

## Chapter 6

### The Embeddedness of Reading In Classroom Life: Reading as a Situated Process

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The answer to the question, what is reading, depends on why the question is being asked and what framework is used to define and locate instances of reading. The framework that guides this exploration defines reading not in terms of cognitive processes but in terms of the social and academic demands for participation that are constructed as part of the interactions of teachers and students with and about text. From this perspective, members of a classroom form a social group in which a common culture is constructed. This culture is reflected in the patterned ways members of the social group develop for acting and interacting together, for interpreting what occurs, for evaluating what is appropriate to know and do in the classroom. Knowledge of these patterns becomes part of the teacher's and students' frame of reference and belief system (or presuppositions) about how to "do" life in that classroom (Goodenough 1971; Spradley 1980; Zaharlick & Green in press).

Reading, like other elements of classroom life, is viewed as a situated process that is socially constructed by participants within and across the events of life in each classroom. What "counts" as reading in any given classroom or classroom event cannot be defined a priori but is defined over time as part of the interactions of teacher and students with and about text (Heap 1980). In other words, reading is seen as situationally defined and socially produced in classroom events. Participation and reading performances are socially accomplished processes (e.g., Barr 1987; Bloome 1987a, 1987b, 1989; Bloome & Green in press; Collins 1987; Green & Weade 1987; Green, Weade & Graham 1988; Heap 1980, 1985; this volume; McDermott 1976; Weade & Green 1989).

The purpose of this chapter is not to explore how reading is socially accomplished since this has been discussed in depth in the work cited throughout this paper, in other chapters in this volume, and elsewhere. Rather, the purpose of this chapter is to illustrate what is involved in

exploring reading from one particular theoretical framework: the interactive sociolinguistic. In so doing, the intent is to make visible how the theoretical perspective selected guides the exploration of reading as it occurs in the everyday life in classrooms, and influences what can be learned and what claims a researcher can make.

### Defining a Situated Perspective

For the interactive sociolinguist, reading is viewed as "situated" in the everyday events of classroom life with and about text. The definition of reading as a situated perspective is not unique to the interactive sociolinguistic perspective that frames this particular paper. Within anthropology (e.g., Geertz 1983; Goodenough 1971; Spradley 1980), education (e.g., Erickson 1986; Erickson & Shultz 1981; Green & Wallat 1981; Green & Harker 1982; Heath 1982; McDermott 1976; Spindler 1982) psychology (e.g., Brown, Collins & Duguid 1989; Lave 1988; Moll & Diaz 1986; Scribner & Cole 1981), sociolinguistics (e.g., Cook-Gumperz 1986; Fishman 1988; Gumperz 1982, 1986; Gumperz & Hymes 1972; Hymes 1974) and sociology (e.g., Garfinkel 1967; Heap, this volume; Heritage 1984; Smith 1987), researchers have adopted theoretical perspectives that focus on examining and understanding the situated nature of everyday life of a social group. Just what questions are explored and what phenomena are studied depend on how these various groups of researchers frame their questions, what theories they use, and what actions they take or methods they use. Thus, what is meant by a situated perspective is itself problematic (cf. Smith 1987).

For example, an ethnologist who is concerned with the production of social order tends to focus on the production or social accomplishment of reading at particular points in time or within particular events (see Baker; Heap, this volume; Heritage 1984). Little or no consideration is given to the social history of the participants in the event being studied.

In contrast, the interactive sociolinguist grounds the analysis of speech events in an ethnography that provides sociocultural and historical information about members of the social group under study (Gumperz 1986). The ethnography provides information for understanding the linguistic, social, and contextual presuppositions members of the group bring to an event from membership and participation in other social groups (e.g., family, other classrooms, ethnic groups). In this way the interactive

sociolinguist is able to explore what is occurring and being accomplished in the local event under study and how knowledge obtained in prior situations (the sociohistory of the group and/or of members of the current group) influences what is, will, and can occur (cf. Gumperz 1986).

Both of these perspectives view events as unfolding and accomplished through the interactions of participants. The difference between these views is one of focus, phenomena studied, theories used, and types of claims the researcher wants to make (Bloome & Green in press; Heap, personal communication, 6/27/89). These differences lead to further differences in the ways that an analysis will be undertaken and in what is foregrounded in the analysis. Thus, each perspective provides a particular lens through which a common situation, an event under construction, is examined (Green & Harker 1988). To understand what is meant by a situated perspective, then, we must know what claims a researcher wishes to make and what theoretical orientation frames the problem or issue under study.

### Defining Culture: Framing the Situated Perspective

While there is a common concern for the "culture" of a group by those who adopt a situated perspective, what is meant by culture varies with the theoretical framework of the researcher. Therefore, to frame what is meant by "reading" and how data were analyzed in this chapter using a "situated" perspective, further exploration is needed of how culture is defined.

The definition of culture that underlies the study in this chapter is grounded in the work of cognitive anthropology (e.g., Goodenough 1981; Spradley 1981). From this perspective, social action is viewed as culturally patterned and what members of a social group come to know, understand, expect, produce, and do is learned from participating in and observing how members participate in the everyday events that make up life of the social group (Erickson 1986; Heath 1982; Spradley 1980; Zahradlick & Green in press). That is, from observing who can do what, with whom, under what conditions, when, where, for what purpose and with what outcome members of a social group (and researchers/outsideers) develop cultural knowledge needed to participate appropriately in the events of the social group under study.

From participating in other social groups (e.g., family, church, school, classroom, reading group), members of the group under study develop norms and expectations for how everyday life is "supposed to be" and about

ways that the norms and expectations for "doing" life in the classroom are constructed and reconstructed within and across the ordinary events of the social group.

The researcher's task is to capture the ordinary (often invisible) and extraordinary (marked) aspects of life in order to identify the cultural knowledge necessary for participation in socially appropriate ways in the group. One factor that makes this task possible is that during the construction of a novel event or the reconstruction of a recurrent event, individual members may "breach" a norm, adopt an inappropriate role, or communicate in ways that are not clear to others. At such breach points, the expectations for appropriate action, knowledge, interpretation and/or communication become visible (e.g., Mehan 1979; Green & Harker 1982; Heap 1980; Tannen 1979).

These points are often referred to as "frame clashes" or points at which the frame of reference that guides an individual's interpretation does not match that of other individuals in the situation. The ways in which participants in a situation repair or fail to repair such breaks in the flow of activity and their perceptions as reflected in actions and words make visible what was expected or preferred (Heap 1980, 1985). At such points, then, the "emic" or insider perspectives are visible to an outsider (a researcher).

### Exploring Reading in the Everyday Actions of Classroom Life

The exploration of reading in classroom contexts generally begins with an assumption that reading events are those that focus on or involve a written or published text (e.g., Heath 1982). While the analysis of reading reported in this chapter<sup>1</sup> began with this assumption, this definition soon proved to be inadequate. Exploration of the patterns of classroom life (i.e., what occurred, with whom, under what conditions, for what purpose, in what ways, when, where and with what outcome) led to an understanding that reading in this classroom often involved events that on the surface did not appear to be reading in the "traditional" way it has been defined.

To construct a definition of reading in this classroom required three additional concepts: interactions in context, cycles of activity, and intertextuality. While the cultural perspective provided a framework for identifying what was occurring between and among members of the class, these constructs provide a basis for identifying the boundaries of classroom events, exploring the interrelationships among events, and for interpreting what was involved in reading in this classroom.

what "counts" as appropriate and/or preferred action, knowledge or interactions in those groups (Heap 1980; this volume). In addition, members construct knowledge and expectations about appropriate roles and relationships as well as the rights and obligations entailed by these aspects of culture.

By defining culture in this way, we can identify the patterns of everyday life of different groups and of subgroups within a larger group (e.g., the school within the community; the classroom within the school; the reading group within the classroom). Just which group (or subgroup) will be studied and how they will be studied depends on the questions, theories, and purposes of the researcher. By using this definition, we can locate a setting in which people affiliate over time (e.g., family, friendship group, Camp Fire group, church, school, classroom, reading group).

Once the group (subgroup) has been located, the patterns of life can be explored. In addition, the ways in which participation in this group influences and is influenced by the cultural knowledge individuals in this setting bring to this situation from membership in other groups beyond this setting (e.g., family, church, community, ethnic group, gender) can also be examined.

Central to this perspective is the view that actions and knowledge of a group are not "owned" by any individual but are seen as constructed and acquired in the social activity and events of a particular social group. That is, cultural knowledge is held by the group and not by an individual. Each individual's actions and interactions, however, reflect her/his own cultural knowledge. The cultural knowledge of an individual, therefore, is always dynamic and an individual's repertoire of knowledge can be extended as she/he interacts with other members of the social group and/or with other social groups as part of everyday life.

To explore what is required within a given situation as well as across the everyday events of life of the social group, the researcher observes, records, and analyses the ordinary as well as extraordinary actions and interactions of participants within and across a variety of situations. The goal of the researcher is to understand what members of the social group need to know, produce, predict, interpret, and perform in order to participate in socially and culturally appropriate ways in the life of the group (Heath 1982). The goal is not merely to describe what is occurring; it is interpretive, to obtain an "emic" or insider's perspective.

Also central to this perspective is the notion that classroom life is dynamic: actions and interactions of teacher and students are not a script to be followed. The dynamic nature of life in classrooms is reflected in the

### Interactions in Classrooms

Exploration of interactions in classrooms often begins with the identification of an event that is viewed as "important" to the researcher. The event is then transcribed and the interactions are represented graphically on paper. Little concern is given to defining the context of the event, in exploring the event from the perspective of those involved in the event (e.g., as reflected in their talk and actions), or in locating this event within the lifeworld of the classroom. Therein lies the problem, for just how actions and interactions are transcribed and how boundaries of events are defined depend on the theory (Ochs 1979) and the goals of the researcher.

Our initial analysis involved identifying ways in which time was spent in the classroom for each of the seventeen days of the English class. This procedure was guided by the assumption that by identifying the major blocks of time in the classroom, we could identify the events of classroom life. This procedure also proved to be naive. What became evident was that events often occurred across time, that the various parts of an event did not always occur on consecutive days, and that the beginning and ending of events were signalled in the actions and interactions of participants. Thus, we had to reconsider how to transcribe and represent the event to be explored.

In this study, transcription involved making decisions about whether talk or participation structures (Erickson 1982) would be represented; how boundaries between events and units within events would be identified and represented; the level of detail needed to represent sub-events; how the event would be represented in the flow of life in the classroom (a part-whole relationship); and how verbal and nonverbal aspects of communication would be represented. In other words, transcription was a theoretically driven process (cf. Ochs 1979), a process driven by both sociolinguistic and cognitive anthropological concepts.

For the purpose of this analysis, transcription involved a series of steps. The first step involved constructing maps of the overall structure of the day and identifying the parts of events across time, for example, sharing information about an object that reflected self (Green & Harker 1982; Meyer 1988). The second step involved recording all talk and/or actions as they occurred within a segment of classroom life selected for analysis (Green & Wallat 1981; Green & Harker 1982; Weade & Green 1989). Step three involved exploration of the transcribed event for indications of presuppositions of teachers and students about requirements for participation (Gumpertz 1982, 1986) and identification of action and

interaction patterns among participants that indicated for what they were holding each other accountable (e.g., Erickson & Shultz 1981; Green & Harker 1982; Green, Weade & Graham 1988).

While events were transcribed to permit careful "reading" or interpretation, these were not the sole source of information. The videotape records that provided a basis for the transcription were also viewed and reviewed along with the transcript. Thus, nonverbal information (e.g., physical organisation, eye gaze, gesture, distance, use of space and objects) not recorded on the transcript was also considered. The transcript, therefore, provided a framework for analysis and a systematic way of graphically representing select aspects of the events being constructed. The transcripts, the maps (a form of event transcription) and the visual "text" of the videotape record were the actual basis for interpretation. In other words, these sources of information provided contextual information about classroom life and were themselves contexts for analysis. The way in which transcripts were constructed, therefore, influenced what could be identified as reading in this classroom.

### Exploring Talk as a Means of Locating and Defining Reading

The segment of interaction that follows was taken from an event that on the surface does not appear to be related to reading. This event involved a "sharing" of objects individual students had brought to class that were characteristic of them. However, as will become evident as the layers of context are considered is that this event was part of a "web" of interrelated events that supported interpretation processes and writing projects in this classroom. Thus, while no text was present, there were several texts related to this event.

Transcript Segment: Talking About Objects with Vicki

Line	Speaker	Message Unit
01	TEACHER P	OKAY
02	TEACHER P	WHO ELSE BROUGHT SOMETHING
03	TEACHER P	VICKI YOU DID
04	Vicki	a picture
05	Vicki	picture of my nephew and I
06	Vicki	practically live with my sister

By asking these questions several aspects of the interaction became visible. First, this segment of actions and interactions occurred between two teachers (M and P) and one student (Vicki) in the presence of the other members of the class. The class members, however, do not interact directly with Vicki or the teachers (except at line 27). Second, one teacher (P) is doing most of the interacting with Vicki. Third, Vicki's and Teacher P's talk is tied through a series of questions and responses.

Fourth, Teacher M also participates in the interactions (lines 13 and 22) until another student, Yvonne, enters the classroom. Teacher M's interactions, however, are comments ("aahhh") on Vicki's information and not in the primary interaction channel. These comments and her observed actions signal to Vicki and the members of the class that she is listening and participating as a member of the group. Fifth, Teacher M leaves this interaction situation to interact with Yvonne, who enters the classroom at line 29, while Vicki and Teacher P continue the primary event. These events co-occur in the classroom.

Sixth, we learn that this interaction is about an object that Vicki brought to "share" with the class (lines 01-03) and that others will be invited to share (lines 34-35). Seventh, we also learn what the talk was about: Vicki's relationship with her cousin who is represented in the picture, and Vicki's view of other children. Finally, we learn that Vicki's "turn" has ended and the event will continue (lines 34-35).

From this segment, then, we could tell who is participating, what they are talking about, how the event has unfolded to the point at which the transcript ends, what the apparent purpose of the event is, what roles and relationships exist among members of the group within this brief segment, and that the segment presented is part of a larger event.

What we could not tell is why this event was happening, how it was related to other aspects of classroom life, what would happen next, how representative of classroom life this segment of interaction was, or whether or not this event was related to "reading" in this classroom. Thus, to understand how and in what ways this event was part of "reading" in this classroom, we needed to consider larger segments of classroom life.

### Cycles of Activity

An exploration of how time was spent within and across days led to the identification of the notion of a "cycle of activity". The term "event" as well as the notion of "lesson" were both problematic. When did an event

- 07 Vicki and I just practically take care of him  
 08 TEACHER P .AAHHH (said on a single tone quickly)  
 09 Vicki (inaudible)  
 10 TEACHER P HOW OLD IS HE  
 11 Vicki eight months  
 12 TEACHER P EIGHT MONTHS  
 13 TEACHER M AAHHH (said in a tone that descends in pitch)  
 14 TEACHER P AND HIS NAME  
 15 Vicki aaron  
 16 TEACHER P SO WHEN YOU GO HOME  
 17 TEACHER P IN THE AFTERNOONS  
 18 TEACHER P DO YOU SPEND A LOT OF TIME WITH HIM  
 19 TEACHER P WHEN HE'S AWAKE  
 20 Vicki yeh  
 21 Vicki he starts laughing  
 22 TEACHER M AAHHH (repetition of intonation contour in line 13, only longer in duration)  
 23 TEACHER P YOU REALLY LIKE CHILDREN  
 24 (pause 2 seconds)  
 25 Vicki just him (Vicki begins to smile and changes body language to lean forward)  
 26 TEACHER P JUST HIM  
 27 (teachers, Vicki, and other students laugh)  
 28 TEACHER P DO YOU EVER DO MUCH BABYSITTING  
 29 Yvonne (Yvonne comes into class, speaks to TEACHER M; this segment of interaction co-occurs with the talk between TEACHER M, Vicki and the members of the class who are in role of listeners.)  
 30 TEACHER P FOR ANYBODY ELSE  
 31 Vicki (Vicki's response was inaudible and not visible on the tape)  
 32 TEACHER P NO  
 33 TEACHER M (giving some direction to Yvonne who proceeds to complete directions)  
 34 TEACHER P ALL RIGHT DO WE  
 35 TEACHER P DOES ANYBODY ELSE HAVE SOMETHING TO SHARE

As presented, this segment is decontextualised from what occurred prior to these interactions and what follows as well as from all other aspects of classroom life. Therefore, the initial "reading" or interpretation of this segment depended on the series of questions posed previously: who can do what, with whom, under what conditions, when, where, for what purpose, with what expected or realised outcome(s)?

begin and end? What was a lesson? How did the members of this group refer to what they were doing? The term cycle of activity was selected to capture the over time nature of classroom events.

The teachers and students did not refer to the events of classroom life in general terms (e.g., as a lesson) but rather often signalled the event by name (e.g., journal writing, table discussion). Thus, there was no common classroom term to identify the boundary of events. The notion of cycle of activity was selected since it indicates a complete series of actions about a single topic or for a specific purpose. To be part of a cycle of activity, events must be "tied" together by a common task or serve a common purpose.

The "tied" nature of classroom events (sub-events) and the identification of cycles of activity led to a discovery that such cycles were part of larger cycles. One of the main cycles of activity in this classroom was "autobiography". Table 1 provides a timeline by day of all of the events that comprise the cycle of activity involving autobiographic personal experiences. It shows the ways in which teachers and students shared personal experiences in their own lives and how they explored life-to-text and text-to-life relations (Cochran-Smith 1984). As indicated in this table, the cycle of activity involving sharing was only one cycle of activity that when combined with other cycles of activity led to the construction of an autobiography. The autobiography was one of the primary bases for the grade in this course.

If we return to the "segment" of classroom life presented in the transcript above, what becomes evident is that this segment is one complete turn at sharing; that is, one student has the floor and is sanctioned to interact with the teacher who is leading the event. This segment of the cycle is not complete on another level since other students are provided with an opportunity to share. Consideration of all talk about sharing of objects that reflected self indicated that the cycle of activity involved in this event occurred across four of the seventeen days of the class (days 10, 11, 12, 14). Thus, the event that was labelled by participants as sharing objects that reflected themselves can only be understood when the entire cycle of activity was considered.

Table 1

	Teacher's sharing	Students' sharing	Explorations of life experiences through text characters
DAY 1	INTRODUCTIONS (oral) Give name and something you like; repeat each preceding introduction.	INTRODUCTIONS (oral) Same as teacher column. Last book read what have you written that you like; Choice of colour for folder.	JOURNAL: Caught doing something you shouldn't have done.
DAY 2		Students asked to share "What would be safe to share" from yesterday's assignment; PERSONAL EXPERIENCE #1; Write about a decision which you have made which had an effect either positive or negative.	per LONG JOURNEY: Write in JOURNAL "How do you feel about plagiarism".
DAY 3	INTERVIEW paired including teachers.	INTERVIEW (paired) finding about each other to be represented to the class for each other.	Identify significant events which affected Walter's life.
DAY 4	Sharing of INTERVIEW with the class.	Sharing of INTERVIEW with class (half of the students students shared); Students paired to review draft of PE#1 and raise written questions for the writer.	
DAY 5	Sharing of INTERVIEW with the class.	Sharing of INTERVIEW with class (other half of class); share an experience of discrimination.	I KNOW WHY THE CAGED BIRD SINGS is an autobiography.
DAY 6			Select quotation from CAGED BIRD that student liked; table group select two to share with total class. Mother/daughter relationships; SOPHISTICATIONS also autobiographical; How Maja, how Walter changed?
DAY 7		Sharing of INTERVIEW with class (1 student); Students asked to write comments on their own life per SOPHISTICATIONS especially in terms of relationships.	Teacher read student Journal Entry #1, a sharing about self, another and HOLDEN from CATCHER IN THE RYE.
DAY 8	SP shares reflections on her own son; her deficiencies as a mother. Allan gave her a hug.	Select "gems" from each other's revision papers of PE#1.	Select significant events from SOPHISTICATIONS.
DAY 9	CM shares about her desire to sing when she was young and the choice as it related to her relationship to her husband.	Make a jot list of personal relationships.	NOTEBOOK.

## Intertextuality

The "tied" nature of the different cycles of activity led to the selection of the notion of intertextuality to explain what was involved in "reading" in this tenth grade English class. One way to think about the relationship of this cycle to other cycles is that each cycle becomes a social and academic text that participants must read, interpret and contribute to as the sub-events within a cycle are being reconstructed (Weade & Green 1989). The text involves verbal, visual, and written aspects of communication and context. It is constructed by participants as they interact with each other.

Bloome (1989:1-2) captures these relationships succinctly in the following definition of intertextuality:

Whenever people engage in a language event, whether it is a conversation, the reading of a book, diary writing, etc., they are engaged in intertextuality. Various conversational and written texts are being juxtaposed. Intertextuality can occur at many levels and in many ways.

Juxtaposing texts, at whatever level, is not in itself sufficient for intertextuality. Intertextuality is a social construction. The juxtaposition must be interactionally recognised, acknowledged and have social significance.

In classrooms, teachers and students are continuously constructing intertextual relationships. The set of intertextual relationships they construct can be viewed as constituting a cultural ideology, a system for assigning meaning and significance to what is said and done and for socially defining participants.

The cycle of activity described previously and the related cycles that comprise the larger cycle of activity that led to the construction of autobiographies for the students in this classroom constitute what Bloome has called intertextuality. The teachers have deliberately linked various smaller cycles to the larger cycle to support the writing of the autobiography. For example, the sharing activity required students to bring to the classroom symbols from their world outside of the classroom that reflected or served to characterise the student. Thus, the teachers were asking the students to make life objects a text for others as well as self.

The texts created by this cycle were then linked to one of the published texts being read in the class, *Catcher in the Rye* (Salinger 1951). The teachers asked the students at a later point in time to consider what Holden would display to represent himself. The sharing activity was part of an intertextual web that involved life to text and text to life interpretations by

Explorations of life experiences through text characters

## Students' sharing

JOURNAL: five words to describe HOLDEN to a friend.  
Class discussion about Holden; drinking, driving, dancer, lazy, having abilities, smart, potential for living in a city apartment or being a drifter with no permanent address, probably would have skipped school, possibly a teacher not much expected from him.

Students asked to bring something that reflects themselves.

IF HOLDEN displayed something that reflected himself what would it be. If living today HOLDEN would be ...

Three students share something that reflects themselves; Vicki is second to share.

HOLDEN would most admire ... plus other open-ended questions; How would you cast HOLDEN today.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCE #2: Do parents insist that students follow in their footsteps? PE#2 shared individually among three/four students for revision suggestions. Dana shares; Allan shares reflection of himself; Marybeth shares suicide attempt; discussion led into symbols.

GIFT OF WATERMELON PICKLE  
Students share quotes about HOLDEN.

PE#3 How do people around you know you are coming of age.

Response to questionnaire as HOLDEN would have responded; Discussion of MARKERS.

JOURNAL: entry: write about two themes of growing up making statements about life; student sharing about markers which confirm a sense of becoming.

T read student paper about relationships; students given guide questions for writing final paper about ways in which students have changed; self-reflection on autobiography draft; revision circles on drafts.

TURRET IN THE SUN: Students read/discuss to identify a significant event in the life of main character.

Peer editing of autobiography.

r's sharing

s about her brother-in-law's new York City. Myrna shared those values different from her allies.

i about the 1960s.

her parents' expectations for old of a friend's dilemma urgent expectation.

: anecdotes about pickling and selling "gummy bears". M shared about solo work root; SP shared her experiences th; CM shared her experiences j and Germany.

: family experience; also shares firmation preparation.

students. In building this intertextual web, the teachers were constructing with the students one model of interpretation of published texts (Cochran-Smith 1984).

The life to text, text to life relationships were only one type of deliberately constructed relationship among texts that were available to participants. The teachers also constructed cycles of activity that focused on interpreting published texts (short stories, poems, novels, essays) and relating one published text to other published texts. The published texts to which teachers and students interacted and the cycle of activity related to each are described briefly in Table 2.

As indicated in Table 2, the teachers and students read nine published texts. Each of these cycles of activities involved engaging with the text and a series of sub-events related to interpretation of text. When the structure of these cycles was examined, a pattern was identified: table discussion was common to all texts. In six of the nine cycles of activity, table discussion was followed by class discussion and in one by "sharing" of quotations. In two events, specific elements of a text were selected and then posted on a bulletin board (gem posting, sticker quotes). In one, the last, only a table discussion occurred.

The structural pattern provided a means of entering the events of classroom life so that the requirements for participation and interpretation could be examined. In addition, the identification of these cycles of activity provided a basis for exploring the roles and relationships and the rights and obligations involved in "doing reading" in this class.

Exploration of the rights and obligations, and roles and relationships indicated that the students were expected to read the published text, discuss and argue interpretation of the text in a small group, and then the group (through a recorder or as a whole) was expected to discuss and argue its interpretation with other groups. The teachers' roles were to structure the tasks, introduce the texts, and to probe and question interpretations. In this class, the teachers' interpretations were not "the" interpretation. In fact, at times, the two teachers disagreed with each other as to what something had meant.

An exploration of the intertextual references across cycles of activity showed that the teachers deliberately made text to text, text to life, and life to text linkages for themselves and with the students. In addition, the teachers and students were developing a larger theme, "coming of age". This theme had been introduced on the first day of class and was defined in the materials selected, the actions and interactions of teachers and students, and the projects required (autobiography, personal experience papers, and

Table 2  
Intertextuality of 'Growing into Adulthood' Seminar

TEXT & TEXT ACTIVITIES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
CATCHER IN THE RYE (n)	a	o	o	o	o	o	o		x	x	x	x	x				
notes in Journal																	
J talk about author																	
THE LONG JOURNEY (ss)	x	x	x														
table-reporter																	
table-reporter																	
class discussion																	
WHY CAGED BIRD (ss)			a	x	x	x											
written response																	
table-reporter																	
class discussion																	
sticker quotes																	
SOPHISTICATIONS (ss)																	
intro author autobiography																	
table-reporter																	
class discussion																	
NOTEBOOK (ss)																	
table-reporter																	
class discussion																	
table responses																	
CATCHER IN THE RYE (n)																	
tagboard genres																	
Holden-descriptors																	
table-discussion																	
quotation selection																	
Holden discussion																	
filmstrip narration																	
theme discussion																	
quote sharing																	
GIFT OF WATERMELON																	
PICKLE (p)																	
table-discussion:																	
class discussion																	
COMIN' THROUGH THE RYE (p & s)																	
table-reporter																	
class discussion																	
class discussion																	
MARKERS (e)																	
table report																	
gem posting																	
TURRET IN THE SUN (ss)																	
table-discussion																	

TEXT & ACTIVITY CODES

- n = book length novel
- ss = short story
- p = poem
- s = song
- e = essay
- a = assignment given
- x = teach/learn event
- o = reference to published text
- hw = homework



response notebooks). Thus, the individual published texts, the student- and teacher-produced written texts, and the oral texts of the classroom all produced a larger text with a coherent theme, coming of age, that involves changes and markers in one's life. In addition, the teachers built a model of reading that demonstrated how a person can learn about self from learning about others through text and through discussing texts with others. Finally, the students were shown that their lives and the objects of their lives are forms of text that can be "shared" with others. In other words, interpretation of text in this class was both personal and social as was the construction of personal texts.

In this classroom, reading involved the construction of an intertextual web within and across the oral, written, and published texts that were constructed and reconstructed in this classroom. This deliberate web of intertextuality became important when the grading system used in this classroom was considered. Only the autobiography received a letter grade. Other activities were given points that contributed to the final grade. Other activities received no points but did receive feedback from the teachers (e.g., individual responses to journal entries in the form of a dialogue between one of the teachers and students) and from other students (e.g., peer editing). Thus, those cycles of activity and their products that contributed to "learning how to do autobiography" were not "formally graded (i.e., given a letter grade). Rather, these elements of classroom life were given differential points which then contributed to a participation grade. The grading structure, therefore, supported the exploration of text by students and allowed students to see that differences in interpretation were appropriate. Thus, the grading system supported the intertextuality of life in this classroom as did the structure of the class.

If we return to Bloome's (1989) definition of intertextuality, what becomes evident is that these teachers were constructing a particular model and ideology about interpretation of text with the students. The teachers and students were socially constructing a system for assigning meaning to the oral, written, and published texts of this classroom. In addition, the ways in which students and teachers engaged with and about text also defined participation in this class.

To view reading as a socially accomplished, cultural event in this classroom required consideration of what was occurring within and across all events of classroom life, what was involved in each cycle of activity, and how intertextual relationships were established within and across the cycles of activity. This task was not unique to the researcher. Students and teachers in this classroom had to monitor what was occurring and the

teachers had to interpret the social text of the classroom in order to guide and structure the development of the intertextual web they stated they wanted at the outset of this class.

### Concluding Observations about Reading in Classroom Contexts

This analysis of what was involved in reading in one high school English class raised questions for us about what was involved in reading. Is it reading when the text is not present but is being discussed? Is it reading if the talk will be related to the text in some way at a later time (life to text interactions: see Cochran-Smith, 1984)? In what ways are events in the classroom interrelated? What model(s) of reading is being constructed in and through the everyday interactions with and about text? What becomes a text in a classroom?

The exploration of context in which teacher-student interactions were embedded also raised methodological questions for us. When does an event begin and end? What is the relationship between a particular segment of talk, the speech event in which it is embedded, and other events within the classroom? How are linkages made between oral, written, and published texts as well as about "life texts" of students? These questions, in turn, raised questions about what was required of students to accomplish reading in this classroom and how reading was related to the accomplishment of "class".

The questions raised in this brief chapter suggest the need to explore reading from a situated perspective and that the models of reading that show "reading" in its everyday forms. This chapter showed that not only was reading a socially accomplished event, but that from participating in the events of reading in this classroom, students were constructing a particular model of reading or rather interpreting text. Finally, the analysis of the interrelationship of events showed that to understand reading from an "emic" or insider's perspective, researchers need to consider the sociocultural history of life in the social group (classroom).

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## Notes

1. The analysis presented in this paper was drawn from a study of a special summer school English class for which the teachers volunteered and for which students applied either to "make up" work or to gain extra credit for graduation. The students had no prior history with each other in most instances and little knowledge of the teachers. Thus, the participants did not "share" a common school culture. The two teachers had worked together previously as colleagues in the same high school and in a professional development program that involved action research and classroom observations. Their goal for the summer course was to develop a curriculum that would engage students and foreground student involvement and knowledge. They had freedom and institutional support to develop an alternative approach, in this case a seminar approach built on the organising theme of "growing into adulthood" (Bartholomae & Petrosky 1986). The unique nature of the English course permitted teachers and researchers to challenge their own tacit and often invisible expectations and understandings of reading and of teaching-learning processes, and to explore what might occur in a regular high school classroom. The latter exploration has been undertaken in the two years following this project. One of the teachers has modified her curriculum to reflect the seminar approach begun in this summer program.

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## Chapter 7

### Literacy Practices and Social Relations in Classroom Reading Events

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In this chapter I provide a sociological description of pedagogic practice through analyses of instances of classroom reading events in the early years of school. The point to be developed here is that we can observe, in reading activities, more than and other than "reading instruction" as understood from within a professional-pedagogic perspective. Through critical analyses of the conversational activities that constitute reading lessons and other text-based classroom events, I argue that what is also being accomplished in and through the talk are introductions to institutionalised ways of reading and talking about texts with teachers in classrooms, and simultaneously the assembling of social relations and social order for classrooms and for schooling.

Such an account of reading events is invisible or unavailable from within conventional reading psychology, some characteristics of which have been addressed in other chapters in this volume. It is similarly unavailable from within pedagogic-professional discourses about classroom reading events, in which normative evaluations of teacher and student competence and of lesson quality predominate (cf. Hustler & Cuff 1982). However, professional concerns with the procedures and outcomes of teaching episodes can encompass achievements other than cognitive gains or lesson success. These concerns can properly extend to observing how forms of school literacy are routinely and actively constructed, and to observing how relations among teachers, students and texts - ultimately relations of age, knowledge, and authority - are organised concurrently in routine instructional procedures. These are social relations that can be assembled in different ways and that are necessarily assembled in some way wherever text-based discourse occurs in schools. As this chapter will show, a positioning of teacher, text and students is observably done in the discourse, whatever else might be accomplished there.

