in order to participate in and be invited into the analogy-making activities, students should have established a relaxed and easy way of interacting with the teacher (e.g., making jokes, having friendly conversations, frequently asking questions and answering the teacher's questions).

For instance, some students were said to have "obnoxious genes" or "annoying genes." One day in the 6th period class, she told a story in which a student robbed a bank and a security officer came into the classroom to arrest the thief. In this analogy, the classroom was compared to a cell, the robber to a subunit within a cell, and the security officer to a substance outside of the cell. For another example, when explaining that some parts of DNA are sent out of the nucleus and some segments, often called "junk or garbage DNA," stay within the nucleus, she said,

I need to send a group of students to advertise AP bio. Am I going to send every single student from this group? No. Susan, I don't trust what she is going to say. John, I **do not** trust what he is going to say. Hmmm, Tahir, ahhh, maybe. Mira, no. So, I am going to (***) this is going to be sent out of the cell, of the nucleus. Send out of the nucleus, ((repeating, "send out of the nucleus" pointing to some students. Then, pointing at Susan)) No, you are stuck in the nucleus, ((pointing at Lindsay)) stay, ((pointing at Maria)) stay, ((pointing at Barbara)) out, ((pointing at

Maddie)) out. Does that make sense? (11/30/2010)

In this analogy, Susan, John, Mira, Lindsay, and Maria were cast as “junk” DNA, and other students, including Barbara and Maddie, were good and useful DNA that would be sent out to accomplish their mission – to advertise the AP Biology class, as framed in the analogy, or to synthesize proteins in biology.

Importantly, her choice of students who would be participants and the targets of her teasing was not random, but she typically picked the same set of students to be undesirable characters. Moreover, she did not always choose students who were actually “obnoxious,” displayed inappropriate behaviors, or performed poorly in the class. For instance, Susan and Lindsay were very attentive and studious, cared about the class, and performed well on class tests. Rather, she often chose either students who were playful and joked with her in class (e.g., John, Maria) or who answered her questions and frequently interacted with her during and after classes (e.g., Susan, Mira, Lindsay). Ms. Davis seemed to select only those who had developed a relaxed and trusting relationship with her, and, thus, who would feel comfortable being positioned in such ways, from her perspective. In other words, to be a part of her analogy, a substantial relationship with the teacher was required, and not all of the students developed this kind of relationship with her.

6.4.2.5 Korean immigrant students in hybrid discursive practices

As discussed, Ms. Davis employed everyday lexicons and grammar, examples that students might have learned from watching television or in their everyday lives, and mnemonics and analogies drawing on everyday knowledge. Also, she cast some students in her analogies and teased them by positioning them as, for instance, an “obnoxious”

student, a bank robber, or junk. In such classroom contexts, students were asked to actively engage not only their knowledge in biology, biological terms, and words that are commonly used in science, but also experiences attained from pop culture and their everyday lives (e.g., watching *CSI*, building a snowman in winter). In addition, the teacher's relationships with individual students were heavily involved in constructing analogies with participant examples. Thus, to be engaged and participate in the classroom discourse, students needed to draw upon the knowledge that they obtained outside of the biology classroom and to have developed a particular quality of relationship with the teacher.

I should note that I do not intend to argue that all Korean immigrant students did not have the assumed background knowledge and did not develop close relationships with the teacher, thus their participation and learning was impeded. I also do not argue that Ms. Davis' use of examples and mnemonics were not useful for Korean immigrant students in learning biology. In fact, one Korean girl, Jiyeon used part of the purine-pyrimidine mnemonic on an oral quiz. I believe that many Korean immigrant students watched or were aware of popular television series such as *CSI*. In addition, Ms. Davis' encouragement to rephrase explanations given in biology texts to their everyday language may help students, especially those who do not know the technical lexicon used in science textbooks.

What I point out instead is that engaging and participating in the science classroom discourse requires a wide range of knowledge, experience, and social relationship beyond simply scientific knowledge and proficiency in academic English. In addition, I argue that some Korean immigrant students might not have attained these

resources to the same extent as native-born students. For instance, in the interview with Jiyeon, she said that she recognizes differences between the clique of her close friends and peers outside of her clique, who she called “*Americans*,” and explained, “*Something like making jokes. ... There are things that we don’t understand each other, you know?*” In the focal class, when students made funny comments to Ms. Davis, Korean immigrant students often did not laugh, while other students laughed, looked at the student who had made the funny utterance, and looked at each other to communicate how funny it was. By doing so, they appeared to express their like-mindedness, bonding, and affiliation (Glenn, 2003), while those non-laughing Korean students did (or could) not. In addition, Korean students may not know as much as native-born students would know about American pop culture, such as popular music, television shows, stereotypes, or movies, in part because they do not enjoy watching American television, and in part because they do not interact with peers who watch American television shows. For example, in an interview, a Korean boy, Sungjin explained that in his SAT writing test, he was presented with a topic about reality television shows. He lamented that because he did not watch such American reality shows, he did not even know what examples to write about.

Importantly, when constructing analogies with the students and teasing them, Ms. Davis did not often have Korean immigrant students in the stories, especially Melody, Jiyeon, Eunmi, and Heejin. When she explained about junk DNA and said the junk DNA should not be sent out, she pointed to a couple of students from this group of girls (without calling their names) and said, “out,” meaning they are not junk. As I discussed before, the reason for not casting them as negative characters was not that these students were “good” students, but rather that Ms. Davis had not developed a trusting relationship

with them. In an interview with Ms. Davis, when I asked if she tends to interact with students differentially in some ways, she explained,

One thing, I do see myself ((covering her face with both hands), and I hate this, it's hard to me to change this aspect. I don't call on (***) students, the three or four right here, Melody, Heejin, Jiyeon, that's right. I don't call on them 'cuz I don't want them had deer in the headlights frightened look. I hate that look when students give me that look. I hated it as students being called on randomly. Hmm, so I see myself not calling on them, not working, not. ((Sighing))

This excerpt indicates that Ms. Davis did not think that those Korean students would feel comfortable being used in her analogy and positioned as annoying and obnoxious. When Ms. Davis used Eunmi and her twin brother, Dongsoo as an example of fraternal twins, Ms. Davis was very careful and asked Eunmi if she would be okay with being discussed. That is, those Korean girls had not developed the kind of relationship that was required to be cast in the teacher's analogy as undesirable (e.g., "obnoxious," "junk," "annoying," "a bank robber"), and, in turn, could not participate in her fun analogy-making activities as participant examples.

In this section, through the analysis of discourse of the focal class, I discussed how Ms. Davis created hybrid practices and how such discursive practices might require, to a certain extent, knowledge from outside of the biology class as well as a particular kind of trusting relationship with the teacher. This required knowledge and social relationship did not seem to be readily available to Melody, partly because of the school contexts and partly because of the familial contexts. In the following sections, I will revisit the school contexts that I presented in Chapter 4 and Melody's familial contexts.

The analysis shows how those contexts did not adequately support her accessing those resources necessary for participating in the classroom discourse.

6.4.3 Contexts of Parkview High

In Chapter 4, I analyzed and described how Korean immigrants formed two distinct categories, FOB and Twinkie, and did not interact with each other across the border between the two categories. Twinkie-identified students cast FOBs mostly in a negative identity model. They felt that newcomers always speak Korean and maintain Korean culture, and assumed that immigrants should give up Korean culture and adapt to American ways of acting and living. Moreover, Twinkies thought that FOBs do not perform well in school, are aggressive, and isolate themselves from other people. Because of these reasons, many students who identified themselves as Twinkies did not want to socialize with FOBs and distanced themselves from them.

In this given local context in Parkview High, Melody was categorized as a FOB and socialized mostly with other Korean students who were also categorized as FOBs. When I asked her why she decided to take the AP Biology class, she explained, “*All kids take AP Biology.*” Then, I requested her to clarify what “kids” mean, and she answered:

I: *Friends, kids, did you mean your friends or students at Parkview High?*

Melody: *Aha, friends, I mean, all kids. It includes [my] friends, Twinkies, and other American kids because all of them take [AP Biology].*

I: *You said, friends, Twinkies, and other American kids. How do you distinguish them?*

Melody: *Twinkies are those who grew up in America, so that's why they are*

*called Twinkies. Friends are Jiyeon, Eunmi, Minjoo, Heejin.
American kids are just American.*

I: *Then, you are not in the Twinkie group?*

Melody: ((shaking head)) *Nope.*

To Melody, students at Parkview High were largely grouped into three types: “American kids,” “Twinkies,” and “Friends.” She defined Americans as “*American American, like blond hair,*” indicating that she meant, by “American kids,” White students who were born and raised in the United States. Twinkies were Korean immigrants who speak English, and Friends were her friends who are Korean and speak Korean mostly. When I asked how she distinguished “Twinkies” and “Friends,” she explained, “*Just, if they always speak Korean, they are like, [my friends]. If they speak English, they are Twinkies.*”

Melody’s answer has three important implications regarding her view of the school contexts and her social relationships. First, although the three groups are not defined along consistent dimensions, they do not overlap. “American kids” are defined by race and nationality, “Twinkies” are defined by ethnicity, location of growth, and language, and “Friends” are defined by their relationship with her. In terms of nationality, some “Twinkies” might be American, but because of their race and ethnicity, they are not “American.” Also, since “Friends” do not have any racial and ethnic constraint, “Americans” and “Twinkies” should be able to be in the “Friends” group. However, the Friends group did not overlap with the other two categories because her friends were not White, did not grow up in the United States, and they primarily spoke Korean. This indicates the evident divide among students in Parkview High by various social

dimensions (e.g., race, immigration status, language), and Melody socialized almost exclusively with recently arrived Korean immigrants.

Second, while the school certainly enrolled students of different races and ethnicities than White and Korean students (e.g., Black, Latino, East Indian, Chinese), she only mentioned the three groups, White Americans, Twinkies, and recently arrived Koreans. This indicates that she did not consider relationships with students in other groups but only these three racially-, ethnically-, and linguistically-defined groups. Perhaps, in categorizing “kids” into three groups (i.e., American, Twinkie, and Friend) she might have considered only students in the AP Biology classes—only a few Black and Latino students were enrolled in AP Biology classes. However, it is also noteworthy that Korean immigrants typically did not seem to socialize with students of other races and ethnicities, such as Black, Latino, and Asian Indian students. In light of the scarcity of interracial and interethnic contact, it appeared that when Melody thought of students in Parkview High, she did not consider students in those racial and ethnic groups.

Third, although many students, mostly those categorized as Twinkies, referred to the recently arrived Koreans as FOBs, throughout the interviews, Melody did not call herself or her friends FOBs. In particular, in the above excerpt, Melody drew a contrast between her Friends and Twinkies, but she still refrained from referring to Friends as FOBs. It seemed that because of the negative connotations of the word FOB, she did not want to be called a FOB, in contrast to some earlier immigrants who avidly argued their status as Twinkies. That is, while Twinkie and FOB are both racial slurs targeted at Asian immigrants in the macro level social contexts, at Parkview High, FOB was pejorative but Twinkie was not. Melody likely would have recognized the negative connotation and

would not have wanted to be associated with the negative images of FOBs.

While Melody did not develop social relationships with a broad group of students, Melody expressed her eagerness to connect to peers outside of Korean-speaking recent immigrants. In the interview, she said, “*Ah, only if I can speak English well, I want to [talk to and socialize with students outside of my clique],*” and “*It’s not good that I cannot make many friends,*” as a disadvantage to her due to living in the United States and attending American schools. Group work situations in the classroom might have served as chances to socialize with classmates that she did not know. However, she did not want to be in a group with non-Korean classmates. When I asked how she liked it when Ms. Davis assigned groups, she answered:

Melody: *I feel a little annoyed.*

I: *Annoyed?*

Melody: *Yes, ah, I am like, why couldn’t we do just with friends, I think.*

I: *What are [the problems] if you don’t group with your friends?*

Melody: *Even when I talk to them, I am not sure if I am correct. American kids, alm[ost], they all perform well. Because I could be a little wrong, those kinds of stuff [annoy me].*

I: *So, you mean, you are worried if you are wrong?*

Melody: *Speaking, I mean, I don’t really care about speaking. But just because I am worried if I would be wrong, in front of them.*

I: *What do you mean that you don’t really care about speaking?*

Melody: *Like the accent and stuff, I don’t really care about them.*

In interacting with “American” students, she was worried about being wrong in front of “American” students who usually perform well. This remark reveals her feeling of marginalization as an unsuccessful student and a racial minority.

As the local contexts of the school suggest, Melody, categorized as a FOB, felt isolated and marginalized in the school and also in the classroom. While she wanted to connect with other students, she could not do so, partly because of her FOB identity and the marginalization of the FOBs group in the school. In addition to the school contexts, her family contexts played a critical role in the shaping and stabilizing of her marginalized identity. In the next section, I briefly discuss the familial contexts in which Melody was situated as an immigrant and a child of specific type of immigrant family.

6.4.4 Family contexts

In May of 2011, I met and interviewed Melody’s mother. When I first asked Melody if her mother would be willing to have a meeting with me, Melody sighed and said, “*Perhaps, she cries while doing this [interview]. ... because she gets very emotional.*” I asked what made her think so. Melody answered that when her mother came to see her counselor, after the meeting the counselor informed her that her mother had cried. She explained that her mother’s tears might have been because she did not study hard and did not follow her advice. Her mother was hesitant to meet with me, but eventually decided to do an interview with me.

When she walked into a local library for the interview, she looked mild, did not seem suspicious of me, and seemed somewhat timid. She addressed me as ‘*sensayngnim*’ (teacher) throughout the interview. Calling their child’s teacher ‘*sensayngnim*’ is a norm among Korean parents and communicates their sense of gentle respect for the teacher. In

addition, Koreans often address a person by '*sensayngnim*' in situations and relationships in which they wish to express honor and respect for the addressee. In this regard, her calling me '*sensayngnim*' was not strange. Yet, because I was not a person who taught Melody and was much younger than she, she did not need to call me '*sensayngnim*.' In fact, other mothers that I interviewed did not use the term, but simply called me by my first name with an honorific '*ssi*' ending. Additionally, Melody's mother often used the most honorific formality in speaking Korean with me, which is used in formal speaking situations or to a person who is much higher in the relational hierarchy between the two people. I believe that her use of these linguistic markers indicates, to a certain extent, her deference to me, and, thus, her candor in discussing personal matters that might be somewhat embarrassing.

Melody's family lived as a *Kirogi* family. Her father was working as a doctor in Korea, and only her mother, an older brother, and Melody came to the United States. Unlike many other Korean immigrants that I met at Parkview, Melody's mother did not work outside of the home and was a stay-at-home mom. The first question I asked her was about what motivated her family's immigration to the United States. She explained that she was concerned that her children would not do well and survive in the highly competitive Korean educational system and that she was tired of the arbitrariness, instability, and irrationality of Korean society. When I asked her to elaborate, she answered that in resolving a "*problem*," there is no "*manual*" in Korean society and she did not like such arbitrariness. She wanted to educate her children in a country that she felt was more consistent, stable, and rational, that has clear and straightforward ways of problem solving, and that requires less competition in schooling and college admission.

She expected her children to learn from such an advanced society, America. Strikingly, however, she added, "*Now that I have come here, I feel like America is good, has a good system only for its own citizens, not for us, aliens.*" Then, her eyes became watery. From five minutes into an hour long interview, it became evident that she felt extremely marginalized in U.S. society and did not feel like a member of the society although she had been in the United States for six years.

Throughout the interview, the most salient theme was her feeling of alienation and isolation, as well as that of her children, from society. Primarily, her feeling of alienation originated from the fact that she did not speak English. Whenever she spoke English to someone, she worried about "*How much this person would be looking down on me,*" which made her feel like an alien. She assumed that her children might feel less marginalized because they spoke English better than her, yet she still thought that Melody's English was not sufficient for studying school subjects and to mix socially with English-speakers. In addition, because her own social networks and knowledge about this country were limited, she was not able to provide her children with experiences that they would have had if they were in Korea. Because Parkview City did not have public transportation, children needed a ride to go out. Yet, because Melody did not drive, it was not easy for her to go out and meet friends, which otherwise would have been her daily routine as it is for high school girls in Korea. She explained that Melody mostly came home after school and stayed in bed all day. She remarked, "*I feel like three of us are banished to a small island and caught in a small jail.*"

A few years ago, Melody's mother attended an English language school where she met several Korean mothers who also immigrated without their husbands. This

school appeared to be the most important, and, perhaps, the only reliable source of her social networks in the United States. From these Korean mothers she learned useful information regarding children's education and living in the area. In addition, through the experience of learning English, she realized how hard it is to learn English and socialize with English-speakers. When they first moved to the United States, Melody's mother asked and pushed her children to befriend English speaking children. However, as she tried to learn English herself, and realized the difficulty in doing so, she let her children socialize with people no matter their language or race. She did not want her children to have to deal with the emotional burden of "*getting demoralized and despondent among English speaking kids,*" because she felt they must already feel discouraged by "*being not good at English.*"

The interview with Melody's mother shows that Melody's feelings of frustration and marginalization was not simply hers, but also how her entire family might have felt in the United States. Both Melody and her mother said that it is not good to live in "*other's country*" and people should live in "*their own country.*" Although they sometimes wanted to go back to Korea, they were concerned about Melody and her brother's education and college admission—that is, they were worried that the two children may not be able to catch up with other students in Korea and not get accepted to good colleges. Melody's mother implicitly and explicitly expressed the desire to develop more diverse social networks and her frustration at failing to do so. Melody's mother, who also experienced the same kind of challenges and marginalization as Melody, was not able to provide adequate support or resources for Melody to learn English or expand her social networks. Rather, she was worried about Melody's morale and potential

emotional burden that forcing Melody to reach outside of her ethnic and linguistic boundary might cause. Thus, she allowed her children to stay in an isolated but comfortable and safe space where they did not need to worry about feeling marginalized. This was possible in part because they lived in Parkview City.

I argue that this finding should not imply that her mother should have forced Melody to learn English and socialize more with English speaking peers. Instead, an important implication is that learning English and mixing in American society causes a huge emotional challenge, which Twinkie-identified students (and more likely American-born-and-raised people) often disregard when they say, “They [FOB] do not try to learn English,” or they try to separate “oneself from the American society.”

6.4.5 Melody in the focal classroom

In the previous sections, I discussed contexts in which Melody was situated and that may be relevant to her biology learning and class participation—the biology class context, school context, and family context. In the focal biology class, classroom participation required knowledge in biology academic discourse, as well as youth discourse involving various everyday experiences, knowledge of popular culture or circulating stereotypes, and a close relationship with the teacher. While the biology class asked students to bring and engage various resources, the school and family contexts did not seem to support Melody, an immigrant who did not spend the early years of her life in the United States, to acquire those resources. Rather, the focal classroom sometimes served as a space in which her identity as a recent immigrant and limited English proficient student was communicated, became evident, and was penalized. Given this situation, Melody formed a comfortable and safe space with her close friends, in which

she could freely and happily interact with peers, argue with them, and seek help. In addition, she attempted alternative ways to participate in the classroom and become a legitimate member of the class. In this section, I illustrate how her identity as a limited English proficient student was communicated, how she acted in group work situations with a classroom episode, and how she engaged in alternative ways of classroom participation in the focal class.

6.4.5.1 Positioning as a limited English proficient student

On January 6, 2011, Ms. Davis planned a lab activity in which the students calculated chi-square values using M&M chocolates. Before the lab activity started, Ms. Davis said to the class, in an exaggerated gesture and a lively tone of voice, that she bought all the M&M bags from a grocery store and that students would do the lab activity with the M&Ms and eat them afterward, which made students excited about having a fun lab and eating chocolates. After a short review and practice on chi-square calculation, Ms. Davis asked students to wash their hands, grab a paper towel to put the chocolates on, and take a bag of chocolates. As students received their chocolate bags, the class became chaotic. Students rushed to wash their hands and get their bag of chocolate, and the class was very noisy. For instance, Jisoo shouted to Mike, in a playful voice, “Wash your hand,” and called out to Ms. Davis that Mike did not wash his hands.

Melody and other Korean immigrant girls were acting in the same way, but in Korean. Melody formed a group with Jiyeon and Heejin, and Jasmine, Eunmi, and Minjoo worked together, and they joked around with each other across the two groups. Melody and Eunmi said to their group members:

Eunmi: *Minjoo, go to wash your hands. We all washed.*

Melody: *Right, you wash your hands, wash your hands. ... Right, don't eat, no one [should eat].*

Eunmi: *Nevermind, you eat yours.*

They spoke in a very playful manner and laughed loudly. Immediately after Eunmi's remark, "*Nevermind, you eat yours,*" Ms. Davis, standing right next to the center table and looking over at what students were doing, shouted toward these girls, "Ladies, English, English!" firmly. After she told them to speak English, these Korean students did not audibly say anything either in Korean or in English. About 20 seconds later, Ms. Davis, coming back to her desk at the corner of the room, said, "English. We are practicing our English." On this occasion, she spoke in a much nicer, fluctuating tone and higher pitch with an elongated vowel /ee/ at the end of *English*, almost sounding like singing. About another 20 seconds later, the girls started to speak Korean again, but more quietly. Then, Ms. Davis asked them to speak English for the third time, "Ladies, English. I want you to practice your English, please," in a low but firm tone of voice.

On this day, I had placed the audio recorder at Eunmi's table. From this close recording of the students at that table, I found that despite Ms. Davis' instructions to speak English, throughout the minute during which Ms. Davis had asked them to speak English multiple times, Eunmi and Minjoo were still speaking Korean quietly, unbeknownst to Ms. Davis. In the interview, all three students (Melody, Jiyeon, Heejin) said that even when teachers asked them to speak English, they still spoke Korean. When I asked how they feel when they are told to speak English, Jiyeon answered, "*Even if we are told [to speak English], we speak Korean when talking softly and speak English when talking loudly. You must know that.*" Heejin expressed her frustration and explained that

she did this because she could not speak English fluently, saying, “*Korean just comes out because I can’t speak English well and feel frustrated.*” Similarly, Melody said, “*We speak in English at first, but as it goes, Korean just comes out again.*”

While the teacher’s urging students to speak English failed to encourage them to do so, it resulted in an unintended consequence of identifying these students as English language learners with limited English proficiency. Ms. Davis asked them to speak English on three occasions with slightly different phrasings and paralinguistic features:

- 1 Ladies, English, English. ((Firm tone with a loud voice))
- 2 English. We are practicing our Engli:::sh. ((A softer tone with fluctuating intonation, elongated vowel of *ee* at the end of “English”))
- 3 Ladies, English. I want you to practice your English, please. ((Much softer but firm tone and quieter voice))

Ms. Davis’ first remark seemed to be abrupt, and her directive to speak English appeared to be motivated impulsively in the moment for the purpose of classroom management.

While I observed her class, she did not typically ask students to speak English in her class.²² Rather, she sometimes used Korean to connect to and build relationships with Korean students. For instance, on January 4, 2011, after the bell at the end of the class, Melody pointed to the clock on the wall and loudly said, “*Why did the class end this early today?*” Ms. Davis somehow understood their Korean and responded, “That clock is

²² Melody, Heejin, and Jiyeon all said that Ms. Davis always said, “English, English,” to push them to speak English. Since I have not heard her saying so except for in this episode, I said that I have not seen her saying that and asked when Ms. Davis said that. Students answered that she often said that when they went to her room after class. It is not clear if students confused her with other teachers, if Ms. Davis tended not to say so in regular class sessions for some reason, or if her (presumably discrepant) patterns in pushing students to speak English was in part because of my presence during the regular sessions.

wrong.” The Korean girls all laughed, and Eunmi said, “*She might understand.*” In her other class, she learned a Korean phrase for “Shut up” and said that to a Korean boy. Some Korean students laughed loudly and enjoyed such episodes. As such, in some situations, she allowed students to speak Korean and even engaged herself in Korean conversations.

To better understand her motivation for directing these students to speak English, it is necessary to look closely at the micro level classroom context. As I described earlier, on this particular day, students were extremely excited, and some playful students kept playing and joking around. Among those loud, joking students were these Korean speaking girls. About three minutes before line 1 above, Ms. Davis tried to give an instruction for the activity to the class, and the Korean girls were talking to each other without paying attention to the teacher. Before starting to explain, Ms. Davis said to these girls, “Ladies, stop talking.” Then, she started to speak, but the class soon became noisy again. At this point, Ms. Davis said to the entire class, “Okay, guys, quiet. Shhh, quiet.” As such, the students were out of control to a certain extent, and Ms. Davis seemed to be frustrated. In this situation, Ms. Davis seemed to want to quiet down the class, especially Korean students who were talking quite loudly. Indeed, when Ms. Davis said “Ladies, English, English,” the Korean girls, as well as the entire class, became quiet for a second. Upon this remark, Melody and Jiyeon, who were looking backward facing Eunmi’s table and joking around with Eunmi, turned to sit forward and stopped talking momentarily. Jiyeon looked up at Ms. Davis very quickly, looked down at her table, and pulled her coat from her lap to cover her chest, suggesting that she felt intimidated. That is, Ms. Davis’ saying “Ladies, English, English!” at this moment, while an admonition for students’ not

focusing on the lab activity, was targeted at these Korean-speaking girls. In this moment, students' speaking Korean appeared to be associated with disruptive and illegitimate behavior in the classroom.

Unlike in the first line, in the second and third lines, the positioning of these students as low English proficient students became clearer. The first line (“Ladies, English, English.”) could be interpreted as Ms. Davis simply announcing a class rule that students must speak only English in class regardless of their language proficiency in English and other languages. A possible scenario is that a student is proficient in both English and Korean and tends to speak Korean in class with her friends. In class, however, she should speak English because that is the norm in Ms. Davis' class. That is, Ms. Davis does not care how good the student is at English: the student has to speak only English in her class. Yet, in the remark “practicing English” in line 2, these students were positioned as those who *should* practice English, implying that they did not speak English well. Interestingly, Ms. Davis used the plural inclusive first person pronoun “we,” although it is clear that she is not one of those who should practice English. In addition, she employed a nicer and friendlier tone with a softer voice. These linguistic markers suggest that she wanted to express her empathy and support for these students and reframe her directive as an intention to facilitate the students learning English rather than as a reprimand. In other words, line 2 sounded as if she were positioning herself as their ally who helps them learn and improve their English by encouraging them to practice English in a biology class. In line 3, Ms. Davis came back to her position as an authority figure by employing a firm tone of voice and separating herself from those Korean-speaking students by saying, “I want you to practice English.” By saying “you” instead of

“we,” Ms. Davis separated herself from those who should practice English. Moreover, she said, “I want you to” practice English, indicating her role as a classroom authority figure who can say what should be done and what should not be done in the biology class.

In this short episode of Ms. Davis’ directives to the Korean speaking students to speak English, the speaking of Korean was reprimanded for disrupting the classroom learning environment, as well as interpreted as a sign of limited English proficiency. Importantly, the positioning of these Korean immigrant students as English language learners with limited English proficiency seemed to be communicated to several students, if not all. After Ms. Davis’ third remark, none of the Korean girls looked at her or displayed any sign that they heard Ms. Davis, but Mark, sitting in front of them, looked at Ms. Davis and laughed shortly and loudly. Mark identified himself as a Twinkie and wanted to stay away from FOB Koreans. He thought that FOBs spoke only Korean and did not try to socialize with people outside their own clique, and, thus, he wanted to avoid socializing with FOBs. It was very likely that Ms. Davis’ positioning of these girls as non-fluent English speakers was communicated to him, served as another concrete example showing how recent immigrants’ English proficiency and Korean speaking was negatively evaluated by a teacher, and reinforced his understanding of the local model of FOB Koreans.

6.4.5.2 To establish a work group

As described earlier, students in the focal class almost always sat in the same seats throughout the school year and tended to sit close to their friends, corresponding primarily to their language, race, and ethnicity. While some English-speaking Korean

students spread out and mixed with non-Korean students, the five Korean girls who mostly spoke Korean (Melody, Jiyeon, Heejin, Minjoo, Eunmi) sat together in two rows of the classroom tables. English-speaking Korean students sat around them, and together they made a noticeably large group of Korean immigrants. When the class had group activities, the Korean girls always worked together unless Ms. Davis assigned group membership.

Melody's group seemed, for her, to be safe and enjoyable, where she could say almost anything that she wanted to say with her close friends. In that group, the members all spoke in Korean, talked about pop culture that likely only Korean students would know about, asked each other questions about class topics, complained about the class and teacher, and received support and comfort from each other. When students in this group made mistakes during lab activities, they were able to blame each other with a sense of humor or tease without actually losing face or embarrassing someone. On November 30, 2010, the students conducted a DNA transcription lab. In this activity, students had to make a group, build a DNA transcription model with pop beads, fill out a worksheet in their group, and be tested orally by Ms. Davis. Melody worked with Jiyeon, Heejin, Eunmi, and Jasmine. The following is a short snippet of their conversation as they started to fill out the worksheet.

		English gloss ²³
Eunmi:	Transcription 'un'	Transcription is,
Melody:	DNA and RNA. DNA for sure.	
Eunmi:	'kulay.'	Right.
Jiyeon:	For sure?	
Melody:	For sure.	

²³ The transcription conventions are on pages 86-87 in Chapter 3.

Jiyeon:	Sure.	
Jasmine:	(***) talking about the types.	
Eunmi:	mRNA, tRNA.	
Melody:	Any, any type, (***)	
Eunmi:	'a, macta.'	Oh, that's right.
Jasmine:	That's for RNA.	
Jiyeon:	Definition?	
Eunmi:	DNA	
Jiyeon:	Transcription is, 'a, macta' Any type (***)	Transcription is, yeah, that's right, any type (***)
Melody:	Any type making RNA?	
Eunmi:	Transcription 'un', (***) making	Transcription is (***) making
Jiyeon:	((Eunmi reads the text from the worksheet)) 'kulay kuleko ponikka' ((Melody laughs)) Making RNA 'sse kunyang.'	Right, that's right. Making RNA, just write it.
Eunmi:	Making RNA.	
Melody:	'ya, ne Jasmine hanthey way kulay taychey'	Hey, why do you act like that to Jasmine?
Jiyeon:	'ettehkey?'	Like what?
Melody:	'Jasmine hakey nayptwe kunyang .'	Just let Jasmine do [what she wants to do].
Eunmi:	Making any type of RNA.	
Jiyeon:	(***) 'tases myengi hayssnuntey, ta kunyang sse.'	Five of us did this. Just write [us] all.

In this segment, the students were trying to understand and answer the questions on the lab worksheet. They needed to find the definition of transcription and what types of DNA and RNA are relevant in the process of transcription. They collaboratively work to produce answers. Eunmi first started to compose an answer by saying, “Transcription *is*,” and Melody tried to complete the sentence by saying, “DNA and RNA.” Then, Jasmine said that they also needed to know the types of RNA that are involved in transcription. To respond to Jasmine’s remark, Eunmi named the types of RNA, “mRNA,

tRNA.” Shortly after, Melody argued that transcription results in “any type of RNA.” Jasmine argued, “That’s for RNA,” indicating they should (also) find the types of DNA. Then, Jiyeon, Eunmi, and Melody seemed to think that the different types of DNA and RNA do not have to be discussed, but transcription is simply making “any type” of RNA from DNA. Jiyeon, in a slightly annoyed tone of voice, said, “Making RNA, *just write it*” to Jasmine, who was writing the answers on the worksheet. In response to Jiyeon, Melody backed up Jasmine by saying, “*Just let Jasmine do what she wants to do.*” By saying that, Melody positioned Jasmine as the intellectual authority of the group’s work.

As their conversation proceeded, Jasmine worked on the worksheet and other students built the DNA transcription model with beads. Jasmine sometimes interrupted to advise on what should be shown in the model and urged the other members to complete the model building quickly. In this group, Jasmine held the position of authority as someone who does well and knows more than other group members. She was the one who led the sub-activity of filling out the worksheet. The other students were followers, who built the beads model, and they learned from Jasmine. Certainly, the group dynamics were not equal in terms of intellectual authority (who owns the knowledge, who has the final say on answers to the worksheet questions, who does the intellectual work and who does simple manipulation), and Jasmine owned a large part of the intellectual identity of the group. However, other students (Melody, Eunmi, Jiyeon) actively sought information, suggested answers, and argued for their positions. In Melody’s case, although she gave up and yielded the intellectual authority to Jasmine, she was outspoken in positioning Jasmine as a knowledge authority and herself and others as followers.

In this group, engagement in academic discussion and in fun playing around were highly intertwined. They discussed academic topics, joked around with each other, worked on model building, and talked about pop culture, and the switches among these different sub-activities was rapid. When the three girls (Melody, Jiyeon, Eunmi) found that someone had made a mistake, they blamed each other saying, “*Stupid, you idiot,*” in a very playful way. No single person was consistently positioned as being “stupid,” but all three argued that the others were stupid. When they made a mistake, they do not seem to be embarrassed, but resisted the positioning of being stupid. It appeared as if they made a fun game of blaming each other. They also often talked about their shared interests, such as Korean dramas and pop songs, and even sang Korean songs quietly. In addition, such fun socializing activities sometimes turned into academic discussion. At one point, when they had to figure out what nucleobase of RNA corresponds to each nucleobase of DNA, the three girls argued intensely. Melody argued her position by saying, “*I took a note. You want to see it?*” Then, she even added, “*Are you looking down on me now?*”

At other times, they also supported each other’s learning and encouraged participation of the others. Heejin was mostly quiet throughout the group work episode on this day and did not seem to participate. After they figured out how to build the model, Melody tried to pull Heejin into the model building activity by saying, “*Hey, Heejin, make [the model]*” in a nice and inviting way. Toward the end of this group activity, they prepared for the oral quiz. Heejin said, to the group, that she did not know about the day’s topic and asked for help by saying, “*I don’t know, anything. What should I do? Hey, hurry up and teach me*” in an urgent tone of voice. In response to her question, four

students (Melody, Eunmi, Jiyeon, Heejin) started to review their notes. In this moment, Jiyeon took up the role of leader and taught the other students by referring to her class notes. The other students (Heejin, Melody, Eunmi) asked questions of each other and helped each other learn the content in preparation for the oral quiz.

However, this kind of relaxing, comfortable, and supportive group climate did not seem to develop when Melody worked with other students in groups. Assuming that students' separation by racial, ethnic, and linguistic groups is problematic, Ms. Davis tried twice, during my data collection period, to mix students across their small cliques. On October 8, 2010, Ms. Davis engaged students in a Jigsaw activity. She first distributed a short reading assignment, asked them to make groups, and assigned a section for each group to read. I attempted to observe how students formed their groups. Yet, because students grouped themselves very quickly, I could not follow how the students negotiated group membership. Although this day was only about a month after the school year started, it seemed as if they already knew who should be in their group and gathered without hesitation. When Ms. Davis asked students to form new groups in which each member reports on the section of the reading material they had read in the previous group as in a Jigsaw lesson, students did not want to do so. When the students got into groups with others with whom they did not usually interact, I found the classroom climate very strange. Students did not engage in any side talk and were very quiet, unlike how they usually were. They read their summary notes, and other students quietly wrote them down in their notebooks. In addition, some students were sitting slightly apart from the central circle of their groups and did not seem to authentically belong to the group. Over the course of the period, students came to collaborate better, and in some groups, students

asked questions of each other and laughed loudly, but not all of the groups developed such group dynamics.

Regarding this Jigsaw activity, Melody explained,

I did the part that was assigned to me. But I couldn't read it all. I had read only a few parts at the beginning. But the teacher said the latter part is more important.

But I couldn't read the latter part. So, ((sigh)), I talked about the front part a little, and just told them that I didn't know. So ((we)) asked the teacher to teach us.

This interview excerpt shows that Melody felt the given period of time was not long enough to read (and comprehend) the assigned reading materials, likely different than how native English speakers would have felt. More than not completing the given task, she seemed to have been intimidated by the fact that she could not complete the reading and that she was expected to present her understanding of the reading to unfamiliar, English speaking classmates who presumably had read and comprehended the materials to a higher degree than she did. Her answer to my question and her sigh suggest that she was stressed about the situation and about having to ask the teacher to cover her responsibility.

Ms. Davis' second attempt to mix students occurred on November 4, 2010. When Ms. Davis assigned the student groups, she seemed to expect students' resistance. Before saying that she was going to assign each group, she said, "You are going to hate me. I assigned the group." As expected, some students sighed and even shouted, "No." After announcing the members of each group, Ms. Davis asked the class, "Why did I assign groups?" As one student answered, "We don't screw around," she added, "One, you don't screw around. What else?" After some undecipherable comments from students, she

explained, “To get to know each other, so that you are forced to talk to people you are not used to.” While the students were doing the lab activity, she quietly explained to me how she grouped students. She first considered students’ English proficiency. In each group, she assigned one student who “speaks very little English.” Then, she considered students’ ethnicity. She split up all the Asian Indian students. Melody, assigned to a group with several English-speaking non-Korean students, did not talk to the group members much or laugh but just looked at how other students were manipulating the lab materials, in contrast to how she interacted in the group with her Korean friends. Once Melody finished the experiment of the activity, she sat with Minjoo, although she was not in Melody’s assigned group, and filled out the lab worksheet.

As such, Melody differently engaged in group activities in the group with her close friends than in a group with unfamiliar classmates. While I could not audio record and closely analyze Melody’s interaction in the group of non-close English speaking peers, the available data suggest that she was able to receive support and assistance from friends, be entertained, and argue her stance actively in the group with her close friends, which did not seem to be accomplished in the other case. In other words, the group sharing ethnicity and language with her provided a safe space in which Melody enjoyed schooling, a sense of community, and authentic engagement, whereas similar kinds of enjoyment and engagement were not easily attained in either whole class discussions or group activities with other classmates.

6.4.5.3 Melody’s negotiation in the biology class

In the focal classroom, Melody was positioned as a limited English proficient student and viewed as an unsuccessful biology student. In response to this challenging

situation and positioning, Melody seemed to establish a safe space among her close friends. In that space, she expressed herself with less risk of being associated with the negative FOB identity model. Melody also recognized possibilities for alternative positions and negotiated her identities to connect to Ms. Davis and a broader group of peers and to participate in the biology classroom discourse. While I believe that such negotiation of identities occurred in every moment of her interactions, there were several salient moments and data that show how she negotiated her identities in the focal classroom. In this section, I describe an example of her negotiation of identities and how she tried to find alternative ways of classroom participation.

An alternative way for Melody to connect to a new group of people and participate in the class was to pass out to students their graded worksheets. Ms. Davis usually collected students' homework or class worksheets, graded them, and gave them back to students. Sometimes, however, Ms. Davis called on a couple of students and asked them to pass out the worksheets, but some students refused to do so, saying that they did not know students' names. Frustrated by this response, Ms. Davis came to ask students, "Who knows names? Pass out papers" or even simply "Who knows names?" holding a stack of graded worksheets in her hand. Some students—mostly those who had built a substantial and trusting relationship with Ms. Davis by asking and answering questions, interacting with her beyond academic topics, and being teased by her—volunteered to help her in distributing the worksheets. On December 10, 2010, when Ms. Davis asked for students to pass out worksheets, Melody, although she was not one of those students who had developed a comfortable relationship with the teacher, volunteered. When Ms. Davis first asked, "Who knows names?" Melody did not respond,

but glanced at Ms. Davis several times. It appeared as if she was hesitating to volunteer. Then, when Ms. Davis walked down the aisle between the two columns of student tables, passing by Melody, she again solicited student volunteers by asking, “Who knows names?”, Melody looked back, raised her hand, and said, “I will try.” In this moment, she shouted “I will try!” immediately after Ms. Davis’ second solicitation, “Who knows names?” without hesitation. By saying, “I will try,” Melody conveyed the message that although she did not “know names,” she would try to identify students and hand their worksheets to them. In volunteering to pass out the graded worksheets, Melody negotiated and chose to enact a new identity as a student who readily volunteers to help the teacher, interacts with the teacher, and is willing to interact with classmates by handing out their worksheets.

However, to Melody, enacting this new identity of a student who volunteers to help Ms. Davis and interacts with non-familiar students might not be easily accepted and understood by others because of her identities that had developed in the class, and Melody might have to more actively negotiate her identities. On January 6, 2011, Melody volunteered once again to pass out students’ worksheets. Interestingly, before she responded to Ms. Davis that she would give the worksheets back to students, she first said, “*I will do, too*” in Korean, announcing to her Korean friends that she would pass out the worksheets. A few seconds later, when Ms. Davis came closer to her, she raised her hand to get the teacher’s attention, and Jiyeon, who heard Melody’s announcement, helped Melody by making eye contact with the teacher and pointing to Melody. I argue that in this episode, Melody’s saying, “*I will do, too*” was a way for her to facilitate herself to negotiate her identities in the situation in which she already had identities that

did not match with this action. As explained earlier, other volunteering students were those who willingly and actively talked to the teacher for either academic (e.g., asking and answering questions during classes) and/or playful (e.g., making jokes) purposes. Melody's announcing "*I will do, too*" was different than the response of those students, such as Maria and Susan, who merely raised their hand, when Ms. Davis said, "Who knows names? Pass out papers." In the focal class, Maria and Susan developed identities of students who would readily interact with the teacher, respond to the teacher's request or question, and help the teacher. In other words, it would be expected for them to volunteer. However, it would be strange for Melody to volunteer to pass out the assignment sheets because she had rarely responded to teachers' questions or requests (e.g., raising her hand, voluntarily responding to or asking questions of the teacher) and interacted with classmates other than her close Korean speaking friends. It was an unexpected action for her to volunteer, and she might have needed to have her friends be aware that she would be enacting a new person.

Indeed, Ms. Davis recognized Melody's attempts to negotiate and navigate new possibilities and responded to her attempt in an encouraging way. On December 10, 2010, when Melody first volunteered, Ms. Davis acknowledged and appreciated her trying by saying, "You will try. Thank you," while she merely gave the rest of the worksheet packet to two other students without the same kind of acknowledgement. On this same day (12/10/2010), after passing out the worksheets, Melody and Ms. Davis had several exchanges that were common between Ms. Davis and some other students, but rare between her and Melody. For instance, after Ms. Davis announced a deadline for the submission of the warm-up worksheets, she checked if students got the information by

asking, “When am I going to collect the warm-ups?” To this question, Melody answered, “Tuesday” in unison with some other students. Ms. Davis responded, “On Tuesday. So therefore, Melody, those questions are (***) and blank, they are going to be filled in by Tuesday. I just happened to see that [your worksheet], so,” indicating she accidentally saw blanks in Melody’s worksheet and urged Melody to complete the worksheet. To this remark, Melody nodded, giggled shortly, and smiled. About a minute and a half later, Ms. Davis mentioned Melody again in her explanation of plasmid:

Ms. Davis: Plasmid. What does the plasmid have?

Mark: ((with a very low voice)) A new gene.

Ms. Davis: A new gene. If, on this plasmid, right here, I have a gene for insulin. Right here, I have a gene for annoying nature. Right here, I have a gene for being obnoxious.

Ms. Davis: And I give ((pause for a couple of seconds in search of a student for her analogy)) Melody this gene ((as pointing her with her hand)). What's going to happen to her, Melody?

Girl: She can get all of those.

Ms. Davis: She is now going to produce insulin, but at the same, being annoying and obnoxious. Right? If you get one gene from the plasmid, you get all the genes from the plasmid. Does that make sense?

As discussed previously, Ms. Davis did not often use as examples in her analogies and tease students who were quiet and did not frequently interact with her, including Melody.

On this particular day, however, Ms. Davis unusually cast Melody as a participant example and positioned her as “annoying” and “obnoxious.”

I interpret the three episodes on this particular day as a series of dialogic actions and reactions between Melody and Ms. Davis. By volunteering to pass out the graded worksheets, Melody first opened a possibility of new actions that she did not usually engage in and also showed to Ms. Davis the same possibility that she was willing to enact a new identity. After opening the possibility, it may be doable for her to speak up and answer Ms. Davis’ questions, although she answered mainly non-science-related and logistic questions. Ms. Davis actively picked up on this and responded to Melody, which might communicate a message that she attended to what Melody said (“Tuesday”) and did (she did not complete the warm-up sheet). However, Ms. Davis also seemed to be worried that her teasing would hurt Melody and was careful in her casual interaction with Melody, which was evidenced in her additional remark, “I just happened to see that.” Instead of seeming intimidated, Melody seemed to communicate the message that she liked to be teased in this way by giving a shy but cheerful smile on her face. In the next moment, when Ms. Davis used Melody as a character in her analogy, not only did Ms. Davis position Melody as an “annoying and obnoxious” girl in her analogy story, but Melody became one of students who Ms. Davis used in her analogical narratives. The message might have been communicated that Ms. Davis felt comfortable with and close to Melody to a certain extent or that Ms. Davis wanted to bring Melody into the class discussion and to connect to Melody. In this series of three episodes, Melody and Ms. Davis opened a possibility, responded to the possibility offered by the other, and created

another possibility for Melody's new identities and their relationship in interactive and dialogic ways.

As the school year proceeded, Melody's attempts at a new identity and the teacher's reactions occurred on several more occasions. Toward the second half of the school year, my field notes indicate Melody's engagement in the whole class discussion more often. On January 14, 2011, when Ms. Davis gave a lecture on natural selection, Melody also seemed to be engaged in the class discussion. She answered the teacher's questions, although her voice was almost inaudible, nodded or shook her head as a response to several yes-or-no questions from Ms. Davis, and laughed vigorously even with gestures when students made funny comments. At one point, she said to Jiyeon, "*What was that? What was that?*" in Korean, indicating that she did not understand Ms. Davis' explanation and wanted to know what she had said. When Ms. Davis asked, "Diploid, why does that maintain variation?" no student answered. Melody also looked as if she was trying to come up with the answer but could not think of it at the moment. Ms. Davis looked at Melody and said, "Melody, you are thinking." Upon this remark, many students turned to and looked at Melody, and she smiled shyly and awkwardly.

On the one hand, by saying this, Ms. Davis acknowledged Melody's engagement and encouraged Melody to think further and answer the question. On the other hand, her remark, "Melody, you are thinking" positioned Melody as a student who was thinking very hard in this moment, perhaps in contrast to what she usually did in class. As previously illustrated, Melody has been positioned publically as not paying attention and talking to her peers on several occasions (e.g., 11/12/2010, 01/06/2011) and even warned about speaking Korean (01/06/2011). As these examples evidenced, in the focal class,

Melody was not viewed as an attentive or studious student. Thus, it seems plausible that Ms. Davis would not have made her remark about Melody “thinking” if her engagement in the class discussion was her typical pattern of participation. In other words, although the teacher did not say so explicitly, it appeared as if she meant, “Melody, you are thinking, in contrast to how you usually are.” Thus, Ms. Davis’ remark implied that she acknowledged that Melody tried to enact an identity as a seriously engaged student, which had not been a part of her identities in the focal class. This message appeared to be communicated, at the very least, to the students who turned to Melody and looked at her. In this episode, Melody agentively navigated possibilities and negotiated identities, and the teacher sensitively recognized her enactment and subsequently re-positioned her as a cooperative, engaged student. I believe that this episode and other episodes capturing her participation described earlier might have facilitated the development of her new identity as an engaged biology student who participates in the class discussion, cares about the class, and is an active and legitimate member of the class, if those exchanges and interactions between Ms. Davis and Melody had occurred more often. Unfortunately, however, these kinds of episodes did not happen frequently, and shortly after this episode, Ms. Davis went on maternity leave. In the new circumstances that the substitute teacher, Ms. Wilson introduced to the class, Melody had to navigate and negotiate different tensions and challenges, and thus similar opportunities for participation did not present while Ms. Wilson was teaching.

6.5 Discussion

The analysis of Melody’s case shows how meso level contexts—the classroom context in which hybrid practices were frequently created, and the school context in

which two distinct groups of Korean immigrants were formed and the FOB group was marginalized—and personal contexts—particularly the family context in which her parents could not provide her with sufficient resources—interacted and impeded her participation in the biology class, as well as in learning English and biology. Ms. Davis’ hybrid practices that connected students’ knowledge and language use not only failed to acknowledge resources that students like Melody possess, but also generated challenges for them. Given this circumstance, Melody found a safe and comfortable space within the group of Korean-speaking Korean immigrant students and engaged in group activities with them. Despite her challenges, she negotiated and crafted alternative ways to participate in the class as a central member. Ms. Davis noticed that she tried to participate and acknowledged her attempts and contribution. Yet, during the period of my data collection, her attempts at alternative participation did not develop to the extent that she was re-positioned as a participant—as opposed to non-participant identity that Melody named for herself—or as a successful biology student in the class.

One salient theme that I found from the analysis of Melody is how the meso level contexts of Parkview High did not facilitate, but rather restricted her learning of English (and biology) to a certain extent, through the labeling of and narratives about FOB and Twinkie. Melody, labeled as a FOB, was perceived as not speaking English fluently, socializing only within the group of FOB students, and not performing well in school. Partly because of this label, she was alienated and marginalized by American-born and Twinkie students. In turn, she did not have sources from which she could socially learn English and acquire the kinds of knowledge shared among many American-born and Twinkie students and so could not establish the relationships necessary to participate in

the focal biology class. Further, because of her lack of English proficiency and of knowledge shared with other students and acknowledged by the teacher, she could not participate in the classroom hybrid practices in the focal class. On the one hand, this lack of resources impeded her participation in the classroom learning practices, but on the other hand, her ways of speaking and interacting in the class—she sat close to other Korean students, formed a work group with them, and did not verbally participate in the whole class discussions—appeared to reinforce further her FOB status by underscoring that she did not have those resources and was not an active verbal participant in the class. In addition, Melody was occasionally marked as an English language learner in the focal class, and this positioning also reinforced her FOB labeling. In this regard, the FOB position, once imposed on her, was stabilized and reinforced through discursive practices of the focal class. Unfortunately, Melody’s personal contexts did not help her break out of her identities as a FOB and non-participant. As an immigrant herself, Melody’s mother felt marginalized and discouraged, and lacked the practical and symbolic resources (e.g., informational resources, social networks) to support Melody sufficiently. To a certain extent, Melody’s personal contexts exacerbated her challenges and FOB status. For Melody, it was not easy to move out of the label or be repositioned into a more privileged identity, such as a Twinkie.

Regarding the relationships between Korean immigrant students, including Melody, and Ms. Davis, I should note that Ms. Davis tried to connect to recent Korean immigrants. She was worried that some Korean students did not speak in class in the sense that she did not know how those quiet students could learn if they did not speak. She sometimes learned simple Korean phrases and used them in interacting with

Koreans, which resulted in cheerful exchanges among Ms. Davis and some Korean speaking students. On one occasion, Ms. Davis understood what some Korean immigrant students said in Korean—most probably by the situation, their gestures, and tone—and interjected in their conversation. Despite these efforts, she was frustrated by not reaching them. As shown previously, even calling Korean students' names was a challenging task for her. I argue that the Korean immigrant students' failure to build substantial relationships with Ms. Davis is not simply attributable to the teacher—who could not invent ways to effectively connect to the students—or students—who did not try to interact with the teacher more often—but rather to the power dynamics among students. That is, in competing to gain the teacher's attention and help, which are inherently limited, particularly so in high school AP classes with 30 students, Melody, who was positioned at a relatively lower relational status as a FOB, seemed to yield to other students who were more vocal, active, and assertive in seeking the teacher's attention and who were positioned in a higher relational status. In class, while students were conducting group activities, students freely approached Ms. Davis, sought help, and asked questions. In those moments, I frequently observed that recent Korean immigrants, and Melody, as well, walked to the teacher, were interrupted in their turn by other (mostly White) students, and came back to their seats without passing their interrupting peers and getting to the teacher or waiting for the next turn. Because of such power dynamics involving diverse students and the teacher, Melody and other Korean speaking immigrants could not easily interact with and develop substantial relationships with Ms. Davis.

Before closing Chapter 6, I point out that unlike Mike, who was able to achieve his identity goal, to be perceived as a Twinkie, Melody could not achieve her goal, to be an active and verbal participant and to perform better in the focal biology class. Although I do not intend to and cannot explain or predict why some could and others could not, the difference implies that an individual student's agency and negotiation is not sufficient to develop desired identities. While contexts, at all levels, do not determine one's identity, contexts are crucial in developing identities, and in some cases, restrict one's possibilities to a great extent.

Chapter 7: Micro Moments of Discourse and Identity—Case of Yun Ho

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will show how students' identities unfold in classroom discursive situations and shape the ways in which students interpret each other's ideas, respond to them, and negotiate in moment-to-moment interactions. Specifically, I focus on a 15-minute-long discursive episode, in which the focal student Yun Ho gave a talk to the class after watching a documentary film about evolution. Yun Ho was a senior boy in the sixth period class, who immigrated from Korea to the United States in his early elementary grades. During the 15 minutes, Yun Ho argued his ideas about evolutionary theories and enacted teacher and science expert characters. While Yun Ho framed his speech as communicating his "scientific" knowledge, his speech was perceived as religiously motivated, and students wanted him not to talk about "religious" ideas in the biology class. Through a close discursive analysis of the episode, I will argue that while his speech and motivation could be interpreted in multiple ways, the students (and teachers alike) perceived one aspect among these possible interpretations—being religiously motivated and challenging the evolutionary theory—because of his salient identities that had developed prior to the focal discursive episode.

The analytic focus of this chapter is micro level contexts and how individual students' identities that developed prior to this discursive episode unfold in moment-to-moment interaction. I primarily analyze the 15-minute-long episode as well as interviews and classroom observations and video recordings. The findings from the broader ethnographic data (interviews and observation data throughout the year) are used to

understand the identities of Yun Ho and other students who verbally participated in the short discursive moment. I will first briefly review existing literature focusing on how social factors play a critical role in students' classroom participation and their evaluations of each other.

7.2 Literature review

Science classroom discourse inevitably involves various social factors. The social factors, such as students' academic status, popularity, friendship, and relational positions, play critical roles in determining who attains opportunities to talk, whose ideas are valued or devalued, and who achieves cognitive authority (Bianchini, 1997; Cohen & Lotan, 1995; Engle, Langer-Osuna, & Royston, 2008; Kurth, Anderson, & Palinscar, 2002; Langer-Osuna & Engle, 2010). For instance, a student may be identified as being scientific and credible during a class discussion, or as an outcast who does not legitimately contribute to the process of collective knowledge construction. Once some students are perceived in certain ways, other students draw upon identities of those students in interpreting their ideas. They may value and trust the ideas of students who are perceived as smart and credible more than ideas of students who are not. The ideas of students identified as outcasts may not be valued or seriously considered in classroom discussions.

Cohen and Lotan (Cohen & Lotan, 1995) show that students who are perceived as having a high academic profile and are popular among peers possess a *high status* in relation to other students who are perceived as less competent academically and socially. Bianchini (1997) investigated how sixth graders interact with each other and negotiate their roles during group activities in a science class and found that students with a high

status had more opportunities to talk than low status students. She further argues that many low status students were actually not incompetent as high status students assumed. Some of low status students argued their ideas and were able to complete worksheets that the other students found challenging. Langer-Osuna and Engle (2010) show the opposite case, in which a student achieved authority in a small group discussion despite the scientific weakness of his ideas. Through a close analysis of discourse, they argue that the student was able to attain the status by positioning himself as an expert of the discussion topic and developing allies in his group.

Some scholars argue that reliance on identities in evaluating each other's ideas, rather than on the validity of the ideas, reflects macro level inequality, such as privileges given to a certain gender or race. Kurth, Anderson, and Palinscar (2002) show how one African American student in a group of White students was unable to make a space for her ideas during group activities, despite her enthusiastic engagement. Their analysis of students' discourse in a small group shows that students' utterances do not simply convey conceptual meaning, but also communicate what counts as knowledge, what is the obligation and need for the group work, and roles in the group. While group members conflict with each other with respect to knowledge, obligation, and roles, they fail to discuss openly and resolve the conflict, and thus the White, high-academic status students attained the power to assert their beliefs. Olitsky and colleagues (Olitsky, Flohr, Gardner, & Billups, 2010), through an ethnographic study at a science magnet school, show how students' labels along the dimension of smartness influence their participation. Students who were labeled as "smart" were granted social and symbolic capital to participate in the whole class discussions and, in turn, had opportunities to share their ideas, negotiate

meanings, and develop an identity as central members of the class, whereas “not smart” labeled students did not. They further argue that students labeled “not smart” were mainly from a low-income, African American neighborhood and that this pattern reinforces discrepancies in educational outcomes based on race and class.

Implications of these studies are that students evaluate each other’s ideas, not simply based on the quality of specific ideas but also (or even more) on who the holder of the ideas is. In this chapter, I argue that the evaluation of each other’s identities is drawn on their more or less stable identities that had developed in the focal class as well as in the school, prior to the specific discursive episode. The analysis of Yun Ho and his speech episode will show how this happens in micro moment interactions. In understanding students’ stable identities, I draw on the interview and classroom observation data, and the close analysis of the focal discursive episode will show how identities are discursively communicated, constructed, and negotiated in the discursive moment, and how those identities influence the ways in which students evaluate and respond to each other’s ideas.

7.3 Data corpus and analysis

The main data source used in this chapter is the classroom audio recording of the 15 minute discursive episode. Because Ms. Davis was absent on this day of the focal discursive episode and students watched a documentary film, I did not install the video camera on this day. After watching the film, Yun Ho attempted to talk to the whole class. In this moment, I turned on the audio recorder to capture the classroom discourse. From this recording, I transcribed utterances of the episode and coordinated with field note records to reconstruct a few important movements of the participants (e.g., relocation of

the teacher, posture of some students, Yun Ho's standing at a specific location and drawing on the white board). In addition to the classroom audio recording, I also analyzed interviews and field notes. The analysis of these two sources for this chapter focused on locating and identifying how students and teachers perceived the focal discursive episode, as well as interpreting the identities of the main participants in the episode (e.g., Yun Ho, David, Saphala, Myung, Ashley) both from their own perspectives and others' perspectives.

I analyzed the discursive episode in multiple iterations. First, I analyzed the content of Yun Ho's speech closely. I focused only on Yun Ho's utterances and analyzed epistemological and conceptual meanings of Yun Ho's argument. To resolve ambiguity and potential multiple interpretations of his claims, I also drew on the interviews with Yun Ho. While I do not assume that he would argue the same claims in the focal discursive episode and in the interviews, finding consistency in his argument in the two different discursive situations supported my interpretation of his speech, among possible interpretations, and resolved the ambiguity to a certain extent.

The second path of the analysis of the discursive episode focused on students' identities. I read the transcript carefully and analyzed each line of utterance in terms of identities, such as what identities were discursively enacted and what identities were assumed and communicated in an utterance. In doing so, I also analyzed nouns and pronouns that Yun Ho often used such as "scientists," "we," and "people" in terms of what those nouns and pronouns specifically referred to and indicated with respect to his positioning in relation to those people.

While analyzing the classroom discourse, I also simultaneously analyzed student interviews, field notes, and teacher's interviews. The analysis of these sources was focused on identifying themes (van Manen, 1990) about identities of the participants of this discursive episode. Through analyzing the two distinct sets of data (classroom recordings and interviews/field notes) using two different grain sizes of analysis (line-by-line micro analysis of the classroom data and thematic analysis of the interviews/field notes), I examined if and how what interviewees reported was displayed in the discursive episode. Yet, this process is not different from a conventional meaning of data triangulation in that I did not use the two distinct sets of data to find consistency or coherence (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003). Rather, analyzing and understanding the interview data allowed me to decide the most plausible meaning among a set of possible interpretations of the classroom discourse and to see how the interviewees' reported identities were enacted and negotiated in the classroom discursive situation. Analyzing the classroom discourse also allowed me to add another set of meanings that the participants said in the interview and to focus on specific parts of the interview data and field notes. In this regard, analyzing one set of data informed my analysis of the other set of data, and vice versa. Thus, the process was reciprocal and iterative. Through this iterative process (analysis of the classroom discourse data and analysis of interviews/field notes), my understanding of the data evolved.

7.4 Findings

In this section, I present an analysis of the 15-minute classroom discursive episode to show (1) how identities of the participants were communicated and responded to, (2) how their identities established prior to this particular episode played out in this

process, and (3) how they negotiated to achieve certain discursive goals in each moment. First, I describe the background of the class that led to the focal discursive episode. After the description of the background, to present the findings more effectively, and rather than show the episode chronologically, I discuss Yun Ho's speech content and discursive enactment of his identities in the speech. Then, I add in interactional details and broader contexts outside this scene to provide an account of how and why students interpreted Yun Ho's ideas in a particular way. As I discuss in detail later in this section, although Yun Ho framed his speech as scientific, students mostly interpreted Yun Ho's speech as being religiously motivated and as rejecting the theory of evolution. An analysis of the interactional details and broader contexts will provide an understanding of this mismatch, focusing on how and why students settled on one interpretation among other possible interpretations. Then, I again zoom into the micro moments of the discursive episode and show how Yun Ho, recognizing the challenge in arguing his ideas to the class, negotiated his positions and discursive goals in each moment.

7.4.1 Background of the episode

On January 12, 2011 the biology teacher, Ms. Davis, was absent. Instead, a substitute and retired teacher, Ms. Johnson, came in for the day. During the class, as Ms. Davis had planned in advance, students watched a documentary film about evolution and filled out a worksheet about the film. The film, titled *Great Transformations*, was an hour-long episode from eight-hour long television miniseries developed for the purpose of evolution education (Olicker, 2001). A PBS synopsis highlights some of the main questions raised and addressed in the film:

What underlies the incredible diversity of life on Earth? How have complex life forms evolved? The journey from water to land, the return of land mammals to the sea, and the emergence of humans all suggest that creatures past and present are members of a single tree of life. (PBS, n.d.)

At the beginning of the film, a scientist asks, “Who are we? Where do we come from? How do we get here? Why do we look the way we do?” Then, in a journey to answer these questions, the film traces back to the history of evolution and shows some critical evolutionary events (e.g., emergence of terrestrial animals from aquatic animals) that led to present animals. Scientists from various disciplines explain that the emergence of diverse animals is the result of multiple combinations of the same set of genes, rather than of development toward more advanced forms of organisms. A scientist emphasizes the point by saying, “There’s really no goal to evolution. Evolution wasn’t **trying** to make limbs. It wasn’t **trying** to push our distant ancestors out of water. What was happening was a series of experiments.” The film concludes that diverse species of animals, including human beings, are evolved from the same genes inherited from a common ancestor. At the end of the film, the narrator makes it clear that from the evolutionary perspective, humans are not different from other animals because all living organisms share the same set of genes:

Our bodies are built from the same genes that build all other animals. Yet, we are different. No other animal designs, or create, like we do. We seem so special. It’s hard not to think that we are somehow an exception of evolution. But of course, we are not.

While students were working on a set of questions after watching the video, Yun Ho asked Ms. Johnson for permission to speak to the class. Ms. Johnson later said about the interaction, “He just said he wanted to give a speech. I didn't understand what he meant. I thought it was some kind of announcement” (Field Note, 01/12/2011). Yun Ho went to the front of the class—where Ms. Davis often stands when giving a lecture—and started to raise questions about evolution and the video that they had just watched. At first, students did not seem to pay attention to Yun Ho; they kept chatting with each other. But, as a bell announcing the fourth period lunch rang, the class somehow became quiet and that silence set the stage for Yun Ho to speak.

7.4.2 Content of Yun Ho’s speech

Yun Ho’s main claim was consistent with one important point of the film—that human beings are not different from animals from an evolutionary standpoint. He began the speech by talking about the perspective of the film:

Snippet 1

Basically, that say, it doesn't really say it. <But I think it> calls us animals. <One of the thing I will question> are **we** animals? (Audio transcript, 01/12/2011)

From the viewpoint of the film, the answer would be yes—We, human beings, are animals because we share the same set of genes with animals, and, like animals, we are just one outcome of an “evolutionary experiment.” Although Yun Ho did not express his opinion about this fundamental question in this moment, at the end of his 15-minute long speech, he came back to this original question and said, “We are just different, we are just **experiments**.” Drawing on the terminology of the film (human beings are “experiments”), he recapitulated the claim of the video that humans are not special. He

emphasized that we are not designed to be better or smarter than animals; we are just one unique species.

While Yun Ho agreed with the perspective on evolution that the documentary film presented—particularly on the point that human beings are not different from animals and not special—Yun Ho did not seem to agree with how several other educational media, such as school science textbooks or popular education resources, present the theory of evolution and how several findings about evolution are represented to students and the public. Throughout this 15-minute speech, Yun Ho consistently criticized those approaches drawing upon evidence he had learned from other informational resources. His criticisms seemed to follow a syllogistic logic, and consisted of three main points. First, a theory is not a solid scientific fact, but an elaborated human idea with evidence available at a specific moment; scientists continuously revise their theories based on newly found evidence (tentativeness of scientific theory). In developing ideas with available evidence, however, the ways in which scientists interpret or represent data could be biased by who they are and what they believe (science as human activities in which subjectivity could be involved). Second, many scientists believe incorrect ideas about evolution and educate the public with the incorrect knowledge. Third, therefore, those scientists who hold incorrect ideas regarding human evolution often mis-represent the theory and do not show some newly found evidence to the public, and thus, regular people and students do not properly learn the theory of evolution. In the following subsections, I summarize the argument that Yun Ho made in the focal discursive episode, drawing primarily on the speech itself, as well as interview data with Yun Ho as supplementary data.

7.4.2.1 Claim 1: Tentativeness of scientific knowledge and bias of scientists

Yun Ho argued for the tentativeness of scientific knowledge and theory throughout the entire speech by explaining how the theory of evolution has changed. To him, science is not a static and finalized set of knowledge, but a collection of ideas that can be changed and refined as scientists find new evidence and develop new ideas to explain evidence better. The most important example of change in scientific theory, to Yun Ho in this discursive episode, was that scientists in the past believed in gradualism but nowadays gradualism is not accepted. Yun Ho argued,

Snippet 2

Because even people now believe in punctuated equilibrium, we still believe that things change so quickly. In the past, like Darwin say that everything gradually evolve. (Audio transcript, 01/12/2011)

That people, that people, now no one believe that human **gradually** evolved from Chimpanzees, people **quickly** evolved from apes. (Audio transcript, 01/12/2011)

In the past, evolutionary scientists conformed to Darwinian evolution theory and believed that humans gradually evolved from ancient apes. Yet, this idea about gradual change from ape-like species to modern human-like species is no longer accepted by mainstream scientists. Instead, they accept punctuated equilibrium – the idea that new species appear suddenly after long periods of stasis rather than evolve through a gradual and linear transformation (Gould, 1996). In the interview, Yun Ho similarly explained the development of evolutionary theory from Darwinian gradualism to the theory of punctuated equilibrium:

People's understanding of evolution has changed. Like, I learned before that Darwin said gradualism, things evolve gradually, change gradually. New other thing (***) is, no growth, no change, sudden change, no change at that time.

(Interview, 02/04/2011)

In the discursive episode, to support the claim that scientists replaced gradualism with punctuated equilibrium, Yun Ho made another claim, more experience-based: the ape man model (Figure 5) is no longer shown. He argued, “In the past, like Darwin say that everything gradually evolve. And then some people have shown that ape man model. But when you, but now the model is no more shown because that’s actually outdated. That’s actually incorrect.” In his argument, Yun Ho tried to connect a conceptual claim about evolution (gradualism is an old idea, and punctuated equilibrium is accepted by present scientific communities) with an experiential claim (the ape man model is no longer shown). He supported this experiential claim with the fact that his classmates presumably had seen the ape man model in the past, but it was not shown in the PBS film. In addition, he checked when the film was produced and released with Ms. Johnson. The fact that the film was made in 2001 appeared to prompt him to argue confidently that the ape man model is not shown in recent educational media. In short, the two claims—scientists do not conform to gradualism any more, and the ape man model is not shown in recent media—support each other and serve as an example to demonstrate that scientific theories can change.

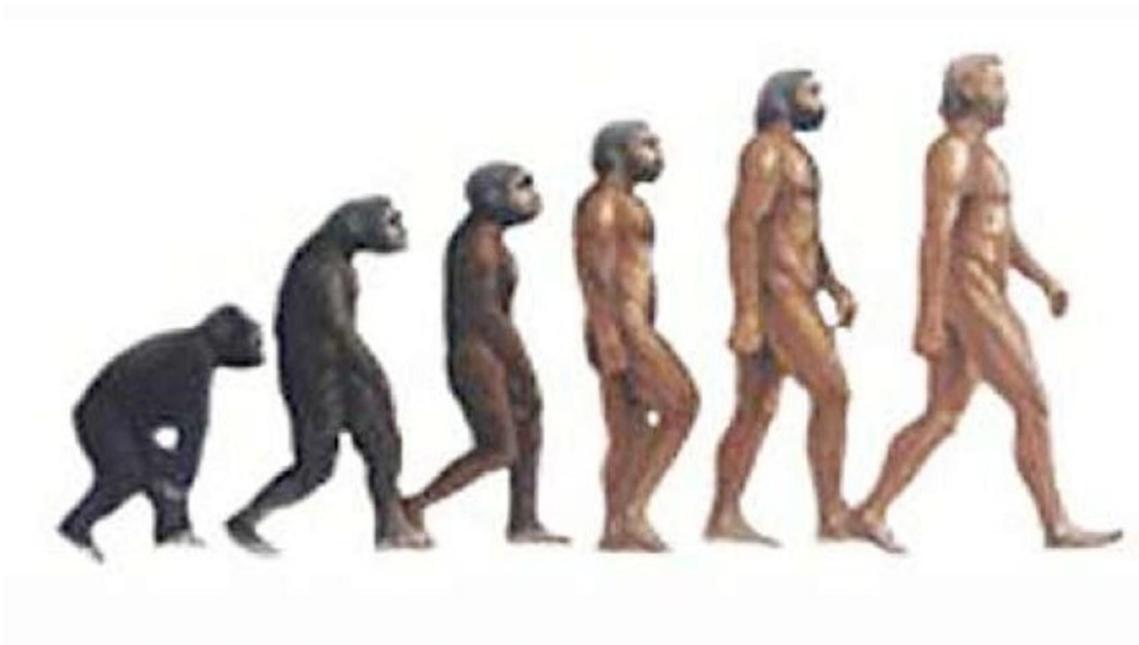


Figure 4 An ape to man evolution illustration²⁴

Secondly, he argued that theory is influenced by the beliefs of scientists and is not an objective knowledge system that is free of human bias. Yun Ho justified this claim by explaining that early scientists believed human beings are more closely related to Common Chimpanzees than Pigmy Chimpanzees. According to Yun Ho's argument, in the past, scientists who went to Africa to find human ancestors were *White*. These White scientists found Common and Pigmy Chimpanzees and thought that Common Chimpanzees are closer to modern human species because they have "pinkish skin and blackish hair" while pigmy chimpanzees have "skin color and hair color like [Africans]." Because Common Chimpanzees and (White) people "look alike" and "act alike," those White scientists concluded common chimpanzees as the closest species to human in the evolutionary tree.

²⁴ Adopted from <http://www.foxnews.com/scitech/2009/11/16/future-human-evolution/>

Yun Ho consistently argued the social and subjective nature of science. During the interview, he claimed that scientists are biased by what they believe and, thus, scientific theories could be biased. He argued,

Because I noticed how, isn't there already research have been done and found that people who believe UFOs exist are more likely to claim that they have seen UFOs? Like that kind of. Like people who believe that there are life out there are more likely to claim that life **has** been found.” (Interview, 02/04/2011)

Yun Ho also talked more specifically about evolution and evolutionary scientists with respect to socially derived bias:

Yun Ho: I think scientists like us are humans. And not many people realize that scientists also want attention like us, anyone do.

I: They have what?

Yun Ho: Scientists need attention.

I: Need attention.

Yun Ho: Attention. Like there is a big controversy and scientists do not want more people to get (***) the evolution. So I noticed how, it often, personal belief come involved because if scientists lose their, if scientists lose more people who believe in evolution, they are more likely to lose not only their popularity but also their money too. That's a big problem. Sometimes, it could be, because they really want, believe theory of evolution, but often times, it's for money, or peer pressure falling in the crowd. That's (unintelligible) scientists are like anyone else including creationists... (Interview, 02/04/2011)

At this moment of the interview, Yun Ho argued that doing science is not always simply a matter of conceptual and epistemological engagement, but it also involves power relationships as well as institutional and social struggles. Concerning the evolution and creationism debate, he said:

And people make the argument, that's more logical and that's understandable. But if people say, creationism is not allowed, the evolution is the fact, that would be more like a stubborn attack. So when people say concerns about creationism, it is, it is not as straightforward as people want it to be. Some people would say, most people reject it, but I think it's more because all the people tell them to reject it rather than they think of whether it really is. (Interview, 03/23/2011)

In summary, Yun Ho argued that scientific knowledge can be changed and made this claim with several pieces of evidence from the development of the theory of evolution. In addition, he argued that scientists might be biased and influenced by what they believe and who they are. Based on the second point about the nature of scientific knowledge, he asserted that “some” evolutionary scientists believe incorrect ideas of evolution improperly. An example of the incorrect idea that some scientists believe is the notion of linear progression of evolution process.

7.4.2.2 Claim 2: Change in the theory of evolution: some scientists’ belief about linear progression.

In the field of evolutionary science, Yun Ho argued, some scientists still possess incorrect ideas, namely that evolution is a linear, directed progression toward an end goal. In the film, scientists and narrators explain, “There’s no goal to evolution. Evolution wasn’t to make limbs. It wasn’t **trying** to push our distant ancestors out of water. What

was happening was a series of experiments.” The film makes the point that the emergence of new species is a random movement and any species is an experiment of nature with genes. Yun Ho recapitulated and also argued in his speech that evolution is not directed toward a certain goal. Some people may argue that animals have evolved from smaller, less intelligent, and less efficient species to bigger, smarter, and more efficient species. Yet, according to the film, this is not a correct idea of evolution, and Yun Ho revoiced that claim. In his words, “It doesn’t say that humans are getting better ‘cuz many people know that now we are not really better than say apes or other birds. ... We are not start more stupid.” By saying “many people know” that the idea of goal-directed progression is not correct—instead of framing as “no one believe” (or everyone believes) as he said in previous claim— Yun Ho implied that some people (some scientists) conform to the idea of directed progression.

In making the claim that evolution is not a process of linear progress, Yun Ho drew on two specific pieces of evidence: (1) Gigantopithecus, a nine-foot-tall ancient ape, and (2) human ancestors that had skulls larger than modern human skulls. He explained, “There were apes in the past that were actually taller than <Pigmies>. There was an orangutan, Gigantopithecus, and it’s an ape sized about nine feet tall, which is like this tall.” As Yunho spoke, he tapped on an upper part of the class white board, indicating how tall nine feet would be. In addition, he said that, according to fossil evidence found in some parts of the world during the 1800s, 1900s, and 2000s in some, there were human ancestors that had skulls “with twice the size of the brain size of us.” In explaining the shape of these large human skulls, he drew a picture of what the skulls looked like on the white board. According to Yun Ho, these two pieces of fossil evidence contradict the idea

that human beings evolved from apes that were shorter than us and had smaller brain size than ours. If the direction of evolution is from smaller species with smaller brain size and shorter height to larger species with larger brain and taller height, there should not be ancient animals that are larger than modern human or modern apes. Yet, fossil evidence has been found that suggests there were once ancient species that were taller and had larger skulls than modern humans.

7.4.2.3 Claim 3: Some scientists believe incorrect ideas and thus do not show some fossil evidence.

The last point of his argument directly targets scientists and educators who still believe those incorrect ideas about evolution *and* develop educational materials, such as textbooks or education films based on the incorrect belief. In the excerpt shown earlier, Yun Ho says,

Snippet 3

Is that, why, is that, how come scientists change their ideas on the ape concerning, concerning the, how we look like, how are all the **species** of supposed human beings look like, yet they still do not consider all the evidence such as these?

(Audio transcript, 01/12/2011)

In this moment, Yun Ho argued that scientists should report all the evidence properly to the public and refine their theory to explain all such evidence. In making this claim, Yun Ho pointed out inconsistencies in scientists' attempts to develop their ideas and theory. Scientists refine their ideas based on newly found evidence in some parts of their theory, but do not do so in other parts of the theory. To Yun Ho, scientists should consider all evidence properly and refine the theory.

According to Yun Ho, there is an obvious reason why scientists do not take into consideration evidence such as Gigantopithecus and human ancestors with larger skulls. Because some scientists believe that animals evolved from smaller and inferior species to humans that are taller, bigger brained, and smarter, they ignore counter-evidence to such linear, directed evolutionary progress. These evidences do not fit in the idea of linear directed human evolution: In Yun Ho's words, "it doesn't make sense." Rather than show the counter-evidence and refine the theory of evolution to explain newly found evidence, many scientists merely ignore the evidence and do not show such evidence to the public. Because regular people and students learn science through textbooks or media that scientists develop, they cannot see the possibly contradictory fossil evidence. Educational media show only parts of the development of the theory of evolution because the designers of that media assume that humans evolved from smaller species.

In the interview too, Yun Ho made the claim about how media could misrepresent scientific findings with an example of bacteria with arsenic:

Scientists claimed that bacteria, or like a life form, like organisms, can use like arsenic, or materials that aren't typical of what micro-organisms use. And then, first article I noticed was, and then, that (***) start a big debate, controversy. Then, later on, some scientists speak up, look, that was not right. The question is that claim because they say that scientists later on, some of the scientists claimed that, that's not true because the bacteria, or the cultures of the bacteria, those strange bacteria were found, supposedly, are found with arsenic, arsenic together. So basically, scientists claim that they are not really together. The bacteria don't

use arsenic, they were **found with** arsenic, they don't **use** arsenic. But I can tell that's a big understanding. (Interview, 02/04/2011)

In his argument, scientists found bacteria residing with arsenic in a given environment, but they did not find that bacteria actually use arsenic. However, the media incorrectly reported that the bacteria were found to use arsenic. Regarding the representation of the theory of evolution, he similarly argued:

So I think, from looking at from that perspective [misrepresentation of scientific theory and explanation to the public by some scientists and media], and look at now, and looking at how the evolutionists think and how the media thinks, (pause for a while) I know, I kind of realized that scientists say one thing, media says another, like people do not really understand the evolution, as I think they (***) . (Interview, 02/04/2011).

In these two excerpts, he pointed out the possibility that the public media may misrepresent actual up-to-date scientific findings. This is, partly and importantly, because some scientists who inform those media misunderstand the scientific findings by other scientists. To Yun Ho, this means that “there are not always that consensus” (Interview, 02/04/2011) within the community of scientists because of misunderstandings of each other’s ideas. Because some scientists misunderstand original arguments of other scientists, they create misrepresentations of the original arguments and such misrepresentations propagate through mass media. Though on a different topic, these interview excerpts support the interpretation that Yun Ho was concerned about how scientists’ misunderstanding of evolution is carried into educational materials.

As shown in the close analysis of the content of his speech, Yun Ho recapitulated the main claim of the documentary film they had just watched—because evolution is not goal oriented and human beings share the same set of genes with other animals, human beings are not the end product of evolutionary progress and we are not special—and further criticized some scientists and educational material developers. Yun Ho was clearly concerned about the quality of educational materials about evolution, particularly with respect to how they treat the evidence and refinement of the theory. His concern stemmed from that some scientists hold incorrect ideas about evolution and they share these incorrect views through the media. His claims were consistent as evidenced in multiple interviews that I conducted with him. In both the classroom discursive episode and interviews, his argument was sophisticated in the sense that he employed multiple evidences and rebuttals, coordinated multiple claims to build a coherent argument, and pointed out inconsistency in scientists’ endeavor to develop the theory of evolution.

7.4.3 Yun Ho’s enactment of identities through the speech

In the previous section, I analyzed Yun Ho’s argument mainly based on the content. However, he did not generate written texts in isolation from potential readers, but spoke in the classroom and generated texts discursively, which involved gesture, facial expressions, body posture, use of specific paralinguistic features (tone of voice, pause, intonation), and particular interactive features of language. These linguistic and paralinguistic aspects of his speech signal discursive goals that he wanted to achieve through the speech. For instance, the speaker communicates messages about his own identities, others’ identities, and purposes of the speech and interaction. Thus, in this section, I analyze Yun Ho’s speech more closely focusing on his use of paralinguistic and

non-verbal features, aiming to add details of this discursive episode. The analysis of his speech shows that Yun Ho enacted himself as a science expert who does science independently and who is more knowledgeable than other students. He enacted the science expert identity by employing scientific argument structure as shown in the previous section, placing with him the authority to challenge scientific knowledge, and indeed, challenging some scientific ideas and school science. In addition, he enacted a teacher character—one who knows better than most of the other students, had something to tell the students, and had control over the classroom to a certain extent. Yun Ho enacted the teacher identity by 1) employing discursive moves that teachers usually use in traditional classes, 2) positioning Ms. Johnson as someone who does not have the authority over the class, and 3) instead, placing a part of the authority on himself. The enactments of a teacher and a science expert were intertwined and supported each other toward the goal of his speech—taking up authority to educate the class with knowledge that is scientifically reliable but often dismissed in school classrooms.

7.4.3.1 Yun Ho's enacting science expert

First, I argue that the structure of his argument described in the previous section—making claims with the support of multiple evidence and rebuttals, employing syllogistic argument structure, rather than framing the speech as a narrative or speaking claims only—is his enactment of a science expert. Yun Ho could have composed a narrative more personally-based, for instance through composing the speech about his belief or some alternative knowledge that often does not count as “science” (e.g., religion, myth). Yet, in criticizing some scientists, Yun Ho employed pieces of evidence (e.g., Gigantopithecus, ancient human skulls larger than modern human skulls) and the

sylogistic logic by drawing upon nature of scientific knowledge and doing science in general (e.g., scientific theories change over time). By doing what professional scientists do, Yun Ho enacted a person who studies and does “science.”

Further, Yun Ho positioned himself as a science expert who could evaluate and challenge scientific knowledge and school science. After checking the release year of the film, Yun Ho said, “Some things have changed, some things have not changed.” Then, he posed questions to the class about the content in the video they had just watched, and posed a question about the ape man model:

Snippet 4

- 95 Yun Ho: But (***) in the 2010, it was, and now, people still believed,
96 many scientists still believe that human evolution,
97 how humans came to be. But I noticed something about this.
98 Is that, where, that is this picture,
99 have you seen the picture of a chimpanzee become a man?
100 How many of you have seen that picture?
101 Ss: ((Students are quiet and do not say anything.))
... ..
114 Yun Ho: But when you, but now the model is no more shown
115 because that's actually **outdated**. That's actually **incorrect**.

In this snippet, he positioned himself as a person who is more knowledgeable than students, seeks knowledge independently beyond what the school classes provide, is well informed about new findings of science, can challenge some scientists who are committed to incorrect ideas of evolution, and can criticize scientific knowledge

presented to the public through school science and public media. In line 96, Yun Ho said that scientists “believe” a certain explanation of human evolution, and thus framed the part of evolution theory as something that he can criticize, as opposed to authoritative and unquestionable scientific truth. After opening the possibility to criticize some scientists and their ideas in Line 96, he added “But I noticed” (Line 97). In the utterance, he became a person who discovers and learns independently of scientific findings.

The same speech pattern repeated several times. For instance,

Snippet 5

- 172 Yun Ho: So I'm I actually noticed that (***) scientists still believe in this.
173 But I noticed something is that, is that,
174 when we don't know about the video from a video,
175 is that many people think that we evolved from smaller animal
176 and became larger and larger and larger. There were apes
177 in the past that were actually taller than <pygmies>.
178 There was an orangutan called Gigantopithecus, Gigantopithecus.
179 And it's an ape sized about 9 feet tall, which is like this tall
180 ((pointing on the white board indicating how tall 9 feet is))
181 this tall. But that, I don't know, I wonder
182 how many of you heard of that 9 feet tall orangutans?
183 Ss: ((Student stay quiet, no answer from other students.))
184 Yun Ho: ((1 second)) No one. Why is that?
185 cuz that actually makes no sense.

Once again, he pointed out some scientists and laypeople's commitment to incorrect ideas of evolution ("scientists still believe in this"), presented a rebuttal ("There were apes in the past that were actually taller"), and challenged scientists who believe the incorrect ideas and do not show such evidence ("No one [has seen Gigantopithecus] ... because that doesn't make sense"). Consistently throughout the entire speech, he positioned himself as an active person who had the knowledge to criticize science and argued against some scientists who believe incorrect ideas of evolution theory and who educate other students with his knowledge.

Yun Ho's identity as independent knowledge-seeker was also shown in the interview with him. When I asked Yun Ho where he learned information about evolution, he answered, "Independent research. I look up Internet, and books" (Interview, 02/04/2011). Later, when I asked again if he receives any help from someone, he said, "Help? I actually don't get any help. I actually find them at home. Independent research" (Interview, 02/04/2011). His identity as an independent knowledge-seeker seemed to be represented in the focal classroom episode through presenting ideas that other students may know and challenging some scientists with what he knew.

7.4.3.2 Yun Ho's enacting teacher: Taking up a certain degree of Ms. Johnson's classroom authority for himself.

Yun Ho enacted a teacher in the discursive episode in multiple ways. One way to achieve the teacher-like identity was to take away a certain degree of Mr. Johnson's classroom authority and place it on himself. After watching the documentary film on evolution, students were working on the worksheet and freely chatting. The classroom was pretty noisy, and Ms. Johnson did not seem to have much control over the students,

likely because she was a one-day substitute teacher. Even when Ms. Johnson mentioned about the class assignment, students did not become quite or pay attention, but kept talking to each other. The fact that she was an older, small lady and the tone of her voice was soft compared to Ms. Davis seemed to contribute to her failure in attaining control. When Yun Ho came to the front of the classroom and stood facing the class, Ms. Johnson tried to have other students quiet down to help Yun Ho give his speech to the class.

Snippet 6

- 1 Ms. Johnson: Yun Ho is going to share some (***)
- 2 ((Students are freely chatting and they seem not to pay
- 3 attention to the teacher. Before saying this, she mentioned
- 4 things about class assignment, but students kept talking to
- 5 each other. Ms. Johnson says that Yun Ho is going to say
- 6 something, but she fails to draw students' attention. Her
- 7 voice is pretty low compared to Ms. Davis.))
- 8 Yun Ho: Erin and Ashley. Oh, are you done?
- 9 ((Students become a little quieter.))
- 10 Ms. Johnson: Why don't we all give our attention [to Yun Ho?
- 11 Yun Ho: [No, no, no, are you done?
- 12 After they finish (***)).
- 13 Ms. Johnson: I think they are finished.
- 14 Yun Ho: Are you done? Are you finished?
- 15 Ss: Yeah.
- 16 Ss: What?

17 Yun Ho: Are you sure?

After Ms. Johnson's opening, Yun Ho asked students if they had finished the worksheet, multiple times. Yun Ho stood in front of the white board next to the smart board. This is the place where Ms. Davis sometimes stood to draw diagrams on the white board or to point at specific lines in her class power point slides projected on the smart board. In this excerpt, by asking if students finished their worksheet, Yun Ho was trying to set a stage for himself to give a speech to the class. In checking students' completion of the worksheet and deciding when to start, Yun Ho positioned himself as the decision maker, not relying on the authority of Ms. Johnson. While Ms. Johnson tried to help Yun Ho speak to the class by saying "why don't we all give our attention to Yun Ho" in line 10, he dismissed her attempt by saying, "no, no, no" and asked students if they had finished the worksheet in Line 11. Following this remark, Ms. Johnson again said, "I think they are finished" in line 13, indicating her approval that he could speak without asking them anymore, but Yun Ho still asked, in line 14, if students were done with the worksheet. In this moment, Yun Ho did not concede Ms. Johnson's authority to evaluate what was going on in the classroom and what should be happening in the next moment. By not ratifying Ms. Johnson's attempt to give him the right to speak, he took up a certain aspect of classroom authority for himself and positioned himself as someone who could make a judgment and decision in the classroom regarding classroom activities. As other students did not accept Ms. Johnson's authority in the class—as evidenced when the students did not become quiet upon her announcements—Yun Ho also did not position her as a classroom authority in this moment.

In fact, Yun Ho used Ms. Johnson's status as one without authority in the class as an entry point to giving a speech. That is, he made a decision to speak partly because their real teacher, Ms. Davis, was not there. During his interview, he explained,

Yun Ho: I am quite outspoken about it [the fact that only the evolution is taught in public schools] if I am given the opportunity and judged to be safe, if it's the right time.

I: What would be the right time?

Yun Ho: I think this was deserved in one time. It was substitute, it was a video (***) evolution, and it was enough free time. So I [indecipherable] the opportunity.

He might have known that Ms. Johnson would allow him to talk while Ms. Davis would not.

This positioning, with Ms. Johnson as a teacher with less authority than the regular teacher and Yun Ho taking up authority for himself, occurred frequently during Yun Ho's speech and interviews. About two minutes into his speech, he asked when the evolution film was first released:

Snippet 7

- 69 Yun Ho: But then, I noticed how many times, video, in the video,
70 I am wondering this was there?
71 [To Ms. Johnson] When was, was this video shown?
72 Ms. Johnson: Uhh,
73 Yun Ho: For education?
74 Ms. Johnson: When was it made?

75 Yun Ho: Yes.

76 Ms. Johnson: That's a good question, uh Yun Ho. Let's check the, hmm.

77 ((Ms. Johnson moves to the desk to find the box of the
78 video. As she moves and Yun Ho also pays attention to her,
79 students start to chat again. Students are distracted.))

80 Yun Ho: Is it here?

81 Ms. Johnson: Yes. Let's check the [the box.

82 Sarah: [I, I really need to go or I'm gonna (***)

83 ((Sarah stands next to the door with her backpack.))

84 Yun Ho: [To Sarah] You can go, you can go.

85 Ms. Johnson: This was made, oh my, let's see. This was made, 2001.

86 ((The Ms. Johnson does not seem to pay attention to Sarah.
87 Soon, the door sounds slammed.))

88 Yun Ho: 2001. So it has been,

89 Ms. Johnson: So it's nine years old.

90 Yun Ho: It's actually now [ten years old.

91 Ms. Johnson: [Ten years old.

Snippet 7 shows several discursive moves through which Ms. Johnson's classroom authority was ceded to Yun Ho, to a certain extent. First, in line 82, while Ms. Johnson was looking for the video release date, Sarah said that she had to leave the class. Instead of Ms. Johnson, Yun Ho responded to her, giving her permission to leave. While it is not possible to know to whom Sarah addressed this question, the teacher, even though she was a one-day substitute teacher, was the person who could and should have made the

decision about students' responsibilities and placement during the class period. Yun Ho must have known this norm, evidenced in how he generally conformed to the teacher's classroom authority. For example, in Ms. Davis' class, he usually raised his hand to answer or ask questions although many other students spoke louder without officially requesting the teacher's permission. On the day of this focal discursive episode as well, Yun Ho had asked Ms. Johnson for the permission to speak to the class. In this specific moment with Sarah, however, he took her classroom authority to a certain degree by making a call that should be the teacher's. If Yun Ho had fully credited Ms. Johnson as a classroom authority figure, when Sarah asked the permission to leave, he could have waited for Ms. Johnson to respond, or asked Ms. Johnson if Sarah could leave the class. Nevertheless, he decided to play the role of teacher, thus making the decision on whether or not Sarah could leave. Upon Yun Ho's answer, Sarah did not wait for Ms. Johnson's permission nor did Ms. Johnson add any response, and Sarah left the classroom. This indicated that Yun Ho's authority, at least to make this decision, was sanctioned in this short moment.

Second, this short exchange also illustrates how Yun Ho viewed Ms. Johnson's role in the class and positioned himself vis-à-vis science education. By asking how old the film is (Line 70-71), Yun Ho imposed, on Ms. Johnson, a role of facilitator of his speech, who investigates the date of the video release for his speech. Then, in Line 73, after asking how old the video is, by adding "for education," he narrowed his focus to education and implied that he was concerned about the education of evolution theory. That is, he set the stage to talk and potentially criticize the education of evolution in his speech, and this stance became clearer as this episode progressed. A few seconds later,

Yun Ho dismissed Ms. Johnson's evaluation that the video was nine years old.. By saying "Actually ten years," Yun Ho conveyed the message that Ms. Johnson's calculation of age was wrong, and Ms. Johnson accepted and agreed with Yun Ho's evaluation by quickly fixing "Ten year old," as evidenced in her overlapping remark in Line 91. These three pieces together contribute to relationally positioning the two people, Yun Ho and Ms. Johnson. In this moment, Yun Ho acted as a person who cares about education and knows about educational issues. As a result, Ms. Johnson, in relation to Yun Ho, became an assistant to his speech who does not have adequate knowledge.

When Yun Ho first started to speak, Ms. Johnson was standing next to Yun Ho. Upon Yun Ho's question, Ms. Johnson moved to the teacher desk, which is located at a corner of the classroom, to find the box of the video and did not come back to her original location. Whether intended or not, this movement resulted in taking her role as a classroom teacher away and positioning herself as an audience member like the other students. As Ms. Johnson disappeared from the central stage of the classroom, Yun Ho seemed to gain more authority in the class.

7.4.3.3 Yun Ho's enacting teacher: Employing traditional teacher's discursive moves.

Another discursive feature that shows Yun Ho's enactment of teacher is his employment of traditional teachers' discursive moves. In Snippets 4 and 5, Yun Ho mimicked a common pattern of classroom discourse between teacher and students, namely Triadic Dialogue, often represented as Teacher Question – Student Answer – Teacher Evaluation, or Teachers' Initiation – Student Response – Teacher Followup (IRF). In everyday conversation, the aim of questioning is usually to seek information.

The unknowing questioner requests information from the listener, who is believed to know that information. However, teachers, especially those in traditional classroom settings, often have an expected answer in mind before asking a question of students, and they evaluate students' responses based on their alignment with that expected answer (Mehan, 1979). Likewise, when Yun Ho asked, "how many of you have seen that picture?" he did not seem to solicit unknown information. Rather, Yun Ho used the question to structure his speech and to set up the contexts to proceed to the next bit of information that he meant to share. For example, in Snippet 4, he expected the answer that all of the students had seen the ape-man model and wanted to tell students that the model is not shown any longer because it is outdated and incorrect. In Snippet 5, Yun Ho expected students to say they had never seen a Gigantopithecus. Given the answer, he wanted to argue that the reason that they had not seen Gigantopithecus is "it does not make sense" under the notion of linear, directed evolutionary progress. By asking questions in this way, Yun Ho enacted a teacher who delivers his knowledge to students. Although students did not respond to his questions, Yun Ho proceeded to the next step of IRF, assuming a certain answer from students – "I have seen it" for Snippet 4, and "No" for Snippet 5.

In addition to the discursive moves, Yun Ho stood in front of the class (where the teacher often stands) and sometimes used the white board to help him make and convey his claims to the students more effectively. He drew pictures on the white board and hit the board to make tapping sound and draw students' attention. Importantly, this is not a practice that students in the focal class often enacted. Ms. Davis was the only person who stood in front of the class, used the white board, and provided information to students.

Yun Ho's actions and the atypicality of his actions for students in the focal class evidence his enactment of a teacher.

In summary, Yun Ho enacted a teacher in the sense that, (1) he took up a part of classroom decision making authority for himself, which the substitute teacher should have, and (2) he employed discursive strategies (e.g., IRF, use of white board, making sounds to attain students' attention) that teachers often use in traditional classrooms. In addition, he enacted a science expert, particularly in the topic of evolution, in the sense that, (1) he placed authority of knowledge on himself and positioned himself as an independent scientific knowledge seeker, (2) he structured his argument by coordinating multiple claims and using evidence and rebuttals, and (3) he actively criticized some scientists and their ideas, rather than accepting them simply because that is what they should learn in school science. Often, in science classrooms, science teachers enact the two characters: a school teacher and expert in science. These two identities are closely related and affect each other. That is, a science teacher's authority as a teacher builds an authority of their knowledge in science and vice versa. If a teacher loses authority in one dimension of these two, the teacher is more likely to have weaker authority in the other dimension. Similarly, in Yun Ho's case, by enacting both a teacher and a science expert, he appeared to want to add legitimacy to what he was doing and achieved his discursive goal—providing his knowledge to the other students. However, as I show in the following section, his enactment of the two characters was not taken by the students as he intended, and, subsequently, his discursive goal was not achieved as he intended.

7.4.4 Enacted and communicated identities in the speech

While Yun Ho tried hard to explain something to the class, not many students seemed to be engaged. In addition, his enactment of a teacher and science expert were not accepted as he intended. In this section, by analyzing other students' responses and the identities of Yun Ho and some other students, I illustrate how his speech was perceived and what identities influenced the ways in which this focal discursive episode unfolded.

7.4.4.1 Students accept Yun Ho's teacher role, but inconsistently

As shown in the previous section, Yun Ho enacted a teacher character through various means. In several moments of the focal discursive episode, students accepted his teacher role (e.g., Sarah's leaving the room), and in other moments, they resisted his positioning as a teacher. Students sometimes did not verbally respond to Yun Ho's questions, some students gave nonsensical answers and laughed, and some even resisted his speech by explicitly expressing that they did not want to hear his speech.

As shown in the previous section, students usually did not answer in Yun Ho's IRF discursive structure. In other moments, for instance, when Yun Ho asked, "What do they [cavemen] wear," Ashley answered, "Nothing." While this could be interpreted that Ashley tried to give an answer attempting to cooperate with Yun Ho's speech, this did not seem to be a reasonable interpretation for several reasons. Her answer was succinct and was not correct if interpreted literally—cavemen wore something although they did not dress like modern human beings. In addition, her tone of voice was uninterested and even disrespectful. Most importantly, Ashley did not usually ask questions or answer Ms. Davis' questions in this focal class. While Ashley, sitting at the back of the classroom, was talkative and animated with her close friends and was very attentive to the class, she

did not often talk to the teacher in whole class discussion situations. That is, by enacting an unusual identity, as answer-giver, Ashley resisted Yun Ho's enactment of a teacher.

It is also important to note that David always answered Ms. Davis' questions and expressed his ideas. Often, he had extended back-and-forth exchanges with Ms. Davis with follow up questions or answered to Ms. Davis' short rhetorical remarks, such as "Ok?" or "Get it? Got it? Good?" to which students usually did not respond.

Nevertheless, to Yun Ho's questions in the focal episode, David mostly did not respond even when it was obvious that Yun Ho was soliciting responses from students. As Ashley did, by enacting an unusual identity for him, a non-answer-giver, David also resisted Yun Ho's being in a teacher role. Some students seemed to be paying attention to Yun Ho's speech in that they were quiet and looking toward him, but later they said, "I did not pay attention" or "I don't understand exactly what he said" (Field Note, 01/12/2011). As such, students did not accept his teacher position by not listening to him carefully or responding authentically to his questions.

7.4.4.2 Yun Ho's religious identity

Importantly, Yun Ho's positioning as a science expert (i.e., an independent knowledge seeker, a critic of school science and some scientists, arguing with data and warrant) was not perceived as he intended. Rather, most of the students interpreted it as religiously motivated, not scientific, assuming that science and religion do not overlap. After Yun Ho finished this speech, I asked several students about what Yun Ho said and what they thought about his speech. Mostly, students interpreted his speech as being religious and grounded in an anti-evolutionary framework. For instance, assuming that Yun Ho's speech was religious and that he wanted to convert the students to creationism,

Sharon said, "I believe evolution." Hana and Ashley were even upset at him for giving the speech and said, "He should've read the syllabus of the class before he decided to take the class." Not surprisingly, David expressed an explicit criticism about Yun Ho's speech, "I want to separate the religion and the class. That's what I was worried, and I hoped he didn't speak out, but he did" (Field Note, 01/12/2011).

It is noteworthy how I approached Yun Ho's speech and how my interpretation of his speech evolved throughout the process of the data collection and analysis, in evaluating whether he drew on "science" or "religion." When Yun Ho first gave the speech to the class, I thought he was raising questions about nature of scientific knowledge and scientific enterprise. Yun Ho argued that scientists could be biased by their own identity (e.g., being White) or by their beliefs (e.g., a belief that evolution is directed toward bigger and better species). This is a valid view of science and consistent with a recent perspective about science (Solomon, 2008). In addition, he was not merely asserting but supporting his argument with evidence such as Gigantopithecus and human ancestor with a larger brain size than modern human. The structure of his argument is how scientists make claims based on evidence and rebuttals (Erduran, Simon, & Osborne, 2004). In the focal classroom, he was always studious and seriously engaged. He often attained the highest score in class biology tests. Several students said to me that Yun Ho is very smart and even a genius, especially in mathematics and science. On one day, when the class had a partner quiz in which two people work on the same worksheet and receive the same grade, a student Brian intentionally approached him and wanted to take the quiz with him. Brian explained to me that he wanted to take the quiz with Yun Ho because Yun Ho is smart (Field Note, 11/12/2010). Based on this information available to

me and my understanding of him in the moment of this discursive episode, it was reasonable for me to think that Yun Ho could have a sophisticated understanding of complex nature of scientific knowledge and enterprise similar to how some modern philosophers view science.

However, my interaction with Ms. Davis provided me with another perspective. When I met Ms. Davis on the following day, I explained to her about what happened the day before:

As I started, "Yun Ho came up to the teacher," and right away, Ms. Davis said, "Oh!" So she knew what would have happened. She said, Yun Ho is anti-evolution and he had a big debate during the freshman year and all kids know about that. I told her that all kids thought that he was talking about religion and they turned off. And I added it was not religious at all. (Field Note, 01/13/2011)

As this note shows, at the time I met her the next day, I did not view his speech as being religious. I thought that the students had misinterpreted the point that Yun Ho had tried to make. To Ms. Davis, however, Yun Ho's identity as being anti-evolution was salient. Even before I finished the first sentence, she already knew what might have happened. She even said that some students purposefully registered for the same class as Yun Ho just to see his anti-evolution speeches.

My interaction with other students through both informal and formal interviews further influenced the lens through which I viewed Yun Ho and his speech. For instance, a few days after Yun Ho's speech, in the school library, I ran into Dongsoo, who was in the same biology class as Yun Ho, and Eva, who took another AP Biology class. I asked

Dongsoo what he thought about Yun Ho's speech. While Dongsoo did not answer, Eva interrupted and said, "*Yun Ho had many famous sayings. In world history class, he said, how come all monkeys went to Africa and became men*" (Field Note, 01/19/2011). In addition, in the interview with Lindsay, a student from the 4th period AP Biology class, conducted after Yun Ho's speech episode, she was already aware of Yun Ho's speech and said, "After talking about evolution, he stood up and started talking about creationism" (Lindsay, Interview, 02/07/2011).

In addition to these interactions with other students, during the interview with Yun Ho that I conducted after the focal discursive episode, he said that he had believed the theory of evolution when he was young, but he started doubting the idea of evolution. He explained that there are three different perspectives in understanding the origin of species—the theory of evolution, intelligent design, and creationism. When I asked what his perspective is, he answered creationism. Yun Ho explained, "I think I am in the creationists" (Interview, 02/04/2011). Later in the same interview, he clarified,

I am doubting the micro, macro evolution, not micro evolution. I think I see many people, even my peers, it seems people misunderstand between macro and micro. Micro evolution is something like small changes. Like, think like blond, people, White people having more, darker hair. That's micro evolution. They don't change into brand new species. They just simply change hair color, appearance. But macro evolution is people totally change into different. Not just different species, but different families. (Interview, 02/04/2011)

After having these interactions, I started to measure his speech with the yardstick of Christian ideas about the origin of species. I searched how his argument was consistent

with anti-evolutionary framework and how he employed evidence often mentioned among anti-evolutionists. Yun Ho, during the first interview, mentioned the book *Icons of Evolution* by Jonathan Wells (2002) as one of the main resources that made him reconsider the theory of evolution. I found that some of the evidence and data that Yun Ho used during his interview (e.g., peppered moth) regarding flaws of the theory of evolution in this book. Then, I examined the claims and the author of the book in order to evaluate the credibility of the book and the evidence drawn upon in the book. Wells argues explicitly against the theory of evolution. He identifies himself as a biologist and argues that he found flaws in evolution theory as an expert biologist, but I also found evaluations of him stating that he is an advocate of intelligent design and is motivated by a certain religion (Jonathan Wells, n.d.). Because of the limited information given to me as well as my limited knowledge in evolutionary theory, I had to rely on those multiple resources to decide if the author is indeed “religious” or “scientific,” and if Yun Ho was grounded in “religions” or “scientific” ideas. Based on the information that I gathered, I came to think the author (Wells) is anti-evolutionary and religiously motivated, and so were Yun Ho and his speech.

Later, I came to make another turn of my view in understanding Yun Ho’s speech as “scientific” after I read a book *Full House* written by Stephen Jay Gould (Gould, 1996) and carefully watched the PBS documentary film that the students have watched. Stephen Jay Gould is a prominent evolutionary scientist and participated in the producing of the PBS film, *Great Transformation*. The main argument of his book *Full House* is that people often misunderstand evolution as progress toward being larger, better, and smarter. This misunderstanding is largely because people do not consider the full house

or bush of evolutionary tree, but focus narrowly on a certain species. If we look at the entire landscape of the evolution, the species became more diverse toward the direction of both becoming smaller and bigger. The only reason that the average size of species becomes larger is that species started out from almost the minimum of its size such as organisms with a few cells and it is almost impossible to become smaller than those. In addition, I found that academic journals like *Evolution* documented debates about whether evidence of evolution is valid and how such evidence should be interpreted (e.g., peppered moth), which Yun Ho mentioned. That is, his argument is also consistent with ideas of people who are labeled as evolutionary scientists. The review of these “scientific” informational resources led me to rethink Yun Ho’s argument through the lens of science again—how much he used his evidence from the resource that is labeled as legitimate or mainstream science and how consistent his argument was with the argument of people who are labeled as mainstream evolutionary scientists.

Such changes in the lens through which I understood Yun Ho’s speech clearly show that I was looking not merely at the substance of arguments, but through labels I imposed on him in each moment of my thought process. In imposing the label, I actively engaged my knowledge about him and about a broader landscape of the debate between evolution and creationism that I constructed based on limited information available to me at certain point in time. The limited information included identities of Yun Ho that I interpreted (e.g., being knowledgeable in science), identities imposed on Yun Ho by surrounding people (e.g., being religious), identities of authors defined by the society (e.g., Jonathan Wells, Stephen Jay Gould), and identities of informational sources (e.g., the journal *Evolution*) that I gathered through interactions with Yun Ho, people

surrounding him and me, literature, and social media. Certainly, Yun Ho's speech, as many speeches are, was ambiguous in terms of what he wanted to argue, in which framework he was grounded, and by what he was motivated. This ambiguity means that his speech could be interpreted in multiple ways and that listeners should draw on various resources in interpreting the speech. With inevitably underdetermined meanings of discourses and texts, one way to understand and evaluate the claims of Yun Ho was to rely partly on who he is. Depending on what lens I employed in each moment, his speech was religious as well as scientific.

Students might have done the same as I did—multiple identities of Yun Ho as well as other student participants in the discourse played a critical role in ways in which they interpret this focal discursive episode, in a complex way. However, they drew on only limited sides of who Yun Ho is—being religious—and failed to consider other aspect of his identities—being scientific. The following exchange clearly demonstrates how identities played in the focal discursive episode:

Snippet 8

- 47 Yun Ho: Basically, that say, it doesn't really say it.
- 48 <But I think it> calls us animals.
- 49 <One of the thing I will question>, are **we** animals?
- 50 David: Is this about religion?
- 51 Yun Ho: I am not talking about that yet. [But are we animals?
- 52 David: [If it is about religion, I don't
- 53 want to hear it [because I like to have separation of religion (***)
- 54 Yun Ho: [Are we animals?

55 Yun Ho: I am not talking about that.

56 Saphala: Let him talk.

As this excerpt shows, Yun Ho's speech was interpreted as being religious by David and likely by other students, from the early moments of his speech. In response to Yun Ho's question if human beings are animals, which could be interpreted in many different ways, David asked back to Yun Ho if his speech is "about religion." Religion is a set of beliefs, worldview, and morality to which a certain group of people commit. Religion may refer to a wide spectrum of faiths, including Christianity, Buddhism, Islam, and Hinduism. Although David simply said, "about religion," he did not seem to ask if Yun Ho's speech was aiming to investigate or discuss religion, for instance its meaning, worth, categories, origin, etc. By religion, David meant a particular type of religion, broadly Christianity. David pointed at a specific idea in the worldview in Christianity, its explanation of human creation and evolution, often called creationism, not any other part of Christian belief and morality. More specifically, David was asking if Yun Ho was going to promote creationism against the evolution theory.

Other students and Yun Ho appeared to interpret David's remark as I interpreted it, evidenced in how other students and Yun Ho responded. Partly, David's interpretation of Yun Ho's intention of his speech as well as other students' interpretation of what David meant by "religion" drew largely on a macro-level (sociocultural and historical) narrative about the debate on the origin and evolution of human beings—the long-lasting debate between the theory of evolution that people labeled as scientists often promote and creationism that religiously devoted people often promote. Yun Ho's speech that immediately followed watching a documentary film about evolution and his question if

human beings “are” animals might have activated that debate, and, thus, they interpreted Yun Ho’s speech and David’s question in this specific way. They might also have drawn on the epistemological assumption that scientific and religious (Christian) worldviews are incompatible, especially when it comes to the understanding of human origins. This assumption of incompatibility was also evidenced in the next session of the focal class (01/14/2011) when Ms. Davis explained that Darwin did not want to publish his theory because he did not want to go against the church. While more detailed discussion about how Darwin’s theory was accepted by the community of scientists could have illustrated the complex nature of the scientific enterprise and development of a new theory, her succinct explanation seemed to reflect and reinforce assumptions about the simple dichotomy between science and Christianity and to agree with the same assumption students might have held.

However, students did not simply draw on the macro-level debate between evolution and creationism and the broadly accepted notion of incompatibility between science and religion. More importantly, they drew on an understanding of who Yun Ho is, that they had constructed prior to this discursive episode. That is, Yun Ho’s identity as being Christian and speaking for anti-evolution played an essential role in students’ interpretation of his speech and subsequently in shaping this discursive episode. After Yun Ho’s speech, David explicitly explained to me, “I knew what he was going to say because he is Christian, very strong Christian.” In the interview, David further asserted that:

I thought it was rude only because I know him outside of school personally. ...

And he was presenting it in partial format, but I knew underneath that it was very

motivated by the church. (David, 02/07/2011)

In interpreting Yun Ho's speech, David relied on the identity of Yun Ho as a dedicated Christian, an identity that had been developed outside of the biology classroom and the school. Several other students also mentioned his religion, Christianity, as evidence of why they interpreted his speech as religiously motivated. Thus, taken together the macro-level narrative and Yun Ho's identity, David and other students interpreted Yun Ho's speech as being religious and anti-evolutionary.

To understand this short exchange more thoroughly, it is also important to know who other speakers in this snippet are, David and Saphala. I will describe who they were and also show another salient identity of Yun Ho that had locally developed and was circulating in the focal classroom and Parkview High—that of being disabled.

7.4.4.3 David

In the focal biology class, David was one of the most active talkers and oral participants. He always answered Ms. Davis' questions, asked questions when he did not understand or a teacher's explanation was not consistent with his understanding. He seemed to be very confident with his knowledge and his relationship with Ms. Davis. David also frequently made jokes with Ms. Davis and teased her, as some other students did in the focal class. Also, Ms. Davis often used him as an example when constructing analogies in her lesson. For instance, she called him being "annoying" or having "obnoxious genes." While these jokes could be bothersome, David viewed such comments by Ms. Davis not as an indicator of a problem, but as a positive sign of Ms. Davis' evaluation of him. In the interview, regarding such episodes, David said,

It [Ms. Davis' teasing him as being annoying and obnoxious] doesn't really do anything. The fact that she calls me specifically means she identifies with me I guess. She identifies me with class, and it makes feel pretty good to know that I am one of her favorite students. I don't know if I go that far. (Interview, 02/07/2011)

In general, David evaluated himself positively as a student and was academically oriented. He wanted to be “perfect” in school-related work and connect with students who are also successful in school. In addition, he tried to develop close personal relationships with teachers because he “can get more out of it, not just the facts” (Interview, 02/07/2011). When I asked how he thought about Yun Ho’s speech, David said:

But even in the law, in state law, you can't teach creationism. ... And I am, like I said, my dad is pastor and I am Christian, and I have differences with evolution and creationism. But if I am required by school to learn evolution, I will accept it because I can't fight. And I thought that was strange that, would he have gotten permission from Ms. Davis to say that. And if she said it was okay, I would be fine with it because it is her classroom. And I will follow what she says. But the fact that it was a sub kinda discredited where he [Yun Ho] was coming from since [she doesn't know him well enough] (Interview, 02/07/2011).

In this interview excerpt, David placed the ultimate authority of knowledge and classroom space on the teacher, Ms. Davis, who teaches a state-mandated science curriculum. Because he is a student in the school system, regardless of his authentic opinion, he should and would comply with what the school asks him to do and would not

resist against it. By positioning himself in opposition to Yun Ho, who challenged school science, David implied what he thought being a good student means. To him, a good student complies with what the teacher and curriculum asks him to learn without challenging them and respects the teacher as the authority of knowledge.

While David perceived himself as a good, school-adapted student, sometimes he was perceived as rude and offensive. One day, when David made a joke, instead of laughing as usual, Ms. Davis responded, “David, that was rude” in a serious tone of voice. He tried to defend himself by saying that “I didn’t mean it offensive” without admitting his mistake or apologizing. In the interview, David explained that rather than hold back to be nice and generous, he says things if he wants to say them. Regarding his remark during Yun Ho’s speech, David said, “I just thought that someone has to say something, ... if something is wrong then it's wrong.” However, other students seemed to interpret how he speaks and acts in a different way. A fourth period AP Biology student Lindsay said, “David can be really mean to people if he doesn't like the way they are acting. That's the way he is. ... He has a reputation for being abrasive.” That is, with respect to speech that David often made to people, rather than being honest and brave, some students, such as Lindsay, thought that he was being rude.

In the exchange shown in Snippet 8, David clearly enacted his identity of an honest and brave person who says what he thinks to be just and right. Since David interpreted Yun Ho’s speech as being religiously motivated and felt religious opinions should not be allowed in school, he wanted to stop him. However, other students, including Saphala, did not interpret David’s remarks in Snippet 8 the same way.

7.4.4.4 Saphala.

Another important participant in Snippet 8 is Saphala. While Yun Ho and David were arguing with each other on the issue of whether Yun Ho's speech was religious and if religious speech could be allowed in biology class, Saphala interrupted and argued for Yun Ho's right to speak by saying, "Let him talk." Saphala was studious and assertive in the class. Usually, when she did not understand the teacher's explanation, she asked questions until she came to understand and sometimes argued with the teacher. Saphala, however, did not usually initiate humor or funny episodes unlike other talker/participants (e.g., David) in the class. Rather, she seemed to try to support and help people who were in trouble or who might lose face in humorous but potentially offensive discursive situations. For example, when Ms. Davis made a joke with a Korean immigrant boy Sungjin, using the fact that he did not understand some American practices, Saphala explained to him that Ms. Davis was joking with him and advised not to believe Ms. Davis. On another day, when Gyung made a joke to Ms. Davis by saying "why are you [Ms. Davis] sitting here?" and lingered to act rebelliously in a playful way, Saphala said to him, "This would be a good time to shut up" (Classroom Video, 10/21/2011). That is, she was a person who would say what she thinks is just, without involving ridicule or humor. In the previous exchange, by saying, "Let him talk," Saphala enacted her identity of a person who cannot stand injustice, who argues what she wants to argue, and who may be aggressive and assertive sometimes. This enactment of identity of Saphala in this moment seemed to successfully quiet David in the moment. While David thought that stopping "religious" speech in the biology class is just, Saphala appeared to think that

providing a right to speak to a student and committing to a responsibility of listening to peers' speech are just.

Saphala's support for Yun Ho's speech could be an expression of her opinion that Yun Ho's speech should be heard and discussed in class or that she was curious about what Yun Ho was going to say. Her support for Yun Ho's talk, however, seemed to be mainly socially and morally motivated rather than conceptually or epistemologically. Although I was not able to interview Saphala, Lindsay said what she had heard from her friend, Haimi, who always sat next to Saphala in the 6th period class:

And I think, the way he [David] said is horrible. He should've not said in that way. I think it is really mean way to say that. But I think he did have a valid point. We are in biology class, we learn what the science tells to us to learn, what they have discovered. So for me, I think that's really important of biology. ... She [Haimi] said that David was being an asshole. ... I think it was bad on Yun Ho's part for saying that, but it was also bad on David's part for saying it that way (Interview, 02/07/2011).

It appeared as if both Saphala and Haimi thought that despite the inappropriateness of Yun Ho's speech in a biology class, the way David tried to shut him down was not proper. Thus, Saphala might have acted against David, whose action was not just, and decided to support Yun Ho's right instead.

Saphala's remark seemed to resolve the tension between Yun Ho and David by arguing what is appropriate in a social situation, rather than supporting Yun Ho with respect to what is appropriate for school biology class. Both David and Saphala as well as her close friend Haimi might have agreed that Yun Ho's speech was inappropriate for

school biology class. Yet, Saphala and Haimi might have thought that respecting a person in any social interactional situation is more important than keeping biology class within the realm of academic integrity. Because Yun Ho is a human being and classmate, they might have wanted to provide him with a space that he could express his ideas as long as those ideas do not harm anyone. For instance, Brian said he tried to pay attention to Yun Ho's speech, "cuz other people were giving him disrespect about it, they were yawning on him. I didn't want to disrespect him 'cuz I respect him. He is smart and he is very religious." Brian added that he goes to the same church as Yun Ho and sometimes socializes with him at the church. Brian tried to listen to Yun Ho's speech, in order to respect "him" rather than his ideas, which indicates that he was also socially and morally motivated by Yun Ho's identity (e.g., being smart) and his relationship with him (e.g., sharing the religion, being a friend).

7.4.4.5 Yun Ho's disability.

In understanding Saphala's motivation to support Yun Ho's speech, it is also crucial to note another identity of Yun Ho circulating at Parkview High, that of a disabled student. In the interview, some Korean students in the focal biology class said that Yun Ho is not normal. For instance, David said, "There was rumors him having learning disability or social disability" (Interview, 02/07/2011). As evidence of his disability, another Korean student, Steve mentioned the ways in which he speaks, acts, and walks. The fact that Yun Ho stutters and is strict about rules was a critical evidence for him that Yun Ho is disabled:

I mean, you know Yun Ho is a little bit, he has a little bit disability. He's not like a lot of other guys, other people. The way he speaks, he stutters a lot. He has a little

bit of disability. I don't know what kind. But for example, he is really careful. We did the bead, we connect the bead. She [Ms. Davis] said if we drop them, we lose point. People like me, everyone, I have been with, was always like, oh, whatever. At the end, that's when we count. But Yun Ho, he is really like, oh, don't lose them. blah blah blah. And then, he acts really different. And also, kinda the way he walks. I am offending him or anything. But people disability you know they walk kinda walk differently. And just how he acts. (Steve, 02/09/2011)

Indeed, Yun Ho sometimes displayed strange behaviors in class. Usually, when Yun Ho saw me, he bowed to me and said, “*hello*” in Korean, which is how young students and adolescents are expected to act toward adults that they know. However, Yun Ho even bowed to me in an inappropriate situation. For instance, during the class one day, I was sitting at the front in the classroom writing field notes. In the middle of Ms. Davis’ lesson, Yun Ho stood up, bowed to me, and said, “*hello*” in Korean. People who saw this incident, including me, laughed loudly. Although bowing and greeting is a proper behavior in Korean culture, doing so in the middle of class is not considered appropriate. For another example, when students teased Ms. Davis, Yun Ho stood up, walked to her, and patted her shoulder as an expression of giving a comfort. A student hugging and patting a teacher during a class may be perplexing to the teacher, yet Ms. Davis did not display such a reaction. Rather, she said, “Thank you” to Yun Ho, indicating that she had expected or, at least, was not totally surprised by this action of Yun Ho. Later, Ms. Davis explained that Yun Ho had asked her if it is fine or embarrassing to pat her in order to comfort her, and she allowed him to do so (Field Note, 01/13/2011).

Additionally, or likely due to these socially unusual behaviors, Yun Ho did not seem to have close friends that he socialized with daily in school. He usually, if not always, sat alone in the cafeteria during lunch and in the media center in his study hall period. This pattern of his behavior was indeed different from other students, who usually chatted very loudly with other friends in the school cafeteria and sat together and had discussions or fun conversations in the media center. Even in class, when students had extra time, he always read a book alone while other students often talked to each other. Regarding his being alone and not socializing much with other students, Yun Ho explained that he was “not like a typical teenager, in going in groups to restaurants and talk” because he was introverted and shy (Interview, 03/23/2011). In addition, he was worried about getting involved in “dangers, drugs, alcohols, violence” (Interview, 03/23/2011). He added that other students often have interests in unimportant topics such as celebrity and he was not interested in them. Thus, Yun Ho wanted rather to sit alone, read books, and stay home doing his homework.

Ms. Davis interpreted Yun Ho’s unusual behaviors as Asperger syndrome although she had not officially heard he had the diagnosis. As evidence of his Asperger, Ms. Davis said, “They [people with Asperger syndrome] can’t stand noise, distraction, and stuff,” implying that is how Yun Ho is. She told me to watch him when bell rings in the middle of class: “He gets often startled and clogs his ears with his hands” (Field Note, 01/13/2011). During lunch with science teachers, a science teacher Ms. B agreed that he may have Asperger syndrome. She explained that Yun Ho used to stop her whenever he ran into her in the hallway to ask her name until he came to remember her name. When I asked Ms. Davis if she knew what other students think about Yun Ho, she seemed to be

quite satisfied by how other students treat him, a disabled student. She explained, when she was young, students ridiculed, teased, and did not work with retarded classmates, but that students, especially those at Parkview High, are different these days. She claimed that they do not ridicule him and are willing to work with him. Even if, she added, students may talk about him behind his back, they do not do so in front of him.

Students indeed were nice to him, wanted to work with him, and did not ridicule him, at least explicitly. Some school staff members were also extremely nice to him. When I walked with Yun Ho to find a place to interview him, several staff members greeted him, “Hi, Yun Ho” with a high pitched voice, although no one greeted my other study participants in the same way. In class, when Ms. Davis asked students to make a group, Yun Ho usually was able to find a group to work together.

However, I also observed some example of students’ ridiculing him in a passive or indirect way. For instance, on October 21, during the lesson in the focal class, a girl came in the classroom to send a message to Ms. Davis. After she finished, she was to leave the classroom and said “bye.” Shortly after, Yun Ho said to that girl, “Bye, Laura.” While it is not clear if she had spoken to Ms. Davis or the entire class, she certainly did not speak directly to Yun Ho. Thus, his remark could have seemed a little abrupt and absurd, but the girl did not look taken aback. Instead, she answered, with a more girly tone and higher pitch of voice than before, “Bye, Yun Ho.” Students made a ridiculing sound, “woo” of a high pitch. Two girls sitting at the back in the classroom, Ashley and Hana, laughed quietly with exaggerated motions and looked at each other. Then, these two girls tried to have another girl sitting next to them join in their laughter by touching her arm and looking at her.

This episode shows how Yun Ho was viewed and treated in the school broadly and in this biology class specifically. When Yun Ho bowed to me in the middle of class, because I was not aware of such characteristics of Yun Ho, I was surprised, did not know what to do, and just laughed looking around other students. However, Laura did not seem to be surprised but responded to him in a very dramatic way as if she had the script in advance. Her voice resembled a voice that an adult would use to a young child or a young girl would use to a person in a romantic relationship. If Laura and Yun Ho were in fact in a romantic relationship, the classmates' booing might have meant to tease both Laura and Yun Ho and embarrassed them both. However, all of the students probably knew that Laura was not dating Yun Ho. Thus, the students teased only Yun Ho by making that booing sound without explicitly threatening his face and so made fun of Yun Ho implicitly. This implicit ridicule was also evidenced by girls at the back giggling in low voices, which might not have been heard by Yun Ho. As they giggled, they looked at each other to share some ideas about this happening—most probably how strange Yun Ho is. Yet, this laughter was not shared with the entire class, and these girls kept this idea between the two of them, and possibly with the girl who they wanted to invite into their laughing. As these two girls did, those who booed seemed to share the idea of Yun Ho's being strange, without necessarily embarrassing him.

While students sometimes ridiculed Yun Ho implicitly and indirectly, they did not do so directly in front of him. Students may have thought that they should be tolerant of Yun Ho even when he is weird, because he was disabled and they had to be nice to the disabled. Often, in the classroom, Yun Ho asked multiple questions, and, thus, Ms. Davis could not proceed with her planned lecture. In such cases, students sometimes looked

annoyed and made faces expressing their frustration to each other, but they did so only behind Yun Ho's back. Similar to what Steve said, I also observed how Yun Ho was strict in conforming to a lab guideline given by the teacher. For instance, on April 26, 2011, Brian and Yun Ho paired up to do the blood pressure lab to measure their heart beat and blood pressure. I wrote in my field notes:

I asked Brian why he moved there today. He answered, "Because Yun Ho needs a partner." As usual, Yun Ho was engaged in the lab activity very seriously. He counted the time following the lab direction exactly, and this seemed to annoy Brian. But Brian didn't say anything. Brian just followed Yun Ho's direction, and sometimes looked at me and smiled. ... Later, Brian moved to David's table and chatted with students there. (Field Note, 04/26/2011)

While Brian and Yun Ho conducted their lab activity, they did not have any side-talk or conversation while other students played around and giggled. Brian's actions (e.g., smiling at me, moving to other group right after completing the assigned lab activity) appeared to show that he tried to be tolerant toward how Yun Ho acted, although he did not like how Yun Ho conducted the lab activity. However, David, in his interview, expressed his opposition to such unconditional tolerance toward the disabled like Yun Ho. In explaining why he attempted to stop Yun Ho's speech at the beginning of the focal discursive episode, David said, "... because Yun Ho is different, ... and you shouldn't look at someone else just because of their disability and be afraid of it" (02/07/2011). As the excerpt shows, David thought that other students were unnecessarily generous to Yun Ho because of his disability and argued against such tolerance. Importantly, Ms. Davis voluntarily mentioned his possible Asperger syndrome in talking about his speech

even though I had not asked about his mental or medical condition. On the day immediately following the episode, when Ms. Davis explained some background about Yun Ho, she said, “Yun Ho doesn’t want to hear anything about biology.” Then, she added, “Yun Ho, I think he has Asperger. ... They focus really on one thing.” That is, she seemed to think that Yun Ho was obsessed by the evolution theory and that the obsession was related to Asperger syndrome. Her connecting his speech to his disability implies her sense-making that he decided to give a anti-evolutionary speech to the class because of Asperger syndrome.

Some students might have shared Ms. Davis’ interpretation. Both Steve and David started to talk about Yun Ho’s disability when I first asked how they thought about Yun Ho’s speech. These spontaneous connections suggest that they thought Yun Ho gave the speech because he is disabled. The interview with Steve also demonstrated that the locally developed identity of Yun Ho as disabled and the speech episode reinforced each other. On the one hand, Steve drew on Yun Ho’s identity in interpreting what and why Yun Ho was doing what he was doing, evidenced in that he spontaneously mentioned Yun Ho’s disability when I asked about the episode. On the other hand, the fact that Yun Ho’s giving the speech in class supports the assumption that Yun Ho is disabled. In his words,

I don't think anyone would ever do something like that. I mean, I have never been to class like that. Who would watch a video like that and make assumption to explain to the class what they think. No one, I don't think, anyone would do that. So that's how I assume he has a disability. (Steve, 02/09/2011)

To Steve, among various signs that Yun Ho is disabled, his giving the speech was an important symptom of his disability since normal people would not do that. Thus, this focal speech episode reinforces the identity of Yun Ho as being disabled.

Like Steve, some students might have not been able to decode his speech because Yun Ho stutters. In addition, students said that Yun Ho, as an immigrant, spoke English with a foreign accent. Students might have not tried to understand what he was saying because they anticipated his speech would be very strange, but also because it is hard to understand his speech due to his foreign accent and stutter. At the same time, other (or the same) students might have thought that they should be nice to Yun Ho because he was disabled. Because Yun Ho was disabled, they should not intimidate him or hurt him. Among such students may be Saphala. That is, David's identity as being aggressive and Yun Ho's identity as being disabled together appeared to motivate Saphala to think that a disabled student (Yun Ho) became a victim of an aggressive student (David). Thus, Saphala might have wanted to support a right of the victim Yun Ho to complete his speech.

In the moment that Saphala said, "Let him talk," the tension between Yun Ho and David transformed to that between David and Saphala. While David was saying, "if it is about religion, I, I don't want to hear it because I like to have separation of religion" even over Yun Ho's utterance, he did not argue against Saphala. As a result, Saphala helped Yun Ho to continue his speech.

7.4.5 Moment-to-moment negotiations

As I showed in the previous sections, students interpreted Yun Ho's speech based on his multiple identities that have developed in the focal classroom and outside of the

classroom for several years, beyond the conceptual and epistemological meanings of the speech. Even in the short segment of classroom discourse, students agentively enacted their identities and those identities were perceived by other students in intended or unintended ways. Students' multiple identities were communicated and shaped the ways in which students spoke, acted, and interacted. Although Yun Ho enacted a teacher and science expert, David positioned Yun Ho and his speech as being motivated by a Christian and anti-evolutionary framework. Saphala's remark "Let him talk" positioned Yun Ho as a victim of "abrasive" David, which positioning appeared to be informed by locally circulating identities of Yun Ho (being disabled) and David (being aggressive). Some identities (e.g., being religious) impeded Yun Ho's speech while some (e.g., being disabled) facilitated him to speak to the class.

Yet, representation of identities and negotiation were more nuanced than simply "impede" or "facilitate" his speech. Throughout the 15 minute speech, students (Yun Ho and other students) negotiated to achieve their discursive goals—to enact certain identities or to communicate certain ideas. Upon David's early challenge to his speech, Yun Ho negotiated the goal of his speech but still pursued the speech. After Snippet 8, other students did not explicitly challenge Yun Ho's speech, but remained quiet and seemed to listen to Yun Ho's speech. However, they implicitly and indirectly challenged Yun Ho in order to switch this discursive episode to a more enjoyable moment or potentially to stop his speaking. Yun Ho, interpreting and taking students' responses in various ways, negotiated in each moment and tried to accomplish discursive goals, the grand goal—to share his ideas with the class—and local goals in each moment that are subsumed under the grand goal. Toward the end of the 15 minute episode, as the

challenging atmosphere expanded to more students, Yun Ho improvised to finish his speech. In this section, I discuss these moment-to-moment negotiations among students, focusing on three salient moments of Yun Ho's negotiations in response to David's challenge, Gyung's challenge, and Ashley, David and other students' challenge.

7.4.5.1 David's challenge and Yun Ho's negotiation: Reframing his speech.

To Yun Ho, David, who implied that Yun Ho should stop speaking, might have been the most serious challenge to completing the speech. In response to David's challenge, Yun Ho reframed his speech as non-religious. Throughout the 15 minute speech, Yun Ho seemed to manage carefully not to present "religious" ideas.

To David's question if his speech was to promote Christian ideas about human origin (Line 50, Snippet 8), Yun Ho first answered, "I am not talking about that yet" (Line 51). However, in this and the next few lines, what he meant by "that" is not clear. By "I am not talking about that yet," he might have simply meant that his speech did not address religion or that he did not talk about whether or not he would argue for religious ideas. In any case, by adding "yet," he seemed to maintain the possibility of talking about religion at some point in his speech. However, as David pushed him again by saying that he would not listen if Yun Ho talked about religion (Line 52-53), Yun Ho rephrased his response, "I am not talking about that" (Line 55, Line 57 Snippet 9) and implied that he would not mention religious-related topics:

Snippet 9

57 Yun Ho: David, I am not talking about that.

58 Ms. Johnson: (***)

59 Yun Ho: But I want you to think about this. How many times

60 they talk about the behavior, they talk about the genes.
61 But I noticed something about this.
62 ((students become quiet.))
63 Yun Ho: Do you know it's, do you know something about
64 the scientists? (***) I mean in this? (***) Because I
65 actually note after notes, do you know how scientists say that,
66 scientists say that we are special? And we will say we
67 are not special. So I am not talking about religion, David, ok?
68 If you do not **want** to, I am not gonna talk about it, perhaps.

As Snippet 9 shows, after Saphala's remark, "Let him talk" (Line 56, Snippet 8), Yun Ho negotiated more directly and announced clearly that he would not talk about "religion." In Line 68, Yun Ho said, "if you [David] do not want to," he would not talk about religion. His utterances here do not indicate whether or not he originally planned to connect his speech to religious ideas and argue for alternative ideas of human origin and evolution. Perhaps, he did not originally plan to discuss religious ideas about human origin in this particular speech episode. He might have wanted to reiterate what the documentary film had shown and point out some errors that are prevalent in biology textbooks and other educational media—that is, textbooks or media that are based on incorrect ideas about the process of evolution and do not account for newly found evidence. Yet, regardless of his original intention, his talk was positioned as being religious by David, and in response to the challenging situation and positioning that threatened his speech entirely, he reframed (or highlighted) his speech as non-religious.

Toward the end of the speech, Yun Ho once again framed his speech as a non-religious activity:

Snippet 10

266 Yun Ho: But that's **physically** that is, **physically**.
267 But we are not, but then, it doesn't, it only concerns
268 physical aspect of humanity. It doesn't consider
269 the most unusual aspect of humanity, like our (***) free will.
270 Like, **that** will be religious. So we are not gonna,
271 we are gonna try to avoid that one.

In line 269, Yun Ho defined “most unusual aspect of humanity, like our free will” as being religious and announced that he would not pursue this “religious” topic further. In saying “that will be religious,” Yun Ho drew a line between science and religion and implied that up to this point he had argued *scientifically*, making scientific argument based on scientific evidence and scientific language. While he could connect his speech to religion, he opted not to do so because some students, especially David, did not want it. Throughout this entire episode, he maintained his argument within the realm of science and resisted the positioning of being religious.

In fact, Yun Ho appeared to consider the potential risk of arguing ideas about controversial issues in class, specifically criticizing evolutionary theory. He explained that “there is a risk of ridicule from other people” and further said,

That, previously, when I was younger, when I took biology honor, it was not like, an official, like I want to speak out in front of the crowd. It was just like, openly, more openly, doubt, express my opinions about the evolution. In the past, I think I

was more reckless. Now I am more controlled and actually I know what to speak or not because I gotta be careful too. Like it's not like controversy over, it's not like a controversy certain ideas, like Islam, we gotta be careful about what we say, or it can really hurt people. It can hurt the **idea**, but it can hurt the people themselves. That's the whole point. That's something, often times that's hard because sometimes people can, **can** become the idea themselves. Some people believe the idea so much so they become the idea. So if I attack the idea, I actually end up attacking the person. So that's, that's something I knew. That's something hard to do, to know where is the boundary. (Interview, 02/04/2011)

He was aware of how other students may think about criticizing evolution theories in class and that he may get in trouble—being ridiculed and hurting someone—if he argues alternative ideas about human origin. With this understanding, Yun Ho seemed to notice David's opposition to talking about religious ideas and to think that pursuing a potentially “religious” topic and having a debate might result in such unpleasant moments. Yun Ho wished to be more mature and careful, and thus, he reframed his speech as non-religious to avoid the heated argumentation and maintained this positioning of his speech as non-religious but scientific throughout the entire speech.

7.4.5.2 Gyung's challenge and Yun Ho's negotiation: Reinterpreting Gyung's utterances.

While some students appeared to listen to him in a respectful manner, other students tried to switch this discursive episode to a more enjoyable one or to stop his speech by providing nonsensical answers to Yun Ho's questions. Gyung was one of students who tried to make this moment more enjoyable. In Snippet 4, after asking if

students had seen the picture of a chimpanzee becoming a man, Yun Ho further asked why the diagram was not shown in the documentary film. To this question, Gyung offered an answer, “It was no camera back then.” Gyung meant that because there was no camera in ancient era, it was not possible to take picture of ancient apes and this is why the ape-man model was not shown in the film. When Yun Ho started speaking to the class, Gyung had his head down and did not seem to pay attention to Yun Ho’s talk. Yet, he picked up this particular question and responded nonsensically, which suggested that he was uninterested and wanted to change the seemingly serious discursive episode to a play frame (Glenn, 2003).

In this class, Gyung was viewed and indeed enacted a non-studious and playful student. Gyung is a Korean immigrant senior boy, who dresses in hip hop styles and speaks with a slight hint of African American English. He did not perform well on class biology tests and did not often participate in class discourse in an academically oriented way. Rather, he sometimes spoke about topics that were not directly related to the class topic or teased Ms. Davis. In the interview, Gyung described himself as “Very lazy” and said, “I don't pay attention in that class. I am not interested in it at all” (Interview, 02/04/2011). Ms. Davis also positioned him as not being interested in class, not smart, and not studious. For instance, when Gyung tried to answer Ms. Davis’ question, “what’s the structure of steroid?” she responded, “Gyung, wrong,” with a loud voice and her chin leaning on her left hand, which was not her usual response to students’ incorrect answers (Classroom video transcript, 10/25/2010). While it was not clear, because his utterance was not audible, if he actually tried to answer this question or tried to come up with a funny answer, Ms. Davis seemed to presume his non-academic identity. As exemplified

previously, when Gyung tried to tease Ms. Davis by saying “Why are you sitting here?” Saphala shouted, “this is a good time to shut up.” As such, some students, such as Saphala, also positioned him as a troublesome student. As he often tried in the focal biology class, in this particular discursive moment, Gyung, uninterested in Yun Ho’s speech, tried to reframe this discursive moment by saying, “there is no camera back then.”

Despite Gyung’s attempt to reframe the discourse locally, he failed to do so as Yun Ho took his response literally and responded, “No, no.” Yun Ho’s utterance itself does not clearly support whether Yun Ho in fact interpreted Gyung’s answer literally or that he pretended to make a literal interpretation for a local discursive goal of this moment. Yun Ho might have interpreted Gyung’s answer as an attempt to subvert the discursive dynamics and responded literally as a way to deny this attempt. Or Yun Ho might have responded to Gyung’s local identity, being a non-studious student, and ignored his contribution to the discourse. Interestingly, immediately after Yun Ho said, “No. No,” some students giggled. While I cannot make a strong claim about why and at whom they laughed, the timing of students’ laughter does not support that they would have laughed at Gyung’s comment. Rather, they appeared to laugh at Yun Ho, in particular the way he responded to Gyung’s nonsensical answer. Yun Ho’s speech was challenged by Gyung’s joke, and students might have been curious about how Yun Ho would respond to this challenging situation. Yun Ho’s response not acknowledging Gyung’s humor might have been funny to students who laughed, partly because Yun Ho’s reaction fit with his identity, being always serious, strict, and socially awkward or disabled. Students might have laughed at Yun Ho’s serious and awkward response.

About five minutes later, a similar pattern of interaction between Yun Ho and Gyung took place again. Yun Ho explained that in some areas of the Earth, scientists had found “strange skulls” and drew the shape of the skulls on the white board and asked,

Snippet 11

- 198 Yun Ho: Now, (***) what kind of animal is this?
- 199 Ss: ((No answer from students.))
- 200 Yun Ho: ((3 seconds)) Anyone think of it?
- 201 Gyung: It's human being wrapped around (***)
- 202 Yun Ho: ((overlapping with Gyung's utterance)) Nope,
- 203 it's actually real human. real human.
- 204 S3: (***)
- 205 Yun Ho: It's actually real human skull.

In this snippet, it appears as if Gyung attempted again to reframe this discursive episode locally to a play frame by answering that the drawing was human skulls modified by being wrapped with a certain material (Line 201). Yun Ho again interpreted Gyung’s answer literally, rather than as a joke, and said that his answer is wrong. Then, Yun Ho took up Gyung’s answer and modified it saying that the drawing was a “real” human skull. A few lines later, Yun Ho revisited Gyung’s incorrect answer by explaining that there are also artificially elongated skulls of modern humans found but what he drew was different from those modified skulls.

Yun Ho’s responses to Gyung in the two snippets show how Yun Ho interpreted Gyung’s answers and responded to them to achieve a local discursive goal in each specific moment. Although Gyung appeared to try to alter the discursive episode to a

- 234 Yun Ho: What do they, what do they wear?
- 235 Ashley: Nothing.
- 236 Yun Ho: What do they eat?
- 237 David: [Nothing. ((Tanya laughs out loud with a disrespectful tone.))
- 238 Ashley: [Meat.
- 239 Ms. Johnson: (***)
- 240 Yun Ho: How do they look like?
- 241 Ashley: [Us.
- 242 David: [(***) ((Some students, including Tanya, laugh.))
- 243 Yun Ho: Ashley, Ashley, Ashley
- 244 ((Yun Ho calls her three times. Many students laugh after
- 245 David's comment. Especially, Tanya laughs with very loud
- 246 and disrespectful tone.))
- 247 That's interesting to know. Because in the past, in the past,
- 248 when people started drawing cave men, they drew it like
- 249 half man half apes.
- 250 Ms. Johnson: Uh huh.
- 251 Yun Ho: And then, they started more like looking more like human.
- 252 G1: ((with very low voice tone)) What did happen?

Students did not answer Yun Ho's question about who cavemen are, and Yun Ho pushed them further to give an answer. In his first attempt, Yun Ho called on a student who seemed to be sleeping. As teachers often assume that students have a certain prior knowledge and ask students to verbalize it, Yun Ho assumed that students knew about

cavemen, as evidenced in his saying, “You should know about cavemen” in line 231. After failing to have John answer his question, Yun Ho asked the same question again and rephrased the question in Line 234. In “What do they wear,” Yun Ho asked a more concrete question that could be subsumed under the original question, likely with the hope that students may answer this question relatively easily. To this question, Ashley answered, “Nothing” in an uninterested tone of voice. Her tone of voice suggested that her intention in answering this question was not to facilitate Yun Ho’s speech genuinely. Rather, she might have wanted to express her uninterestedness with her tone and seemingly disrespectful one-word answer. Or she might have wanted to expedite Yun Ho’s speech by facilitating him to move to the next bit of the speech and to finish the speech quickly. In addition to her tone of voice, her unusual behavioral pattern—Ashley usually did not answer Ms. Davis’ questions—and her reaction after this discursive episode—she was upset at Yun Ho for giving this talk about creationism in the biology class because students are expected to learn evolution—supported that she did not intend to cooperate in Yun Ho’s speech.

Despite Ashley’s intention, Yun Ho picked up her answer as a bridge to his next question and asked a second sub-question, “What do they eat?” Ashley again gave a one-word answer in an uninterested tone, “Meat.” In addition to Ashley, David, who had been quiet since his earlier failure to stop Yun Ho’s speech, took this opportunity and tried to alter the discursive dynamics by saying, “Nothing.” By saying that cavemen wore nothing and ate meat, Ashley implicitly resisted cooperating Yun Ho’s speech. However, David’s answer that cavemen did not eat anything was more radically challenging and nonsensical than Ashley’s answers since cavemen must have eaten something. That is,

David seemed to draw inspiration from Ashley's answer and conveyed a message more explicitly that Yun Ho's speech was not valuable and he should stop speaking. David utilized this opportunity and ridiculed Yun Ho in order to make him stop his speech, but in a less directive way than saying, "I don't want to hear." Upon David's nonsensical answer, Tanya, a close friend of David, laughed loudly with a disrespectful tone.

Despite David's obvious attempt to ridicule Yun Ho and challenge his speech, Yun Ho did not respond to David's answer at all. Rather, he built on Ashley's answer and asked the third question about cavemen, "How do they look like." Maintaining the same pattern and tone of voice, Ashley offered her third one-word answer, "Us." David made an inaudible comment, which seemed to be more explicit and directly challenging to Yun Ho's speech. As David might have expected, Tanya laughed more loudly and even some other students joined to laugh. With this laughter, the wave of ridicule and challenge appeared to be growing from David and Tanya to the broader audience in the class. Interestingly, Yun Ho did not respond to David's answer and seemed to entirely ignore this growing wave of ridicule. Instead, Yun Ho called Ashley's name three times (Line 243) to draw her and other students' attention and tried to restore the discursive dynamics in favor of his speech. As Yun Ho explained about the risk of being ridiculed in criticizing evolution in class during the interview, he might have noticed that David and Tanya tried to ridicule him and pull him off the stage. As a way to navigate this challenging discursive moment, Yun Ho responded and paid attention only to Ashley, who was less aggressive toward him, hoping to proceed with his speech by building on her answers. In Line 241, while Ashley said simply "Us" to Yun Ho's question, Yun Ho actively assigned meanings to her answer that might not have been Ashley's intended

meaning and stated that people changed ideas about how cavemen look like (Line 247-249). As Yun Ho did in response to Gyung's nonsensical answer (Snippet 11), he built on Ashley's answer to present his next claim that scientists change their ideas in some areas considering newly found evidence (e.g., pictorial description of cavemen) but not in other areas (e.g., ideas of directed evolutionary progress toward better species).

In addition, likely in response to the growing wave of ridicule, Yun Ho abruptly completed his speech. He asked a rhetorical question:

Snippet 13

How come scientists change their ideas on the ape concerning, concerning, the how we look like, how are all the species of supposed human beings look like, yet they still do not consider all the evidence such as these [Gigantopithecus and larger ancient human skulls]? (Class audio, 01/12/2011)

Immediately after this question, he provided an answer, "Scientists too believe that humans are supposedly getting better." Then, he reiterated the claim of the scientists from documentary film that human beings are not special, meaning we are not an end product of goal-directed evolutionary progress, but just one particular experiment. As a final remark, Yun Ho asserted the increase of diversity as one aspect of evolution and finished the speech:

Snippet 14

272 Yun Ho: But then, but then
273 ((sigh, waiting for 2 seconds)), there is, you may, you hear (***)
274 how say that human evolved from apes, apes to man.
275 Well, I will show the other side.

276 The scientists have shown one side that for evolving
277 working better. Now I have shown you the other side is
278 that humans were not more diverse in the past. We are not start
279 more stupid. Someone, rather we actually start out already smart.
280 But then, you can ask me later. And I am done.

In this segment (Line 226-280), several features suggest that he improvised to finish his speech abruptly in response to the growing wave of ridicule and challenge. First, unlike the previous pattern of his speech, he did not solicit student ideas when he made a claim in Snippet 13. Instead, he asked a rhetorical question and immediately provided the answer. In addition, unlike his previous argument pattern, in which he framed his argument as a process that he found something discrepant in scientific theories by saying phrases such as “I noticed,” his claim about diversity was quite succinct and his interaction with a specific idea was not articulated in the same way. Second, he did not fully articulate his claim about cavemen or diversity increase in the process of evolution. In Snippet 12, he used Ashley’s answers as preceding statements for the next bit of his claim as well as utilized her third answer—cavemen look like us—to make the point that scientists change their ideas concerning what ancient apes looked like. However, this seemed to be an improvisation in the moment, not his original intention to ask about cavemen, in that he did not fully articulate why people changed ideas about the appearance of cavemen. This way of presenting the argument is different from how he previously articulated his claims with evidence or narratives. In addition, regarding his claim about the increase of diversity, he presented it as factual knowledge without explaining its meaning or providing justification with evidence. Third, his sigh and pause

in line 273 suggest that he perceived conflicts and tensions with his ideas or in the social dynamics. He might have been thinking about how he should improvise his speech in response to the challenging situation. In response to David and other students' implicit ridicule, Yun Ho might have thought that this was the time to wrap up his speech before being seriously ridiculed, being hurt, or hurting someone else. Thus, the inconsistent pattern in the ways in which he developed his argument and several paralinguistic features suggest his improvisation in this moment.

After finishing the talk, Yun Ho approached Ms. Johnson, who responded to him in a respectful tone of voice and small exclamations throughout his speech. He tried to explain his argument to her by asking questions about an animal called a pangolin and about evolution education in the past when she was in high school. This move also suggests that he improvised to finish his speech in response to students' ridicule and instead moved to talk to someone who valued and respectfully responded to him. However, Ms. Johnson seemed to not understand what Yun Ho was saying. Her response was not connected to Yun Ho's questions. As some students asked questions of Ms. Johnson and she turned to help them, Yun Ho drew his attention away from her and to me instead, who was standing next to them.

7.5 Discussion

In this chapter, I closely analyzed micro moments of a classroom discursive episode, focusing on how students' identities that had developed prior to the focal episode were communicated in the episode and how those identities shaped the ways in which students interpreted each other's ideas and responded to them. Students interpreted Yun Ho's speech as being religious and anti-evolutionary. Interpreting Yunho and the

speech this way, David attempted to stop Yun Ho's speech, but being positioned as aggressive, he failed to do so due to Saphala's remark. In such interpretations of each other's identities and meanings of their speech, students appeared to draw on who each student is. Several saliently communicated identities in this 15-minute-long episode were Yun Ho's being religious and being disabled and David's being aggressive.

Before closing, I highlight from Yun Ho's case two important themes in understanding how identities play in science classroom discourse. First, the locus of students' identification is broader than the focal class and the particular school year. As high school seniors (and juniors for some students), students seemed to share a history through which they developed fairly common understandings of who each student is. They had attended the same high school for almost three or four years and might have been in the same middle school and elementary school. They lived in close neighborhoods, and some students went to the same church. In particular, as discussed in Chapter 1, Korean churches are important settings for Korean immigrants to build social networks and develop friendships. Many Korean students at Parkview also went to several Korean churches, including Yun Ho, David, and Brian, where they developed understandings of each other with respect to religious beliefs. Through the shared history of interactions established in those social settings (e.g., schools, classes, churches), students appeared to develop stabilized understandings about who and how students are. For instance, a few students went to the same church as Yun Ho and, thus, knew that he is very religious. Also, many students were aware of episodes in which Yun Ho argued against evolution. In the classroom discourse, students actively drew on those resources

from outside of the class and from previous years, in interpreting each other's utterances and meanings of utterances.

Although the interpretations of the episode largely drew on those identities, the discourse was also dynamically negotiated depending on the contingency of the discursive moments rather than pre-determined by those identities. As discussed in detail, Yun Ho negotiated positions given to him—the speech is religiously motivated—with various means. He reframed his speech, reinterpreted and assigned new meanings to other students' utterances, and improvised to finish the speech. While Yun Ho's grand discursive goal was consistent throughout the episode, the local goals were slightly different. In the first example of negotiation, his goal was to keep speaking to the class and share his ideas, and, thus, Yun Ho reframed his speech as non-religious to keep talking. In the second example, several local discursive goals emerged such as dealing with Gyung's attempt to switch the discursive frame or utilizing his response to develop the speech. In the final example, recognizing the growing wave of ridicule, the local goal seemed not "to hurt" anyone or "to be hurt." In particular, by this specific moment, he had talked for about 10 minutes and had argued several claims to the students. Thus, stopping the speech might not have significantly threatened the grand discursive goal. In addition to Yun Ho's negotiations, other students also negotiated in each moment of the episode. For instance, while David explicitly attempted to stop Yun Ho's speech, students did not explicitly try to do so after Saphala's remark. Rather, they resisted Yun Ho's speaking to the class in implicit and indirect ways, such as giving nonsensical answers or laughing.

As discussed in Chapter 2, I chose Yun Ho's speech episode in order to focus on the micro moment of the classroom and how other contexts, especially individuals' identities, play out in the micro discursive moment. In Chapter 8, I discuss how each chapter demonstrated the theoretical framework and what challenge the framework has in the next chapter.

Chapter 8: Discussions

In this chapter, I discuss the findings of my dissertation in three sub-sections. At the beginning of this dissertation, I asked the question, *How are Korean immigrant students' identities, including academic identities related to science learning and identities along various social dimensions, enacted in science classroom settings?* In this section, I revisit this research question—specifically the two sub-questions—and discuss how the findings across the four analytic chapters provide an answer to these questions. Given that I organized the findings to highlight the different parts of the theoretical framework, I start this chapter with a discussion about how these four analytic chapters collectively validate my theoretical framework.

8.1 Revisiting the theoretical framework

In my framework for understanding students' positions, identities, and enactment of identities in science classrooms, I proposed different levels of contexts: the macro level, meso level, micro level, and personal contexts. To understand the identities and lived experiences of the Korean immigrant students at Parkview High, the meso level contexts, particularly the identity models of FOB and Twinkie, were critical. Students at Parkview High were segregated by their racial, ethnic, and linguistic affiliations and did not often socialize across boundaries. Even within the Korean immigrants' group, students were further categorized by how much they were "Americanized"—speaking fluent English, giving up Korean cultural practices, and engaging in American ways of thinking, speaking, and acting. Students who were more "Americanized" (i.e., Twinkies) attained a higher relational rank in the Korean immigrants' group, whereas students who had not been "Americanized" (i.e., FOBs) were positioned at a lower rank and associated

with negative storylines.

Another critical meso level context was the classroom learning environment. AP Biology classes were considered the course that Koreans must take at Parkview High. For this reason and other social factors, many Korean students were indeed enrolled in the two AP Biology classes. In this context, Korean students established particular social dynamics, such as sitting, socializing, and collaborating with other Korean immigrants. In addition, Ms. Davis, through her instruction, provided particular learning and interactional practices. As I discussed in Chapter 6, she frequently crafted hybrid discourse practices in her instruction. While many students enjoyed and were engaged in Ms. Davis' hybrid practices, the hybrid practices also generated challenges for recent immigrants and played a role as a social divider between students who had resources for participating in the hybrid practices (mainly native born and raised students) and students who did not (mainly immigrant students).

Situated in the same meso level contexts, however, the three focal students, Mike, Melody, and Yun Ho shaped and enacted different identities, as they brought their personal contexts to the school and the focal biology classroom setting. Mike managed and negotiated his identities in order to be perceived as a Twinkie, and Melody was categorized as a FOB and could not actively participate in the focal classroom despite her desire to do so. The salient differences in their personal contexts were that they lived in different areas before immigration, immigrated to the United States at different ages, and received different kinds of support and resources from their families. Engaging those different factors, Mike and Melody recognized available positions within the affordances of meso level and personal contexts. In this regard, meso level contexts, which are

reinterpretations of macro level contexts, were again reinterpreted at the intersection with the students' personal contexts. Some positions became more available and relevant to some students whereas some became less easily accessible. For example, Mike, who had lived in the United States and learned English for a relatively long period of time, was able to easily access both Twinkie and FOB identities. In contrast, Melody, who immigrated had lived in the United States for a relatively short period of time, was unable to easily access the more privileged identity as a Twinkie. Interestingly for Yun Ho, the two identity models of FOB and Twinkie were almost irrelevant. It is noteworthy that Yun Ho, who immigrated to the United States in early in elementary school, was not identified along the FOB-Twinkie dimension. He was a Korean immigrant, who spoke English with a thick foreign accent, yet his identity was not discussed in terms of a FOB or Twinkie, either by himself or by other students. One possible explanation is that because another of his identities, particularly that of being disabled, was salient, other identities were less relevant for students to understand and perceive him. Another possible explanation is that because he did not often socialize with any other students in school, including both FOBs and Twinkies, the FOB or Twinkie identity was irrelevant to and for him.

The difference between Mike and Melody suggests that we should think carefully about what we should mean when we say "contexts" when seeking to understand students' learning and classroom participation. Although all levels of contexts were at play and influenced the ways in which students speak, act, and interact in science classrooms, I found that certain aspects of contexts were more crucial and should be considered and studied more closely to understand an individual student. In the case of

Mike, his personal contexts—multiple migrations, experiences of racism and bullying, and identity development throughout his migration trajectory—was critical in understanding how and why Mike learned biology and participated in the biology classroom. On the other hand, in the case of Melody, while personal context was clearly important, the school and biology classroom contexts, in which FOBs were marginalized and their knowledge and language use were not appreciated, were critical in shaping Melody's non-participant identity. Unlike Mike's case, meso level contexts significantly constrained possible positions for her, and she could not find a way to develop and enact a more positive biology student identity (e.g., a successful student, a participant).

Chapter 7 focused on a different part of the theoretical framework. Assuming that students' identities had developed and stabilized (or at least some of them), I looked closely at the moment-by-moment interactions of a classroom episode to see how those stable identities were displayed, interpreted, and responded, and how the moment-by-moment interactions shaped the discursive episode. The analysis vividly showed how students, in interpreting each other's behaviors and ideas, drew on their identities, as well as contexts at multiple levels (e.g., narratives about disability, science, and religiosity that were circulating at Parkview High and that reflected macro level contexts). Those factors interacted in a very complex way to generate available positions for each participant in each moment of interaction, were also contingent on the micro level contexts (e.g., who said, what was said, and when was said).

The four analytic chapters highlighted the different aspects of the framework, particularly the different levels of contexts, and collectively showed how the framework could be used to examine students' participations, identities, and learning. Yet, I do not

suggest that empirical studies of identity need to attend to all parts of the contexts, just as the individual chapters did not equally highlight each level of contexts for the focal students. Rather, I propose the framework as a theoretical approach. In understanding individual students in their classrooms, it is important to identify what contexts are crucial and relevant to the ways in which they learn, participate, and shape their identities. This identification thus focuses analysis on particular levels of contexts. In addition, however, in applying the proposed theoretical framework to understanding and explaining the focal students' identities and classroom participations, I encountered major challenges—challenges that I continue to struggle with and that impact work in this area more broadly.

First, I defined identity as “a type of personhood, the ways in which an individual and surrounding people view the person.” In this definition, I did not distinguish how the individual views the self and how surrounding people view the person. Many research studies that I reviewed appeared to define identity as how a person views the self. Studies on ethnic identity development of immigrants focus on how immigrants have their ethnic identity between of the origin or the arriving country (e.g., Korean vs. American). Studies in science education addressing students' science identity development also examined how individual students viewed themselves as “scientists” or “someone who are capable of doing science.” However, as identity is defined as socially constructed through social interactions, the locus of identification is brought out to social spaces. Holland et al. (1998) define identity as “the way a person understands and views himself, and *is often viewed by others, at least in certain situations*” (p. 68, emphasis added). The question is how to theoretically and practically understand and describe “identity” when the two

views—or many views, when the “surrounding people” have multiple ideas—do not agree with each other.

Many education studies that examine classroom discourse show that participants in a discursive episode do not always achieve intersubjective agreement on the meanings of each other’s verbalized ideas (Matusov, 2001). This implies that an individual’s identities, socially constructed, may not be agreed among the different people in the same setting. In my analyses, Melody’s identities were consistently perceived among different people (e.g., a FOB, a English non-proficient student). However, in Yun Ho’s case, although he perceived himself as a science expert who could do science and challenge scientific ideas and enacted the identity in the focal discursive episode, other students did not view him and his speech in the same way. Rather, some students identified him as being religious and disabled. In addition to the unintended mismatch in Yun Ho’s case, Mike deliberately enacted and displayed an identity as a Twinkie while he thought himself as a FOB or at best as someone in between a FOB and a Twinkie. In sum, the challenges were in describing identities as socially constructed, considering the intersubjective agreement of the socially constructed meanings, and interpreting the strategic and agentive management of identities between who a person is and how other people perceive the person.

The second challenge was in bounding the meaning of contexts and distinguishing different aspects of contexts. I defined contexts as “an environment that surrounds a person, in which the person’s practices are situated, and that provides resources that the person utilizes in order to speak, act, and interact in a particular way.” Among the contexts discussed, some were regionally and relationally bounded environments that had

their own characteristics (e.g., the neighborhood with many recent Korean immigrants, a family that did not have adequate resources to support the children's education), some were practice-oriented environments (e.g., the focal biology classroom in which the hybrid practices were promoted, practices of *'Ilcin'* culture among youth in Korea), and others were narratives circulating among people (e.g., identity models). More critically, depending on the types of contexts, the relation between the contexts and participants seemed different. Contexts like neighborhood or classroom environments almost unidirectionally influenced participants and constrained or afforded certain positions for the participants. The contexts like narratives also constrained or afforded students' positions, but on the other hand, students engaged more actively—draw upon, reproduce, and recreate—those contexts. For instance, while the two identity models of the Korean immigrants that had established at Parkview High influenced how students socialized and participated in the classroom, students also reconfirmed and reproduced the models, by actively engaging the models in interpreting each other's speech, action, and interaction, and, in turn, communicating them. As such, the distinctions among the different aspects of contexts and the different relations between the contexts and participants are not wholly clear.

Finally, the theoretical framework I illustrated in Figure 1 shows only a snapshot of the formation of identities at one point in time. Although I proposed that identity develops through multiple events, the illustration could not show the longitudinal sense of identity formation. Moreover, by stating “the enactment of a selected position is recognized by other people and they process in their own sense making, the position may develop as the individual's stable identity in the setting,” I assumed a unidirectional

relation between position and identity. However, as Yun Ho's case showed, the relation was not unidirectional, but reciprocal and dialogical. The participants in the focal episode engaged each other's identities that were stably perceived, which resulted in both affordances and constraints in determining available positions in the discursive moment. Because of Yun Ho's stable identity as a religious and anti-evolutionary person, the position of a science expert was relatively less available to him. This reciprocal and dialogic interaction between identities and positions should be further elaborated.

8.2 Revisiting Sub-question 1

What positions are offered to students of Korean descent in science classroom settings?

Before attempting to answer this question, given the findings of this dissertation, I rephrase the question as "What positions are offered to students of Korean descent in the two AP Biology classes and Parkview High?" because the meso level contexts were critical in understanding students' identities and enactment of those identities. In addition, I note that "offered" does not mean an absolute limitation to one's identities and positions. Rather, it means "relatively easily accessible" since the focal students negotiated and stretched the boundary of available positions to a certain extent.

The case of Melody shows how influential the meso level contexts were on her academic identity development and classroom participation. Simply (and perhaps exaggeratedly) put, identity models and practices appeared to create a closed loop and reinforce each other. Melody, a recent immigrant, could not speak English fluently upon immigration, was labeled as a FOB, and felt marginalized. To guard her from the potential depression and discouragement caused by not being able to speak fluent English or mix with a broader group of peers, her mother let Melody stay within the FOB

boundary, and Melody established a comfortable peer group with other FOBs. She was consistently positioned as a student whose English skills were not proficient and who had to practice English by speaking English in class.²⁵ The positioning was communicated to some students who happened to hear the teacher's remark positioning her as an English non-proficient student. Intimidated by "American kids," who "*all perform well in school,*" Melody did not verbally contribute to in-class discussions in situations in which the discussion involved interactions with non-Korean peers, such as in whole class discussion or in assigned groups. These practices seemed to stabilize Melody's FOB identity as some students recognized that how she spoke, acted, and interacted fit with the FOB identity model and further to distance her from the peers outside of the FOB boundary. As a result, it became harder for her to develop resources to learn (both English and content areas) and to participate in class. To Melody, the identities of a successful learner, active participant, and central member were not easily accessible identities.

As discussed above, meso level contexts are reinterpreted and assigned different meanings as personal contexts come into play. The Twinkie identity, which is associated with active verbal participations in classrooms and socializing with a broader group of peers, was a position that could be relatively easily accessible. Mike was identified as a Twinkie. Thus, an identity as an active verbal participant should be relatively easily accessible to him. However, he was not an active classroom participant in the focal biology class. Mike explained his non-participation with his migration trajectory. In a previous school, where he did not speak English fluently, the teachers did not adequately

²⁵ Although I did not include this in the analysis, Melody was also discursive positioned this way in Ms. Wilson's class (the substitute teacher) again later in the school year.

support him but discouraged and disappointed him. He was treated like a “*scumbag*,” and people laughed when he made mistakes. Through these experiences, Mike developed an identity as an introverted person. Even several years after his immigration, although he thought his English proficiency was “*on level*” and he had achieved a certain level of academic success, he still worried when speaking out. Instead, he developed ways of studying on his own and utilizing his own resources outside of the school (e.g., ‘*Hak.wen*’).

Mike acted and interacted with some students and the teacher in playful ways in order to enact his identity as a Twinkie (e.g., teasing close friends, making jokes with the teacher). By acting in these ways, he avoided disclosing the challenges that he faced as an immigrant and seemed to want to be perceived as a Twinkie, thereby enjoying the privileges that the Twinkie identity would grant him (e.g., practical and symbolic capital for school success). It is also noteworthy that an experienced science teacher, when asked how Korean immigrant students participate in science classes, said that Korean students are “either very quiet or crazy.” She implied that some Korean immigrant students do not participate in classrooms or socialize with other students, some Korean immigrants are extremely social and active, and not many are in between the two extremes. In addition, I observed that one recent Korean immigrant, Sungjin, who had lived in the United States for six years, actively participated and interacted with Ms. Davis and peers. He actively interacted with Ms. Davis and peers, often acted in playful ways, and was perceived by Ms. Davis as “crazy” and “very social.” In his interview, Sungjin explained that he hates to be viewed as a FOB. However, in the class, I found that he sometimes would deliberately and strategically enact his FOBness, such as using Korean onomatopoeias

(e.g., *'tting tting tting'*) and having other students laugh at him. Ms. Davis even told me, "Sungjin calls himself FOB. I like the kid" (Field note, 01/13/2011).

These data suggest that Korean immigrant students, especially those who are subject to being categorized as FOBs, may have to develop a certain identity that implies playfulness, coolness, or an extreme gregarious nature, in order to participate in the classroom discourse. In the meso level contexts in which recent Korean immigrants are perceived as not participating in class and not socializing outside of the boundary of FOBs, recent immigrants may have to establish an identity that distinguishes themselves from the usual recent immigrants and, thus supports and rationalizes their unusual behaviors. To a certain extent, an identity as a participant who is active, but not outside the classroom norm about the degree to which students should socialize, may not be easily accessible to Korean immigrant students, especially recent immigrants.

In Yun Ho's case, however, the two identity models of Korean immigrants were almost irrelevant. Until a few months after my first visit to the class, both Ms. Davis and I did not know that he was ethnically Korean. As discussed earlier, a few explanations are possible (e.g., because his other identities were more salient, and because he did not socially interact with both FOB and Twinkie Koreans). In this regard, Yun Ho's case does not provide a direct answer to the first sub-question. An implication is that although some aspects of the meso level contexts (e.g., two identity models of Korean immigrants) are influential to recognizing the available positions for students of Korean descent, some Korean immigrant students may not be directly influenced by those aspects. Rather, other aspects influenced his available positions (e.g., models of disabled students).

To close this section, I discuss how and why the identities of the three focal students were important in their learning science. At the beginning of the dissertation, I defined learning as attaining of disciplinary knowledge and development of academic identities through participation in disciplinary learning practices and activities and narrowed the focus of this dissertation to students' participation in the science classrooms. In Melody's case, the FOB identity had a crucial impact on how she was viewed in the class as a learner, as well as how she spoke, acted, and interacted in the focal biology class. In the case of Mike, while he was high achieving and appeared successful, the ways in which he viewed the biology class and his relation to the class were influenced by his immigration experiences. He did not view the school classroom as a place in which he constructed knowledge or where learning happens, but a place in which his knowledge and status was challenged and evaluated. Yun Ho's case epitomizes how a student's attempt to participate in the classroom discourse, do science, and discursively enact a science expert might be undervalued because of his other identities, such as identities related to religion and disability. As I proposed at the beginning of the dissertation, students' identities along various dimensions that are seemingly unrelated to learning and classroom participation critically influenced their science classroom participation, and potentially their learning and academic identity development related to science. These findings suggest that we should examine students' classroom participation in a broader sense and examine how and why they participate in classroom discursive practices beginning from who they are and how they are viewed.

8.3 Revisiting Sub-question 2

How do these students negotiate available positions and contexts in science classrooms to enact these identities?

One crosscutting theme across all the three cases was that students actively and constantly negotiate their identities and positions to achieve certain goals. For Mike, one such goal was to be perceived as a Twinkie. To him, Twinkie identity means building a social network with other Twinkies, through which he could attain practical and symbolic capital. To Melody, one salient goal was to become a central member and participant in the focal biology class. While the goals I focused on for these two students were long-term identity goals, Yun Ho's goal was focused in the micro moment and involved the alteration of positions in the moment. Yun Ho wanted to share his ideas to the class; to achieve this discursive goal, he actively negotiated positions available to him and negotiated the social and interactional meanings of the discourse in each moment.

To achieve his identity goal, Mike negotiated between FOB and Twinkie, and in doing so, he utilized resources available to him that he had attained while living in the Parkview community and in the United States (e.g., relatively English proficiency, social relationships with Twinkies). To enact the Twinkie identity, he socialized with other Twinkies, did not disclose the challenges that he faced in schooling and English, adopted Twinkies' ways of speaking, acting, and interacting, and acted in a playful way in the focal class. His FOB identity was enacted by socializing with other FOB friends and speaking Korean in particular situations (usually non-academic settings). By dynamically negotiating and navigating between the two identities, he aimed to attain practical and symbolic capital as an Americanized and successful student, as well as social support and

emotional comfort from FOB friends, with whom he could share common Korean emotions (e.g., *Uyli, Ceng*) and engage in Korean practices. Mike achieved a certain degree of success in managing his identities partly because he had resources to enact the Twinkie identity, such as English proficiency. During the past few years, he learned English on his own outside of school and developed social relationships with Twinkie-labeled students. These practices afforded him a social network with Twinkies and gradually identified him as a Twinkie.

Melody wanted to be a classroom participant who answers the teacher's questions, asks questions of the teacher, socializes and collaborates with a broad group of students, and is acknowledged by the students and the teacher in the class. To achieve this identity goal, she negotiated the meaning of participation. She found alternative ways to participate in the class, such as passing out graded worksheets and actively responding to the teacher's remarks non-verbally (e.g., gaze, gesture, body movement). Indeed, Ms. Davis noticed Melody's attempts to participate and encouraged Melody by acknowledging contributions that Melody made, expressing her attention to Melody, and including Melody in her specific discursive instructional practices. Despite these negotiations and positive signs of her identity development as a participant in this science classroom, Melody did not develop the identity in the focal class during my data collection period. I argue that her inability to develop a positive participant identity was partly attributable to the particular classroom situation; Ms. Davis took her maternity leave, and the class with the new teacher Ms. Wilson established a new set of expectations and interactions. Identities develop through trajectories of interactions

across time and space (Wortham, 2006), yet because of the discontinuity of the setting, her identity as a fuller participant could not develop adequately.

In addition, I argue that the failure to develop a positive participant identity was also in part because of how the classroom participation was defined in this context. Although Melody tried to contribute to the class by passing out graded worksheets and participate in the class by interacting with the teacher, those practices alone did not seem to be considered classroom participation. In the United States, classroom participation and contribution to the class are often equated with verbalization—verbally expressing ideas to the class, assertively arguing a stance, and answering teacher’s questions (Schultz, 2009). Yet, non-verbal participation or quiet contributions in the class do not often count as legitimate participation. For instance, quiet students may have different ideas than vocal and assertive students regarding what is valuable behavior and how students should behave in class. In the 4th period class, Kelly, a White girl who actively expressed her ideas and questions to the class and the teacher, said that she always asks questions to the teacher immediately when she does not understand class discussions. However, Minjoo, a Korean immigrant who was quiet and high achieving, said when she has questions, she is concerned if her questioning would disrupt the flow of the class discussion and therefore does not always ask questions. While quiet and non-verbal participation and contribution could benefit the classroom learning situations and be acknowledged as valuable, Melody’s participation and contribution might not be perceived as such by many students. Thus, the alternative ways of participating that Melody attempted were less likely to be regarded highly and to help her develop a participant identity.

Yun Ho's negotiation in the focal discursive episode was more dynamic than the other two cases and was more observable at the micro level. His goal was to share his knowledge and have other students learn the knowledge. Whether or not Yun Ho thought of his speech as religious, his argument was perceived as religiously motivated and not appropriate for a school biology class. In response to this positioning, Yun Ho reframed his speech and stance as non-religious and maintained the topic of his speech within the realm of science—science that he defined. When facing several students' attempts to switch the discursive moment into a play frame or to ridicule him, Yun Ho reinterpreted and assigned new meanings to their utterances. At a surface level, Yun Ho's goal was achieved in that he was able to talk to the class and present his argument without being overtly ridiculed or threatened. However, his goal was not accomplished in that classmates did not attend to the content of his speech nor consider his argument scientific. In other words, the goal to position his stance and speech as scientific did not seem to be socially accomplished.

The three cases together show how the focal students agentively tried to achieve certain goals of identities or positions through discursive interactions. The students actively searched for ways to achieve their goals, negotiate their identities and positions concerning who they were and how they were viewed, and reinterpret and reassign meanings to the environment. Whether or not the surrounding people interpreted the practices and goals as intended by the focal students, they constantly attempted to accomplish the goals and negotiated themselves or the environment, drawing upon their sense-making of the contexts and utilizing resources available to them. I argue that as educators and education researchers, we need to pay close attention to and

acknowledge students' agentive pursuits of identity goals and active negotiations to pursue their goals. We should find ways in which we negotiate our positions and meanings to encourage and allow these students' participation, learning, and academic identity development.

Chapter 9: Implications

In this chapter, I organize implications of the findings in two themes: science education and education of Asian immigrant students. While the two themes are not mutually exclusive, I will separately present how the findings speak to the two research communities.

9.1 Science Education

9.1.1 Hybrid practices: Hybridity of what and for whom?

As reviewed in Chapter 6, hybrid discourse practices, in which science teachers leverage students' knowledge, language use, and characteristics of youth genre, have been highlighted as a way to effectively teach students in general and minority students in particular. While I acknowledge that hybrid approaches may benefit students' science learning by making science more relevant and engaging to students, several issues are not yet addressed (1) a consideration of the power dynamics and social hierarchies among students that unfold in classrooms in which diverse students are enrolled, and (2) a practical application of these approaches in supporting all students' participation and learning in science classroom contexts in which conflicts and tensions among different groups of students—often pertaining to different ethnic, linguistic, and racial groupings—are prevalent. In other words, the issues reside in whose resources are acknowledged and leveraged and with whom the teacher's power is shared, particularly in science classrooms with diverse students. The findings from this dissertation indeed suggest that the hybrid practices that Ms. Davis employed did not sufficiently acknowledge the resources that diverse students had, including Korean immigrant students. Moreover,

those hybrid practices reinforced FOB's low relational rank in comparison to "American," White, and Twinkie students, by failing to engage them in those practices.

The landscape of schools and classrooms is changing due to the recent trend of global migration. In the context of the United States, many school aged children cross national borders from various countries and arrive at various locations, beyond several historically receiving states and regions (Capps, Fix, & Passel, 2002). This immigration pattern implies that students in virtually all schools and classrooms are becoming racially, ethnically, and linguistically diverse. Given this immigrant landscape and its implications for American classrooms, we should think more carefully about how to provide and distribute opportunities to learn and participate in science learning practices fairly to all students. Especially in a classroom like the two focal classes—an advanced science class in which a large amount of content is required to be covered, a class of 30 students with diverse racial, ethnic, and linguistic backgrounds, and a high school class containing adolescent students who have previously established their particular power dynamics and tensions through their history of social interactions—connecting students' language use and knowledge poses both theoretical and practical challenges. I suggest that we should develop a theoretical and pedagogical model to address the diversity—co-existence of heterogeneous language uses and knowledges, and subsequent power relations and privilege among different languages uses and knowledges—and to provide equitable learning environments in such diverse classrooms.

9.1.2 Identities in science classroom discourse

Second, I raise questions about how to address students' identities in conceptualizing and analyzing science classroom discourse and in promoting productive

discursive opportunities for students' science learning. The analysis of Yun Ho suggests how multiple students' multiple identities play out in and shape science classroom discourse. Whether social identification is a natural human cognitive process or denaturalized process mediated by bureaucratic discourses, people identify themselves and others in addition to attending to the cognitive content when talking (Wortham, 2006, 2010). Students and teachers identify each other by drawing on macro level cultural, historical, and sociopolitical models of identities, meso level models of identities established in a particular classroom, school, and neighborhood, and their prior interactions with each other. They draw on such identities in interpreting, evaluating, and responding to each other's ideas.

Implications of this finding seem quite straightforward for research. In analyzing classroom discourse, science education researchers should not extract only cognitive ideas from students' and teachers' utterances, but look at the ideas *with* an understanding of who is the speaker of the ideas and investigate how identities are communicated and how students are identified. In this regard, a classroom discursive practice is not only cognitive and intellectual, but is affectively and morally charged (Wortham, 2010) as Saphala was morally motivated and supported Yun Ho's speech.

The implications for teaching and classroom practices are not as clear. On the one hand, we want students not to be biased by students' identities in interpreting and evaluating ideas and to attend to cognitive content. Yet, people *do* draw on identities in discursive processes to determine meanings of utterances that are inevitably ambiguous: this is how I approached, evaluated and understood Yun Ho's ideas and several scholars' ideas (e.g., Stephen Gould, Jonathan Wells). Among professional scientists as well, social

factors play a critical role in whose ideas are valued and accepted (Solomon, 2008). From this understanding of discourse and scientific enterprise, what I can certainly argue is that teachers should acknowledge that doing science is socially mediated and, thus, social factors (e.g., communicating and constructing identities) are surely involved. Teachers should be aware how students' identities may affect the unfolding of classroom discursive practices, how students communicate each other's identities, and even how teachers' utterances may identify students in certain ways. In addition, I argue that drawing on one's identities is not illegitimate in the doing and learning of science (or other disciplines) as we often rely on the authority of sources of information when evaluating the credibility of the information (Greer, 2003). However, what students also should learn is to know how and when to draw on identities appropriately and how to attend to the cognitive content and rely on identities in a balanced way. In science classrooms and classroom discursive practices, these social (and often institutional) dimensions of doing science should be more explicitly addressed and discussed.

9.2 Education of Asian immigrants

9.2.1 Asians' immigration experience and schooling

The school context at Parkview High suggests that Korean immigrant students did not develop social networks with non-Korean students. Research shows that Asian immigrant students develop friendships with those who share their race and ethnicity more than any other minority group (Way & Chen, 2000). In addition, several studies suggest that Asian immigrant students experience discrimination as a form of verbal and physical harassment more frequently than other minority groups, especially the discrimination from peers (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, & Waters, 2002; Rosenbloom & Way,

2004). Mike's experience at Farmfield Middle vividly exemplifies that Asian immigrant students experience discrimination in school. One other American-born Vietnamese immigrant girl, who was a student in 4th period class, sat with an American-born Taiwanese girl, and did not interact with other students, told me her experiences as an Asian when I ran into her outside of the school. For instance, she told me that she was assigned to an ESOL class when she started elementary school because of her heavy accent. While talking about how students from other racial groups make fun of Asians, she said that in a class in which she was the only Asian, when she was late for the class, an African American student sarcastically shouted at her, "Oh, I have never seen an Asian get tardy sweep."

Despite these school climates, school teachers and administrators do not often recognize or consider seriously the hostility toward Asian immigrants (Kiang & Kaplan, 1994). At Parkview High, the Korean counselor similarly said that faculty and staff members did not take adequate care of Korean immigrants²⁶ and that Korean students often come to her office and cry as sharing about these discriminative experiences in school. Students did not seem to have a support system or a channel to report these negative experiences and to receive help in dealing with such situations. In fact, I was shocked when Mike told me that I was the first person who he shared the experiences as a racial minority and English language learner. To a certain extent, Mike appeared to want to share those experiences with me. When I ran into him in the school library before

²⁶ I believe her claim would be pretty similar for immigrants from other countries but she talked about Korean immigrants likely because she interacted mostly with Korean students.

having any formal interviews, he asked me if my study is about “*race*,” and started talking about his racialized experiences.

Certainly, those experiences have critical impacts on these students’ identities in relation to surrounding people and the society as well as in their learning. Mike, as a result of experience of harassments and of insufficient support from teachers, became introverted and timid. The Vietnamese student, who was assigned to an ESOL class, decided not to speak Vietnamese at all and soon forgot how to speak it as she attended elementary school. For reasons like discomfort and potential harassment in classes in which Asians are rare, Asian immigrants tend to register for classes for which many other Asian students (or students of the same ethnic group) take. These experiences as immigrants, identity development, and their learning are highly intertwined, which requires attention of educators, education researchers, and policy makers.

I argue that school administrators and teachers should be aware of verbal and/or physical harassment toward Asian immigrant students and work to improve the racial climate of schools and classrooms. Perhaps, recruiting staff members who are Asian (and Korean in schools in which many Korean immigrants are enrolled) and who understand these students’ struggles and advocate for these students can improve the school climate. Indeed, the Korean counselor furiously told me that despite the large number of Korean immigrant students in its public school system, the Western school district had only four Korean counselors. The counselor even added that the other three counselors are “Twinkies,” implying that they may not adequately understand the challenges that recent immigrants face. Given the increasing number of Asian immigrant students, the issue of

racial segregation and in-school hostility toward them and its impacts should be studied and addressed thoroughly.

9.2.2 Nuanced understandings of immigrants' ethnic identity

Finally, I suggest a more nuanced understanding of Asian immigrants' ethnic identity. Ethnic identities of Korean immigrants at Parkview High were not simply Korean, American, or Korean American. The group of Korean immigrants at Parkview High were stratified into Twinkie and FOB and relationally positioned. Partly, the identity models of Twinkie and FOB reflect macro level contexts, such as broadly believed assumptions that immigrants should learn English, gradually give up their language and cultural practices, and eventually assimilate to the United States, and also macro level contexts in Korea. Given this finding, I suggest that identities of Korean immigrants (Asian immigrants or immigrants from any other country as well) should be understood in a nuanced manner. Immigrant students sharing an ethnicity are often considered to be homogeneous, or at best, to form a few distinct groups by virtue of their immigration generation status (e.g., first, 1.5, and second generation). However, my findings suggest that the complexity of their social relation *within* an ethnic group should be considered, such as power relations and conflicts among Korean immigrant students. In addition, given that Twinkie and FOB have different meanings in different settings (Marinari, 2006; Shankar, 2008; Talmy, 2004), the meso level contexts should be taken into consideration in understanding their identities.

Chapter 10: Conclusions—Asian immigrants’ non-participation

In closing the dissertation, I revisit the original research problem that motivated me to pursue my dissertation years ago: so, are Korean immigrants quiet in U.S. classrooms? My short answer to this question at this point in time is “yes.” Many Korean immigrants (of course not all) I have observed in class verbalized less frequently than non-Korean students, and they reported that they tend to not speak in class. However, the reasons that they did not speak in class were much more complex than people often presumed, such as cultural differences or low English proficiency. Their reticence was rather caused by particular circumstances in which they were situated as immigrants. Main factors included experiences as immigrants, such as insufficient support of teachers and racial discrimination, school environments in which immigrant students were isolated and marginalized, and the sense of “Other” resulted from those factors. Their reticence has been constructed as a way to respond to and negotiate in hostile situations for immigrants in the United States.

So, does their reticence matter? Again, I say “yes.” Their relative reticence matters not simply because verbal participation is *the* way to participate in class or because students *should* learn through verbal interactions. I argue that it matters because students wished to speak more, because verbal participation provides students with important symbolic capital—for instance, an identity as a student who is capable and competent in learning science, who can be a full member of the science class, and who can verbally participate in the class when needed—and because the symbolic capital further supports their learning and academic identity development. Many quiet students did not ask questions or seek help when they needed it, and so their concerns and

confusion were not heard and responded to by the teacher and classmates. I argue that science classrooms should be a place in which all students construct scientific knowledge, attain support when necessary, and feel they are full members, including Asian students, English language learners, or quiet students.

From this perspective, Asian immigrants' reticence should not be accepted as their culture nor be considered a trait that should be fixed. Rather, it should be attended to and reflected upon. In teaching students, before we assume how students should be and act in class and how educators can fix students' characteristics, we must first carefully question why we ask students to behave in certain ways, why students speak, act, and interact in particular ways, and why any discrepancy matters. In this regard, for quiet Asian immigrants, we should first understand why they do not speak in class and why their in-class reticence matters.

Appendix A

Student Interview 1

1. What are some of the reasons you are enrolled in AP Biology this year?
2. Can you describe yourself in the biology class?
3. Individualized questions:
 - a. In your bio class, I found that you did (e.g., always sit at the first row of the room and raise your hand to answer the teacher's question or ask questions). Can you explain why you do in such way?
 - b. Do you find yourself exhibiting similar behaviors in your other classes? If so, why? If not, how do you act differently and why?
4. What are the difficulties of studying the subject of biology? When you face such difficulties in biology or when you have trouble understanding, what do you usually do? Do you ask for help and if so, who do you feel comfortable getting help from?
5. Now, can you describe yourself with regard to science learning?
6. What are some of the difficulties that you face in schooling? Who do you trust to get help?
7. What are you going to do after graduation of high school (e.g., college major, future career)?
 - a. What made you pursue that?

Student Interview 2

1. What do you do after school and weekends usually?
2. Tell me about your close friends.
 - a. How did you end up knowing them and being friends with them?
 - b. What do you usually do when you meet them?
 - c. What language do you use (prefer to use) when talking with your friends?

Student Interview 3

1. When did you immigrate to the U.S.? (Or when did your family immigrate to the U.S.?)
2. Why did you and your family immigrate to the States?
3. Tell me about your life and your family's life in the U.S.
 - a. Where have you lived?
 - b. How did you end up living in this area?
 - c. Tell me about what changed after immigration if any (Korean-born students only).
 - d. Tell me about what would be some of differences if you live in Korea.
4. What is your feeling about studying in American schools?
 - a. What do you think would be different if you go to a high school in Korea?
5. What language do you use (prefer to use) when talking with parents and siblings?
6. Tell me about your experience of studying science as a Korean. Is there any advantage or disadvantage?

Appendix B

Parent Interview

1. I am going to ask about your child' schooling, especially focusing on science learning.
 - a. Tell me about how you think your child is doing in school science.
 - b. Does he/she often share his/her challenges in science learning with you?
 - c. How do you support your child's science learning?
2. Tell me about your expectations for your child in terms of their schooling?
3. Tell me about your expectations for your child in terms of their future career?
4. Tell me about your immigration.
 - a. Why did your family decide to immigrate to the U.S.?
 - b. Why did you decide to live in this area?
5. Do you have challenges to support your child academically because you are Korean?

Appendix C

In an Opera Theater

March²⁷ 14, 2011. It was three days after the Japanese earthquake and tsunami occurred.

I was sitting at a theater to watch Puccini's opera, Madama Butterfly, which I had bought my ticket for the month prior. I was sitting in the first row of the theater, right in front of the orchestra pit, without any companions. The theater was full of people, mostly White and some Asian. They were all well dressed, and I thought that all the well-dressed middle-class people in the area must be here.

Before the performance started, I was reading the booklet about the performance that was given to the audience for free. In the middle of the booklet, there was a page that read:

Washington National Opera dedicates all remaining performances of Madama Butterfly to the people of Japan, as well as our many Japanese friends and colleagues.

To support disaster relief efforts and help those affected by the earthquake in Japan and tsunami throughout the Pacific, WNO patrons are encouraged to donate to the American Red Cross at 800.RED.CROSS or www.redcross.org.

²⁷ In this appendix, I use italic style to distinguish my crude reflection in the moment of the experience from more elaborated sense-making of the experience connected to broader contexts.

That's right! I realized that this opera was about a love affair between a Japanese geisha and an American general. I thought that their condolences were attributable to the fact that this opera is about a Japanese lady.

A little after 7 pm, players in the orchestra started tuning their instruments. The lights in the audience were turned off, and the audience became quiet. I was expecting that the curtain would open and the first song would start soon. Instead, a lady wearing a modern suit, not traditional Japanese clothes, came out from behind the curtain with a big hand-held microphone. She introduced herself as the director of the Washington National Opera and expressed her condolences to Japan and its people. What she said was the same as what was written in the one-page sheet that I had read. I thought that a speech before an opera performance was unusual. Yet, in the context of this unusual tragedy, it was reasonable and very kind of them to express their condolences, especially because the main character is Japanese and the main story line is situated in Japan in the late 1800's. While listening to the lady, I was thinking that I might donate money for the Japanese people.

At the end of the speech, the lady announced that the orchestra was going to play the Japanese national anthem and asked the audience to stand to demonstrate our condolences. At this request, I became conflicted. I did not know whether I should stand up or not. I felt several different selves were colliding with each other inside me.

I am a Korean female who was born and raised in Korea. About a hundred years ago, Japan occupied and governed my country for about 40 years. As I have always been a science- and math-focused person, I am not greatly knowledgeable about Korean history. However, like all Koreans, I know that Japan colonized Korea for a few decades

and tried to destroy old Korea and its people. Japanese governors enlisted Korean men to their army, exploited Korean women as the army's comfort women, and stole food and other material resources. They made my ancestors take Japanese last names, use the Japanese language, and put the Japanese national flag on the shirt of a Korean Olympic marathoner. By not allowing Korean names, language, or the national flag to be expressed, Japan wished to extinguish my ancestors' spirit as Korean.

Japanese national anthem as a cultural artifact entailing Koreans' struggles

During the Japanese colonization period, Japanese attempts to discontinue the Korean lineage and spirit included forcing Koreans to sing the Japanese national anthem (better known as *Kimigayo* to Koreans) at schools and during official events and assemblies. The lyrics of their national anthem praise Japanese imperialism and the everlasting Japanese empire. Historically, Japanese imperialists used the national anthem to convey their intent to expand their imperial empire and to constrain Korean people.

When I heard the director's request to stand up while the orchestra performed the Japanese national anthem, I first thought that I am Korean, so I could and should not stand up. The phrase Japanese national anthem connected me living in present to my country and ancestors of the past. To me, a Korean-born-and-raised female, the Japanese national anthem meant more than merely the national anthem of a country whose people were suffering in the aftermath of a natural disaster. Standing up for the Japanese national anthem meant more than expressing my condolences to those suffering people. The Japanese national anthem implied the struggles and pains that my ancestors must have experienced. To me, standing up for the Japanese national anthem meant disregarding those historical struggles of my ancestors and admitting Japanese imperialism.

Being positioned as a rude audience member

I was very perplexed and just stayed sitting down. I looked at the other people surrounding me. Everyone had already stood up. Since I was sitting in the front row of the theater, I could not see people in the back of the theater. I thought that people might think looking around was not an appropriate action at such a serious moment, so I had to stop looking around to see if there was anyone sitting. Yet, I still could not stand up. I was sitting without knowing what to do. Then, a White lady standing next to me stared at me. I felt her eyes saying, “What are you doing? You are supposed to stand up!”

Of course, I did not know why the woman looked at me. Yet, I felt that she might be thinking of me as a strange and rude person, and that was why she gave me a look. At that moment, I thought there were only two positions available to me: being a polite and benevolent citizen or a rude citizen. My status as a non-American would not matter at this moment because a citizen did not necessarily mean an American citizen, but rather a well-educated human being who understands other's suffering and shows sympathy. However, a citizen also meant someone who conforms to American middle-class norms, since standing up for the Japanese national anthem may not be a way to express sympathy to its people in other countries. For instance, I am sure that no one in Korea would ask citizens to stand up for the Japanese national anthem in any case. In other words, I was forced into being evaluated by White middle-class norms. If I stood up, I would be perceived as a well-educated person who conforms to American middle-class standard norms (i.e., following the director's request to express sympathy toward the Japanese people). If not, I would be perceived as an uneducated and rude person who refuses to express condolences in response to others' tragedy.

I might be viewed as a person with limited English proficiency who did not understand what the director requested, given my Asian-looking facial appearance—dark hair, flat face and nose, and slanted eyes. However, I was attending an opera, which was being performed in Italian with English subtitles. Moreover, the ticket was over one hundred dollars. As I did, most of the audience might assume that people at the theater were relatively highly educated and had middle-class backgrounds. I did not seem to have the choice of not understanding the request to stand up because a person with limited English proficiency would be unlikely to pay more than a hundred dollars to watch the opera without understanding the songs.

Perhaps they did not know that I am a Korean, and that my ethnic group has a traumatic history with regard to the Japanese national anthem. I could have explained it to people if I were in other settings. If I had even one minute, I might have been able to explain my situation to the people surrounding me. But none of these options were options to me in that moment. I had to decide to stand up (and become a polite and benevolent citizen) or stay sitting (and become an uneducated and rude citizen).

Choosing to enact a polite and benevolent citizen

After the short look from the White lady, I decided to stand up. But my body still did not want to stand up. I could not stand up straight. My knees were bent, and my legs were twisted. The soles of my feet did not fully touch the ground. I was leaning on outer edge of my soles.

At the moment of choice, I decided to enact a polite and benevolent citizen. I thought that being a polite citizen was less risky and less embarrassing. Importantly, I had to stay in the same space for about three hours to watch the opera. If I did not stand up, I

would have felt uncomfortable during the entire three hours. In addition, I was aware of the potential risk that not conforming to White middle-class norms might cause for an Asian woman. I was aware that Asians are often considered different others who do not share common sense, spirit, manners, or senses of humor with Americans in general. I was worried about being recognized as an oriental woman who did not share the accepted sense of sympathy and grief.

Positioning myself as a betrayer in my imaginary world

I was standing up in a weird pose for a few seconds, and many different thoughts came to my mind. I am not sure exactly what I was thinking. Perhaps I was feeling like my ancestors who were forced to sing this song several decades ago. Perhaps I was worried about being criticized by other Korean people for standing up at the Japanese national anthem. Perhaps I was feeling sympathetic to Japanese people. Maybe I was thinking of all of these things. But I clearly recall that I thought of a Korean comedian who stood up and applauded for the Japanese national anthem at a Japanese television show. While I was thinking of her, I became extremely emotional and started to cry. I cannot explain why I cried, but I believe that the tears were a kind of ventilation for a feeling of helplessness: it was a feeling that I could not do anything at the moment.

About a year before, a Korean comedian's actions became a controversial issue in the Korean mass media. The comedian was quite famous from Korean television shows and debuted on Japanese television a couple of years prior. During a television show, a Japanese singer sang *Kimigayo*, and the Korean comedian stood up, smiled cheerfully, and applauded with other Japanese people. The short video clip in which she applauded for the Japanese national anthem quickly spread amongst Korean Internet users, and she

got in trouble. She was harshly criticized for standing up and applauding the Japanese national anthem. In the end, she had to apologize and acknowledged publicly that she did not know that song was the Japanese national anthem. She asserted that if she knew, she would not have acted in the same way.

I was in a very similar situation to hers. The situation—the Japanese national anthem is played and other people stand up—was just given to me (and to her) but was not under my (or her) control or of my (or her) intention. Nonetheless, by standing up for the Japanese national anthem, I was exposed to the risk of potentially being criticized by other Koreans. To me, standing up—without applauding—was an inappropriate action in that moment. I felt as if I betrayed my country, my history, and my ancestors. I felt as if I disrespected historical struggles that my country and my ancestors faced. I felt like an uneducated Korean who forgot the tragic history of Korea. I knew that no Korean would know that I stood up for the Japanese national anthem because there were only White people surrounding me, so I was relatively safe and free from other Koreans interpreting me as a non-patriotic Korean and betrayer. Yet, I was doing so in my own positioning and identification of myself. I was imagining the people who criticized the comedian. In the figured world of Korea, my action of standing up would be interpreted as disrespectful to Korean history, and I would be recognized as pro-Japanese, which is a severe stigma in Korea. I did not want to accept that stigma.

Choosing to enact a lady who could not keep standing for sorrow

As I started to cry, I covered my mouth with my left hand and put my head down. I was still standing up. At that moment, an idea struck me. I was crying, so people might think that I was feeling extreme sorrow and sympathy. If I sit down and still cry, they might

assume that I had to sit down because I cried too hard to stay standing. No American audience would negatively judge me if I sat down in this situation. So I decided to sit down. After I waited for several seconds (since I had to show my effort to stay standing), I sat down quietly. I did not lift my head up nor did I pull my hand away from my mouth. I was sitting quietly, covering my mouth with my left hand and putting my head down, sometimes wiping tears with my right hand until the Japanese national anthem ended.

As I started crying, I realized that another position might be available to me: an extremely sympathetic female citizen who cannot keep standing for her tears of deep grief toward the suffering Japanese people. I do not exactly know why I cried and what the meaning of my tears were. But I do know that my tears were not because of my condolences toward the Japanese people. I believe that my tears were in part due to my respect for my ancestors and in part due to my frustration about the situation in which I found myself. I also felt the pains that my ancestors might have felt during the colonization and the trouble that the Korean comedian faced after her applauding for the Japanese national anthem. However, my tears accidentally opened another possibility of an identity to me. I evaluated that this identity of an overly-sympathetic citizen was not harmful. In addition, if I sat down again, I would be free from the risk of being viewed as pro-Japanese in my figured world of Korea. So I decided to enact this identity and have surrounding people position me as an extremely sensitive, sympathetic female citizen. When I sat down, no one stared at me, although I did not know if people behind me paid attention to me. The White woman who initially stared at me when I did not stand up did not look at me this time. I thought that the strategy of playing a sad female citizen was

successful. I enjoyed an absolute success for about a minute or so until the Japanese national anthem ended.

Being positioned as a Japanese woman and re-confirming the identity

After the Japanese national anthem ended, everyone sat down. Then, another White woman sitting behind me softly patted me on the shoulder. I looked back at her and smiled slightly toward her. I did not smile fully because I still had to express my deep grief. I was not sure why she patted me, but it struck me that she might have thought of me as a Japanese woman who could not stand my grief toward my own nationals.

Refusing to betray Korean people, Korean history, and the past tragedies of Korea, I came to attain a new identity as Japanese. This was ironic: I did not want to be pro-Japanese and instead became Japanese! Yet, interestingly, I was fine with this new identity. At a superficial level, my satisfaction does not make sense. However, I knew that my identity as Japanese was fake and temporary. I would not carry my Japanese identity to another situation or setting. In other words, I did not care about being Japanese for a minute because I am not Japanese and I would not be identified as Japanese in the future. On the contrary, my potential identity and stigma as pro-Japanese was real and would stick to me to a certain degree. I would remember the humiliating moment that I had to stand up for the Japanese national anthem. In addition, by being Japanese, I was able to avoid being positioned as either an uneducated, rude citizen or a disrespectful, pro-Japanese Korean, which I felt were the two most embarrassing identities.

I felt that my strategy was successful but in an unintended way. I wanted to re-confirm my identity not as an uneducated, rude world citizen, but as a well-educated, highly-sympathetic Japanese woman:

I wiped my face quietly but obviously to show that I was crying for the tragedy experienced by the people in my country.

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