Personal Identity Development, Practices, and Access to Resources in the Activity of Podcasting Storybook Writing

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ABSTRACT

By using ethnography as a method, I utilized Lave and Wenger's community of practice as a major lens and Vygotsky's genetic law of cultural development as a complementary lens, to visualize the second-language learning (SLL) that occurred in the activity of podcasting storybook writing. I organized my analysis on three intertwining themes: personal identity development, practices, and access to resources. This activity consisted of two practices: the practice of picture-based storytelling and the practice of storypodcasting. The former practice structured an initiation-response-evaluation (IRE)/ initiation-response-follow up (IRF) setting, while the latter practice built a community-of-learners (CoL) setting. In this thesis, I show that the practices structured not only participation forms but also social relations. These structured social relations shaped personal identity development. The personal identity development affected access to learning resources. In addition, access to learning resources was also practice-dependent. I show what the learning resources were, and how the students created, accessed and made sense of them in the practice of picture-based storytelling.

Keywords: second language learning; community of practice; personal identity; practice; access to resources

In memory of my parents

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1: INTRODUCTION

Since the 1980s, SLL research from a sociocultural perspective has been increasingly popular. Some scholars focus on a Vygotskian perspective in second language (L2) research (see, e.g., various articles in Lantolf & Appel, 1994, and Lantolf, 2000), and assert that human learning, including SLL, and development are inherently embedded in social relations. Some others are inspired by Lave and Wenger's conceptualization of communities of practice (e.g. Lave & Wenger, 1991; Norton, 2000; Toohey, 2000; Toohey, Day & Manyak, 2007), investigating L2 learners' social relations with their peers, the development of their personalities and behaviours, the nature of learning contexts, and the availability of and access to learning resources. Their contributions to SLL research have confirmed that social interactions in particular contexts play an important role in affecting SLL.

This current study is affiliated with Toohey and Neufeld's SILICLE (A Sociocultural Investigation of Literacy Instruction for Children Learning English as a Second Language) research project, in which Toohey and Neufeld conducted literacy research with ESL students in two schools in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia from 2006-2009. This research involved working with children's teachers to set up particular instructional conditions and then documenting them. One of their projects was based on picture-based storytelling and subsequent podcasting of children's stories. Students involved in one site were Grade 6/7

English language learners in their Language Arts class. The project took place in one semester (around 4 months) at "E Elementary School", where most of the students are refugees from various places in the world and usually speak languages other than English at home.

I used Lave and Wenger's (1991) community-of-practice as a major lens and Vygotsky's genetic law of cultural development as a complementary lens to examine data available from the study described above. I collected some of the data myself, but much of what I will analyze in the thesis was collected by other research assistants. I see my thesis not so much as an ethnographic study, but as a kind of theoretical discussion illustrated in part by ethnographic data. I focus on a group of focal students and analyze particular interactions in which they engaged from three viewpoints: (1) the changes in one student's individual identity, (2) SLL practices in the activities of picture-based story-telling and story-podcasting, and (3) students' creation of, access to and sense-making of learning resources. The same data will be examined from these three viewpoints.

I am aware that there is a great amount of theoretical and empirical research that details how and what multimodal literacy can contribute to language learning, including SLL, and the podcasting storybook writing is one of the multimodal activities in the SILICLE project. However, the focus of my study is a theoretical discussion of learners' evolving participation on three themes of identity development, practices, and access to resource. Therefore, I do not include multimodal literacy studies and their literature reviews in this dissertation.

I was an adult immigrant to Canada. English is my second language, and learning English has been part of my on-going daily activity. In that sense, I likely took on an insider's perspective while observing the students' learning and behaviours in the school environment, and I observed whether or not learning materials, practices and the learning environment enhanced their English learning. At the same time, I took an outsider role in that Canadian schools and their practices are not familiar to me, and because of this, I was perhaps able to approach the data "with fresh eyes". With both insider and outsider perspectives, I believe I was at an advantage in analyzing these data.

1.1 Contributions of recent SLL research

In Lave and Wenger's (1991) community-of-practice formulation, there are three themes: negotiation of identity, practice through legitimate peripheral participation, and access to resources. Many ethnographic research studies have made contributions to the study of SLL by illuminating these three themes. For example, Norton (2000) studied the relationship between identity and SLL by paying attention to how the identities of language learners influenced their access to practice in the L2. Toohey (2008) used identity, practice, and resources to organize descriptions of recent ethnographic work on language education. In this section, I use identity, practice and resources as frames to categorize and introduce recent SLL research from a sociocultural perspective that used Lave and Wenger's (1991) community-of-practice as a lens and ethnography as a research method.

1.1.1 Contributions of recent SLL research on identity

According to Toohey, Day, and Manyak (2007), identity "generally refers to the view that individuals have of themselves and of their relationship to the social world" (p. 626). From a sociocultural and post-structural point of view, identities are "socially constructed, dynamic, multiple, and conflictive" (p. 628). They are also "evolving products of participation in social practices" (p. 627), through which "individuals and communities [...] exert diverse forms of agency that contribute to the 'authoring' of their own identities" (p. 627). Thus, identities are deeply influenced by "power relations within inequitably structured social contexts" (p. 626). Toohey et al.'s work built on Hall's identity perspective, such that "identity is not as transparent or unproblematic as we think", and it is "a 'production', which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation" (Hall, 1990, p. 222). "Representation" here refers to how someone is characterized by others in their community. It is "representation". For example, if I say X is a good student, I am re-presenting X. Even though identities are not necessarily explicitly stated, some argue that ethnographic methods may make them visible (e.g., Harklau, 2000; Lin, 1999; Morita 2004; Norton, 2000; Toohey, 2000).

Regarding how individuals' identities relate to their SLL, Toohey et al. (2007) used concepts of positioning to illustrate interactions between identities and SLL. According to Davies & Harré (1990) and Toohey et al. (2007), whenever we communicate through speech and non-verbal behaviour, "we create certain social positions for ourselves and simultaneously position others in particular ways" (Toohey et al., 2007, p. 627). At the same time, we are placed

by others in the community through what we say and what we do. The positioning processes are ongoing, open-ended and socially constructed, and they strongly "influence our identities (the ways we view ourselves and our relationship to the world)" (p. 627). Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) pointed out that positioning is an important concept for understanding the negotiation of identity, and they stated that "negotiation of identity will be understood as an interplay between reflective positioning, i.e. self-representation, and interactive positioning, whereby others attempt to position or reposition particular individuals or groups" (p.20).

Some ethnographic research (Harklau, 2000; Norton, 2000; Toohey, 2000) has made explicit identity positioning processes, and found that these processes contributed significantly to learners' access to second-language resources and their evolving relationships with school communities and peers. Some other ethnographic research (Lin, 1999; Morita 2004) also made clear the ways that second-language learners construct relationships to the target language and negotiate their identities during SLL. All the ethnographic research studies mentioned above are illustrated as follows.

In Harklau's (2000) research, she found that ESL students' accomplishments across two educational settings were quite different. She carried out a yearlong case study of three focal language minority students in the high school and the community college they eventually went to. In the high school, the focal students' classroom interactions and identity construction derived from participation in mainstream classrooms, in which they were praised

for their achievements despite their having to perform in a second language. They performed well and had high motivation in learning, so that their highschool teachers admired them and characterized them as good students. After they graduated from high school, they entered the ESL program of a community college. This program enrolled mostly new immigrants with post-secondary education and various experiences, and this did not reflect the focal students' experiences in an American high school. The ESL students, including the focal students, in this community college found themselves to be treated as deficient in learning. Thus, the focal students had labels in the community college completely different from the labels they acquired at high school, resulting in resistance to this identity. Eventually, they bypassed the ESL program and registered in firstyear courses. According to this ethnographic research on SLL, (1) identity is unstable and dynamic; (2) it derives from people's interactions (e.g., teachersstudents), and (3) it is significantly affected by contexts (e.g., institutional settings). This example illustrates a shift in identity from a good position to a poor position. The following example illustrates an individual identity shifting from a poor position to a good position.

Norton's (2000) ethnographic study of identity and SLL illuminated the relationships among negotiation of individual identity, social networks, access to English, and practice of English. She discussed how Eva, one of the focal second-language learners in her study, shifted her identity by trying several ways to get access to the social network in her workplace in order to have opportunities to practice English with Anglophone co-workers and customers.

Eva, a new immigrant from Poland to Canada, was married to a Polish husband and lived in a Polish community in Newtown, Ontario. Upon arrival in Canada, she worked at an Italian store, where co-workers respected her, but there were few opportunities there to speak English. Hence, she switched to another job at a fast food restaurant and expected more opportunities to practice speaking English there. However, due to her poor English, she was assigned menial jobs to do, such as clearing out garbage, cleaning the floors and tables, and preparing drinks. In her opinion, these jobs were for "stupid" people, and they required minimal conversation with Anglophone customers and co-workers, and they carried a low social status, so no one liked to do them. As a result, no one at the restaurant liked to talk to Eva. At that time, Eva's identity at work excluded her from access to an Anglophone social network, so she had few opportunities to practice speaking English. This poor situation for Eva had lasted for several months until she tried several ways of changing it. One of the ways her identity changed was due to the fact that her boyfriend helped provide transportation for her co-workers to off-site social outings. From Norton's perspective, "Eva's coworkers began to perceive Eva differently once they recognized that she had useful and desirable allies outside the workplace" (pp. 66-67). Norton claimed that Eva's useful and desirable ally, her boyfriend, may have been important in her identity negotiation. Thus, Eva's relationship to her co-workers and her identity in her co-workers' eyes started to change. After several efforts, Eva's relationships with her co-workers became better and better, they were willing to talk to her, and her opportunities to practice speaking English increased. The

contribution of the ethnographic research to the study of SLL is that improvement of social relations may shape individuals' identities that influence their access to learning resources and practice of second-language.

Toohey (2000) used ethnographic methods to study relationships among identity, social practice, and resources for child English language learners in school classrooms. In this study, one focal student, Amy, who had an identity as a "cute little girl", had positive social relations with her peers. This provided her with access to community resources, and as a result, her opportunity to practice English increased and her English ability improved throughout the year.

Conversely, another focal student, Harvey, who spoke English with a strong accent, was not understood by his peers and teacher. His access to desired material in the classroom was often contested by other children. His peers frequently denied him access to play with them, and mocked and laughed at him, causing him frustration and anger. Hence, he rarely had opportunities to participate and practice in the classroom communities. Eventually, this caused him to participate less in English conversations. The contribution of this ethnographic research to the study of SLL is that individual identity shapes social relations and influences access to resources and practice of a second language.

Morita's (2004) ethnographic case study illustrated that Japanese students in Canada faced major challenges in negotiating competence, identities, and power relations, in order to be recognized as legitimate and competent members of their classroom communities. In this study, Lisa, one of focal students, was an English teacher at a Japanese high school, but she had problems in contributing

to class discussions at a Canadian university because of limited English listening comprehension, limited content knowledge, fear of making English mistakes, and feeling inferior to her classmates. Her identity as an incompetent second-language student drove her to improve her oral skills and participation in class discussions by employing a variety of strategies. Thus, she gradually contributed to class discussions, and gained more confidence in speaking English. After her long-term and profound personal transformation, she started to see herself as an English speaker in a more positive way.

Lin's (1999) ethnographic study explored how students with a wide range of socioeconomic backgrounds were shaped by social structures at four diverse middle school classrooms in Hong Kong and how they transformed their language abilities. The students in the first class were all from families with high socioeconomic status. They inherited cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1973, 1977, 1991) from their families and usually read a variety of extracurricular materials in English and Cantonese. They did not have problems when the class was taught in English. Hence, they were not only fluent in responses to the teacher's questions, but also elaborated on their answers with the teacher's prompting throughout the entire course. The students in the next two classes came from families with low socioeconomic status. They usually communicated in Cantonese and did not read extracurricular materials in English. Their English ability was poor, but their English teacher taught them in English all the time, and the instructions were boring to them. Throughout the entire course, the students perceived themselves as not having the chance to go to university. The students

In the fourth class also came from families with low socioeconomic status. However, with encouragement and comprehensible instruction from their teacher, the students could see themselves doing better and better on their English dictations, exercises, and tests. Hence, they believed that they could not only succeed in school but also would have a good chance of entering a university in the future. The contribution of this research to the study of SLL is that the socioeconomic status of family often shapes individual identity, which influences access to English resources and practice of English. However, with help of a teacher, students' creative and discursive agency (Collins, 1993), with which the students used their own ways to create learning opportunities that were opposed to being forcefully shaped by the social structures, may construct a good relationship with English and shape their individuals' identities significantly in a positive way, leading to more access to English resources and practice of English.

1.1.2 Contributions of recent SLL research on practice

Lave and Wenger's (1991) community of practice notion, which saw learning as evolving participation and involved negotiating identities and relations in communities of practice, provides ways to investigate the social contexts where SLL is occurring. It also unveils the SLL process in which practices structure social relations and influence individual identities and access to learning resources. Inspired by Lave and Wenger's insights, many SLL research studies shifted attention from learners' personal traits to examining how a community provides contexts for participants to practice and to the ways in which social

relations, individual identities and access to learning resources are structured by practices. Hence, structuring communities and their practices in ways that facilitate or constrain second-language learners' access to learning resources has become a focus in SLL research.

Gutiérrez, Baquedaño-López & Tejeda (1999) used ethnographic case study methodology to find that hybrid practices of blending classroom instruction with students' unauthorized improvisational behaviours, with a teacher's appropriate guidance, might help learning. Some of their focal students (Grade 2 or 3) were native Spanish speakers with proficient English, and some were native English speakers with proficient Spanish. Their teacher was a native Mexican and fluent in both Spanish and English. The particular classroom was flexible and open to students' unauthorized improvisational behaviours and verbal contributions. One day, one student called another student "homo" during the classroom instruction, followed by a series of student questions about homosexuality and human reproduction. Under the teacher's guidance, the class decided to learn about the human reproductive system that was not in their regular curriculum. Gutiérrez et al. arque that this hybrid practice allowed contradictions or frictions among students or between students and teacher to become the impetus to reorganize learning, invoke new forms of participation to practice, and gain more access to learning resources in SLL.

Manyak (2001) used Lave and Wenger's community of practice as a theoretical lens and ethnography as a method for a situated analysis of a dynamic literacy practice in a primary-grade English immersion class. In his

article, he used the notions of hybrid language and hybrid literacy practices to conceptualize the blending of Spanish and English, home and school registers, and "formal" and "informal" knowledge that occurred during the production of the "Daily News". The class where he did participant observation included 15 firstgrade and 5 second-grade native Spanish-speaking children and the teacher, Ms. Page, who was fluent in both English and Spanish. In the first semester, the children participated in writing the daily news by narrating their out-of-school lives in Spanish in class, and their stories were scribed on a large sheet of lined paper by their teacher, Ms. Page, who provided the children with situated instruction in English writing by demonstration. Sometimes, other students translated these stories in English. Ms. Page asked the children to read these translated stories chorally. In this phase, the children were not passive spectators, but they shared peers' narratives, questioned their peers, offered English translations, dictated to Ms. Page, and read chorally. At the end of this phase, Ms. Page bound the children's stories into a book, which was added to the class library, and the children were free to read them. In the second semester, all the children had a chance to play the role of reporter that Ms. Page had filled in the first semester. The reporters were free to work in English or Spanish. When the children took on the role of reporter without Ms. Page's supervision, they experienced an essentially hybrid practice where their home lives and school literacy were inextricably mixed and English and Spanish were used interchangeably. At the same time, more responsibility and independence in the hybrid literacy practice were passed to the reporters who were considered to play more central roles in

the classroom community activity. Later on, Ms. Page edited the children's narratives and the children recopied the revised version for inclusion in a monthly volume of the newspaper. In this research, Manyak found that a wide range of participatory roles evolved over time in the hybrid literacy practice, and the children's identities, such as translators, capable writers, peer teachers, and so on, were fluid. It was successful in that Ms. Page created the context for the hybrid language practice to allow the children to have the freedom to write, to read, and to talk in Spanish and English, leading the children to learn English (second language) with Spanish (first language). Even though most of the children shared their narratives in Spanish, they witnessed their words translated into English and had access to recurring demonstrations of the composing process in English. Eventually, the children's year-end performance on the Language Assessment Scales (an assessment of oral English proficiency) indicated that they made significant improvement in acquiring English. The contribution of this study is its demonstration that hybrid language/literacy practice provides many forms of participation, generates a need for collaboration, allows learners to get access to a wide range of learning resources, and helps learners to learn the second language with the first language.

Norton and Toohey (2001) compared practice in a workplace with practice at school regarding second-language learners' access to English. In the adult Eva's case (discussed above), her participation in practice of English at Munchies (a workplace) was very difficult for the first several months. After her efforts to enhance how she was seen by co-workers and her boss, she was

reassigned to other jobs in the restaurant which allowed her to get more practice in English and access to English resources. Conversely, in the child Julie's case, her participation in practice in English at school seemed effortless. The teacher recognized her own responsibility in helping the students, including Julie, to improve their English skills and provided them with much scaffolding in the learning process and many opportunities to practice speaking English. The contribution of this research to the study of SLL is that social structures/contexts strongly affect practice of second-language and access to learning resources; practicing the second-language at school is encouraged and scaffolded, but practice in the second-language at the workplace depends on socioeconomic status and social relations.

Another relevant study is that of Gebhard (2002), who investigated how state-level educational reform impacted second language learners' practice of reading and writing. In this study, the teacher asked students to edit their writing by themselves, and did not allow extended talk between students. In other words, the classroom interaction patterns positioned students as independent problem-solvers. Under this context, Alma, one focal student, completed her tasks and assignments with minimum support from her teacher and peers. The teacher corrected Alma's poor writing without collaborative dialogue, so Alma's writing skills were still poor and she was labelled as a learning-disabled student. In this case, classroom rules that prohibited interaction practices in class invisibly constrained second language learners' access to some learning resources (e.g., collaborative dialogue) and much needed linguistic practice.

1.1.3 Contributions of recent SLL research on resources

According to Lave and Wenger's (1991) community of practice theory, learning is a process of evolving participation in communities of practice. The process involves changing identities and relations and negotiating memberships. Through legitimate peripheral participation, newcomers are gradually transformed into old-timers in communities of practice. Lave and Wenger (1991) asserted that "learning, thinking, and knowing are relations among people in activity in, with, and arising from the socially and culturally structured world" (p. 51), and suggested moving "the focus of analysis away from teaching and onto the intricate structuring of a community's learning resources" (p. 94). Likewise, Manyak (2001) noted that "learning depends on the resources available to support evolving forms of participation in practice and the structure of access to those resources" (p. 457). Toohey et al. (2007) pointed out that learning resources include social relations for identity development, diverse forms of collaboration to enable participants' performance, the community's shared history, tools and understandings, and members' unique knowledge.

Do these learning resources contribute equally to supporting evolving forms of participation in practice? Wertsch (1991) pointed out that resources are not valued equally in communities. He (1991) argued, "Privileging refers to the fact that one mediational means, such as a social language, is viewed as being more appropriate or efficacious than others in a particular sociocultural setting" (p. 124). If one applies the concept of privileging to learning resources of SLL, the question may emerge: what learning resources are seen as more appropriate than others for SLL, and how is this privileging accomplished?

Ethnographic research may provide an answer to the above question, and that is shown in Duff's (2002) research, in her ethnographic case study to illuminate pop-culture resources Canadian local students had in learning. She demonstrated that the learning problems of ESL students came from familiarity with completely different pop-culture resources. She observed two Grade 10 social studies classes at one school; one class had 18 ESL and 10 local students, and the other had 7 ESL and 17 local students. The teacher brought Canadian pop culture into classroom's discussions. These discursive practices delighted the local students and teacher because they allowed them to co-construct and display identities, knowledge, interests, experiences, and sense of humor. However, the practice completely excluded most of the ESL students who were not familiar with Canadian pop culture. In terms of Wertsch's concept of privileging, one may argue that L2 pop-culture may be a more appropriate learning resource for advanced second language learners, but not so much for beginners.

The following two ethnographic research studies also make visible L2 learning resources and the access to them. In Manyak's (2001) research mentioned above, the children drew on every resource they possessed in writing and reading their narratives. The learning resources included first language (Spanish), second language (English), and their peers. Through L1 and L2, the children learned collaboratively, wrote personal experiences, and produced texts in two languages. Through collaboration, the children mediated one another's literacy learning within zones of proximal development (ZPD), in Vygotsky's

(1978) concept. Thus, the children became "thinking resources for one another" (Moll, Tapia, & Whitmore, 1993, p. 160). Hybrid language practice not only supported the children's English learning, but also facilitated collaboration across languages. When the children worked together collaboratively in narrating their out-of-school lives in Spanish and translating in English, more blending of literacy practice in English and Spanish occurred. This article provided several valuable points as follows: (1) learning resources involve first language, second language and their peers, (2) access to the resources is important to SLL, and (3) the available resources support evolving forms of participation in practice.

Smythe and Toohey (2009) used ethnographic methods to understand the sociohistorical and cultural contexts for literacy learning in the Punjabi-Sikh community in which they conducted research, and to find out the kinds of literacy practices that children engaged in outside of school. Some findings in this article are related to learning resources of SLL. Not all the students had equal access to English learning resources; the SLL children did not have the same access to English print literacy as their peers with English as first language. In addition to that, socioeconomic status also affected their access to cultural and linguistic resources.

1.2 Overview of this thesis: SLL in the picture-based storytelling and podcasting environments

In Chapter 2, I discuss two sociocultural perspectives. They are Vygotsky's (1987) sociocultural theory (SCT) that includes the genetic law of cultural development, and Lave and Wenger's (1991) community-of-practice,

both of which were used as lenses in this thesis to visualize the students' learning. These two sociocultural theoretical perspectives are not in contradiction with each other, but they complement each other in making visible the SLL process.

In Chapter 3, I introduce ethnography, its history, and how ethnography was used as a method in the larger project, of which this thesis is a part. In Chapter 4, I describe the whole story that occurred in the activity of podcasting storybook writing. In Chapter 5, I examine issues of evolving personal identity with evolving participation and the phenomena that practices structured participation forms and social relations. I also explore what the learning resources were for the students to access and how they created, got access to and made sense of these learning resources. Chapter 6 summarizes the conclusions of my theoretical explorations.

2: SOCIOCULTURAL THEORIES

In the past twenty years, SLL research has applied sociocultural theoretical perspectives including Vygotsky's (1987) sociocultural theory (SCT), Bakhtin's (1981) dialogism, Wertsch's sociocultural-situated mediated action, and Lave and Wenger's (1991) community of practice among others. These theories "reflect the fundamentally social nature of learning and cognition" (Kirshner & Whitson, 1997, p. 1), and serve as lenses to make visible social processes in SLL, and provide "increased understanding of how people acquire knowledge, skills, and identities through participation in historically, culturally, and socially constituted practices" (Toohey, Day & Manyak, 2007, p. 628). In this thesis, I use Lave and Wenger's (1991) community-of-practice as a major lens and Vygotsky's genetic law of cultural development as a complementary lens to observe the students' learning, and here I introduce the two theories and how they are used in SLL research. In addition to the genetic law of cultural development, Vygotsky proposed a model of a mediated stimulus-response process, semiotic mediation, and the zone of proximal development (ZPD). These are highly related to the genetic law of cultural development, and together underpin Vygotsky's sociocultural theory (SCT). Hence, I will also introduce Vygotsky's theories in the following section and how they have been used in SLL research in Section 3.0.

2.1 Vygotsky's SCT

SCT originates in Lev Semeonovich Vygotsky's writings (e.g., 1978, 1981, 1987). The first of his many writings, *Thought and Language*, appeared in English translation in 1962. To put it briefly, Vygotsky believed that thought has a social origin and language functions as a tool in the development of individual thought from this sociocultural origin. To support his claim that human thought has a social origin, he (1981) stated that higher mental functions appear first on the "interpsychological" (i.e., social) plane and later on the "intrapsychological" (i.e., individual) plane, and thus formulated his "genetic law of cultural development".

From Vygotsky's perspective, humans have two lines of development, which may come into contact and transform each other. One line is the natural development of biological maturation, which he saw as constituted by natural (elementary) mental functions, such as biologically instinctive, or conditioned reflex behaviours. The other, more important, line for him is cultural development in which elementary mental functions become transformed into higher mental functions, including voluntary attention, voluntary memory, rational thought, planning, problem-solving, and meaning-making activity.

In his model of the mediated stimulus-response process (Figure 1),

Vygotsky (1978) used the formula of S (stimulus)→R (response) to represent our

perception ("natural memory") (p. 38) processes. He argued that humans "extend
the operation of memory beyond the biological dimensions of the human nervous
system and permit it to incorporate artificial, or self-generated, stimuli, which we

call signs" (p. 39), and that humans actively engaged in establishing the link of S (stimulus) \rightarrow X (signs) \rightarrow R (response). He mentioned that signs (X), which he characterized as "second order" (p. 39) stimuli, may be used as tools in the development of individual thought from sociocultural contexts. Thus, from his perspective, the model of mediated stimulus-response process is "basic to all higher psychological processes" (p. 40).

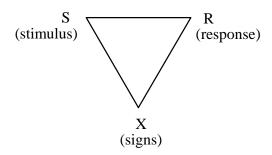


Figure 1 Vygotsky's (1978) model of mediated stimulus-response process

Vygotsky gradually transformed the model of the mediated stimulusresponse process into the concept of semiotic mediation. He argued that various semiotic forms, such as language, signs, symbols, formulae, letters, codes, and so on, may serve as tools and "second order" stimuli in the development of human thought from sociocultural contexts. These semiotic forms have been infused with meanings through long-term practices in various human cultures. When appropriating semiotic forms, we internalize these forms and their accompanied meanings as meaningful psychological tools that are capable of organizing our cognition in various contexts. On the contrary, if we internalize these forms without their accompanying meanings, these forms cannot become

tools to organize our cognition. Hence, semiotic forms cannot serve as tools until they are infused with sociocultural meanings with the meanings being more important than the semiotic forms.

Vygotsky (1978) also asserted that learning collaboratively with more competent others, particularly in instructional settings in a zone of proximal development (ZPD), shapes development better than learning alone. The ZPD was defined as: "... the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (p. 86). According to Vygotsky's model of semiotic mediation, it is possible that learning can be accomplished by a learner "alone". Under this circumstance, language can serves as a semiotic mediation for learners to appropriate outside learning resources on their own. However, without collaborative learning with more competent others, Vygotksy argued that learning development might be less efficient.

According to his genetic law of cultural development mentioned above, learning collaboratively with more competent others in the ZPD might involve the transition from the interpsychological to intrapsychological functioning. From Wertsch's (1979) perspective, the learner, whose ZPD is activated by collaborative learning with more competent others, moves through the stage of other-regulation to the stage of complete self-regulation. The stage of other-regulation usually occurs with unskilled people who learn by carrying out tasks under the guidance of other more skilled individuals such as parents, siblings, or

teachers, whereas at the stage of complete self-regulation, learners are capable of independent problem-solving.

2.2 Lave and Wenger's community-of-practice

Lave and Wenger's (1991) construct, *community-of-practice*, provides an analytical perspective on learning. They shifted focus on learning from an individual cognitive process to learning as evolving participation in communities of practice. From their perspective, learning is not just situated in local practice, but is an integral part of social practice in the world. Learning is not only in relation to specific activities, but also in relation to social communities.

In communities of practice, the initial state of learning is called legitimate peripheral participation (LPP). From Lave and Wenger's (1991) perspective, "the form that the legitimacy of participation takes is a defining characteristic of ways of belonging" (p. 35). A participant must be granted legitimacy by the relevant community to take on the identity of a LPP in that community, and the legitimate participant also develops a sense of belonging to the community. Peripherality "suggests an opening, a way of gaining access to sources for understanding through growing involvement" (p. 37). Regarding participation, it is a type of social practice and emphasizes the social nature of learning. Learning is conceptualized as an evolving participation in communities of practice. For Lave and Wenger (1991), LPP involves "changing locations and perspectives" (p. 36) in participants' learning trajectories in which participants' identities and forms of membership keep negotiating, developing and evolving.

In communities of practice, learning trajectories of learners involve changing locations, perspectives, identities, forms of membership, and relations in the social world. Initially, a newcomer works as an apprentice and performs social practice with other people, including other newcomers, old-timers, and masters in a community. The relations of the newcomer with these people are important because they may provide opportunities for the newcomer to learn. Newcomers may not have an opportunity to learn directly from their masters, but most of the time, they learn with certain old-timers or other newcomers. Whenever newcomers gain knowledge or skills, their perspectives may evolve, and their relations to other people, activities, community and the world also change. Eventually the newcomers will become old-timers, and the newcomerold-timer relations will be shifted to old-timer-old-timer relations. The responsibilities and jobs that newcomers take may be light and trivial, but they will take on more of them after they become old-timers. Hence, their relations to the activities, the community, and the world are changing as they become oldtimers. Overall, people and their relations in a community of practice reciprocally define each other, and the community-of-practice framework emphasizes "sociocultural transformation of the changing relations between newcomers and old-timers in the context of a changing shared practice" (p. 49).

Lave and Wenger defined identities as "living relations between persons and their place and participation in communities of practice" (p. 53). As newcomers participate in social practice, their perspectives and relations to other people, activities, community, and the world keep changing, so their identities

and positions in a community of practice continue to evolve. From Lave and Wenger's perspective, learning also involves constructing identity in a community of practice.

Transparency is another important condition in a community of practice that fosters learning. It allows newcomers to gain access to skills, knowledge, information, resources, ongoing activities, old-timers, and all the opportunities in a community, so that they can move towards full participation.

Lave and Wenger argued that "a deeper sense of the value of participation to the community and the learner lies in becoming part of the community" (p. 111). The sense of belonging makes newcomers stay with the community. Newcomers do not stand still in a community. Some of them may be motivated to move forward. The motivation for newcomers to move from legitimate peripheral participation to full participation in a community of practice is that they desire to become full practitioners. As they move towards full participation, not only do their jobs and responsibilities get heavier, but, more significantly, their increasing sense of identity as master practitioners also increases.

I have developed a figure to depict Lave and Wenger's *community of* practice (see Figure 2 below). In this figure, I emphasize (1) learning as evolving participation in communities of practice and (2) the reciprocal relations between evolving participation in a community of practice and social practices in the world.

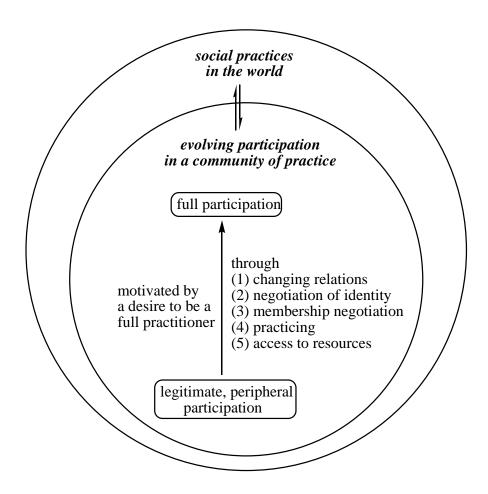


Figure 2 Shu-Hwa Wu-developed diagram representing Lave and Wenger's community-ofpractice

This community-of-practice theory provides the perspective that learning is evolving participation in communities of practice which involves changing identities and relations and negotiating membership. The theoretical framework has been a popular lens in SLL studies (e.g., Haneda, 1997, 2008; Leki, 2001; Morita, 2004; Toohey, 1996, 2000; Toohey, Waterstone, & Julé-Lemke, 2000).

2.3 Remarks on the sociocultural theoretical perspectives

In the past twenty years, SLL research has used sociocultural theoretical perspectives as lenses to make learning visible. These sociocultural theoretical perspectives unveil different parts of the SLL processes. For example, Vygotsky's (1987) sociocultural theory (SCT) asserts that humans' higher mental functions have a social origin, and its application to SLL research is to make visible the social nature of SLL. Lave and Wenger's (1991) community of practice formulation is that learning is evolving participation in communities of practice that involves changing identities, relations, and negotiating memberships. Its application to SLL research is to make visible the SLL process and to provide a way to investigate social contexts where SLL is occurring.

According to Rogoff's (1995) model of *three planes of analysis*, any activity may involve personal, interpersonal, and community aspects. One may use a sociocultural approach to analyze an activity through the personal, interpersonal or community plane. Rogoff introduced three concepts of developmental processes, which are *participatory appropriation*, *guided participation*, and *apprenticeship*, in correspondence to the three planes of analysis when observing activities with a sociocultural approach. She stressed that the three developmental processes/planes are inseparable and mutually constituted, but one can choose one plane as the focus of analysis; however, at the same time, one should keep the other two planes in mind without losing the vision that treats the system of the three planes of analysis as a whole.

According to Rogoff (1995), the *apprenticeship* concept reflects an activity with a focus on the community plane, where newcomers advance their skills and understanding through participating with others in culturally organized activity. Newcomers' development is related to institutional structures and cultures and relationships among people in an activity. The concept of *guided participation* reveals an activity with a focus on the interpersonal plane, where newcomers engage in an activity through guidance by social partners. Newcomers' development and engagement with an activity are related to relationships and interactions between newcomers and social partners. The concept of *participatory appropriation* signifies the personal plane of an activity, where newcomers transform their understanding and responsibilities through participatory appropriation in a certain activity and become prepared for subsequent similar activities.

An activity may develop through the personal, interpersonal and community planes, but one can analyze an activity through one of the three planes. To analyze an activity through any one of the three planes, one needs an appropriate lens that corresponds to the chosen plane of analysis to observe an activity. In my opinion, Vygotsky's semiotic mediation can be a lens for analysis through the personal plane, because the semiotic mediation emphasizes a mediation role of semiotic forms during learners' appropriation. The semiotic forms can be languages or pictures that carry specific cultural or historical meanings. While appropriating languages or pictures, one gets access to their

cultural or historical meanings. After making sense of the meanings, one may use/apply the same languages or pictures in other similar activities.

Vygotsky's genetic law of cultural development is qualified as a lens for analysis through the personal and interpersonal planes. The genetic law of cultural development emphasizes psychological development through two planes; the first occurs at the interpersonal plane, followed by appearance at the personal plane. The lens gives us a guide to pay attention to the origin of the psychological development, which is the interpersonal plane. In addition, the lens also guides us to watch if the psychological development is transformed through the personal plane during appropriation.

Lave and Wenger's community of practice can be a lens for analysis through the interpersonal and community planes. The community of practice stresses learning as evolving participation in communities. Newcomers' evolving participation through practice may transform their understanding and responsibilities, and that may change their positioning in communities, relations with others, their personal identities, and access to further learning resources. All of these perspectives provided by the community of practice belong to the community plane of analysis. When we take a closer look at how newcomers participate in communities, one can find out that one possible route is through guidance by old-timers or through exploratory participation with other newcomers. What happens between newcomers/newcomers and newcomers/old-timers during newcomers' participation belongs to the interpersonal plane of analysis.

The following two examples illustrate how the genetic law of cultural development works through the "ZPD" concept on the interpersonal plane. The first example involves collaborative peer revision in an English composition course, and the second example is related to English learning and teaching in interactive dialogue journals written between a teacher and a student. I also use the community of practice as a lens in these two examples to visualize how the newcomers got access to learning resources through collaborative learning with another newcomer or old-timer on the interpersonal plane.

In the first example, De Guerrero and Villamil (2000) used the ZPD concept as a lens to visualize two Spanish students' peer revision in an English composition course and adopted the microgenetic method¹ to explore the social genesis of writing and revision skills. In this research, the two Spanish students served as the reader and the writer, respectively, in revising the writer's paper. According to Vygotsky's ZPD concept, the reader, who provided comments on the writer's paper, served as a mediator to help the writer go beyond the latter's original capacity and improved the latter's writing skills. Thus, from Vygosky's point of view, the writer was in the stage of other-regulation, but was gradually advancing to the stage of complete self-regulation. I will illustrate more details in the next paragraph.

From the beginning, the reader intended to improve the writer's writing skills. Although the writer was passive at the beginning of the interaction, he was convinced by the reader's comments and was aware of his deficiency in writing

FI. . .

The microgenetic method, developed by Vygotsky, is an approach to examine moment-to-moment changes in participants' behaviours.

performance. This is the moment at which the writer's ZPD was activated. Sometimes in the process, the writer did not accept the reader's comments on some points and felt unhappy with the reader's revision. However, despite this, the reader was still willing to try to help the writer. Sometimes, when the reader was not competent enough in English to advise the writer, they helped each other in searching for the solutions for the revision. This is a case of mutual scaffolding. The metaphor of scaffolding refers to "the process by which tutors parents, caretakers, teachers, or more expert partners—help someone less skilled solve a problem" (De Guerrero & Villamil, 2000, p. 63). Eventually, the writer and the reader collaboratively reached a solution. Meanwhile, because the reader revised the paper from the writer's perspective, a state of shared understanding, focus, and intention, i.e., intersubjectivity, might gradually emerge. Due to this intersubjectivity, they helped each other in the revision. Ultimately, the writer's other-regulation was turned into self-regulation by evidence of "his adoption in the final draft of all the changes he himself suggested" (p. 63) and "his further revision" (p. 63). The authors argue that development of writing skills in English is not a linear process, but an irregular and dynamic movement involving regression, progression, and creativity. Overall, the writer's writing skills developed in social interaction (interpsychological plane) with the reader in the peer revision, followed by internalization into the writer's mind (intrapsychological plane).

I also examine the interactions between the reader and the writer through the interpersonal plane with the lens of community-of-practice. It can be seen that the instructional setting in this case was set up in a collaborative learning mode. The reader was slightly more competent than the writer in English writing skills, so they both were newcomers in working on revising the writer's English paper. At the beginning, the writer was passive in their interaction; however, the reader's comments convinced the writer that he (the reader) was able to point out the writer's writing errors. The reader's comments became the writer's learning resources, and the practice of collaborative revision for writing allowed the writer to get access to the learning resources. Through active participation, their English writing skills improved as evidenced by their revised paper. Even though one is not able to see personal identity development for the reader and writer due to the limited data, it is reasonable to assume that the two newcomers had established a positive relationship during the time they worked together, and it is likely that the writer's perspective on English writing skills was also changed.

In the second example, Nassaji and Cumming (2000) used the ZPD concept as a theoretical framework and a case-study as a method to visualize the transformation of English-writing skills from dialogic journal-writing between the student and the teacher (interpsychological plane) to the student's English performance (intrapsychological plane). They analyzed interactive dialogue journals written over a 10-month period between a 6-year-old English learner, who had just moved to Canada from Iran, and his Canadian teacher, who served as a more competent person in English writing. The dialogic journal writing usually proceeded through two turns (i.e., the student's initiation—the teacher's response) or three turns (i.e., student's initiation—the teacher's response—the

student's follow-up). In the first few weeks, the teacher created simple and routine questions to engage the student in the discourse and to show him how to interact. The student gradually picked up the questioning patterns and used them as a basis to engage the teacher in the written dialogues by asking about issues that were interesting to him. At this moment, the student's ZPD was activated. Both the teacher and the student tried to express themselves, interpret each other, and understand each other through written interactions in English. The teacher and student in the context of dialogic journal writing gradually developed sustained intersubjectivity. The teacher slightly modified the discourse to prompt the student to engage in the written dialogues more extensively. The student also came to appropriate English more deeply. Throughout the whole process of the written conversation, the teaching and learning were integrally unified and had a dialogic nature. The dialogic journal writing helped the student perform better in English than he had before. Overall, English-writing skills were transformed from dialogic journal writing between the student and the teacher (interpsychological plane) to the student's English performance (intrapsychological plane).

One can also use the community of practice as a lens to visualize the phenomena through the interpersonal plane. In Nassaji and Cumming's research, the teacher as an old-timer assisted the six-year-old student as a newcomer to participate in a dialogic journal-writing activity. By creating simple and routine questions, the old-timer addressed interesting topics in their dialogic journal writing to invite the student in their written conversations, and the newcomer learned English-writing skills through dialogic journal writing with the old-timer.

The old-timer's responses during the period of dialogic journal writing became the newcomer's learning resources, and the practice of the dialogic journal writing with the help of the old-timer's guidance allowed the reader to gain easy access to the learning resources. As a result, the newcomer's English learning was successful.

The following two examples illustrate how the community-of-practice has been used in SLL research through the community plane. The first example focuses on learning by visualizing learners' evolving identities, practice of English, and access to English-learning resources. The second example pays more attention to teaching by making visible (1) whether the teachers understand the students' needs, and (2) whether the ways the teachers teach provide the students with sufficient opportunities to gain access to learning resources and to make appropriate practices. I also use the genetic law of cultural development as a lens in these two examples to visualize how English-learning resources or Math learning materials that appeared first at the interpsychological plane were transformed into intrapsychological plane.

In the first example, Toohey (2000) employed the perspective of community of practice in investigating two Asian newcomer children's peripheral participation in an English-learning classroom community, and focused on their evolving memberships, social relations, and identities. She found that Amy, who was thought to be a "cute little girl", had positive social relations with her peers. This provided her with sufficient access to community resources. As Toohey described, "she was a legitimate peripheral participant in most of the children's

activities and was often invited and rarely denied access if she requested it" (p. 55). Her negotiation of membership in the class community gradually moved her on the way to becoming an old-timer, and her English usage improved throughout the year. However, for Harvey, his negotiation of membership in the classroom community was not as successful as Amy's. Harvey was a boy who spoke English with a strong accent, so his peers and teacher had difficulty understanding him. His peers usually mocked and laughed at him, causing his frustration and anger. In school activities, especially those involving a ball, he appeared physically awkward. His access to desired material in the classroom was often contested by other children. His peers frequently denied him access to play with them. His poor performance in several school-valued activities were mirrored in poor relations to his peers, so that he did not have opportunities to participate and practice in the classroom community.

Looking at the phenomena on the interpersonal plane with the genetic law of cultural development as a lens, one can see Amy had good relations with her peers, so she had many opportunities to talk in English and to learn collaboratively with her peers in formal and informal occasions. During talking in English and collaborative learning, English was transformed from the interpsychological plane through the intrapsychological plane, eventually resulting in improvement of her English. On the other hand, Harvey had poor relations with his peers, so he rarely talked to people in English. As a result, for Harvey, it was difficult for him to transfer English from the interpsychological plane to the intrapsychological plane.

In the second example, Haneda (2008) used Lave and Wenger's community-of-practice as a theoretical framework to unveil the learning opportunities created for English language learners (ELLs) in three different grade-7 classes in a US middle school. From a community-of-practice perspective, learning, including SLL, is evolving participation in communities of practice, so joining a new discourse community (a classroom) gives students opportunities to gain access to new language resources and practices. This highlights the importance of providing ELLs with appropriate participation opportunities to gain access to new resources and practices. Haneda described three different instructional patterns in three classes by analyzing how much the teachers understood the students' needs and how many opportunities the teachers created for the students in gaining access to learning resources and practices.

In the first classroom, the teacher Ms. Hill taught ESL. Her classroom instruction was connected neither to the students' previous experiences nor to their learning in other classes. The class took the form of IRE (teacher initiation, student response, teacher evaluation), and dialogic interaction, including student-student interaction and pair or group work, rarely occurred. Vocabulary and grammar exercises were the only practices. As a result, ELLs had few opportunities to use English interactively, and their oral production of English only stayed at the level of word, phrase and short sentence.

In the second classroom, Mr. Baker taught English in a meaningful context by connecting the topics at hand to the students' experiences. The class had

instructional conversations, and had substantially more opportunities to talk than they did in the ESL class. However, it seldom led to any substantive discussion of academic content, because Mr. Baker rarely pushed the students to think critically. As a result, the students neither read and discussed literacy texts critically nor produced extended spoken and written discourse.

In the third class, Ms. Hasan, the math teacher, actively involved her students in doing math problems together. With students' contributions to the ongoing conversation, they formed a joint productive activity. She taught in a meaningful context by connecting the students' learning topics to their personal lives. She explained every math term with many examples until the students understood it. Much verbal interaction took place between Ms. Hasan and the students and among the students. Compared with the teachers in the ESL and English classes, Ms. Hasan pushed the students harder in explaining math reasoning verbally. Eventually, the ELLs stated that they did not have problems following the class even though it was fast-paced. Haneda argued that if the teacher understands students' needs and creates various opportunities for them in SLL, the students will have appropriate participation opportunities to gain access to new resources and practices.

The following is what I see with the genetic law of cultural development in Haneda's research through the interpersonal plane. The math teacher in the third class actively involved her students in doing math problems together, and students' contributions to the ongoing conversation formed a joint productive activity. Thus, the Math learning materials that appeared first at the

interpsychological plane were transformed to the intrapsychological plane of the students. However, the other two classes lacked similar joint productive activity, so the subject matter was rarely transformed from the interpsychological plane to the intrapsychological plane of the students.

2.4 The thesis with units of analysis at the personal, interpersonal and community planes

I adopt Rogoff's (1995) concept of *three planes of analysis* in this thesis.

In Chapter 3, I introduce ethnography, its history, and ethnographic methods.

I also describe how I used ethnography method in this research. In Chapter 4,

I introduce the whole story that occurred in the activity of podcasting

storybook writing. In Chapter 5, I examine the three themes: personal identity development, practices and access to resources throughout this activity with units of analysis at the personal, interpersonal and community planes.

I explore development of one focal student's personal identity in a podcasting activity. The development of personal identity is not only related to interpersonal relations and interactions that lie in the interpersonal plane of analysis, but is also influenced by the change of instructional settings that belong to the community plane of analysis. Hence, I will use Lave and Wenger's community of practice as a lens to visualize the development of personal identity in the activity.

I also introduce how two different practices structured various forms of participation and social relations among students. These two practices were the practice of picture-based storytelling and the practice of story-podcasting, and

they were community-involved. For the structured social relations among students, I also need to look into interpersonal relationships. Hence, I will use Lave and Wenger's community of practice as a lens to visualize how practices structured various forms of participation and social relations among students at the interpersonal and community planes.

In addition, I also show how students generated, got access to, and appropriated learning resources through the modes of picture, speech and writing. The three modes served as tools for students to appropriate learning resources such as the English language and English story form. This is not only community-involved practice-dependent, but it is also related to interpersonal negotiation of meaning and personal understanding of meaning. As a result, I use Vygotsky's genetic law of cultural development as a lens to see how the meanings of pictures first occurred at the interpersonal plane and to watch how the meanings of pictures is transformed into the personal plane during appropriation by multimodal learning. I also use Lave and Wenger's community of practice as a lens to visualize how students generated, got access to, and appropriated learning resources through the modes of picture, speech and writing at the interpersonal and community planes.

3: METHODOLOGY: ETHNOGRAPHY

3.1 Ethnography and its history

Ethnography originated in anthropology. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) noted that in the 19th century, ethnography was a descriptive account of a community or culture, and it contrasted with or was complementary to ethnology, which was the historical and comparative analysis of societies and cultures. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, anthropologists' core work was ethnology, and they usually drew on travellers' and missionaries' accounts of their sojourns in non-European settings. Later, anthropologists started to do their own ethnographic fieldwork, so that ethnography came to "refer to an integration of both first-hand empirical investigation and the theoretical and comparative interpretation of social organization and culture" (Hammersley & Atkinson, p. 1), thus reducing the popularity of the term ethnology. Nowadays, ethnography usually refers to two meanings: (1) a set of research methods, and (2) a written report of information obtained by these methods (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Toohey, 2008). Many disciplines, such as anthropology, sociology, psychology, education, linguistics, applied linguistics, and so on, have been using ethnography as a research method for some time.

Ethnography is usually "an approach to the study of people in everyday life with particular attention to culture" (Anderson-Levitt, 2006, p. 279). It "aims to understand and interpret the behaviours, values, and structures of collectives or

social groups with particular reference to the cultural basis for those behaviours and values" (Duff, 2008, p. 34). Understanding how culture is conceptualized is thus central to ethnography. Anderson-Levitt (2006) stated that "Culture is not determined by a person's 'blood' or genes. Moreover, we generally define culture as learning what people do as members of human groups" (p. 280). This definition stresses learning as an integral part of culture. For Renato Rosaldo's (1993) perspective, culture is defined as "a set of shared meanings" (p. 28) and he further argued that "all human conduct is culturally mediated" (p. 26). This definition stresses the social nature of meanings, and draws attention to the "shared" aspect of meaning-making. A simple example of cultural contrast with respect to meaning might be the bowing done in Japan, understood as an appropriate manner of greeting another. In North America, by contrast, bowing is considering an unusual practice, while shaking hands is understood to be an appropriate way to greet another. In addition, culture is not only "a set of shared meanings", but also "an active process of meaning making" (Street, 1993, p. 25). We keep learning meanings that are continuously created or renovated by people in the community. Thus, culture is actively growing and socially constructed. Ethnographers 'capture' the culture of a community by observing people's talk and behaviour to find common patterns.

In addition to exploration of human cultures, ethnographers also use ethnography to observe interesting phenomena or to answer questions in a particular area of social life. They usually do participant observation in communities or activities that are already set up or occur naturally in social lives.

They expect to see some particular phenomena that can provide them with explanations to answer their questions. However, they cannot always get what they want to see because uncontrolled social interactions are ever-changing. Conversely, they may discover other things that are even more interesting or other questions to be answered in the process of gathering data. Then, they may revise their research questions, and the questions they want to explore will become progressively clearer. Sometimes, the questions at the end may be completely different from those that they started with.

Ethnographers typically maintain sustained engagement in the context they wish to study, observing what happens, listening to what people say, asking questions, and collecting as much data as possible. People's daily lives, as ethnographers observe, are naturally occurring, and that may "maximize the ecological validity of the study" (Duff, 2008, p 125). What they want to investigate is "how these people view the situations they face, how they regard one another, and also how they see themselves" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 3). Their research aims to produce deep descriptions and explanations of particular phenomena, or to develop theories. Regarding data collecting, audio- and videotaping are often used to preserve original data for future reviewing.

Ethnographers also typically create "field notes" or journals of their observations. These accounts, such as field notes and journals, provide perspectives in grasping the social actions and phenomena in the social world. Their accounts are subjective, because the culture of the social world that ethnographers want to explore may affect ethnographers themselves during participant observation.

When ethnographers step back and take the outsiders' perspectives, they may make visible what insiders would take for granted in a different way. Since ethnographic observation is very detailed and descriptive of everyday life in a given social world, it reflects the forms of culture and social action in the social world, which makes ethnography a suitable approach for research in several fields.

Application of ethnography to education started from study of cultural transmission developed by cultural anthropologists (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). To make visible the mechanism of cultural transmission, cultural anthropologists investigated children's relationships in the family, patterns of learning and instruction, and acquisition of roles and statuses for development from infancy to adulthood. Later on, they studied symbol systems like language through which culture was transmitted, maintained, and transformed (Cazden, John & Hymes, 1972). Furthermore, ethnography was used to investigate patterns of language use, participation, interpersonal interaction, and social relationships, through which culture was expressed and created in educational settings (Heath, 1983; Moll & Greenberg, 1990). In addition, ethnography was used in the discovery of cultural differences in cognition and perception as well (Gay & Cole, 1967). It was also used to study schooling with an attention to cultural perspectives on what happens in schools in order to discover patterns (Spindler & Spindler, 1987).

3.2 Ethnography in the study of SLL

Ethnography has been applied to linguistics and applied linguistics since anthropologist Dell Hymes (1972) developed the "ethnography of communication" (EC), which focused on capturing patterns of language use shared by members of particular groups in particular contexts. In the EC, Hymes proposed the SPEAKING model as a quide for researchers to do systematic descriptions of context-related use of language forms in a communicative activity across communities to uncover the social beliefs of the communicative activity. The SPEAKING model involves 8 key components for researchers to pay attention to: (1) situation—the physical and temporal contexts, (2) participants participants' identities, responsibilities, and social relations, (3) ends—expected goals and outcomes of the participants and activity, (4) act—any speech act that conveys meanings to the participants, (5) key—tone of the activity such as serious or playful, (6) instrumentalities—tools to realize the activity, such as language use, vocal, non-vocal, verbal, or non-verbal means, (7) norms regulations of the communicative activity, and (8) genre—a type of the communication activity, such as interviewing, gossiping, or lecturing. The ethnography of communication (especially when the SPEAKING categories are accounted for) makes visible intangible aspects and processes in communicative activities, and that supports researchers in answering their research questions.

Later on, conversational analysis (CA) from sociology was used as an ethnographic analytic method in linguistics and applied linguistics. CA is a study of talk-in-interaction verbally and non-verbally. It seeks to describe the

orderliness, structure and sequence of talking in interactions that take place either in institutional settings or in occasional conversations (Hall, 2002). Regarding its analytic focuses, "extralinguistic factors such as body position, eye gaze, and paralinguistic features like rhythm, intonation, and speed are taken into account as possibly meaningful resources in addition to linguistic features" (p. 149). Then, discourse analysis (DA) was developed as an ethnographic method in the field of linguistics. In DA, researchers capture key discourses and analyze them for their meanings and implications, especially for how individuals' language uses reflect and create their social actions and how social actions shape and are shaped by the way people see the world, the development of their identities, and the social relations within the group members (Hall, 2002). Finally, another important ethnographic method is critical discourse analysis (CDA), which has been developed since Norman Fairclough's Language and Power in 1989. CDA brought together linguistics and sociology to make visible "how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 12) and to pay attention to "the constructive effects that discourse has upon social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief, none of which is normally apparent to discourse participants" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 12).

3.3 Ethnography in this research

This dissertation utilizes data collected as part of Toohey, Neufeld, and Stooke's 3-year (2006-2009) SILICLE (A Sociocultural Investigation of Literacy Instruction for Children Learning English as a Second Language) ethnographic research project. The overarching goal for SILICLE was to understand better how

young ELLs learn and might be helped to learn English literacy. Among other projects, the research team (which included classroom teachers as well as graduate students, post-doctoral fellows, the Co-Investigators and the Principal Investigator) observed as teachers introduced podcasting technology and picture-based storytelling in two grade-6/7 English story-writing classes at E elementary school.

E elementary school is located in the lower mainland of British Columbia in Canada. It is a culturally diverse school with the majority of the students coming from refugee families who have escaped from wars and experience poverty and financial insecurity in their lives. Approximately 60% of the children speak languages other than English at home, and about 60% of children are newcomers who have arrived in Canada in the past 1-5 years. There were 3 classes that participated in this project. The teachers in the three classes are Ms. Wilson, Ms. Matthews and Ms. Bennett, respectively. Ms. Matthews had been involved in SILICLE since 2006. Her class was all Grade 7 students, and they were going to high school the following year. Ms. Wilson and Ms. Bennett joined the research team in the year 2007. Their classes were mixed with Grade 6 and 7 students. Like other classes in the school, all three classes were culturally and linguistically diverse. In Ms. Wilson's class, six out of 28 children were ESL

² The information is based on Municipality of X city Database, BC stats, Statistics Canada 2001 Census and BC Atlas of Child Development.

students at the time of my observation, and most of the other students had previously attended the ESL program in the school.³

To obtain approval to do participant observation, I first obtained research approval from the Research Ethics Board of SFU, the School District and the school principal of E elementary school, where the project took place. The research team had already collected parent permission forms for the students we observed and I made sure the parent permission forms for the focal students in this thesis had been collected.

I joined SILICLE in 2008. Along with other two researchers (Laura D'Amico [LD hereafter] and Suzanne Smythe [SS hereafter]), I did participant observation in Ms. Wilson's, Ms. Matthews's and Ms. Bennett's classes from January to April, 2008, watching the students' learning behaviours, listening to what they said, asking them questions formally and informally, and collecting necessary data. I went to the classes once a week, and stayed for about 3 hours each time. Most of the time, I stayed in Ms. Wilson's class, observing student-student and/or student-teacher interactions. I also helped out in the class. At other times, I observed the children playing sports and games, and had conversations with some of the children, the teachers, and the team members at recess. I also helped Ms. Matthews once to take her class on a picture-taking field trip in the community. I regularly wrote field notes that included all my observations and reflections from my observations. Occasionally, I audio-recorded the student-student and/or student-teacher interactions. I also collected the students' story-

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³ In British Columbia, children can only receive ESL services at school for 5 years, after which they are considered to be comfortable enough in English as to require no special services. This assumption is not always correct.

writing samples, journals, and autobiographies that were decorated and displayed in the classroom. In addition, with permission of the English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) teacher, Ms. Gardner, I participated in two (ESL) classes that were attended by some students in the podcasting project.

All the members of our research team shared the data we collected, and saved the data in a common database. Each member of our research team was allowed access to the data, and we met together periodically to debrief our findings. The data I had for this research consisted of three parts. The first part is the SILICLE database, which contained data collected for one and half years before I joined the research; the data included school information, community information, student background interviews, students' journals, audio recordings and their transcriptions. Later on, the SILICLE database was continuously constructed with the data we collected from January to April, 2008, in which I did participant observation, and the data included our field notes, students' writing samples, audio recordings of the student-student interactions and their transcriptions, and after-project interviews and their transcriptions. This was the second part of the data. For the third part, I had some data that were not saved in the SILICLE database; these data included personal communications, the students' story-writing samples, journals, and autobiographies that were decorated and displayed in the classroom.

To triangulate my impressions of what happened in Ms. Wilson's class and podcasting activities, I linked my observation with LD's and SS's field notes,

but the majority of data in this thesis are from LD's field notes⁴. To interpret my observations and what LD described in her field notes, I discussed with LD about her field notes, talked to the teachers about the focal students, and sent LD my writing that was based on her field notes for comments, especially for my interpretation of Michael and Roger's interactions.

3.3.1 The project

Ms. Matthews, Ms. Wilson and Ms. Bennett used podcasting technology and picture-based storytelling in their Language Arts story-writing classes, which differed from conventional instruction in English story-writing in which paper and pencil technologies are normally used. Teachers and the researchers agreed that the podcasting-involved English story-writing classes would go through three stages.

In the first stage, the teachers used a picture or a wordless picture book to introduce the basic components of a story. The instructional setting in this stage was a conventional setting, with the teachers giving instruction most of the time and asking students questions once in a while. After students responded to the teachers' questions, the teacher usually evaluated the answers, gave them feedback, or asked students to elaborate, justify, or clarify their answers.

In the first stage of the English story-writing classes, I observed in Ms. Wilson's class. With the use of an overhead projector, she provided a picture

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⁴ At the time I joined the research team, I was a newcomer to ethnographic research. Even though I was a participant observer, my skills in taking field notes were rather rudimentary. Meanwhile, Laura D'Amico, an experienced researcher in our team, wrote many more details about student interactions in her field notes. Because all the researchers shared the data we collected for the Project, I used Laura's field notes for a better analysis of student interactions with her permission.

(Figure 1) in order to introduce the components of settings of stories. She first let students find these components from the picture and then asked the students to use them to construct sentences and paragraphs from the picture. She divided students into several small groups (about 3 or 4 students in each), and asked them to discuss in their groups what was going on in the picture. To frame their contributions, she distributed to each student a graphic table which labeled components for story settings such as "mood", "who", "what", "when", and "where". According to what they saw and imagined in the picture provided, they recorded on the graphic table what the mood was, who the characters were, what happened, when it happened, and where it happened. Ms. Wilson circulated around the classroom to help any group who needed her help. After the small group discussion, Ms. Wilson initiated a whole class discussion, in which she wanted students to take turns in pointing out the components of story setting based on the picture. To make sure each student had a turn to participate in the whole class discussion, Ms. Wilson asked students in each group to identify themselves as A, B, C, or D. Later, she called all As from each group to take turns to answer the same question she asked. Then, all Bs, Cs or Ds from each group would be called up and took turns in answering her other questions. She wrote down students' answers on a transparency, and showed them to all the students on the overhead projector.

Afterwards, Ms. Wilson asked the students to write one sentence for each of the "mood", the "who", the "where", and the "when" categories to describe the picture by using the words they just mentioned in last whole class discussion. Ms.

Wilson allowed students time to finish their writing while she circulated around the classroom. Afterwards, she asked the students to get back to their groups for the second small group discussion, when they shared one of their descriptive sentences with the others for comments. This second small group discussion was followed by a second whole class discussion, where Ms. Wilson called for certain students to share their descriptive sentences with the whole class.

Meanwhile, she invited students to volunteer comments on the sentences they just presented.

In the second stage that occurred over the next two weeks or so, the students used the writing skills they had practiced in the first stage to develop their own stories based on experience or information they obtained from their communities or homes, instead of the wordless picture Ms. Wilson provided. After they finished writing their own stories, they edited their stories by reviewing with peers. Due to the change of Ms. Wilson's class schedule and severe weather conditions, our team missed the chances to observe this second stage of story-writing and editing.

In the third stage, the students podcasted their stories by recording and audio-editing their stories with sound effects. The teachers were not physically involved in podcasting students' stories. This story-podcasting was conducted in an expert-novice fashion, where a more experienced student helped a novice student to record and audio-edit the novice student's story. Before starting this story-podcasting project, several students, who were recommended by the teachers because of their abilities or for other reasons, were first selected to

learn podcasting and computer techniques, including the GarageBand program, from a volunteer parent, Vanessa, who knew podcasting and computer techniques very well. After these selected students were qualified and podcasted their stories independently, they would serve as more experienced helpers to assist novice students in recording and podcasting their stories. After the students podcasted their stories, they learned to upload their podcasted stories onto the Internet, so that they shared the stories with other people. In addition, the students made stories into books with author pages and self-portraits. They illustrated, coloured, and decorated the storybooks, and finally, the completed storybooks were readily accessible on the Internet and school library for people to listen and to read. The students started their story-podcasting in mid-February and, due to individual differences, students' progress on the work varied. Most students managed to finish the podcasting by mid-March.

3.3.2 The children: Michael and Roger

For this dissertation, I analyzed one of the children's (Michael's) learning trajectory, speculating as well about his identity development, practice-structured social relations and participation forms, and access to learning resources. As well, Roger had intense interaction with Michael throughout and he became a focal student as well. I introduce each in turn.

Michael

Michael and his family came from Serbia when he was 3 years old, and he was 12 at the time of my observation (student interview, November 8, 2006). He

was living with his parents and his twin sisters who were 4 years younger than him. With high expectations from his parents (Ms. Wilson, personal communication), he paid attention to his academic work and actively participated in classroom activities, so he was one of the focal students with high academic performance [Field Note (FN), February, 12, 2008]. In the period of my observation, I noticed that he interacted with other students quite often in many conversations occurring in the class. Most of the time, he followed Ms. Wilson's instructions to do his assignments and yet once in a while, he was distracted by other children's conversations. At times, he seemed to forget he what was supposed to be doing. However, he often smiled and it seemed that he had an easy-going personality based on the fact that he interacted with many different children in his class.

LD mentioned in a personal communication (March 16, 2010), "Michael is clearly not the most popular guy in the class and puts up with some teasing and disrespect, but not tons of it. He doesn't seem to be too bothered by it. He may just be putting up a good front, or he may genuinely have a strong enough sense of self to be able to ignore it and not take it seriously." She also commented that "Michael is not top dog, but he's not bottom dog either, so he may not get ribbing from everyone."

Roger

Roger, who was tall and big compared to the rest of his class, was an Indo-Canadian boy born in Canada. His family lived in England before they moved to Canada (Roger, personal communication, January 22, 2008). He

spoke both Punjabi and English, and his conversations with his peers were often friendly banter (FN, February 19, 2008, LD), but sometimes it was hard to tell if he was bullying or just playing around. Ms. Wilson described him as a bright student. His previous teacher, Ms. Greene, suggested he be given leadership opportunities, which she thought might shift his domineering behaviour in a positive direction. According to LD's and my observation, Roger's social status was as a dominant member of his class: he sometimes acted like a bully in small group discussions, but he also supported other children recording their stories. In this podcasting activity, he was selected to be trained with podcasting techniques at the beginning. After getting familiar with the podcasting techniques, he taught other novice students how to podcast their stories. He seemed to be capable of helping novice students including Michael.

3.4 The structure of thesis

I browsed all the ethnographic data I mentioned above to gain as overall an understanding of the whole situation as possible. Later, I used Lave and Wenger's (1991) community-of-practice as a major lens and Vygotsky's genetic law of cultural development as a complementary one to visualize the students' learning behaviours with particular attention to three themes of community-of-practice: (1) identity, (2) practice and (3) access to learning resources. I used these three themes of community-of-practice to select data for analysis for my dissertation. Hence, the next three chapters are structured as follows. First, I will

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⁵ Toohey (personal communication, 2010) observed: This observation is a bit problematic, as Roger may experience his behaviour as just playing around, but another child might experience it as bullying. Children's disputes are very complex.

describe the whole story in the activity of podcasting storybook writing in Chapter 4. Then, in Chapter 5, I examine development of students' personal identities, and illustrate how practices structure social relations and participation forms in the activities of picture-based story-telling and story-podcasting, followed by discussing students' creation of, access to and sense-making of learning resources. Finally, I summarize on these three themes in Chapter 6.

4: THE STORY IN THE ACTIVITY OF PODCASTING STORYBOOK WRITING

Located in a quiet area of greater Vancouver, E elementary school is a two-story building with a fenced playground on the one side and a basketball court, a gravel track field, another playground, and swing sets on the other side. Around the school, there are several community and recreation centres, providing for after-school student activities. The students in the school come from many different countries: China, India, Vietnam, the Philippines, Afghanistan, Iraq, and so on, and 60% children speak languages other than English at home. This multicultural and multilingual community provides many opportunities to mix the Canadian-culture-based curriculum with the ESL children's everyday experience from communities or home cultures.

One school day on a cold January morning, I arrived at the school. Students, accompanied by their parents or peers, were on the way to classrooms and the hallway was crowded. Some of the students looked cheerful, and some had a just-got-out-of-bed look with sleepy eyes. I followed the students, entering Ms. Wilson's class. The light was dim in the room; students exchanged news and got ready for Ms. Wilson's instruction. At 9:15 am, Ms. Wilson turned on all other lights and began her instruction for the day.

4.1 Learning English story-writing through practice of descriptive words/sentences for the components of story in the picture

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Ms. Wilson began the project by showing the students basic components of story setting. To do that, she showed the students the picture in Figure 3 through an overhead projector and asked them to provide descriptive words for the components of story setting in the picture. This activity took place first in small groups and later in a whole class discussion. Then she asked them to make a sentence for each of the descriptive words and to share their sentences with others in small groups and later in a whole class discussion.



Figure 3 The picture Ms. Wilson used⁶

⁶ Imagine a Day, written by Sarah L. Thomson and illustrated by Rob Gonsolves. Published by Atheneum Books for Young Readers, an imprint of Simon and Schuster, in January, 2005.

Michael, Roger, Janet and Ginny were assigned to the same small group. Janet, an Indo-Canadian girl, chatted with Roger most of the time in the two small group discussions without paying much attention to Michael and Ginny. Ginny was from Asia too, and she was quiet most of the time during our observation. Before they discussed the descriptive words for the story setting, the children chatted about some unrelated matters. At that time, Roger started to tease Michael without apparent reason by asking him if he had taken "his medicine." What Roger said confused Janet, so she asked Roger if Michael really needed medication? Roger assured her by saying, "Yeah, he is mental." None of the other students made any comment about Roger's statement. Interestingly, Michael did not appear angry with Roger either. (FN, January 22, 2008, LD).

During the first small group discussion, Ms. Wilson circulated around the class to help the students. When she came to Michael's small group, she asked about the group's progress on the descriptive words they were to list, and directed them in further discussion on their findings. Michael first remarked that the picture was a fantasy, but Roger did not believe what Michael said made sense (FN 1).

FN 1

- 1 Ms. Wilson: What things do you notice?
- 2 Janet: There's a boy and a girl.
- 3 Ms. Wilson: Okay, dig deeper.

Michael: There's a building and it is turning into a fence. And the cement turns into water. (Roger protests what Michael thinks are nonsensical observations.) (FN, January 22, 2008, LD)

Later on, Ms. Wilson suggested that Roger use his imagination to interpret the fantasy picture, but Roger demurred (FN 2). He rebuffed Michael's suggestion to look at the picture another way and he asked Michael again if Michael had taken his pills.

FN 2

- 5 Ms. Wilson: I'm trying to get you to use your imagination.
- 6 Roger: I killed my imagination.
 - (Michael pulls the picture toward himself.)
- Michael: If you cover the picture one way, the tree looks small, but another way and it looks really big.
- 8 Roger: Did you take your pills today? (He disagrees with what Michael just said.)
- 9 Ms. Wilson: No, it makes sense. Take a look at the picture. (She passes the picture to Roger. Then, a visitor interrupts her conversation.)
- 10 Roger: It's still water, Michael, what are you talking about?
- 11 Michael: It's turning into cement. (FN, January 22, 2008, LD)

Afterwards, Ms. Wilson led the first whole class discussion on the descriptive words for the story setting in the picture. She asked the students to discuss the "mood" in the story behind the picture. Children gave one-word answers.

FN₃

Ms. Wilson: We're going to talk about mood in the story. If you're an A, stand up."

13 Ginny: Happy.

14 St2A: Imaginary.

15 St3A: Happy.

16 St4A: Happy.

17 St5A: Happy. (FN, January 22, 2008, LD)

Next, the teacher asked the students who was involved in the picture.

FN 4

18 Janet: A boy and a girl.

19 St2B: They're young, happy.

20 St3B: Julia and Jon.

21 St4B: Happy boy & girl.

22 St5B: Little, young. (FN, January 22, 2008, LD)

Then, the teacher asked the students to tell her what was in the picture.

FN₅

- 23 Michael: They're happy and they're free, swinging on the tree.
 - (Ms. Wilson says something about how the categories can overlap.)
- 24 St2C: Singing on the tree and the boy fell.
- 25 Ms. B.: Do you know that already? (Ms. B. is an educational assistant in the classroom.)
- Ms. Wilson: We don't know, but we're using our imaginations.

 (St3C's answer and Ms. Wilson's comment is missing in the fieldnote)
- 27 St4C: On vacation.
- Ms. Wilson: Let's put that under "when".
- 29 St5C: They're playing. (FN, January 22, 2008, LD)

Finally, Ms. Wilson asked about the "where" of the picture.

FN 6

30 Ms. Wilson: Let's move onto the "where".

31 Roger: Fantasy.

32 Ms. Wilson: So, in a fantasy where?

Roger: In somebody's fantasy.

34 St2D: In a big tree.

35 St3D: Amsterdam.

36 St4D: Fall.

37 St5D: In a place where anything can happen. (FN, January 22, 2008, LD)

Ms. Wilson wrote all the descriptive words students provided in the whole class discussion on the white board in order to keep the records for the rest of the activity. Before they finished the first whole class discussion, Ms. Wilson asked the students to observe the picture in more detail.

FN 7

Ms. Wilson: What I want you to do before we write our opening paragraphs—when we look at this picture, what details do we notice or do we see? Michael, what kind of details did you notice?

Michael: It looks like cement here and turns into water here. (Roger gestures at the area of the picture where the sidewalk appears to bleed into becoming the water of a river that feeds into a lake.)

40 Ms. Wilson: Anything else?

41 St2C: Here it looks like a building and there it looks like a fence.

(FN, January 22, 2008, LD)

Here, Michael further verified his observation about the picture in front of the whole class. At this point, Roger seemed to be convinced and echoed Michael's description for the picture eventually (FN 6). Roger even helped Michael explain why the picture was a fantasy by physically pointing out where the fantasy was in the picture (FN 7).

After the first whole class discussion, the students seemed to understand how to use descriptive words for the components of story in the picture and to have figured out that the picture was a fantasy. Then, Ms. Wilson asked them to write a sentence for each of descriptive words and to share their sentences with others in the second small group discussion and later, a whole class discussion.

In the second small group discussion, Ms. Wilson asked the students to pick one sentence they wrote to share with their small group members for comments. Roger first read his sentence about "mood" to his group. He said "I can only read the mood, because that's all I wrote" (FN, January 22, 2008, LD). After Roger read his sentence, Michael wanted to share the sentences he wrote with the small group. However, Roger and Janet cut off his reading. Then Roger and Janet started a conversation which was not task-related. Michael tried to join their conversation, but he was ignored. Interestingly, Michael showed no frustration with Roger and Janet's behaviour. Later, Janet read her sentence to

the group, and was not interrupted by others. Roger made comments on her sentence. Afterwards, Michael showed his eagerness in reading his sentence again to the group. Unfortunately, his reading was cut off again by Roger and Janet. At this time, Roger grabbed Michael's pencil and broke it. Roger then offered to give him another one and dug in his desk to pull out a pencil case. Michael did not seem upset. (Field notes did not include verbatim transcripts of children's talk in this section.)

After the pencil incident, Ginny read her sentence to the group. She was very quiet most of time, but she still followed Ms. Wilson's instruction and shared one of her sentences with the group. When she finished her sentence, Roger said, "That's all you wrote?" and then he grabbed her paper. Ginny pulled it away from him firmly but not angrily, and replied that she only had to read one of the sentences she wrote. Later on, Ms. Wilson came to the group and confirmed that Ginny was right about that.

Afterwards, in the second whole class discussion, where the students shared their sentences with others, Ms. Wilson asked Student B of each group to read the sentence to the class, and asked other students to make comments on the sentence. Student B from the first group read her sentence. Ms. Wilson commented that the sentence described both the "who" and the "when" and was very descriptive and imaginative. After Student B of the second group read her sentence, Ms. Wilson asked Michael to comment on the sentence.

FN8

42 Ms. Wilson: Michael, what is she describing well here?

(Michael starts to respond. He fumbles a bit and Ms. Wilson calls on another student.) (FN, January 22, 2008, LD)

Ginny read her sentence to the class.

FN9

Ginny: Two young cute little boys that were five years old. (*Ginny reads her sentence to the class.*)

(Ms. Wilson says it's a good sentence.)

- Ms. Wilson: Which two words are similar here, so that we can leave one out?
- 45 Ginny: Little and five years old. (She raises her hand and Ms. Wilson calls on her.)
- 46 St2A: young and little. (This answer is what Ms. Wilson is looking for.) (FN, January 22, 2008, LD)

The activity kept going on. After Student B from the third group read his sentence, Ms. Wilson asked for a volunteer to comment on it.

FN 10

47 Ms. Wilson: What are some good descriptive words in this sentence?

(Michael raises his hand and Ms. Wilson calls on him. He gives an example.) (FN, January 22, 2008, LD)

Afterwards, Ms. Wilson asked if anyone else wants to share a sentence. Michael volunteered again, reading his sentence to the class, and a few students offered comments to him.

4.2 English writing based on personal experience from communities or homes

The second step in the English story-writing project was that the students wrote their stories, followed by editing. The content materials of their stories came from various resources, including their imagination, their personal experiences from home and communities, including the books they had read, the movies they had watched, the stories they had heard, and so on. Over the next two weeks or so, students wrote their own stories according to the tips Ms.

Wilson taught them in the first stage of English story-writing project. The topics of stories they wrote varied widely, such as sports, history, mystery, magic, suspense and so on. Michael wrote about a story of ancient Spartan soldiers (Appendix 1). His story was a retelling of the movie "300", and illustrated the battle between the Spartans and the Persians and how 300 Spartan warriors bravely fought with around 10,000 Persian soldiers. Roger's story, on the other hand, described two young boys playing hockey. The two young boys found a pair of magic ice hockey skates accidentally, and eventually they became famous Canadian hockey players.

⁷ Students' story titles and summaries are displayed in Appendix 2.

After they finished the drafts of their stories, the students first edited their own stories by checking misspelling words and grammatical errors. Next, they exchanged their stories with one another for further editing and corrections to improve the stories. After they finished editing, the students handed their stories to Ms. Wilson for feedback. The students made corrections according to Ms. Wilson's feedback, and typed the final drafts on the computers.

4.3 Story-podcasting

As I mentioned in Chapter 3, before the story-podcasting, several students were selected to learn podcasting techniques, including the GarageBand program, from a volunteer parent, Vanessa. These selected students included Roger and Sandy. Sandy was a 7th grader in another teacher's class. After the children were familiar with the technique, they helped other novices, including Michael, podcast their stories. At the beginning of the story-podcasting, Roger and Sandy helped Michael. After becoming more experienced in podcasting, Michael helped other novices.

4.3.1 Roger helped Michael with story-podcasting

Roger paired up with Michael to podcast Michael's story. Michael did not know how to use the audio-editing program, and had no idea about what it was like to have audio effects added into the story. Therefore, most of the time, he followed Roger's lead. During the time in assisting Michael's podcasting, Roger's behaviour towards Michael was gentle and respectful, which was different from

his previous behaviour towards Michael three weeks before, when they did the picture-based storytelling.

In assisting with Michael's podcasting, Roger first asked Michael if he wanted to add audio effects at the beginning of the story that he was going to record. Michael looked confused, but Roger was patient. At this moment, one of the project researchers, LD, suggested that Michael record his story before adding audio effects into the recorded story. Roger took LD's suggestion, and gently reminded Michael of speaking loudly while recording. After that, Roger asked Michael if he wanted to record his story again. Later on, in the audioediting, Roger ran the GarageBand program in the computer, and Michael followed Roger's lead to explore various sounds the program had. To make audio effects fit the recorded story, Roger read Michael's story on the paper over and over again, and gave Michael suggestions about where to change the voice pitch and where to add audio effects based on what was going on in the text. In addition to that, whenever suggesting to Michael suitable audio effects to go with his story, Roger checked Michael's reactions about whether he liked the suggestion and asked his opinion about whether further adjustment was needed. Roger was patient, gentle, thoughtful, and respectful to Michael. (Unfortunately, no verbatim transcription was made of this interaction.)

After several practices, Michael appeared to understand audio-editing, and initiated his own idea to add a cheerful giggle at the end of the story, in contrast with the moody music that went through most of the story. Michael also suggested raising the pitch of the recorded story to make it squeakier. After

Michael understood audio-editing, Roger discussed with Michael and made decisions with him in putting audio effects into the recorded story. Overall, when working with Michael in the podcasting of Michael's story, Roger provided Michael with suggestions and technical support. They went over the story and searched for suitable audio effects together. They listened to each other and negotiated for better audio effects for the story.

4.3.2 Sandy helped Gary and Michael with story-podcasting

Sandy, like Roger, was also trained by Vanessa to become an old-timer in the activity of podcasting storybook writing. She, along with Dianna⁸, helped Gary to podcast his story. Dianna, a 7th grader, and Gary, who was a 6th grader and needed assistance in the learning assistance centre, were in another teacher's class. Gary had problems reading his story fluently, reading through his text line by line. Whenever he stumbled on a word or paused his reading in the podcasting, Sandy and Dianna would mock and reprimand him with words like "Oh my god you read SO slowly", "OK we are going to be here all day", "We can't hear you, you are too quiet", "It's too low", and "It's too slow" (SS's FN, Feb. 8, 2008).

A week later, Michael wanted to add more audio effects into his audio-edited story, and Sandy gave him a hand. After listening to Michael's story, Sandy asked Michael where to put audio effects in the recorded story. At times, when

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⁸ Dianna was a friend of Sandy. In story-podcasting, friends were often paired up to help each other or get together to help other individual by their request.

she picked an audio effect for the story, she would ask for Michael's consent (FN 11).

FN 11

- 48 Sandy: How about if I cut it there? Cut it shorter? OK?

 (Michael nods, they listen to more of the story.)
- Sandy: Where else do you want jingles? Do you want to keep listening?
- Michael: Let's do this one here, cause there is a battle. (*Pointing to the jingle menu*)

(They listen some more, in the text, "the Persians blocked their hits...")

- 51 Sandy: Here?
- 52 Michael: Yes.
- 53 Sandy: Like a Blam! Blam! Sound?
- 54 Michael: Yes.

(Sandy inserts a sound of crashing.) (FN, Feb. 14, 2008, SS)

What worked out for Sandy and Michael was that Sandy scrolled through the menu of the jingles, and Michael picked the ones he liked. Then Sandy would insert Michael's choices. Sandy also picked some for Michael but she respected

Michael's choices. She was kind, respectful, and helpful to Michael in helping with his podcasting. There was no teasing or mocking of Michael from Sandy, and there was no sign of impatience in Sandy's interaction with Michael either.

Sandy and Michael listened to the recorded story over and over again in order to have right audio effects fit into the right places in the recorded story (FN 12).

FN 12

(Michael's story reads like a detailed military field report complete with sound effects.)

- 55 Sandy: Do you want to add more?
- Michael: When they fall down the cliff, there can be a splash.
- Sandy: Where's the cliff? (She continues to listen to Michael's story to where it said, "...pushed the Persian over the cliff.")
- 58 Sandy: So?
- 59 Michael: So they fall into the water.
- Sandy: OK so you want water? (She plays some more sounds in a promising looking section of the menu.)

(Michael rejects the first two selections.)

61 Sandy: This one?

62 Michael: Yes.

63 Sandy: Do you want me to cut it a bit?

64 Michael: Yeah (FN, March 12, 2008, SS)

4.3.3 Michael helped Mark with story-podcasting

As mentioned above, after Michael was familiar with the podcasting techniques, he became an old-timer to help others podcast their stories.

Mark was a boy whose literacy skills were below grade level. Ms. Wilson mentioned he had some kind of emotional problem and he hated everything (at school). "It's like pulling teeth to get him to record," she said, and she wondered if Mark would enjoy doing the GarageBand work (FN, Mar. 6, 2008, LD). When helping Mark's story-podcasting, Michael put Mark's text on the table and asked him to mark all the locations in the text where they might want to put in sound effects. Mark seemed interested in this process. His story was called "Batman", which was a retelling of a comic book. Michael also made suggestions about marking the locations. Both of them marked up the paper together. Afterwards, Michael showed Mark some music in GarageBand. Mark liked it and suggested using it at the end. Michael did all the computer work, but Mark was involved in the decision making. (Edited from LD's FN, Mar. 6, 2008)

4.3.4 Michael helped Peter with story-podcasting

About a week after working with Mark, Michael helped Peter podcast his story. At that time, Peter had already recorded his story, so Michael assisted him

to add audio effects into his story. At first, Michael acted as a helper, who actively offered Peter songs which he thought would fit Peter's story; he showed Peter where to look for a certain sound from the program, and he offered some other suggestions to help Peter's story-podcasting. He was enthusiastic in offering Peter suggestions, but Peter did not respond to him with same level of enthusiasm. Most of the time Peter did not really take his suggestions and sometimes, Peter ignored him and kept doing something else. As a matter of fact, Peter knew how to podcast the story and was capable of solving some computer problems. My interpretation of this phenomenon is that Peter saw himself as equally capable as Michael, and never asked Michael for help. Instead, Peter sought advice from LD, whom Peter thought was a more capable person in the power structure. Later on, Michael started to become restless and wanted to leave. Michael clearly said to Peter, "You don't need help." In spite of ignoring Michael's suggestions for story-podcasting almost the whole time, Peter insisted that Michael had to stay with him to the end of the class by continuing to refuse Michael's request to leave (for 8 times within 10 minutes) before Michael finally left. According to LD's impression, Peter really did want Michael to stay but was also enjoying commanding Michael around a bit (FN, March 12, 2008, LD).

4.4 Final note for the activity

In the storybook writing activity, the students wrote and edited their stories, and they uploaded their products to the internet after they were satisfied with their work. At the same time, they also made hard copies of their stories in storybook format. They designed and drew the cover page for their storybooks.

With an author's page and a self-portrait included inside the books, the students also coloured and decorated the books so that the younger children in the school could read their stories in the library.

5: DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONAL IDENTITY, CLASSROOM PRACTICES AND ACCESS TO LEARNING RESOURCES IN STORYBOOK WRITING AND PODCASTING

In the past decade, some SLL research has worked on how negotiation of identity contributes to learners' access to second-language resources (i.e., Harklau, 2000; Lin, 1999; Morita 2004; Norton, 2000; Toohey, 2000, as seen in Chapter 1). For example, in Harklau's (2000) research, the focal students' relations to the communities, first, in their high school and later, in the ESL program of the community college, shaped their identities in a different way, and as a result, affected students' motivation in learning in English. In Lin's (1999) study, she illustrated that the students' socioeconomic backgrounds contributed to the development of their identities, which in turn affected the ways they saw their futures and which resulted in different learning behaviours. Also in Norton's (2000) studies, negotiation of identity for Eva over time affected her English-practicing opportunities. Finally, Toohey's (2000) study found that a child with positive personal identity had better opportunities in English learning while a child with a negative personal identity had fewer chances to practice English.

As well as identity, some SLL research in the past decade has been concerned with how instructional contexts affect instructional practices and how these practices structure participation forms and social relations. For example, Toohey, Waterstone & Julé-Lemke (2000) demonstrated how students practiced

English in three different instructional settings: Initiation-Response-Evaluation (IRE), child-run and community-of-learners (CoL), and further asserted that different instructional settings can be combined to maximize opportunities for appropriation of language, such as a CoL intersecting with carnival⁹. A second example is provided by Manyak (2001), who argued that hybrid language/literacy practices may provide many forms of participation, generate a need for collaboration, allow learners to get access to a wide range of learning resources, and help learners to learn their second language along with their first language. A third example, Gutiérrez, Baquedaño-López & Tejeda (1999) found that mixing official and unofficial practices (in the sense of "official school practices") in a classroom invoked new forms of participation and enabled productive learning. allowing contradictions or friction among students or between students and teacher to become the impetus to reorganize learning. In addition, Rogoff (Rogoff, 1994; Rogoff, Paradise, Arauz, Correa-Chávez & Angeillo, 2003) described that a so-called "assembly-line" (IRE) instructional setting imposes hierarchical, vertical participation structures with fixed roles. In contrast to IRE, she illustrated that the CoL setting encourages a collaborative, horizontal participation structure with fluid responsibilities.

Regarding access to learning resources, SLL research in the last decade has shown that students' access to learning resources is strongly linked to their learning practices. Among them, Manyak (2001) contended that students'

⁹ Carnival is a notion that Mikhail Bakhtin, a Russian philosopher and literary critic, used to represent a social arrangement within which "[A]II were considered equal during carnival..., a special form of free and familiar contact reigned among people who were usually divided by the barriers of caste, property, profession, and age" (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 10).

learning resources (English) were accessible through hybrid literacy practice with their first language helping English learning. Duff's (2002) research pointed out that instructional use of pop culture references, while serving as an effective learning resource to native English speakers, did not help ESL learners because of their language and cultural barriers. Meanwhile, some SLL research indicated that students' access to learning resources is also highly related to their social relations with other people in their community. Eva, in Norton's (2000) research, accessed better learning resources as her relations with her co-workers improved over time. Similarly, a child in Toohey's (2000) research had positive relations with her peers, resulting in her easy access to sufficient learning resources, whereas another child was denied access to many resources due to his poor relations with other children in the class. Also, some SLL research investigated the factors that affect students' access to learning resources (Lin, 1999; Dagenais, 2003; Smythe & Toohey, 2009 among others). They drew on Bourdieu's notion of cultural, social, and other kinds of "capital", which were reproduced through generations, to represent social inequalities and to relate it to the accessibility of learning resources. For example, Lin's research revealed that in a Hong Kong school community, the "classroom is a key site for the reproduction of social identities and unequal relations of power" (p. 394), and that with their teacher's help, the students in one lower class struggled to transformed their social world by obtaining the learning resource (English). In the same vein, Smythe and Toohey's (2009) found that socioeconomic status was the factor that affected learners' access to cultural and linguistic resources. As a result, the SLL

children did not have the same access to English print literacy as their peers with English as first language.

While research has focused individually on identity and language learning, instructional practices and language learning, and access to resources and language learning, it is clear from the studies reviewed above that these factors are completely intertwined and that they have major effects on learning opportunities and outcomes. I too will consider these factors separately, in my study of an instructional event (or series of events, storywriting and podcasting on the part of child ELLs), while recognizing their interrelation. I investigate the following questions:

- In what ways might personal identity and social relations develop throughout the activity of podcasting storybook writing?
- 2. In what ways might the practices in the activity of podcasting storybook writing structure participation forms and social relations that affect opportunities for participation?
- 3. What were students' learning resources and in what ways might they access and make sense of these learning resources?

To answer these research questions, I use the notion of community-ofpractice as a theoretical framework to visualize English learning in the course of podcasting storybook writing, as described in Chapter 4. As previous cited, according to Lave and Wenger's (1991) community-of-practice, learning is evolving participation in communities of practice that involves changing identities and relations and negotiating memberships, and participatory opportunities for legitimate peripheral participators (LPPs) are related to their social relations and personal identities. This concept provides a way to investigate social contexts, where various practices take place, diverse participation forms are generated, and dynamic social relations are established. To answer the first question, I pay particular attention to changes in students' social relations and personal identities, with particular attention to Michael, one of the focal students. I also look at the relationship between changes in identity/social relations and the participatory opportunities in practicing English story-writing and podcasting. To answer the second question, I analyze how practices in the picture-based storytelling phase and in the story-podcasting phase structured participation forms and social relations in SLL that affected participatory opportunities. To answer the third question, I investigate how learning resources were generated, how students accessed to the learning resources, and how they made sense of these learning resources in their interaction. To visualize how the students used a picture to get access to learning resources, I also use the genetic law of cultural development (Vygotsky, 1981) as a lens to complement Lave and Wenger's community-ofpractice in unveiling students' learning processes.

5.1 Identity and language learning

5.1.1 The picture-based storytelling: Michael's social relations and positioning

Classrooms operate as communities of practice. In Ms. Wilson's classroom community, children and the teacher had particular practices and

relations with one another and these relations had effects on the positioning of each individual in this community. Positioning influences an individual's personal identity, which is the ways that an individual perceives him/herself, and also has effects on how others perceive the individual.

In Michael's group, during the activity of small group description of the picture, the interactions among the members reflected a kind of asymmetry in power where Roger was a "top dog", and Michael and Ginny were subordinates. For example, Roger teased Michael and called him "mental", and purposely asked him if he took medicine for the day [FN2 (p. 59)]¹⁰. Besides, he, along with Janet, cut off Michael's talking when Michael tried to share his sentence with the group and to join their conversation. He also treated Ginny aggressively by grabbing her paper. Hence, Roger might see himself as dominant in this interaction. Michael and Ginny, interestingly, did not protest Roger's treatment of them. They might also have seen Roger as a "top dog" and seen themselves as subordinates in their interaction with Roger. As for Janet, she talked to Roger regardless of his aggressive behaviours towards Michael and Ginny. This might be interpreted as her acceptance of Roger's "top dog" position, or of her equal positioning with Roger.

In the picture-based storytelling class, Michael made a contribution by first identifying the picture as a fantasy, and persuaded others of this, including Roger, through detailed explanation [FN 1 (p. 58) and 7 (p. 62)]. Even though Roger was convinced eventually and recognized the picture as a fantasy [FN 6 (p. 61) and 7

¹⁰ Unless otherwise indicated, all the field notes references are from Chapter 4.

(p. 51)], Michael's contribution to the understanding of the picture did not reposition him in the power structure of the group. Relations between Michael and Roger remained as tense as before. Roger still treated Michael as a subordinate, deprived of his participatory opportunities, and even broke Michael's pencil.

5.1.2 The story-podcasting

5.1.2.1 Roger helped Michael with story-podcasting

In the story-podcasting, the power relations between Michael and Roger shifted from a more hierarchical to a more equal power-shared, cooperative relation. At the beginning of the story-podcasting, Michael remained as a subordinate who followed Roger's lead in producing his story-podcasting. For some reason¹¹, Roger appeared in this peer interaction as respectful, considerate, and patient in mentoring Michael. This new relation apparently encouraged Michael to participate in the activity, and he freely contributed his own idea in audio-editing his own story. In terms of CoP, with this type of friendly relation, Roger allowed Michael access to the resource of the GarageBand program, and they shared the resource together. Later they cooperatively worked and made decisions together for better sound effects for Michael's podcast. In addition, with this type of friendly relation, Michael's opportunities for participation

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The investigation of the reason was not covered in this research. One possibility is that Roger enjoyed being an instructor for story-podcasting, but I do not have proof of that. A second possibility is that Roger enjoyed Michael's story, and that was shown in the post-project interview (Post-project interview, May 22, 2008, LD).

in the podcasting increased drastically in comparison to his participatory chances in the small group discussion of the picture-based storytelling¹².

5.1.2.2 Sandy helped Gary and Michael with story-podcasting

Sandy was another "expert" who also helped Michael's story-podcasting two days after Roger helped Michael [FN 11 (p. 70) and 12 (p.71)]. Before she helped Michael, she and her friend Dianna helped Gary's story-podcasting. The power structure between Sandy, Dianna and Gary appeared extremely asymmetric. Gary was a slow reader and his helpers became impatient and reluctant to help him record his story. The interaction between the novice and helpers was full of tension. Frustration on both sides blocked further work on audio-editing. Gary's identity in this situation was positioned by Sandy and Dianna as a "slow learner", and he was teased and mocked mercilessly. As a result, his further participation in this story-podcasting was discouraged. However, Sandy and Michael's interaction in podcasting Michael's story followed a very different route. Like the way Roger treated Michael in podcasting Michael's story, Sandy was also kind, patient, and respectful to Michael, too [FN 11 (p. 70) and 12 (p.58)]. Power in this dyad seemed pretty much equally distributed between both the helper and the novice. They were equally engaged in the activity, and they both made a contribution to the making of the story with sound effects. Compared to the Sandy/Gary case, Sandy and Michael's activity reflected a much more positive relation between them, and therefore Michael was again

¹² As described in Chapter 4, Michael's participation opportunities were cut off by Roger and Janet in the small discussion. However, in the story-podcasting with Roger, he had much more participatory opportunities to get involved to the activity.

allowed access to resources for story-podcasting. Michael's participation, based on his good relations with Roger and Sandy during the story-podcasting, yielded a productive learning experience¹³ in story-podcasting.

Until this moment, the trajectory of Michael's identity development had gone from a position where he was teased by his peers and where perhaps he saw himself as a subordinate in his group during the picture-based story-telling, to a new position where he maintained positive relations with Roger and Sandy. He was thus able to contribute to the making of his story-podcasting, and was considered as a capable partner for generating ideas together.

By the time Michael had become an old-timer in story-podcasting and started to help other novices in podcasting their stories, his relations to the novices he helped still affected the ways he participated in the activity and how much he got involved. The cases shown below help me to illustrate the interactions between Michael and the novices he helped and how they were involved in the making of story-podcasting.

5.1.2.3 Michael helped Mark with story-podcasting

Michael apparently knew what to do to make the audio-editing more acceptable and accessible to Mark. He first put Mark's text on the table, asking Mark to mark all the places in the text that he wanted to add audio effects. By doing so, he invited Mark to participate in the activity before the audio-editing, provided Mark an idea of where the sound effect would appear in his story, and

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¹³ For example, Michael was actively involved in his story-podcasting with Roger and Sandy, and contributed his thoughts to improve his work. Later, his learning experiences in podcasting reproduced in helping other novice students.

at the same time, established good relations with Mark. Mark seemed to like doing this, and they marked up the paper together. In the podcasting of Mark's story, Michael did all the computer work, listened to the recording, and looked for audio effects for Mark's story. On the one hand, Mark followed Michael's lead; on the other hand, Mark also contributed to the decision-making for putting the right sound effects to his own story. The interaction between Michael and Mark was similar to the ones between Michael and Roger and between Sandy and Michael, in which they cooperatively worked together. Nevertheless, for this case where Michael helped Mark, Michael had switched his role from a newcomer to an oldtimer, so he took more responsibility and was in charge of the story-podcasting. In CoP terms, Michael's identity at this point was positioned in the place of an old-timer, where he knew what story-podcasting was about and how to help a newcomer to participate in the activity and to generate an audio-edited story. However, by having complete access to the computer, Michael in effect prevented Mark from developing any competence in the technical aspects of the activity.

5.1.2.4 Michael helped Peter with story-podcasting

In this case, Michael was also a helper to assist Peter's story-podcasting, but the relations between them were different from those with Mark. Mark was a novice, so from the very beginning, Michael was in charge of all aspects of story-podcasting with Mark's story. He positioned himself as a helper, and he did a good job in helping Mark. Mark, at the same time, saw himself as a novice and accepted Michael's help, so he followed Michael's suggestions cooperatively.

They both enjoyed participating in the activity within their defined roles, and their acts matched their own individual positionings and the expectations from each other. Michael and Peter's interaction, however, was not as harmonious as the one between Michael and Mark. It is obvious that Michael again positioned himself as a helper in his relation with Peter in this activity, because he expected to do so. However, Peter did not position himself as a novice at all because Peter actually had some knowledge of the computer and GarageBand program already. Eventually, through the talk and the children's actions, Michael realized that, in this situation, he was not a helper. This interaction was tense and Michael gradually showed his intention to dissociate himself from this activity. Michael could have played a more active role somewhere else, like joining a basketball game in the playground. Thus, he thought about leaving the scene of storypodcasting (Michael requested to leave 8 times within 10 minutes). When examining Michael's participatory opportunities in this story-podcasting activity, we can see that they were not frequent, as social relations between the boys made it impossible for him to contribute.

5.1.3 Michael's personal identity development, social relations and participatory opportunities throughout the activity of podcasting storybook writing

As Lave and Wenger (1991) pointed out, learning is "an evolving, continuously renewed set of relations" (p. 50). Ever-changing relations with others, in turn, contribute to the shaping of individual's personal identity; meanwhile, dynamic social relations make visible development of individual's personal identity. Thus, if we want to trace an individual's learning trajectory, we

see his/her personal identity development and visualize the personal identity development through analysis of dynamic social relations.

To trace Michael's learning trajectory, I analyzed his relations with others that reflect his personal identity development, and examined the relationship between his relations with others and participatory opportunities. Based on the data and these analyses, it appeared that Michael had three positionings or identities in the four-month course of podcasting storybook writing. The first identity appeared in the stage of the picture-based storytelling, where Michael's personal identity was subordinate and he was ignored. Michael, defining himself as subordinate, did not say or do anything against Roger, whose behaviour blocked Michael's opportunities for participation in the small group discussion. Not until later when Ms. Wilson supported his remarks on the picture as a fantasy, did he see Ms. Wilson as an ally and actively participate in the whole class discussion. Nonetheless, his relation to Roger remained the same. In their small group, Roger did not see Michael's contributions as valuable and he shut down his opportunities to participate. However, three weeks later, when he worked with Roger again in the story-podcasting stage, their relation changed and Roger treated Michael politely. Explicitly a subordinate or a learner, Michael's appreciation of Roger's help, and perhaps both boys' intrinsic interest in the task permitted more equal relations. In many subsequent interactions, Michael's personal identity was as someone gradually growing in knowledge of podcasting technology, and contributing collaboratively to story-podcasting. In the storypodcasting, Roger described his own role as an old-timer to help Michael, a

newcomer; Michael also saw himself as a newcomer who followed Roger's suggestions in the audio-editing. They both acted in defined roles, but there appeared to be little struggle in these interactions. Therefore, they worked together collaboratively and Michael's opportunities for participation were increased. Later on, Michael's relation with Sandy was positive too. Their interaction was based upon the same type of helper-novice collaborative relation. where they both contributed to the production of audio-editing of Michael's story. After completing his podcasting with the help of those old-timers, Michael was familiar with podcasting techniques and was qualified to become an old-timer, who started to help other novices. Because Michael's role or identity changed from a newcomer to an old-timer, his relations with others changed, and that also reflected a shift in his personal identity from a joint partner to a more experienced old-timer. This third identity, as old-timer, involved him in helping newcomers in story-podcasting. As an old-timer, he first helped Mark. His relation with Mark was positive and similar to the ones with Roger and Sandy, so that both Michael and Mark had many participatory opportunities and engaged in the activity with positive results. Mark did not struggle with his position as a learner. However, in another situation, Peter did not accept Michael's identity assignment as old-timer, and Peter did not take his help most of the time and even ignored his suggestions. As Toohey et al. (2007) mentioned, "we create certain social positions for ourselves and simultaneously position others in particular ways" (p. 627), so identity not only reflects how a person sees him/herself, but also reflects how other people look at this same person. Michael in this case might have seen

himself as a helper, but Peter did not validate this positioning of Michael. Michael responded by removing himself from the activity. Michael's negative experience with Peter did not change the fact that Michael was still an experienced old-timer, and he continued to help other newcomers in story-podcasting. As can be seen, therefore, identity assignment can be very fluid and changeable and in Michael's case, was closely related to the social setting and the people he worked with.

Sandy, Dianna and Gary's relations are instructive as a counterpoint. One might expected their interaction to flow as smoothly as Roger and Michael's, Sandy and Michael's, or Michael and Mark's, because in these dyads, novices needed the experts to accomplish the task. So why was Sandy, Dianna and Gary's relation full of tension? I suspect that this discordant interaction may have been due to the girls' positioning of Gary as needing learning assistance, as inferior, and as not worth teaching. Toohey (2001) has described children's disputatious interactions and analyzed how power relations are negotiated among young children, and describes several incidents where children's positioning of others seems cruel and at best, dismissive. While this topic is beyond the scope of my thesis, I am persuaded that Toohey's suggestion that teachers be alert to the possibilities for this, and address positioning among children, directly, is important.

5.2 Practices and language learning

5.2.1 The large group discussion in the picture-based storytelling: the IRE/IRF setting

The three-part sequence of IRE is a common type of interaction between teachers and students, and "typifies the discourse of western schooling, from kindergarten to the university" (Hall & Walsh, 2002, p. 188). In the IRE sequence, a teacher initiates a question, followed by student response to the questions, and finally the teacher evaluates the student's answer. Another form of teacher-student interactions that is similar to IRE is IRF. Between them, there is a subtle difference in the third part. Instead of closing down the sequence with a narrow evaluation of the student response, in the IRF the teacher follows up on the answer, treats the student's answer as a valuable contribution, and asks students to elaborate, justify, or clarify their previous answers. By doing so, this type of interaction can enhance students' opportunities for learning and can create significant language learning environments (Hall & Walsh, 2002; Wells, 1993).

The IRE-related setting led by teachers has been criticized, because (1) it limits students' opportunities to talk through their understandings, (2) it limits students' opportunities to become more proficient in using complex language, (3) it facilitates teacher's control of the interactions more than students' learning of the content of the lesson, (4) it prevents complex communication between the teacher and students, and (5) the teacher does most of the talking while the students are limited to brief answers (Barnes, 1992; Cazden, 1998; Gutierrez, 1994; Hall & Walsh, 2002). However, in this chapter, I will illustrate how the teacher's role in the IRE/IRF setting facilitated opportunities for participation in

storytelling in English for less powerful students and the teacher was able to give them support.

5.2.1.1 Practicing English in the IRE/IRF setting

Initially, Ms. Wilson, one of the teachers, introduced the essential components for story writing by using a picture. She presented the picture and asked students to come up with words or phrases to describe the setting of the story behind the picture in order for them to make sense of the essential components in a story. Chapter 4 details how these small group discussions occurred in one group. After the students in small groups discussed the essential components of a story behind the picture, they responded to Ms. Wilson's initiation by responding to her prompts to describe the picture in the whole group. Ms. Wilson usually evaluated the students' contributions and gave them feedback right away. Sometimes, she asked students to elaborate, justify, or clarify their previous answers. Hence, the instruction in the first stage was carried out under a typical teacher-involved IRE/IRF pattern.

In the IRF setting, Ms. Wilson initiated a question in turn 1 of FN1 (p. 58), and Janet responded in turn 2. Ms. Wilson followed up the student's answer and asked the students to elaborate more in turn 3. Michael in turn 4 had a chance to express his observation in the presence of Ms. Wilson. Regardless of Roger's disagreement, Ms. Wilson encouraged Roger to expand his answer in turn 5, and even though Roger had a negative response in turn 6 and disapproved of Michael's opinion in turn 8, Ms. Wilson supported Michael's observation and suggested Roger take a look at the picture in turn 9. In this way, Ms. Wilson was

doing two things: one was to guide Roger's focus to the task she had assigned, and at the same time, to support Michael's observation as a positive contribution to the group discussion. By doing so, Ms. Wilson secured Michael's opportunities to participate in the whole-group discussion despite his experience with the asymmetrical power structure of his small group.

In the whole class discussion, almost every student took turns in answering Ms. Wilson's questions. Ms. Wilson evaluated their answers or gave them feedback right away. This IRE/IRF instruction kept going for about one and half hours, and there was a lot of discussion of the essential components of a story based on the picture, moving the discussion from the setting, : "the mood", "the where", "the what", "the when" to "the who" of the picture. In addition to that, Ms. Wilson occasionally invited volunteers from any group or picked students randomly to answer her questions. In that situation, volunteers or students who were picked by Ms. Wilson had extra opportunities to express their learning in English. Michael was one of those who actively took the opportunities [FN 7 (p. 62)].

In turn 42 of FN 8 (p. 64), even though Michael did not (or was not able to) comment on the second student's sentence, he quickly grabbed another opportunity to participate in the whole class discussion when Ms. Wilson called for a volunteer to comment on the third student's sentence in turn 47 [FN 10 (p. 65)]. Apparently, Ms. Wilson's involvement facilitated Michael's opportunities to practice English storytelling in the whole class activity, and under this

circumstance, Michael could express his opinions freely without being cut off or ignored.

The voice or participation from a student in a marginalized position may not necessarily be trivial, and sometimes it can make a significant contribution to the classroom discussion. Michael is a good example; while he was in a marginalized position, he was the first person to label the picture as a fantasy. The teacher's support in the IRE setting secured Michael's right and opportunities to practice and to participate in the group discussion. Without the teacher's support, it is not clear that Michael could have, or would have, participated.

Overall, the practices in this IRE/IRF episode created several forms of participation for the students to learn story-writing in English, such as participation through writing, reading, speaking, communication, commenting and discussion. Michael's opportunities to participate in English increased whenever Ms. Wilson was involved, both in the circumstance of the small group and the whole class discussions. The role of teacher in the IRE/IRF instructional setting is demonstrated here as quite important; teachers may facilitate opportunities for participation for students otherwise dominated by other students. Teachers may also be helpful in resolving power conflicts among students.

5.2.2 Story-podcasting: a CoL setting

Rogoff (1990, 1994) argued that a CoL approach as a learning model is a new paradigm. She saw it not as a compromised mix of the IRE and child-run approaches, but as a distinct instructional model based on theoretical notions of

learning as a process of transformation of participation, where both responsibility and autonomy are desired. In this model, participants' roles change and are asymmetric. Both mature and less mature members are conceived as active. "No role has all the responsibility for knowing or directing, and no role is by definition passive" (Rogoff, 1994, p. 213). Both experienced and less experienced members are active in structuring shared endeavors, with experienced ones responsible for guiding the whole process and less experienced ones participating in management of their own learning (Brown & Campione, 1990). Rogoff (1994) observed that, "In a specific activity, participants' roles are seldom equal—they may be complementary with some leading and others supporting or actively observing, and may involve disagreements about who is responsible for what aspect of the endeavor" (p. 213). The CoL approach may occur in several settings such as informal learning of communities and in formal school learning. In informal learning, children learn through participation with adults in community activities or through apprenticeships (Lave & Wenger, 1991). In formal school learning, Rogoff claimed that schools could function as communities of learners, with teachers attempting to structure school activities in ways that interest children and allowing them to participate with understanding the purpose of the activity (Brown & Campione, 1990). Instructional discourse in the CoL approach in a school is rather more like a conversation than an IRE.

In a CoL structure, learners' learning trajectories involve changing locations, perspectives, identities, forms of membership, and relations in their communities.

To obtain learning opportunities, a newcomer needs to be a legitimate member of

or tacitly approved by the target community, and then proceeds with peripheral participation in the community activities. In the CoL setting, participants' roles change and are seldom equal; learning with a master/expert, old-timers and other newcomers are all likely to happen. To maintain good relationships with them becomes a necessity to obtain more opportunities for participation in the learning communities for newcomers. As participation gradually increases, newcomers are changing their locations, perspectives, identities, forms of membership, and/or relations. Eventually, they may become old-timers who are able to assist newcomers.

5.2.2.1 Practicing story-podcasting in the CoL setting

In the third stage of the course of podcasting storybook writing, when students podcasted their edited stories with the help of other students who were more experienced with podcasting techniques, the teachers were quite peripheral. As I mentioned in Chapter 4, the expert in this CoL was Vanessa, who was a volunteer parent who knew podcasting and computer techniques. To establish the CoL setting, some students were intentionally selected from Ms. Wilson's class, and Vanessa trained them to be familiar with podcasting and computer techniques. As these selected students were qualified to help other novice students, they became old-timers. Thus, a CoL setting was formed, and it was ready for newcomers (novice students) to learn podcasting and computer techniques at the same time with the assistance of old-timers.

The way newcomers learned podcasting their stories was to find an oldtimer to guide them throughout the whole process. Usually one old-timer helped one newcomer at a time, but a newcomer could get help from several old-timers at different periods of time. For instance, Michael, as a newcomer, got help first from Roger and two days later from Sandy. If a newcomer had problems in finding an old-timer for help, an old-timer would be assigned to him/her.

After a newcomer was familiar with podcasting and computer techniques under the guidance of old-timers, she would feel confident with her ability to podcast a story. Children seemed eager to demonstrate their podcasting ability by teaching other newcomers how to podcast their stories, especially newcomers with whom they were friendly. Thus, a relationship-based learning network was formed, and the whole learning environment was a CoL setting.

5.2.2.2 Good interactions structured positive relations, producing more opportunities for participation

In the CoL setting, Roger was selected to get training in podcasting and computer techniques from Vanessa. After Roger got trained for podcasting, he became an old-timer in the community, and helped several novice students including Michael in podcasting their stories. In addition, even though he became an old-timer, he still consulted other old-timers at times.

Michael was not selected to get training in podcasting and computer techniques from Vanessa, so he was a newcomer to podcasting at the beginning in the community. He appeared cheerful despite Roger's and Janet's teasing and ignoring of him in the first stage of the unit. Interestingly, in spite of the previously tense relationship between Roger and Michael, their relationship became more relaxed in podcasting stage. I do not know exactly why their interaction seemed

to become less fraught with conflict, but I can suggest two possible reasons. First, Roger, as an old-timer and tutor, was eager to display his ability in podcasting a story, and this activity provided him with an opportunity to be a leader. The second possible reason for the "thaw" was that Roger liked "300", the story Michael wrote, as we will see in Excerpt 1, in which Roger stressed that Michael's "300" story was pretty cool in the interview at the end of semester.

Excerpt 1

LD: Have you listened to some of the other kids' projects?

Roger: Yeah, when I helped them I did.

LD: And what did you think about those?

Roger: Michael's is pretty cool.

LD: Is there anything else that you thought about? What did you like about Michael's?

Roger: It was about...and the history of ...and stuff.

LD: You just liked that? It sounded interesting?

Roger: Yeah. (After-project interview, May 22, 2008, LD)

Michael, as a newcomer and a novice in story-podcasting, got together with Roger, as an old-timer, to podcast his story. The CoL setting provided ample opportunities for Michael to practice podcasting a story. Roger talked and acted

like an expert when he assisted Michael. As I said in Chapter 4, during the practice, Michael and Roger had quite positive interactions, where Roger offered his experience in story-podcasting to Michael politely and respectfully.

5.2.2.3 Poor interactions structured poor relations, producing fewer opportunities of participation

The CoL setting does not necessarily guarantee that the one-to-one interactions of paired novice and old-timer always come up with positive learning outcomes. It seems good interactions between a newcomer and an old-timer result in better relations and more opportunities of participation for a newcomer. On the contrary, poor interactions between a newcomer and an old-timer may result in poor relations and fewer opportunities for participation for a newcomer.

In the story-podcasting, the interactions between Sandy/Dianna and Gary were dramatically different from the ones between Roger and Michael. Gary, a novice in podcasting, was a 6th grader who needed assistance in the learning assistance centre. Both Sandy and Dianna, who were old-timers for podcasting and 7th graders, were assigned to Gary to help Gary to podcast his story. There is no evidence that Gary knew Sandy or Dianna well before. The interactions in the story-podcasting started when Gary tried to read his story into the computer. Gary was a slow reader. He paused and stumbled on words, so he had trouble reading his text. Sandy and Dianna were impatient with Gary's slow reading and stumbling. As a result, the relationship between the novice and the old-timers was not good at all. Gary had few opportunities to further practice story-podcasting.

If one compares the case of Gary and Sandy/Dianna with the case of Michael and Roger, one can see that the interactions, the relations, and the opportunities of participation for these two pairs are very different. Both Michael and Roger enjoyed engaging in the podcasting learning activity. Michael received helpful advice from Roger. Meanwhile, the feedback Roger received from Michael reflected that Michael had taken his suggestion and made progress in becoming familiar with the story-podcasting. Eventually Michael was skilled enough in podcasting to become an old-timer and to help other novice students. In contrast with the good interactions between Michael and Roger, the interactions between Gary and Sandy/Dianna were full of tension. Sandy and Dianna's responses were sustained impatience and they responded with a series of oral attacks towards Gary. All these verbal expressions revealed that Sandy and Dianna did not expect Gary to have any positive learning outcome, and that Gary was wasting their time. Under this kind of tension, Gary did the story-recording even more poorly, so he had problems moving forward and lost the opportunity to participate in further steps of the story-podcasting. His story-podcasting never proceeded any further in the time when working with Sandy and Dianna.

5.2.3 Practices in the CoL setting structure social relations and forms of participation

Overall, the practices in this CoL episode created several forms of participation for the students to learn story-podcasting, such as participation through reading, speaking, communication, commenting and discussion, collaborative participation, and joint-decision participation. Based on the above

two cases (the case of Gary and Sandy/Dianna versus the case of Michael and Roger), one can see that interactions and relations between people are interrelated. When a newcomer and an old-timer are engaged in a task that interests them both, good interactions lead to a positive relationship (at least in this particular interaction), and newcomers have more access to learning opportunities. Conversely, poor interactions result in a tense relationship between a novice and an old-timer and that can reduce opportunities for learners to learn.

5.2.4 Comparison of practices between the IRE/IRF and CoL settings

In the course of podcasting storybook writing, there existed at least two instructional settings: the IRE/IRF and CoL settings. This permitted a comparison between the two instructional settings. In the IRE/IRF setting, the teacher facilitates opportunities to participate in storytelling for less powerful students, gives them necessary support, and makes a fair judgment on conflicts that caused by students with different degrees of power. However, in the CoL setting, the teacher is too peripheral to facilitate opportunities for participation for less powerful students. As we can see the case of Gary and Sandy and Dianna, a child who has a "flawed" identity outside the interaction (as someone who needed "learning assistance") is dominated in an activity by other children who do not appear willing to listen to him or help him.

The case of the podcasting story unit I have presented here indicates that practices structure relations between people and decide opportunities of participation. As we can see the case of Gary and Sandy and Dianna, poor

interactions among them caused by Gary's stumbling over words structured poor relations between Gary and Sandy/Dianna, leading to fewer opportunities of participation for Gary. In addition, the practices change as the instructional setting changes, and the changes of the practices result in the changes of relations between people. As we can see with the Michael/Roger case, relationships can change when the practice or activity changes, so that Roger, who presents as something like a bully in the small group interactions discussing story components, can present as a sensitive old-timer willing to share his expertise with a novice in the podcasting activity. Michael presents as dominated in the small group activity, but he is seen as more powerful when he has the teacher as an ally, or if he has an interlocutor who is willing to listen to him.

5.3 Access to resources and language learning

5.3.1 Learning resources in the picture-based storytelling

During students' participation in the picture-based storytelling, I found at least four sources of learning resources in the meaning-negotiating moments. Meaning-negotiating moments occurred in Roger, Michael, Janet and Ginny's small group discussion, and conversation that took place in the whole class discussion.

In the picture-based story-telling, Ms. Wilson introduced the basic elements of a story (who, what, where, etc.) to the students which they could use to set up a scene or frame for their own stories. Hence, what the teacher provided became the first source of learning resources for the students to access. From FN 1 to FN 9 (pp. 58-65), we see the students using the picture which came, of course, with

an unspoken story the artist tried to tell. The story behind the picture was the second source of learning resource the students could access. When the picture, as a semiotic mediator, was presented to the students, they might have used the picture and its implicit story to structure their own story. In addition to that, the picture might have triggered them to recall individual personal experiences, which would be a third source of learning resource they could access. This was a kind of refreshment of their memories. Then, they blended the artist's story with their individual personal experiences that came from their individual's social, cultural, and economical backgrounds, developing a unique way to look into the story behind the picture. Thus, various new interpretations, which were different from the original story, were produced. For example, Michael's interpretation was dramatically different from Roger's at the beginning of the class. These various interpretations might become the fourth source of learning resources for other students. At the time that we observed meaning-negotiating moments, the students were experiencing and referencing other people's insights, producing a potentially rich interpretation of the picture, which was another round of hybridization of thoughts. For example, in FN7 (p. 62), Michael made his descriptions of the fantasy picture in details with Roger's help. At that moment, St2C might get Michael's fantasy concept of the picture. When he replied to Ms. Wilson, he added more descriptions to the fantasy picture based on Michael's fantasy concept. Overall, it leads to an assumption that there are at least four sources of learning resources for the students to access in the picture-based storytelling class; they are (1) basic elements of a story the teacher provided for

using as a frame or setting in story-telling (2) the original meaning behind the picture, (3) the students' recalled memories and experiences, and (4) other students' insights for the picture, which are a hybridization of the original meaning behind the picture and other students' recalled memories and experiences.

5.3.2 Instant and living learning resources: the students' interpretations of the picture

In FN 3 (p. 60), when Ms. Wilson asked the students to discuss the component "mood" in the story behind the picture, it seemed that most children in the class agreed that the picture illustrated a happy mood. The children might link the event that occurred in the picture to their personal experience to generate their interpretations for the mood of the story behind the picture. St2A who answered "imaginary" might use his previous knowledge to notice that the picture was a fantasy, so he just described the picture-creator's mood as "imaginary".

As shown in FN 4 (p. 60), Ms. Wilson asked the students to discuss the component "who" in the story behind the picture. The answer of "A boy and a girl" was the direct answer for the teacher's question. The rest of answers came from the hybridization of the direct meaning of the picture with the students' experience. St2B's answer reflected the association of the age and mood with the children in the picture, and so did St4B's and St5B's answers. Interestingly, St3B gave names to the boy and the girl. It seems that she already had the story in her mind and she was introducing the two characters to other students.

Then, Ms. Wilson asked the students to discuss what happened in the story behind the picture [FN 5 (p. 61)]. The students started to formulate stories in their own minds and began to describe them by combining what was illustrated in the picture with their own images of the story. Michael started to use an action word (swinging), followed by St2C who used "singing" and "fell". Ms. B, an educational assistant, also got involved in the discussion (turn 25, p. 61 in FN 5). Her comment may be an inquiry or maybe she was amazed that students were progressing on the English story-writing. St5C joined the team to create a scenario for the scene, too.

Next, in FN 6 (p. 61), Ms. Wilson asked the students to discuss the component "where" in the story behind the picture. St2D's answer was a direct answer. St4D's answer was related to her observation of the colour of the trees and she claimed that it was fall (more of an answer to a "when" question). The rest of the students' answers more clearly answered the question "where", but their answers did not seem to be seen in the picture, but to a certain extent, the answers were somewhat creative. St3D might have been to Amsterdam, read something about it, or have something to do with that city, so her answer seemed to be associated with her previous experience. St5D might refer the picture to an imaginary story he knew before or he was about to develop. As mentioned in the previous section, before Roger had this answer to Ms. Wilson's question in the whole class discussion, he did not think the picture was a fantasy at all. However, after the discussion with Michael and Ms. Wilson, a new learning resource was generated mainly by Michael and provided to him, so that he had a new

understanding for the picture. Later on, as shown in FN 7 (p. 62), Roger even helped Michael with gestures when Michael described the fantasy picture. In the FN 7 (p. 62), Michael described his observation of the picture with details, with the help of Roger who pointed out where to look in the picture. St2C (in turn 41) might be a careful observer too. He might have understood Michael's fantasy concept of the picture and based on Michael's fantasy concept, he added more descriptions to the fantasy picture when he replied to Ms. Wilson.

From FN 3 to FN 6 (pp. 60-61), the picture Ms. Wilson provided served as a semiotic mediator; that is, the students might come to understand the concept of story by having a picture to refer to. One thing that is noticeable is that the picture did trigger the students' memories and experiences and generated their individual interpretations of the picture. These interpretations of the picture included various perspectives, were varied through practices, became instant and living learning resources for the students, and were regulated by the teacher in the IRE/IRF setting. As a result, they enriched resources for the students to think and to write in their English story-writing subsequently.

5.3.3 The teacher as an old-timer in stimulating production of instant and living learning resources

The episode in FN 9 (p. 65) shows how the teacher as a more knowledgeable old-timer, stimulated production of learning resources for students' learning. It took place in the whole class discussion when Ginny shared her sentence with the students and Ms. Wilson and St2A commented on the sentence.

Writing in correct grammar is important for writers to smoothly deliver what they want to express in their stories smoothly. In this sentence-sharing activity, the students contributed what they knew about the correct grammar in a sentence to the class, while Ms. Wilson worked as a more knowledgeable old-timer in stimulating the students to generate the correct answer to the question. The answer provided by St2A (in turn 46) (p. 8 in Ch. 4) became a learning resource for other students, especially for Ginny, and that was the result stimulated by the teacher. What the teacher did encouraged students to produce instant and living learning resources. As a result, the students, especially Ginny, could access the instant and living learning resources

Negotiation of meaning In the picture-based story-telling, the students blended the meaning behind the picture with personal experiences to generate various interpretations of the picture. When the students presented their individual interpretations of the picture in public according to the frame the teacher suggested, what they presented might have included some vocabulary items, which were new for some other students, and alternative meanings for the picture. These could help other students in learning English story-writing, so what they presented became learning resources for others. The various learning resources generated by other students might further hybridize with their recalled memories and the meaning behind the picture again, producing various alternative interpretations of the picture. Thus, a platform for negotiating meaning of the picture was formed.

From the perspective of Vygotsky's genetic law of cultural development, the students reached or figured out the compromised meaning of the picture through negotiation of meaning in the group discussion in the IRE/IRF setting. The students proposed their individual interpretations of the picture in the IRE/IRF setting. Some of these interpretations were harmonious, while some others were in conflict with one another. When the latter took place, negotiation of meaning would be undertaken in the group discussion. Eventually, a meaning of the picture which combined students' divergent meanings might be obtained. The way the students got access to learning resources appeared first on the "interpsychological" (i.e., social) plane and later on the "intrapsychological" (i.e., individual) plane.

5.3.4 Access to learning resources: the meaning-negotiating moments

In order to interpret the story behind the picture, one has to observe the picture carefully. In the picture-based story-writing, Ms. Wilson came to Michael's group to check their observation for the picture [turn 1 of FN 1 (p. 58)]. Obviously, there were a boy and a girl in the picture as Janet described in turn 2. However, there was something else which made this picture special. If the students did not pay attention, it would be overlooked. That was why Ms. Wilson asked the students to "dig deeper" in turn 3. In turn 4, Michael was a careful observer, so he discovered that the picture was actually a fantasy. However, this remark was not accepted by Roger who might not have observed the picture carefully, so he protested. Providing ways for students to become capable of writing a story was the objective of this unit, so in turn 5, Ms. Wilson offered Roger another tip to

enrich his technique in writing a story; that was to use his imagination.

Nevertheless, Roger, in turn 6, showed his reluctance to make efforts in using his imagination. Michael, at this moment, further described the picture in details in turn 7, but in turn 8, Roger was still not ready to accept this new way of observation. Ms. Wilson finally commented that Michael's observation "makes sense" and asked Roger follow Michael's way of looking at the picture before she left for a classroom visitor in turn 9. Then, Roger and Michael still insisted on their individual conflicting interpretations of the picture, respectively, in turn 10 and 11 (p. 59 in FN 2).

Later on, in the whole class discussion, Roger unexpectedly agreed with and shared Michael's insights into the picture Ms. Wilson provided. He even helped Michael to make sense of Michael's interpretation of the picture by pointing at the picture where it showed fantasy illustration [FN 6 (p. 61) and 7 (p. 62)].

Actually, Michael's insights into the picture already became one of learning resources for other students, and Roger took a long way around to get access to and to make sense of this learning resource. Before Roger accepted and shared Michael's insights into the picture, they had argued over the topic several times in the IRE/IRF structure.

In the process of Roger getting access to Michael's insights into the picture, Roger did not agree with Michael's answers at first. He even thought it was nonsensical observation. However, Michael's answers opened up a new access to the story behind the picture for Roger, and eventually Roger was convinced. By examining Roger's case, if Ms. Wilson did not interfere with Roger and

Michael's discussion and give her support to Michael's answer, Roger might just overlooked Michael's contribution and missed the proper access to the learning resource. Hence, the teacher played an important role for Roger to get access to learning resources in the IRE/IRF structure.

As mentioned in Section 2.1.1, the role of teacher in the IRE setting is important in facilitating students' opportunities of practicing in the learning activity. Likewise, the teacher can facilitate access to the learning resources for all the students, not only for students with disability or less power, but also for students who do not realize they lack access to learning resources like Roger and perhaps other children too. In this episode, like many other formal occasions in classrooms, the teacher in the IRE setting initiated questions and asked for students' response, which was similar to a brainstorming activity. The students answered the questions one by one. As the students took turns to answer the teacher's questions, a variety of answers came into the public eyes. They represented different ways of children's thinking from various perspectives and presented different channels to approach the possible stories in that picture Ms. Wilson provided. All of the answers from the students could become learning resources for other students to figure out the story behind the picture. Some of the answers were straightforward, such as "a boy and a girl", but Michael took a bit more care on observation of the picture and came up with a different answer from others. This finding is similar to Toohey, Waterstone, and Julé-Lemke's (2000) finding, where teacher and students, in the IRE setting, took turns making written forms of words that might be new for other students. As a result, "The

particular organization of this IRE seems to make some of the linguistic resources of community members available to all" (p. 426). According to these findings, the IRE setting is like a platform that provides students access to a variety of learning resources that are generated by the teacher and/or students.

The structure of IRE/IRF created a setting where students took turns providing a variety of answers for the teacher's question. However, in a classroom with conventional IRE/IRF instruction, the students who benefit from it are usually the students who are willing to participate in and contribute to the activity, such as Michael and Roger. Not every student was interested in this offer. One such example occurred in Ms. Matthews' class. When Ms. Matthews talked about the essential components for writing a story in the IRE/IRF setting, most of the students were ready to answer her questions. However, Kevin, who was a refugee immigrant boy from Sudan, was not really paying attention to the class, but was busy cutting out a figure of his favorite basketball player from a magazine. Other children did not seem to be bothered by this scenario because it happened guite often in the classroom. Not only had Kevin refused to access the learning resources, but some other students also did the same thing as Kevin. Ms. Matthews reflected her frustration to me after the class about those students who did not pay attention to her instruction. (FN, February 12, 2008, SHW; Ms. Matthews, personal communication, February 12, 2008)

Whether the students were able to get access to the learning resources or not depends on the teachers' instruction and the students' motivation. For Roger's and Michael's cases, both of them seemed to be enthusiastic in interpreting the

picture Ms. Wilson provided. Michael got access to the learning resources by himself, while Roger did so with the help of the teacher, Michael and other students. On the other hand, Kevin had poor access to the learning resources because of his lower motivation and careless attitude.

5.3.5 Remarks on creation of, access to and sense-making of learning resources

From the perspective of Vygotsky's genetic law of culture development, the meaning behind the picture Roger eventually comprehended actually originated from meaning-negotiating group discussions where he argued with Michael and Ms. Wilson. This can be seen in FN1 (p. 58), FN2 (p. 59), FN 6 (p. 61) and FN7 (p. 62). The generated or secondary meaning behind the picture first appeared on the interpsychological plane, and later on, it showed up on the intrapsychological plane.

According to the analysis and discussion of the ethnographic results in this chapter, one implication I can draw is that learning depends on (1) the learning resources available to support evolving forms of participation, (2) the structure of access to the learning resources, and (3) negotiation of meaning in the structure of access to the learning resources. In my opinion, negotiation of meaning plays an important role for learning, because it is the key process to make sense of the learning resources.

6: CONCLUSION

Ethnographic studies of SLL in the activity of podcasting storybook writing were carried out to answer the research questions mentioned in Chapter 5.

Through the lens of Lave and Wenger's community of practice, the SLL phenomena in the course of podcasting storybook writing reveals some meaningful data on the themes of personal identity development, practices, and access to learning resources. These data more or less answer the research questions, and the following is a conclusion on the three themes.

As for personal identity development, what I found is that a student who had a "flawed" identity (as someone who needed "learning assistance") was positioned as inferior, and as not worth teaching, and was dominated in the practice of story-podcasting by other students who did not appear willing to help him, leading to fewer and poor practices and less access to learning resources. Another student, whose identity was as a subordinate, was dominated, ignored and deprived of participation opportunities by powerful students in the practice of picture-based storytelling, resulting in less access to learning resources. This result echoes Toohey's (2000) findings that personal identity shapes social relations and influences access to resources and practice of a second language. However, according to my observation, personal identity assignment does not stay unchanged, but is very fluid, changeable and closely related to the social setting and the people one encounters. For instance, a student, who was

positioned as a subordinate, dominated and deprived of participation opportunities by a "top-dog" in the practice of picture-based storytelling (IRE/IRF setting), was positioned in roles other than a subordinate in the practice of story-podcasting (CoL setting). This result resonates with Harklau's (2000) research findings that personal identity is unstable and dynamic, derives from people's interactions, and is significantly affected by contexts. In addition, personal identity might change within one instructional setting, too. This obviously appears in the practice of story-podcasting (CoL setting), where newcomers were promoted to become old-timers after training. This is consistent with what Toohey,

Waterstone and Julé-Lemke (2000) and Rogoff (1994) found, where participants' roles change with fluidity in a CoL setting. However, a shift of personal identity was not evident in the practice of picture-based storytelling (IRE/IRF setting). For example, a student, who was positioned as a subordinate, was dominated by a "top-dog" throughout the picture-based storytelling.

As far as practices are concerned, practices are highly related to instructional settings. For instance, the practice of picture-based storytelling created an IRE/IRF setting while the practice of story-podcasting built a CoL setting. Partially due to the different instructional settings, the nature of these two practices becomes significantly different. The teacher was in a central position in the practice of picture-based storytelling while, in the practice of story-podcasting, the teacher was very peripheral. In the former practice, the teacher is in a central position facilitating participation opportunities for students including ones with subordinate positions and resolving students' conflicts. In the latter practice,

participation opportunities for a student with a "flawed" identity could not be protected due to the absence of the teacher. In the practice of story-podcasting, students constituted dyadic old-timer-newcomer learning pairs that are a kind of apprenticeship between two students, while, in the practice of picture-based storytelling, all the students were newcomers under the supervision of the teacher (an old-timer) and they learned together, resonated upon agreeing with others' opinions, and debated when they disagreed

In the activity of podcasting storybook writing, I found that practices structured social relations. The practice of picture-based storytelling structured relations of top-dog versus subordinates while the practice of story-podcasting structured old-timer-newcomer, newcomer-newcomer, and old-timer-old-timer relations. In addition, I also found that the change of practices from the picture-based storytelling to the story-podcasting might have caused an alteration of relations among students and shifts of personal identity.

As shown above, practices structured the types of social relations. However, practices do not necessarily guarantee positive or negative relations among students. Whether positive or negative relations are structured depends on interactions among the students. For example, in the practice of story-podcasting, good interactions between students resulted in positive relationships, leading to more participation opportunities in an activity and more access to learning resources, while poor interactions between students structured their negative relationships, leading to few participation opportunities and less access to learning resources. However, some practices did structure negative relationships

in Toohey's (1998) findings, where a practice that differentiated participants from one another and contributed to community stratification caused some students to be seen as deficient and systematically excluded from the practice.

In addition, I found that practices also structured participation forms. The practice of picture-based storytelling structured the participation forms of writing, reading, speaking, communication, commenting and discussion, while the practice of story-podcasting created several forms of participation, such as participation through reading, speaking, communication, commenting and discussion, collaborative participation, and joint-decision participation. According to Lave and Wenger's community of practice, learning is an evolving participation in communities of practice. It can be assumed that participation forms directly determine the quality of learning, and they are structured by practices. Hence, practices play an important role in learning. By comparing the participation forms of the two practices in the activity of podcasting storybook writing, one can find that collaborative participation and joint-decision participation in the practice of story-podcasting are unique, and they are absent from the practice of picturebased storybook writing. It might be possible that these two unique participation forms in the practice of story-podcasting are the factors that are responsible for structuring social relations in a different way from the practice of picture-based storytelling.

As for the theme of access to learning resources, I not only paid attention to what learning resources were and where they came from, but I also focused on how children accessed the resources and made sense of them. I found that

learning resources not only came from what the teacher provided, but they were also created by the students. The students integrated what the teacher provided, including the meaning behind the picture in the activity, with their previous memories and experiences to generate instant and living resources (speech or writing) that might be useful for others to learn. The quality and quantity of the instant and living learning resources the students created were practicedependent. What I found is that more instant and living learning resources were generated in the practice of picture-based storytelling than in the practice of story-podcasting. Access to and sense-making of learning resources through meaning negotiation was also practice-dependent. What I found is that the practice of picture-based storytelling provided a better platform for meaning negotiation than the practice of story-podcasting. A possible explanation for these findings is that the practice of picture-based storytelling allowed all the students to learn together, to contribute various opinions from a variety of perspectives, to resonate upon agreeing with others' opinions, and to debate when they disagreed, causing plenty of generated learning resources and more deep meaning negotiation. On the other hand, in the practice of story-podcasting, limited learning resources would be created, fewer opinions would be proposed, and fewer debates would occur in dyadic old-timer-newcomer learning pairs. Thus, the practice of story-podcasting may not be a good platform for negotiation of meaning.

During meaning negotiation in the practice of picture-based storytelling, the students argued at the beginning, but they eventually arrived at a common

understanding through several debates. This meaning negotiation was facilitated by the teacher. This phenomenon is consistent with Vygotsky's genetic law of culture development, where the common understanding through several debates appeared first on the interpsychological plane, and later on, it showed up on the intrapsychological plane. This phenomenon also confirms the social nature of learning.

As shown above, SLL through podcasting storybook writing in classroom that is a community of practice is highly related to the three intertwining themes: personal identity development, practices, and access to learning resources. Among the three themes, practices appeared to play the most important role in SLL. The practices of picture-based storytelling and story-podcasting in the activity of podcasting storybook writing not only affected access to learning resources, but they also structured participation forms and relationships among students and teachers. The relationships, in turn, contributed to personal identity development. If we had replaced the practices of picture-based storytelling and story-podcasting in the activity with other sorts of practices, everything including personal identity development and access to learning resources would have been altered systematically. If we had replaced a trajectory of personal identity in this activity with another one, local social relations among students would have been influenced, but systematic practices would not have been changed too much. As for access to learning resources, it is the consequence for practices and highly related to personal identity development. Thus, practices play a key role in SLL, and choosing suitable practices is an important step.

The practice of picture-based storytelling in the course of podcasting storybook writing has three advantages: (1) the teacher facilitates opportunities for participation for students otherwise dominated by other students, and may also be helpful in resolving power conflicts among students, and in facilitating negotiation of meaning; (2) this practice allows the students to generate instant and living learning resources through interpretation of the picture, and the teacher as an old-timer stimulates students to do so; (3) through negotiation of meaning, the students get access to and make sense of learning resources. The drawback of this practice is the lack of structures that allow the students who learned well to teach other newcomer students during the practice. According to Lave and Wenger's community of practice, it is an honour to become an old-timer or expert, and that is one of driving forces that stimulate newcomers to learn continuously. This probably can explain why meaning negotiation in the practice of picture-based storytelling did not motivate every student; some were enthusiastic in interpreting the picture but some others were not. Probably, some students were not motivated to become old-timers, as this was not a desire of theirs. As a result, adding this sort of honour or driving force to this practice might further motivate the students to join the practice.

On the other hand, the practice of story-podcasting in the course of podcasting storybook writing has the advantage of allowing the students who get familiar with podcasting techniques to get promoted to old-timers and to have chances to help other newcomers during the practice. As I just mentioned, it is an honour to become an old-timer or expert. It might be this honour that drove

several students to learn podcasting techniques continuously. In addition to that, the appealing podcasting techniques could be another possible driving force that encouraged the students to learn. The drawback of this practice is that the teacher is too peripheral to facilitate opportunities of participation for a child who has a "flawed" identity and is dominated in an activity by other children. Toohey, Waterstone and Julé-Lemke (2000) reported a similar case in a child-run setting, where children with a personal identity as a subordinate were usually dominated by powerful "top-dogs" without intervention by the teacher.

The activity of podcasting storybook writing consists of the above two practices. What I found is that the advantages of one practice compensates for the drawbacks of the other practice in this activity. For example, teacher facilitation of students' participation in the practice of picture-based storytelling may correct/improve the drawback of the practice of story-podcasting where a student with a "flawed" identity is dominated by others without the teacher's intervention. Another example is that a dyadic old-timer-newcomer learning pair (apprenticeship) in the practice of story-podcasting may compensate for the drawback of the practice of picture-based storytelling, where this sort of apprenticeship structure did not exist. This result suggests that it is better to have various types of practices running at the same time or in a row in second language instruction, so that the advantages of some practices may compensate for the drawbacks of some other practices. It might be the way to make structures of an activity more suitable for language learning.

In the case of podcasting storybook writing, a change of practice from the picture-based storytelling to the story-podcasting results in reformulation of the relationships among the students and a shift of personal identities. This change of practices allows some students to have better relationships with other students, leading to more opportunities for participation in a learning activity and more access to learning resources. This result suggests that if a SLL activity has several types of practices that run at the same time and in a row, one has a chance to select or switch to a practice that allows him/her to be more successful in personal identity development, practices and access to learning resources.

To test the above assumptions, I suggest that further research could be designed as follows.

- Several classes could run different types of practices at the same time, and the practices may create instructional settings such as IRE/IRF,
 CoL, child-run, and so on. A practice will be followed by a different type of practice in a row in each of the classes.
- Students are allowed to choose and switch practices anytime at their will.

The research questions I would like to answer in this future research would be as follows.

1. In what ways might personal identity and social relations develop in this multi-practice activity, especially for children with a "flawed" identity or positioning as a subordinate?

- 2. In what ways might the practices in the multi-practice activity structure participation forms and social relations that affect opportunities for participation?
- 3. What were students' learning resources and in what ways might they access and make sense of these learning resources, especially for children with "flawed" identity or positioning as a subordinate?

Throughout my Ph.D. research including participant observation, data analysis and thesis writing, my learning trajectory could also be visualized through the lens of Lave and Wenger's community of practice. This Ph.D. research consists of several practices: the practices of picture-based storytelling and story-podcasting that occurred in the activity of podcasting storybook writing, which is one activity of the SILICLE project, the practice of data analysis, and the practice of thesis writing. At the beginning of my Ph.D. research, I saw myself as a newcomer, participating in the activity of podcasting storybook writing of the SILICLE project. This activity was held in a community of practice. The practices in this activity not only structured my social relations with other researchers, the teachers, and the students at the elementary school, but they also structured my and the students' participation forms. During the practices of picture-based storytelling and story-podcasting in this activity, the students' participation forms involved reading, writing, speaking, communication, commenting, discussion, collaborative participation, and joint-decision participation, while my participation forms were participant observation, field-note writing, tape-recording, and periodical group meeting.

In the practice of data analysis, through the use of Lave and Wenger's community of practice as a lens, what had occurred in this activity has been turned into some meaningful data on SLL. This practice structured my participation forms of reading of the collected data including field notes, transcription, group-meeting records, students' background information and class work, listening to recorded tapes, and consulting with research members. During the practice of thesis writing, it not only structured the expert-newcomer relationship between Prof. Toohey and me, but it also structured my participation forms of thesis writing, reading and researching the literature, and reflection regarding Prof. Toohey's comments and corrections for my thesis. Overall, during my Ph.D. research, it was these practices that allowed me to access and appropriate Lave and Wenger's community of practice and its function as a lens in making visible SLL. At the end of the thesis writing, my personal identity is not a newcomer as before, even though I am still on the way to an old-timer.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: The original content and layout of Michael's story

It was a dark and stormy night when A Spartan watch guard saw a Persian messenger coming to the Kingdom. The kingdom was an enormous castle. Every part of it was made of the finest stone in Greece. So when the Persian messenger came, king Leonidas opened the gate.

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The messenger said, "There's going to be war". So chose. King Leonidas said "yes" .he chose yes because if he doesn't he will have to surrender and give up Sparta and if he does he will have to fight for freedom so in the future Sparta will be independent. Then king Leonidas kicked the messenger in to the pit of doom and said "this is Sparta!".



Then next morning king Leonidas chose 300 of his best Spartan warriors to fight the Persian army the Persian kings' name is King Xeres his army has 100,000 warriors. The Spartans marched and marched into the Persian mountains until they came to the Persian army. Xeres only sent a fraction of his army to fight the Spartans.

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The Persians charged at the Spartans with their wooden shields and their metal swords and wooden spears, but the Spartans had bronze helmets gold shields with wooden spears and silver swords. When the Persians struck, the Spartans blocked their hits with their shields and then they finished them off with their spears wave by wave. The Spartans pushed the rest of the Persians down the cliff until there were no more.



The Spartans won the battle but not the war. When the second battle began they had a plan they will push the Persians into the south so the sun can block their eyes so they can't fight very well. Just before the war begins King Leonidas said "Eat your breakfast well Spartans, because tonight we dine at Hell".

The two armies charged at each other. The Spartans were out numbered and everybody died, even king Leonidas.

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After a Spartan warrior came back to Sparta to call the rest of the Spartan army come to destroy what's left of the Persian army. Then at the end the Spartans had 50,000 warriors and the Persians had 70,000 after everybody died in the Persian side and only 1,000 Spartans died, then the Persians soon surrendered. And king Leonidas was remembered as a Spartan hero.



Appendix 2: The story summaries of the students in Ms. Wilson's and Ms. Bennett's class

I'm Afraid of What? By Janet

The telephone rang, it usually never rang.

Julie said, "Hello?" and someone from Armani Exchange Hospital said,

"Please come down to the hospital. Hurry!"

The Story of the Sweet Princess By HA

When Sarah was lost in the forest with her friend, she didn't know where to go.

She was really scared. And they didn't know where to go...

Mean Old Lady By BN

Nobody likes Alexia; even her family can't stand her.

After all her children have run away...will Alexia be any nicer?

Space Invaders By BC

Mikey goes in for cover. The unthinkable happens.

He is frustrated and confused. It all depends on him.

He is the one.

Spartan Glory By Michael

The Persians are invading Greece, and the

Spartans are going to stop them. With only 300 Spartans and

100,000 Persians, who were waiting to devour tiny Greece...

Who is stronger? Who will win?

Batman By Mark

Follow Batman and Robin on a mission to save Gotham City.

Will they defeat Penguin and the Riddler?

Looking For Their Father By HZ

Jimmy and Sarah were playing outside when their mother called them in because

she saw clouds coming. Jimmy and Sarah huddle close to their mother as their

mother started to tell a story about their father and how he didn't come back from

his journey to gather bamboo. Suddenly the walls of their den began to collapse,

Mary told Jimmy and Sarah to run but they were asleep...

School Supplies By LG

This story is about a pencil.

Read with caution!

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If you are scared and do not like pencils, this book is not for you!!

Like Wayne By Roger

One cold winter night in Vancouver, British Columbia, there were two young boys

playing hockey. Suddenly, one of the boys found a pair of ice hockey skates and

inside of them, it said 'The Great One'.

Out At Sea By HA

Emma realized her leg was bleeding really badly. She finally got out of the plane

and saw she was in the middle of nowhere. She was trying to walk but...

Lost Treasure Of James L. Hubert By SA

Mindy went all the way to the basement of the hospital to find a door that said,

"DO NOT ENTER". Curiously, Mindy slowly opened the door. Then closed her

mouth to stop herself from screaming.

Water Horse By ST

When a few kids find the egg of a 'Water Horse' their lives drastically change!

Every day it grows. What will become of this strange creature and the kids who

find it?

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Alley-oop By Peter

The next day Allen was playing basketball and he spotted something in the bush.

He went to investigate and found out that it was a pair of shoes. Allen wondered what this meant.

The Dragon Stone By CW

We went upstairs into Gwee's mom's room. There was a big space in the middle of the room, where Gwee's mom used her powers, then a picture and a video appeared. It was three dragons trapped in a place that was dark and creepy.

What do you think will happen next?

The Snowball Fight By JO

Kids are battling each other in the greatest snowball fight of all time. Who will win the battle?

Empty Room By JL

Just like that, the music, the bright light, her parents screaming, and all of her anger came back to her at once. Her vision snapped back into focus and her mind flooded with frustration.

Maybe she could just go back to sleep and never wake up again...

The Haunted House BY DS

It was about 8:00 pm when two boys, AJ and Daniel, and two girls, Cally and Taylor left their houses to meet up in the park. They were all friends that often did things together after school.

It was a cold and foggy Halloween night.

LeBron James in The Hood By TA

Lebron James was a basketball player who played for the Cleveland Cavaliers.

LeBron James and Kobe BRogert were in elementary school together.

And Kobe was always better than LeBron James at basketball.

Until they went to high school...

The Boy and The Man Go To Canada By BP

One day, after work, he came home and did not find his mother. The note said,

'Sorry my son, I had to go to work and I'll be back in a couple of months.'

So the boy started to cry. Then a man came by and said,

"Let's go, we have to catch a plane..."

John and David By NAS

John and David are on their way to the Jungle.

They are so excited about their trip...

Where are they going? What will happen to them?

Ray Allen By AA

Ray Allen had had wanted to become an All Star basketball player ever since he

was ten years old. But his brother, James, said, "You can not make it in to the

NBA." So Ray Allen told him, "I will make it to the NBA. And, I will beat your

team!"

The Big Tree By BO

One nice, windy day in autumn, John and Julia were swinging in a tree. In the

afternoon,

Julia fell from the tree.

Halloween By AU

The story is about the nine year old kid named BRoger. Brian wants to go out for

Halloween but his parents said no. Read on to find out what happens next?

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The Camera By Gary

This story is about a boy named Henry. He is the main character. Henry is on the beach in San Diego, California when he finds a camera. So he goes to a camera shop to have the pictures developed. The boy saw pictures of lots of kids. So Henry decides to take a picture of himself. Read on to find out where the camera ends up next.

Porky the Cactus By Sandy

This story is about porky and Ema. Porky is a baby Cactus. His best friend is a human. Her best friend is Ema. Porky has a very big problem. Ema knew that Porky had a problem because he never wants to talk to Ema or play any of her games. So Ema the five year old wants to solve his problem. Read on to find out how she solves it.

The battle between the monkeys By ER

Sam, the good monkey is forced to be taken to Saturn to defeat the Evil Monkey if he wants his mother, father and brother, Steve back. With the help of his disguise and the Evil Monkey's slaves, he is about to rescue his family. Sam is going to have a fun adventure and he wants you to join the fun with him. If you want to find out what happens in the battle between the monkeys...start reading

Sector 7 By NK

This story is about a boy named Billy who goes to the empire state building. He gets lost and meets a cloud. The cloud takes him to a place called Sector 7.

Billy sees lots of clouds and they don't look happy. Read and find out why.

The ancient rooster By JM

This story is about an ancient rooster. This rooster is trying to save its own village from greed. Will the rooster achieve it's goal of protecting its own village? Stay tuned

Unusual Tuesday By VH

This story is about flying frogs. The problem is that there were lily pads everywhere in the streets. Will the frogs cause any problems? Read about Unusual Tuesday. Read to find out what these silly frogs will do.

Lost at the zoo By JR

Jonathon is a boy who goes to the zoo for the very first time. He is so excited that he just has to see all the animals. While his family feeds sheep, he wanders off to see a goose when he realizes that he is lost. As he enters a forest he meets a boy who is also lost. Find out how Jonathon and his new friend find their way back to the zoo and find their families.

Lucy and the cactus By RR

Lucy was walking along when she sees a cactus. Lucy had never seen a cactus so she stared at it. After she and the cactus became friends then she goes home. It starts raining so she can't go visit the cactus. What will she do?

The snowman By LM

This story is about a boy named Charlie who loves to build snowmen. One day it was snowing and Charlie loves to play in the snow. He built a really good snowman and it looked so real. The snowman looked so real that the snowman came to life.

The cactus By LA

This story is about a girl and her dad and they find a cactus. They have to go home because it has started raining and when they come back to see the cactus something has happened to it.

The beach By MY

Alex has to go to the beach but he didn't want to go. Something hits him and he tries to figure out what it is.

What's going to happen By DS

What's going to happen is a story that happens in the year 2000, when something happens to the village. A year has passed and everything is getting worse and by the sound of it, it won't get better. Read or listen to find out what happens to the village.

Dan and the snowman By CM

Dan is a 5 year old boy who lives in Alaska where it snows all the time. Dan loves snow so when Dan sees snow outside he wants to go outside but he has no idea what this snow holds. Magic!

The moonlight By SM

My story was about a little girl named Jenny, she was only 5 years old. Jenny was scared of the moon light. She couldn't sleep at night, because the moon was really shinning through her window. Jenny loved to play with her boat in the bathtub before bed. One day Jenny, her mom and her dad sat down to eat dinner, after they ate dinner Jenny decided to make a boat using an orange peel. She loved to play with her boat everynight before bed, but one day Jenny wasn't scared anymore, because her parents explained to her about the moonlight.

Lost at the zoo By JL

A boy and his family go to a zoo and have a good day and they see a variety of animals. The boy named Bob is feeding animals when the family went some where else Bob runs around the zoo but just can't find their family. He finds another boy who is also crying. They go back together to find their parents.

The cactus By CJ

This story is about a little girl and her father who finds an ugly cactus in the middle of the desert. A big storm hits the cactus then something amazing happens. Read on to find out what happens.

David gets lost By KB

David is a 9 year old boy, David and his family went to take a family, photo in the park and he got lost in the zoo.

A wish By RS

Be careful what you wish for, it might come true especially for these animals.

These frogs wished for something and it came true. Read this book to find out what they wished for and what is going to happen.

Zoom By AA

The character names are Bakshi and Andy. They owned a barn and the animals want to get away from Andy and Bakshi.

Weird Tuesday By Dianna

Weird Tuesday is about frogs who go to a city and fly all around. To let you know they also bother the neighbors too. What are the neighbors going to do about it? When the frogs go to another city, guess what comes next.

The snowman By BM

Once there was a boy named Tylor. When he woke up and looked outside he saw snowman. The snowman came to life ad Tylor let him inside. They played games and went to the kitchen for some hot chocolate. Read on to find out what happens next.

Nargues By FA

This story is about a girl named Nargues who loves to play volleyball. The problem was that her parents did not let her play volleyball. Nargues continued to play volleyball secretly. When her mother finds out, she was very upset with Nargues. Next, her mother speaks to Nargues' teacher. Read on to find out what happens next.

The mosque By ON

This story is about a boy named Ahmad that likes his mosque as much as his family. It was the night before EID, Ahmad wakes up and begins sleepwalking to the mosque. When he arrived at the mosque, he hears someone reading but no one was in the mosque. Ahmad begins to pray but the sounds don't stop. Read this story to find out what will happen next.

Kim and Suzie By SMN

Kim was the new girl at the school. She didn't know how to read and write which was a problem for her. The following year, her best friend Suzie arrives at the school from Toronto. Suzie teaches Kim how to read and write.

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