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Abstract

This year-long interactional ethnography of four first- and second-generation Vietnamese and Mexican immigrant youth enrolled in an urban Catholic school traced how participants used a series of literacy-focused interactional strategies to negotiate the complexities of the contemporary Catholic school landscape. Urban US Catholic schools have undergone a radical transformation in the last 40 years, from overenrolled neighborhood parochial schools serving largely white Catholic students (Walch, 2003), to contracting decentralized schools serving Catholic immigrants from Asia and Latin American alongside large numbers of non-Catholic African American students (Hunt & Walch, 2010; Irving & Fosters, 1996; Louie & Holdaway, 2009; NCEA, 2014). This dissertation study represents an effort to describe how four students, the children of political and economic migrants and refugees, used literacy-focused interactional strategies in a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-lingual urban Catholic school and parish. Using a Bourdieusian analytic approach (Grenfell, et al., 2012; Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014; Hardy, 2011), I examined the language and literacy practices of these four youth over the course of a year, looking particularly at their interactional strategies in their Grade 8 classroom and at the adjacent parish. In the tradition of literacy-focused interactive ethnography (Bloome, et al., 2005; Castanheira, Crawford, Dixon, & Green, 2001; Castanheira, Green, Dixon, & Yeager, 2007), I collected interview, observational, and artifactual data about how students navigated the parish and school using their linguistic and literacy resources, and how the structure of Catholic schooling allowed for their particular resources to be circulated and recognized as legitimate. This ethnographic study was designed to highlight the unrecognized literate labour of immigrant youth, and to help educators identify how they might mobilize these literacies for language and literacy education in a way that honors their rich cultural, linguistic, and migratory legacies (Campano & Ghiso, 2011). It further hopes to demonstrate the contested nature of all literacy resources in schools, with a specific focus on the field of Catholic education as a site of contestation amongst various groups.

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LITERACY, STRATEGY, AND IDENTITY IN INTERACTION: VIETNAMESE AND
MEXICAN IMMIGRANT STUDENTS IN URBAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLING

Robert Jean LeBlanc

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MEXICAN IMMIGRANT STUDENTS IN URBAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLING

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Robert Jean LeBlanc

DEDICATION

To Gillian, for Gillian, because of Gillian

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To the people of St. Dominic Savio, the children of its hallways and basketball courts, the priests of its parish, the teachers of its school, and the parents of its communities, my sincere thanks and appreciation. Thank you for your welcome and your hospitality. To the *Altar Boys*, Francisco, Benny, Greg, and JP, the good humoured young men who never failed to remind me of how bright the future is, who showed up early to practice and nagged me on the weekends to open the gym, who dragged me to what could only generously be called America's worst buffet on Sundays, who let me kneel in prayer next to them at Mass each week, I wish for you nothing but the best.

I owe a great debt of gratitude to Gerald Campano, who first welcomed me to be a part of his research team at St. Dominic Savio. For teaching me many things—both large and small—over these past few years at Penn, my sincere thanks. I am incredibly grateful and appreciative. To Vivian Gadsden, who graciously guided me through much of my time at GSE, who welcomed me to be a part of *Educational Researcher*, and who never failed to open her door to me when I needed a listening ear.

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At GSE, I had the great fortune of being surrounded by so many brilliant and generous faculty who gave their time to me, often for no other reason than because they

enjoyed the conversation or because they are willing to suffer fools graciously. My thanks to those professors at GSE who opened their offices and classrooms to me, and who listened to me at various stages of this process. Many thanks then to Rob Moore, Ebony Thomas, Dianne Waff, and Stanton Wortham. Special thanks to Kathy Hall, who has always been a beacon of encouragement. Special thanks also to Betsy Rymes, who let me sit in on her incredibly productive *Citizen Sociolinguistics* class just as I was processing my data and in need of some methodological insight. Finally, special thanks to Amy Stornaiuolo, with whom I have had the great luxury to write, and who always had time to listen to me try out a new idea.

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Finally, to my mother, who always showed me what it meant to work for a living, I am eternally grateful. This accomplishment is as much yours as it is mine.

ABSTRACT

LITERACY, STRATEGY, AND IDENTITY IN INTERACTION: VIETNAMESE AND MEXICAN IMMIGRANT STUDENTS IN URBAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLING

Robert Jean LeBlanc

H. Gerald Campano

This year-long interactional ethnography of four first- and second-generation Vietnamese and Mexican immigrant youth enrolled in an urban Catholic school traced how participants used a series of literacy-focused interactional strategies to negotiate the complexities of the contemporary Catholic school landscape. Urban US Catholic schools have undergone a radical transformation in the last 40 years, from overenrolled neighborhood parochial schools serving largely white Catholic students (Walch, 2003), to contracting decentralized schools serving Catholic immigrants from Asia and Latin American alongside large numbers of non-Catholic African American students (Hunt & Walch, 2010; Irving & Fosters, 1996; Louie & Holdaway, 2009; NCEA, 2014). This dissertation study represents an effort to describe how four students, the children of political and economic migrants and refugees, used literacy-focused interactional strategies in a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-lingual urban Catholic school and parish. Using a Bourdieusian analytic approach (Grenfell, et al., 2012; Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014; Hardy, 2011), I examined the language and literacy practices of these four youth over the course of a year, looking particularly at their interactional strategies in their Grade 8 classroom and at the adjacent parish. In the tradition of literacy-focused interactive ethnography (Bloome, et al., 2005; Castanheira, Crawford, Dixon, & Green,

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CHAPTER 1- INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is concerned with Catholic schools and classrooms as interactional literacy-mediated spaces, built and layered by historical processes, and Catholic school students as strategic agents with interactional strategies at their disposal for engaging in literacy practice (cf. Heller, 2001; Sterponi, 2007; Vogler, et al, 2013). In order to explore these issues, I will draw on my experience as an ethnographer at an urban Catholic school in Philadelphia, which I call St. Dominic Savio, and my work with, participation in the lives of, and support of four first- and second-generation immigrant students from Vietnamese and Mexican immigrant and refugee families. A growing body of literature has looked at immigrant students' interactional strategies around texts, as sources of identity performance (Enriquez, 2011; Spotti, 2008), as a means of drawing on dynamic and transnational cultural flows to complete schoolwork (Davila, 2015; Medina, 2010; Sarroub, 2002), and as a means to resist and engage with contemporary monolingual language ideologies in and out of schools (Collins, 2013; Shin & Milroy, 2001). And it is here that I build on this scholarship to move forward into exploring Catholic schooling, which to date has been under explored in the literacy research. .

Drawing on a Bourdieusian frame of language and literacy practices, I am concerned with the strategic and savvy traffic of students' language and literacies across social spaces in Catholic schooling, how the triumvirate of actor-context-resources (for Bourdieu, habitus-field-capital) intersects to allow for the relative advantage of some and for the relative disadvantage of others. Fundamentally, this dissertation is about the ways that first- and second-generation Vietnamese and Mexican immigrant and refugee

students use literacy practices in their negotiation of Catholic schooling, but equally about the ways that Catholic schools, as an institution, construct and produce practices and norms for students to negotiate and draw on, norms that only make sense within the history of Catholic schooling as an institution.

Street's (2002) advisement to the literacy field remains particularly pertinent: that literacies are always ideological, though often proposed as autonomous, and literacy research has the capacity to articulate how *particular literacies* come to matter, and in turn how they come to be convertible into forms of capital "in relation to the availability of other kinds of capital: economic, social, ecological, libidinal and otherwise. That is, ethnographies can tell us how literacy counts, how it is made to count" (Luke, 2004a, p. 333). And while religious practice and identities in tandem with literacy education have only just begun to receive focused attention in the research literature (cf., Juzwik, 2014; Rackley, 2014; Skerrett, 2014a, 2014b), this conjoining of frames needs to be situated amongst other competing ideologies of literacy and configurations of neighborhoods, immigration, and urban institutions. Writing on the potential of these literacies to serve underrepresented students in schools, Skerrett (2014a) argues "Literacy scholarship and pedagogical practice today pays little attention to the religious lives and literacies of an increasingly diverse student population", suggesting that "Deeper inquiry into students' religious lives holds potential for uncovering unique theoretical and instructional insights that may better support literacy development in today's students" (p. 1). Implicit in this call is the recognition that a "deeper inquiry" into language and literacy practices—mobilized, contested, and recognized across a variety of spaces—requires an investigation into how this occurs in real time and thus calls for a deeper

inquiry rooted in the ethnographic tradition with an eye toward classroom interaction (cf. Bloome & Carter, 2014; Bloome, et al., 2005; Castenheira, et al., 2001; Castenheira, et al., 2007). What Erickson (1992) calls the ‘ethnographic microanalysis of interaction’ derives from a number of scholarly traditions, including the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1996), Goffmanian (1981) analysis of the presentation of the self in everyday life, conversation analysis (Schegloff, 1968), and critical discourse scholars (Bourdieu, 1977). This leads to a methodological hybridity in analysis, which draws on micro-interactional data (often focused on turn-taking patterns and categorization) and ethnographic data: using the ethnographic fields notes to contextualize the interactional data, and the interactional data to nail down the ethnographic claims.

This type of classroom-level ethnographic investigation has revealed a set of competing tensions, both with regards to student interaction and with regards to data framing: that students have the capacity to robustly and creatively initiate novel interactions that demonstrate their agency and capacity to resist institutional norms (Kamberlis, 2001), while simultaneously drawing on communicative and literacy resources in relatively stable and patterned ways, revealing the underlying structure of school interactions (Rampton, 2006). It is this tension that ethnographically-oriented literacy research (Street, 2002) seeks to reveal in and out of schools, and in doing so reveal the function, flexibility, power, and particularly of literacy ‘in this place’ and ‘across’ these spaces.

Who Am I to Do This Research? Researcher Positionality

I first came to St. Dominic Savio in 2011 as part of Gerald Campano's ongoing partnership with the parish and its social justice center, and from here was brought into research that looked at students, parents, and communities as activists, intellectuals, and critical social actors (for more on this partnership and Dr. Campano's work, see Chapter 3; see also Campano, Ghiso, & Welch, forthcoming). St. Dominic Savio is an historic Catholic parish and school (once parochial, now a quasi-charter independent) in South Philadelphia, itself a neighborhood which has seen various groups of immigrants come and go alongside waves of gentrification, the presence of racial tension and violence, and the impact of the collapse of manufacturing in the city (Bowden, 1997; Goode, 2010; Goode & Schneider, 1994). For generations, immigrants moved into South Philadelphia's row houses and bustling workplaces, and many of them into the pews and registers of nearby Catholic parishes (Taneka & Osirim, 2010), which were historically grouped by ethnicity and language in the 'ethnic parish' model. Recently, this trend has only continued, though with new immigrants and refugees from new countries by way of new trajectories and into a new and troubled economic context (Katz, Parker, Singer, & Vitiello, 2008). In many ways, St. Dominic Savio is representative of the present state of Catholic schools both nationally and more locally in Philadelphia. In the midst of a full-blown funding and enrollment crisis, many aging and contracting parishes and dioceses have shuttered or merged schools and converted those that remain into new independent schools with new funding streams, largely from wealthy donors and granting agencies (Hunt & Walch, 2010; MacGregor, 2013). White flight into the suburbs has equally meant a new constituency for urban Catholic schools, who now seek out enrollment from

amongst the many Catholic immigrant groups of Vietnamese, Filipino, Indonesian, and Hispanic families that live in the neighborhood (many of whom cannot pay the tuition fees that formerly bolstered the schools) and their African American neighbors, of whom only a small fraction are Catholic (Louie & Holdaway, 2009; NCEA, 2014).

It was during my initial two years at St. Dominic Savio as a regular at parish meetings, liturgy committees, summer book clubs, library time, Sunday Mass (in a variety of languages), often as a kind of (gad)fly on the wall in the case of more formal parish meetings and as a liminal participant at worship services (for I am a Christian but not a Catholic) that I first encountered a dynamic group of young men and committed friends, whom I have taken to calling the *Altar Boys*. These adolescents—Francisco, Benny, Greg, and JP—were students in St. Dominic Savio’s Grade 8 class and crucial participants in the ritual life of the parish, serving as altar boys and readers on Sundays and at the countless funerals, weddings, school services, prayer services and special holidays that mark each week at the parish and school; participants and leaders in religious education on the weekends; volunteers at the parish social justice center; and steady figures, come rain or shine, each Saturday to play football on the hard and unforgiving tarmac of the parish parking lot. In short, it was rare that a day would pass without one or all of them appearing at the parish and adjoining school, which served as a central interactional space in their young lives. These boys were also first- or second-generation immigrants from Vietnam and Mexico, the children of economic and political migrants and refugees who came to America amidst significant turmoil and found the Catholic Church a safe harbor and stable social network for their families (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000).

Calling them the *Altar Boys* is not meant to confine their identities to a single, research-imposed category, and indeed these young people are variously drawing on and being positioned by a veritable network of identity categories, discourses, and identity models of personhood that intersect (at times for good, and at times in what Campano & Ghiso have referred to as the ‘matrix of domination’). But by foregrounding their religious identities, I provide a diacritic to one particular aspect of their identities that I believe especially to be salient at St. Dominic Savio, and which in some way participates in their engagement with schooling. This, like all acts of research, is in some way a social arbitrary, and to this I rely on Bourdieu and his colleagues, who argue “The task of constructing the [research] object cannot be avoided without abandoning research to preconstructed objects— social facts demarcated, perceived, and named by spontaneous sociology, or ‘social problems,’ whose claims to exist as sociological problems rises with the degree of social reality they have for the sociological community” (Bourdieu, Chamboredon, & Passeron, 1991, p. 34). My own research positionality initiates me to using this categorization, but equally there is something in the discourse at St. Dominic Savio (“named by spontaneous sociology”) that foregrounds this characterization.

When I became the CYO boys’ basketball coach at St. Dominic Savio, as an outworking of my immersion at the parish for several years as part of Gerald Campano’s research team, each of them showed up to tryouts, and with it a chance to explore the relations between school interactions, literacy practice in their religious lives, and parish participation. With Olneck’s (2004) reminder that “Immigrants do not enter undifferentiated ‘American’ schools” but rather “they enter specific schools whose immediate contexts, histories, memories, and commitments shape their organization and

practices' (p. 386) I sought to understand this place, St. Dominic Savio, as an organizing institution¹ with regards to interaction. It was from here that I began to attend class with them each week, sit next to them on the hard wooden pews on Sunday morning, watch them work as altar servers and readers at the seemingly unending services to which they were called to perform, attend Vietnamese Eucharistic Youth Society with them on weekends, shoot hoops in the chilly confines of the parish gym, tutor them in their homework and high school applications, go for meals at the local Chinese buffet, ride the aging subways up and down Broad Street, and get to know them as simultaneously religious and irreverent young men, struggling and working to navigate the terrain of contemporary Catholic schooling. And while my principal focus is on these four boys in two principal interactional spaces—the St. Dominic Savio church and the 8th Grade classroom—several other participants come into the fore during the course of this study. Their teacher, Ms. Walsh, has a significant role to play in this ethnography, in no small part because her own educational history and position as an authority figure structures much of the interactional floor. But others, including some of their classmates, become actors as well, and frequently serve as counterpunctuals to the *Altar Boys*' fluid navigation of the interactional space; by highlighting the strict regimentation of interaction of the students not nearly as adept as the boys, we can see how institutions work towards overcoming contradictions through censure, praise, and direction.

¹ In Chapter 6, I address St. Dominic Savio in the language of Wacquant (2002) as a "race-making institution" (see also Lee, 2005; Olneck, 2004) which contains its own logic of racial formation that builds on and modifies broader circulating models. Here I explore the interactional production of racial categories (Reyes, 2009) at the school, which processes existing ethnoracial divisions (nationally and in the local political economy of labor competition and racism) and combines them with religious divisions and narratives.

What became evident during my time in their company was that the *Boys'* participation in this bundle of literacy practices and the identities associated with the Catholic Church had significant social import for them, and it was with this frame that I sought to understand precisely how and in what manner these practices came to matter. It was here that I decided to look more closely at school, to see what it meant to be a Catholic student of color in a Catholic school at a time when the majority of your classmates are also students of color but not Catholic. This, I offer, is the principle contribution of this study, notably when few have looked to date at this particular intersection of immigrant identity and Catholic schooling (Burke and Gilbert, 2015). To connect to stable social structures, obtain the relative freedom from classroom work that comes with Catholic affiliation in Catholic schools, and maintain transnational ties, the *Altar Boys* drew heavily on literacy and interactional resources from Catholic education, their religious labor in Catholic liturgy, and the institution of the local Catholic church, and in doing so inserted themselves into a 'political economy of literacies' (Cook-Gumperz, 2006; Graff, Hanks, 2005; 2013; Luke, 1991) that was both structural and racialized.

A word here on positionality, which I take up with more vigor in Chapter 6, before I continue. I am a white man, a liberal Protestant, a stranger in a strange land myself (though how 'foreign' a Canadian seems to a US audience is certainly up for debate), and a former teacher. And these categories together mean I present to these boys as an authority, as a teacher, as a coach (who was not opposed to barking orders in practice), and as a racialized Other (but with all the rewards of my Whiteness still intact); at the same time, as an ethnographer, I work to present myself to them as an insider, a

confident, and someone that one of the *Altar Boys* was happy to call “a brother” in the later stages of my study. France Twine (2000) writes, 'The issue of representation seems to be a particularly agonizing and complicated one for those researching communities vulnerable due to racial and ethnic inequalities' (p. 23)" (quoted in Lee, 2005, p. 20), and I have tried to stay true to that tension, at least in my own reflection. To invoke a well-worn phrase in the literature, this has and continues to be a process of negotiation, and there is no doubt that what at times appeared to me to be candor and honesty from one of the *Altar Boys* was likely performance for my sake as a researcher, and at other times what appeared to me as a willingness to open up about their own schooling or struggles, or what their parents wanted from them, was a young man looking for support from a mentor and coach. Barbara Kamler writes that “It is not enough to locate ourselves in our scholarship and our research...without also investigating what shaped [our] knowledge” (p. 9), and this is precisely Bourdieu’s (2000, 2003, 2010) point about the construction of the research object in the academy that requires us to turn the tools of habitus and capital on ourselves as researchers. And it was through practices—my willingness to shoot jumpers and unlock gyms on the coldest nights, or to sit with them in the pews of their church with my hands clutched as tightly in prayer as theirs, or to consume another plate of (largely inedible) food from their favorite buffet on a Saturday—that allowed me to work my way into their lives in some way that felt authentic and real. As a candid aside, this was never ‘fake’ insofar as I was trying to ‘pass’ as Catholic, and my insistence that I was Lutheran largely fell on deaf ears, I suspect because my prayers were earnest. This does not mean I stopped playing ethnographer at any point. The truth is that my participation in the Mass as worshipper (but non-communicant) illuminated Bourdieu’s

(2010) trenchant point that “religious fidelity is rooted (and survives) in sub-verbal, subconscious dispositions, in the folds of the body and turns of phrase” (p. 6). My ability to stand and sit in church reflexively, to recite the Apostles Creed from memory, to cross myself at the appointed time with some naturalness was far more significant to the *Altar Boys* and to the people of St. Dominic Savio than any doctrinal differences we might have had. The Catholic Church and St. Dominic Savio are places constructed in and through various pan-ethnic cosmopolitan activist narratives about common humanity (and a common life “in Christ”) providing superordinate identities to nationality and race (for more on this, see Chapter 6; see also Campano, Ghiso, & Welch, forthcoming). This, in no small part, played a role in my welcome and navigation of the parish and school, as well as my discursive construction of myself as an ethnographer in what follows.

Political Economy and Literacy Studies

I have offered the concept of *political economy* as a central guiding metaphor for this dissertation, and in doing so have hoped to index a number of corresponding arguments from other fields which have a good deal to contribute to literacy studies. Political economy as a construct is ultimately about the distribution of different kinds of resources, whether large or small, symbolic or material, and in focusing on political economy we move away from individualized conceptions of human action and achievement to see things in relation to broader social structures of production and consumption. By stressing here the political economic dimension of literacy, we see both the ideological dimensions of literacy practice and how the capacity to read and write in complex ways across multiple sites is not always an immediate avenue to access and

advantage, but rather equally bound up with other dynamics such as race, socioeconomic class, and the nuances of urban schooling.

Political economy as a concept draws attention to the relations between large distant structures (such as capitalism or immigration) and local social relations (such the kind of work people can do), but equally the *moral dimension* of these relations as they are bound up with issues of power (Moscoe, 2009). To invoke the notion of political economy² is to recognize the role that structuration plays in human interaction (Giddens, 1986), and in turn to place the relation between those two seemingly distant poles within the realm of politics and struggle. For Bourdieu, this is part of a neo-Marxist intellectual movement that has shifted attention away from the Althusserian ‘base’ to ‘superstructural’ elements, from ‘objective’ structures of labor and production to the rituals and cultural practices that instantiate class privileges and differences.³ When brought to the realm of language, Hymes (1996) describes a ‘speech economy’ to illustrate how the production and reception of speech is linked to networks of groups and institutions, all of whom sift, sort and evaluate. In articulating what others have deemed a “sociolinguistic economy” (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011) or a “political economy of communication” (Moscoe, 2009), Hymes illustrates how certain forms of speech and interaction (accent, style, register, etc.) receive a higher value, how these various forms of

² For a more detailed unpacking of the notion of political economy, see Chapter 2.

³ This participates in a broader trend in the anthropology of education, which has seen a diminished focus on structural analysis of class (e.g., Bowles & Gintis, 1976). This has been replaced with a focus on cultural practices as circulating resources in service of student resistance and the ‘cultural production of the educated person’ (Levinson & Holland, 1996; Foley, 2010) through the use of analytic concepts like voice, agency, and identity, alongside an emerging attention to the interrelation of language and class distinctions through interaction (Collins, 2011).

high-status speech are unevenly distributed amongst groups, and how this in turn contributes to social reproduction and inequality (see also Blommaert, 2009; Collins, 2012). It is to how this uneven distribution gets accomplished that Luke (1991) argues that:

“analyses of classroom discourses and texts requires a larger political economy of school literacy and reading...we need to be able to locate or identify not only the classroom relations, but as well as the larger political and economic relations by which knowledge and competence have become authorised and institutionalised, enregistered and standardised, distributed and localised.” (p. 9)

My own concern with the “classroom discourses and texts” of urban Catholic schools—complexes with their own overlapping histories and transformations, and their novel insistence on the continued moral dimensions of literacy—leads me to articulate these interactions within the concept of political economy. This objective is bolstered by the work of Pierre Bourdieu, who offers a “political economy of religion” (1990, p. 17) as part of his larger “political economy of symbolic practices” (Swartz, 1996). What a political economic perspective of literacy (see Graff, 1979, 2013 and Luke, 1991 for the few uptakes of political economy in literacy studies) allows us to do is take something as seemingly neutral as a religious reading practice or a classroom interaction around text in a Catholic school and frame it as a political act of differentiation (Bourdieu, 1977b).

I situate my interest in the power and potential of the *Boys* interactional strategies, forged in their participation in transnational Catholic communities and a contemporary urban Catholic school within two complementary fields of scholarship. The first New Literacy Studies’ (NLS) voluminous work on the social construction of literacies (Cook-Gumperz, 2006; Street, 1985), and the second is the accounts of literacy and language using the theoretical apparatus of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1999;

Carrington & Luke, 1997; Grenfell, et. al, 2012; Grenfell, 2014; Luke, 1992)—both of which I have gathered together for a common purpose to examine the ‘political economy of Catholic religious literacies.’ The rich ethnographic and nuanced qualitative work of New Literacy Studies scholars has illuminated the social contexts of literacy practices, as well as the interface between what some have deemed ‘home literacies’ with ‘school literacies’ (Gee, 1996, 2014; Hull & Schultz, 2001; Marsh, 2010), or ‘home literacies’ with other ‘institutional literacies’ (Clark & Ivanic, 1997; Hull & Kirkland, 2010).

A multi-ethnic, multi-lingual Catholic parish and school in the heart of urban America that proclaims its mission as “Serving the Immigrant and the Stranger” presents a critical site to explore the intersection religion, literacy, and immigration.⁴ It is to the robust literature on immigrant students’ literacy practices—their mobilization of transnational literacies to maintain ties with broad, cosmopolitan social networks (Campano & Ghiso, 2013), their inquiries into their own histories and lived experiences through reading, writing, and remembering (Campano, 2007), and the creation of hybrid ‘third spaces’ that honor immigrant students’ hybrid knowledges and identities (Gutierrez, 2008)—that this study seeks to address, and in doing so work further to include the capacities of Catholic school as an additional space of inquiry, of competing social imageries, and of literacy practices. Despite its predominance as the largest religious group in America and a crucial institution in the lives of immigrants (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000; Hirschman, 2004; Stepick, Rey, & Mahler, 2009), the Catholic Church and its extensive private school system has received little attention in literacy research

⁴ Though not without some controversy, Bourdieu’s work has been taken up with real force in the sociology of immigration literature (cf., Anthias, 2007; Yosso, 2005; Zhou, 2005).

(see Baquedano-Lopez, 2004; Ghiso & Campano, 2013; Vieira, 2011 for notable exceptions). This study is therefore designed to highlight the unrecognized literate labour of immigrant youth, and to help educators identify how they might mobilize the students' literacies for education in a way that honors their rich cultural, linguistic, and migratory legacies (Campano & Ghiso, 2011). Here, I hope to frame St. Dominic Savio and the Catholic school as a form of 'community wealth' (Yosso, 2005), resources (capital) which are distributed through social networks to immigrant kids and families living lives of economic and social precarity. But it also hopes to make a more critical argument about religious institutions and literacy, one that looks at the use of religious practice and text in Catholic schooling as equally caught up with the dynamics of positioning and power as any other.

The Present Study

In the following chapters, I trace how four first- and second-generation immigrant Vietnamese and Mexican Catholic youth at St. Dominic Savio⁵ draw on a variety of micro-strategies of interaction around texts (Erickson, 1992) to figure themselves within the micro-ecology of contemporary urban Catholic schooling over the course of an academic year. My research questions focus on 1) the literacy practices of these four youth connected to, drawing on, and imbedded in Catholic practice, tradition, text, and identity, all of which are practices which rarely make an appearance in the robust research literature on adolescent literacies; 2) how the immigrant students work with their

⁵ When asked for a potential pseudonym for the parish and school, a number of the focal students suggested "St. Dominic Savio". As to why Dominic Savio, many noted he was their favourite member of the Catholic hagiography because he was the patron saint of "choir boys and juvenile delinquents."

teacher to construct spaces for these literacy practices in relation to their work and identity at school; and 3) how these Catholic immigrant youth mobilize these practices to position themselves within the political economy of the present educational landscape at St. Dominic Savio. Rather than drawing on the more familiar language of ‘resistance’ in the critical literature (cf. Willis, 1971), I have sought to use the language of ‘strategy’. For the *Altar Boys*, this means they do not reject the structures and strictures of Catholic schooling as though they were performing an ideological deracination, but instead use an array of interactional strategies (many of which developed at the school and the church) to engage these structures and strictures. This means that the structures are not ‘overcome’ or dissolved, but instead reworked in tandem with the *Boys* strategic engagement.

In the next two chapters, I set the theoretical and methodological stage for the ethnographic study of literacy practices across parish, church, school, classroom, and religious education, with a particular focus on Bourdieusian research approaches to literacy research (Grenfell, et al., 2012; Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014; Hardy, 2011), which foreground issues of power differential, hierarchy, and social structure. Here I will argue for the usefulness of concepts like *field*, *habitus*, *capital*, *bodily hexis*, *misrecognition*, *symbolic violence*, and a battery of Bourdieu’s other “thinking tools” (Grenfell, 2011, p. 2) as a means of organizing this inquiry. Bourdieu’s insights into social structure and symbolic exchangeability/contestation, which are grounded in his inquiry into religious organizations and religious discourse (Bourdieu, 1991a, 1992b, 2000), are particularly valuable for thinking through the intricacies of contemporary Catholic schooling and equally for expanding my findings here beyond the localities of parochial education into

other realms of language and literacy competition and stratification in schools. I review the relevant research literature on sociocultural approaches to language and literacy, with a particular look to issues of power, to situate my inquiry within the field. In Chapter Three, I describe the methods I used to conduct this interactive ethnographic study and my data analysis using a Bourdieusian frame across school, parish, and church from 2013-2014.

In the subsequent three findings chapters, I narrate the role interactional strategies in the educational engagement of my four participants, illustrating how these practices are exchangeable within the St. Dominic Savio parish and school for position, achievement, schedule flexibility, language learning, transnational connection, scalar repositioning, and other gains. In Chapter Four, I outline the unrecognized literate labour of Catholicism for these four students, highlighting the range of their “hidden literacies” (Nabi, Rogers, & Street, 2009) (at least in contemporary literacy research literature) of personal devotion, ritual, prayer, and Catholic liturgical practice. This has particular relevance for contemporary Catholic schools, where Catholic religious and ritual life carries on as part of the very fabric of the school day (opening/closing prayers, monthly Mass, special festivals, etc.), but where the participants have changed over the last 40 years to include large numbers of non-Catholics. I argue, drawing on the robust set of tools offered at the intersection of New Literacy Studies and sociolinguistics (Collins, 2000; Erickson, 1992), for the contemporary relevance of Catholic literacy practices like ritual, liturgy, and memorized prayer in the schooling lives of immigrant students, shifting the conversation from a focus on the ‘new’ in literacy studies (Lankshear & Knobel, 2011) to the persistent importance of the ‘old’ and its disruption of typically

stable notions like ‘speaker’, ‘citizen’, ‘voice’, and ‘author’ by way of symbolic contestation (Bourdieu, 1991c). Here, I show how the church community functions as a form of ‘community wealth’ (Yosso, 2005) for the *Boys*: navigational, aspirational, and linguistic. I also demonstrate how participation in the Mass and ritual life of the school is one crucial means to access symbolic capital at the school. This chapter is admittedly my most narrow in scope, as the limitations of my understanding of the *Altar Boys* ‘home languages’ become most evident, and I focus consequently on ritual space as interactional space.

In Chapter Five, I move our attention from the liturgical life of the parish and school to the regularities of interaction, text, and mobility in the Grade 8 classroom at the adjacent school. In order to analyse the structures of classroom interaction, I mobilize the framing devices of the Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group and interactional ethnography (Bloome, et al. 2005; Castanheira, Crawford, Dixon, & Green, 2001; Green & Wallat, 1981) to map instructional conversations and thus demonstrate the production of habitus, capital, and field with regards to the circulation, uptake, and acceptance of students’ interactional resources for productive and prodigious gains in the micro-ecology of a classroom. Here I draw on Heller (& Martin Jones, 2001), Collins (1996), and Rampton (2006) for their Goffmanian framing of classroom interaction, and show how interactional structure at the school has a particular liturgical quality, in part because of the unique history of Catholic education at the school and with the participants. At this stage, ritual becomes a central concept that is well suited for explaining the property of this classroom, but equally a useful heuristic for thinking about the links between the classroom and the Catholic liturgical life the *Altar Boys* find themselves in on the

weekends. My analysis of the ritual quality of the classroom invokes the tension between traditional rote instruction and the classroom relations of flexibility and reconfigured authority relations highlighted by scholars like Rampton (2006).

In Chapter Six, I move away from what were intensely regimented interactional spaces, floors, and practices of religious practice and whole class interaction to see how the *Altar Boys* and their classmates mobilize racialized and religious discourses in their coursework. Up until this point, the discussion in Chapters Four and Five have been taking their cue from interactional ethnography to talk about floor taking, ritual and other structural interactional properties. But in Chapter Six I offer a look at backstage literacy practice in the *Altar Boys*' classroom, the kind of mundane and common literacy routine that could be found in virtually any school. I draw heavily on the work of Pollock (2004), Lee (2005) and Reyes (2007) to conceptualize racial and religious discourses as circulating resources at St. Dominic Savio, which different members of the class draw on to position one another in literacy practice. Few studies have looked at the experiences of students of color in Catholic schools, and I use interactional data to show how religion participates in this racialized experience not as an additive, but as a foundational concept. I first offer an examination of cosmopolitan pan-ethnic and post-racial discourses at the parish: I present multiple religious language practices, events, and narratives, both at school and at the parish, to demonstrate the means by which local actors use the language and social resources of Catholicism to 'scale jump'—move the representation of their actions beyond the local—and in doing so offer a look at students simultaneously producing local and cosmopolitan identities (Campano & Ghiso, 2013; Campano, Ghiso, & Welch, forthcoming). With this in mind, I turn to a specific classroom interaction

where several of the *Altar Boys* and their African American classmates engage explicitly social justice oriented coursework, and show how even in this milieu the construction of ethnic, racial, and religious Others presents itself as a way of distinguishing classmates from one another.

In the final chapter, I discuss the findings and implications of the study, including the impact of interactional strategies on the emerging landscape of urban Catholic education (Brinig & Garnett, 2014; MacGregor, 2012), itself a constantly shifting organization and set of pedagogic practices. I argue that certain legacies of Catholic schooling, particularly its historical ties to the liturgical life of the parish and its catechistic nature, and the reconfigured demographics of the students it serves, combine to create a new field of struggle over the limited symbolic resources of grades, achievement, prominence, and social networking. I then discuss a number of theoretical and practical implications of the study, including its implications for the ongoing global/local debate in literacy studies and the potential for educators, schools, and curriculum develop to allow a more robust inclusion of students' rich religious literacies. For teachers, this offers a window into the potential of students' religious identities and backgrounds, as part of the rich repertoire of cultural and linguistic practices students bring with them to school—including immigrant students for whom literacy is a crucial resource in their journey and settlement (cf., Honeyford, 2014; Vieira, 2011). Given the contents of the previous chapter, the use of interactional strategies from a religious community for projects of racial formation, I present this process as a bumpy and stratified affair, one replete with all the complexities of other symbolic resources. Finally, I suggest potential avenues for future research on the intersection of religion, literacy, and

schooling, including a plea for more research on the experiences of immigrant and minoritized youth in Catholic schools.

CHAPTER 2- THEORETICAL UNDERSTANDINGS AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Religious (or political) belief is firstly a bodily hexis associated with a linguistic habitus
- Pierre Bourdieu, 2010

The contemporary landscape of American Catholic education is marked by a unique confluence of structural crisis and unprecedented demographic and experiential diversity, and this dissertation is grounded in an understanding of this structuring backdrop as a central context for students' literacy practices. As research continue to illustrate the seeming uniqueness of Catholic education for urban students (cf., Brinig & Garnett, 2014; Youniss & McLellan, 1999), this dissertation draws on a explicitly Bourdieusian (1991) framing of all social practice as inherently and fundamentally interested, including religious practice, and in doing so looks at literacy practices in Catholic schooling through this frame. In this study, I trace the way that various forms of capital—religious, linguistic, racial, social, cultural, and economic—converge in various literacy practices at St. Dominic Savio, and in doing so articulate this school and parish as “a discursive space in which certain resources are produced, attributed value, and circulated in a regulated way, which allows for competition over access and, typically, unequal distribution” (Heller, 2006, p. 50). In considering what is “produced, attributed value, and circulated” in literacy practice, a fundamentally economic metaphor, I utilize the concept of political economy and turn it toward language and literacy at the parish and school.⁶ I then turn to the implications of a practice account (both in the New

⁶ For contemporary uptake of the notion of a “political economy of literacy”, see Cook-Gumperz, 2006; Hanks, 2005; Luke, 1991.

Literacy Studies' sense of the term, and in Bourdieu's description of the 'logic of practice) on religion, literacy, and power: three key terms in this dissertation.

Political Economy of Literacies

I have offered the concept of *political economy* as a central guiding metaphor for this dissertation, and in doing so have hoped to index a number of corresponding arguments from other fields which have a good deal to contribute to literacy studies. Political economy as a construct is ultimately about the distribution of different kinds of resources, whether large or small, symbolic or material, and in focusing on political economy we move away from individualized conceptions of human action and achievement to see things in relation to broader social structures of production and consumption. By stressing here the political economic dimension of literacy, we see both the ideological dimensions of literacy practice and how the capacity to read and write in complex ways across multiple sites is not always an immediate avenue to access and advantage, but rather equally bound up with other dynamics such as race, socioeconomic class, and the nuances of urban schooling in the midst of a financial and performance crisis.

I have used the term political economy to describe small-scale and large-scale processes: macro-social phenomenon, largely with regards to the demographic changes in the neighbourhood and the school, in order to explain micro-social phenomenon, largely the way classroom interaction can be seen as a market with an exchange. This means relying on Bourdieusian thinking tools like 'cultural capital', which helps us conceptualize all kinds of resources (material and symbolic) as having exchange value and being unequally distributed.

The use of Bourdieu for the subject of race and racialization is not without its critics, with Critical Race Theorist Yosso (2005) perhaps standing as the most critical (see also Grant & Wong, 2012; Luke, 2008; Wacquant, 2002 for commentary on this front). In her confrontation with Bourdieu's notion of 'cultural capital' and its uptake in the research literature, Yosso claims such discourse looks to position communities of color as living in a cultural deficit, and thus potentially rehearses the deficit language of Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Oscar Lewis.⁷ Yosso's alternative is to propose 'cultural wealth' as a guiding heuristic to show how communities of color are equally mobilizing and generating capital, some of which goes unrecognized in dominant fields, but which nonetheless is a resource for community members: "the array of cultural knowledge, skills, abilities and contacts possessed by socially marginalized groups that often go unrecognized and unacknowledged" (p. 69). Rather than looking through a lense of lack (how schools prove a challenge for children of color because of their supposed lack of social, cultural, and economic capital), Yosso pitches multiple alternative forms: aspirational, navigational, social, linguistic, familial, and resistant capital (2005). Each of these, she writes, represent resources that help support communities of color amidst structural challenge.

⁷ As a counter, Yosso (very briefly) engages a single resource of Bourdieu's in her critique, *Reproduction*, which because of translation issues was one of the first of his works to appear in English, but which often distorts Bourdieu's overall project (this is particularly true in her construction of 'new' replacement analytics, which include 'social' and 'linguistic capital', which are Bourdieusian terms themselves). This leads Yosso to ignore the role of 'fields' in Bourdieu's work, notably their capacity to structure dominant codes and capitals as social arbitraries in diverse places, including schools. Consequently, it is hard to sustain a critique that Bourdieu does not value communities of color for their 'lack of cultural capital', as his work is directly responsible for seeing a variety of capitals as resources which are simply unrecognized. For a more generous reading of Bourdieu on race, see Leonardo (2013).

To these, I wish to add another form of capital, this time returning to the Bourdieusian corpus: religious capital. Bourdieu describes a “political economy of religion” (1990, p. 17) as part of his larger “political economy of symbolic practices” (Swartz, 1996). It is here that Bourdieu’s concern with capital, field, interests, social struggle, and habitus, all quasi-economic terms, meet issues of religion as a place of ‘this-worldly’ struggle: religious resources, including categorization, social networks, and linguistic practices, can all be mobilized by communities of color, including St. Dominic Savio, for educational achievement. Those who have maintained a political economic perspective into the present moment have broadened its scope from the purely economic (think, the distribution of money, access to schools, neighborhoods, etc.) to include “the relationship between larger economic structures and more localized social relations (and cultural artifacts) generated in the workplace, in institutions, in communities, and in the family” (Luke, 1991, p. 5). It is here I hope to articulate how for immigrant students, the church, the church school, and its network of associated relationships and practices might support those otherwise locked out and living lives of precarity.

Religion, Literacy, and Power

To conceptualize the power-bound capacity of religious literacies in everyday life, I take a critical stance on the production *of* literate identity *through* literacy practices *that work on* the “literate body” (Luke, 1992): to understand the central role of churches and religious organizations as literate sponsors that “set the agenda” (Brandt, 1998) for literacies’ distribution and use, and to understand how those literacies can be used to construct an orientation to various practices that helps designate users of those literacies as particular kinds of people.

In this section, I briefly discuss foundational concepts that are relevant to my study, centered on theorizations of ‘religion’, ‘literacy’, and ‘power’ as social practices. Finally, I articulate how Bourdieu’s work contributes to a coherent understanding of all three concepts and how these ideas together are informing my proposed study.

Religion (as a Social Practice)

Religion has a profoundly complicated history in Western life, serving both as the foundational epistemology for much modern practice (Cavanaugh, 2011; Friesen, 2011) and as the perpetual dark passenger of modernity for critical theorists (cf., Apple, 2001; Reynolds & Webber, 2008): religion has been used to enlighten and to oppress.

Liberationist traditions of religion have been lauded by critical educators as providing the “groundwork for an emancipatory system of meaning” (Kincheloe, 2002) by way of their avowed solidarity with the poor and a desire to seek an unfolding of justice in the present (West, 2002). Fundamentalist traditions have been derided by critical pedagogues as serving as little more than the “opiate of the people” (Marx, 1976) and unnecessarily injecting personal faith claims into the neutral state discourse (Habermas, 2010). My goal here is not to provide a definition of ‘religion’ *writ large* (as though such a task were possible and not contested terrain derived from competing historical discourses), but rather to index several crucial off-ramps for this discussion.

Like the now ubiquitous social turn in literacy (discussed below), religion has been conceptualized by some scholars less as a system of thoughts and dogma than as a network of social practices and social relations, power differentials, discourses, and rationalities that construct subject positions through the dispersal and deployment of these various relations (Millbank, 1993; Smith, 2004). Religion can be seen as a social

practice just as literacy is now viewed as a social practice (Street, 1985); from this perspective, religion is subject to the constant dialogical refinement that all social practices endure. Borrowing from a Foucauldian perspective, Kapitzke (1995) conceptualizes religion “as both a mode and a product of power/knowledge relations, constructed and sustained through spoken and written language” (p. xv), to which I also add multimodal communicative practices including practice, ritual, gesture, and the like. Religion can be seen then as a network of relations that individuals form through language (their own and language provided to them) and are formed by: religion as a regime of truth that constitutes rules, behaviours, identities, subject positions, speaker positions, etc., all in continual interplay with the particularity of social position, geographic location, institutional history, networks of familial relations, racial formation and so on (Bourdieu, 1977a). Conceptions of the ‘religious’ thus elude any homogenous depiction (i.e., “Catholicism is this” or “All Muslims do such”); rather, religion only appears as a “situation of faith” (Fulkerson, 2007) that presents itself in multiple, heterodox, and often contradictory ways. While religion is typically regarded as a relationship to a ‘Divine other’ (Keane, 1997), it need not be confined to such definitions: religion, rather, is a shifting, polyvalent social phenomenon. Religious practices position individuals and groups within a continual contestation for limited resources (Bourdieu, 1987; see also Rey, 2004). While religion is a practice, it is equally a discipline which works on the body through institutional edict to form subjectivities and distinct groups (Bourdieu, 1977a). While it is a practice, it is also an affiliation, produced through forms of exclusion (Bourdieu, 1991b). Finally, while it is a practice, it is also an identity, which

is a product “of discursive practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak” (Kapitzke, 1999, p. 116).

Bourdieu’s writings on religion that are available in English are limited to six pieces: ‘Legitimation and structured interests in Weber’s Sociology of Religion’ (1984), ‘Authorized language: The social condition for the effectiveness of ritual discourse’ (1991a), ‘Genesis and structure of the religious field’ (1991b), ‘Sociologists of belief and belief of sociologists’ (2010), and two brief asides in *Practical Reason* (1998), ‘The laughter of bishops’ and ‘Remarks on the economy of the Church.’ What else exists remains untranslated and largely peripheral to Bourdieu’s central work (Rey, personal communication; Wacquant, personal communication). Further, scholars have sharply criticized Bourdieu for thinking too narrowly about religion by utilizing the French Catholic Church and its rigid hierarchy as the model for all religious communities (Schultheis, 2008; Urban, 2003). Even in Bourdieu’s commentary on the Catholic Church, scholars have noted he narrowly conceives of the means of symbolic production (religious categories, ritual moves, speaker roles, etc.) as being possessed by the clergy to the exclusion of the dispossessed laity. Sociologist Michelle Dillon (2001), for example, seeks to reanimate inquiry into the symbolic work of women laypersons in the Catholic Church in their work to disrupt gender norms and hierarchies by way of the cultural resources that their religious affiliation offers them. I say more about Bourdieu’s potential for studying religious literacies below, but I add here briefly that this notion of appropriation, fluidity, and disruption of religious resources/capital by laity complicates Bourdieu’s model of production/consumption and provides a research agenda for scholars

interested in the means by which these symbolic practices are utilized at local levels in relation to complex political economies of production and reception.

Literacy (as a Social Practice)

Street and Heath's inauguration of the field of New Literacy Studies (Street, 1985; Heath, 1982) has significant import for interest in religious practice, which is sustained, undergirded, and performed in and through a network of literacy practices and text; literacy is crucial part of religious practice, so much so that some scholars have begun referring to this network as "religious literacies" (cf., Vieira, 2011) . My conceptualization of religious literacies draws from Kapitzke (1999), who defines them as "social activities that assemble composites of writing instruments, texts, social practices, and beliefs about text, the world, and the individual's place in the world" (p. 118), often through associations to religious organizations, institutions, and historical traditions. This conceptualization of the particularities of religious literacies largely mirrors "literacy as a social practice" (Street, 1985) writ large. A broadening definition of literacy to include wider social, meaning-making forces is the domain of sociolinguistic literacy scholarship (among many others, see Erickson, 1988; Heath, 1982, 1983; Schleppegrell, 2004), or what is often called 'New Literacy Studies' (among many others, see Gee, 1996, 2007; Luke, 1988; New London Group, 1996; Willinsky, 1990, 2001). Sociocultural approaches reject autonomous views of literacy for those which situate literate acts as 'practices' and which proclaim that literacy is "not separable from the concrete circumstances of its uses inside and outside school, nor is it easily separable from the situation of acquisition in the school as a social form and a way of life" (Erickson, 1988, p. 205). This approach, anchored in the pioneering ethnographic work of

Heath (1982, 1983) and Street (1985), maintains that literacy practices always occur for a purpose (Gee, 1996) and as such are dialectically engaged with the specific social situation in which they occur (Erickson, 1988).

There is a certain historical symmetry to a call for a return to a consideration of the religious in New Literacy Studies given the origin of the field itself in the work of Heath (1982, 1983) and Street (1985), both of which have a great deal to say about the religious in relation to literacy. I briefly review both here as illustrative of NLS as a field and as potential models for considering Bourdieusian approaches to religious literacies (whether named or not).

In her ethnography of Roadville, a white working class community in the Piedmont Carolinas, Heath (1982, 1983) describes how particular ‘ways with words’ reading and writing among families have particular material and symbolic consequences for the children when they reach school. With regard to Roadville, families attended Baptist churches and as a result deeply valued Bible reading and what they deemed to be ‘true stories’, to the exclusion of others. Because the truth of a story is considered its value, a virtue forged in no small part by the community’s literalist, fundamentalist belief in the Bible, children and parents “do not tell stories which fictionalize themselves or familiar events” (1982, p. 62). Further, Roadville parents’ focus on storytelling as participatory but pre-scripted with regard to adult expectations meant that when children enter school they initially do well, but fall behind by the fourth grade as literate expectations change to personal reflection and subjunctive questioning (i.e., questions that require imaginative thinking: What would you do if you were one of the Billy Goats?). This is a fine example of religious literacy capital with substantial power in one

field that is not recognized as capital in another semi-autonomous field (more on Bourdieu's notion of 'fields' below). Heath's point is not to deficitize students or their communities, but rather to highlight how schools position literate activity within very narrow middle class confines that favor particular 'ways with words' while denigrating others as off-task; in short, the students of Roadville had been educated by parents into a form of literate activity that was not recognized as literacy by the largely middle class teachers. Heath's two-fold recognition of the range of literate behaviour (posture, eye contact, story type, genre) and the semi-autonomous field of school that serves as a screen to students by favoring some forms of 'cultural capital' while marginalizing others mirrors to a Bourdieu's conceptualization of the hidden reproductive function of schooling (cf., Bourdieu & Passerson, 1990). Heath's findings, that forms of literate capital (what she calls 'ways with words') do not immediately translate into capital in other semi-autonomous fields (such as school) has significant import for my study. By mapping, notably in a space like an urban Catholic school, which forms of literate capital are welcomed and which are constrained, we can better understand how students are able to mobilize their various literate resources for access and success and conversely, how schools may participate in its reproductive function through the exclusion of certain practices.

Second, Street's (1985) ethnography of literacy practices in Iran connects with the Bourdieusian concept of 'structural homology' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Wacquant, 1989), how sustained exposure to relatively similar material and symbolic conditions can lead to the unexpected portability of various forms of cultural, symbolic, and linguistic capital across relatively autonomous fields. In the case of Street's ethnography of Iranian

markets, the great revelation was that the most likely economic players to do well in the market were not those who had been formally educated in the Shah's schools (often distantly educated in cities and seen as secular by the pious Muslim villagers); rather, those who had been educated in local Maktab's (or Quranic schools) and gained particular literate practices of memorization and the symbolic capital of 'virtue' by their affiliation with religious practitioners were able to apply those practices to commercial literacies with great gain. Street's point is to illustrate that literacy 'in general' (as in, the literacy gained by students in secular schools) has no universal potency, but rather literacy is always imbrued with complex cultural and political features. This sense of homology and its unexpected nature has implications for research scholars with interest in how religious literacies may facilitate political and educational access, symbolic prestige, and material gain.

The literate impulse of Western religion has had profound effects on the distribution and restriction of various forms of literate identities and practices (cf., Goody, 1986; Mignolo, 1995). For example, in his groundbreaking study, *Religion and Respectability* (1976), on the history of Sunday Schools in the UK, historian Thomas Laqueur outlines the profoundly contradictory discourses of benevolence and parochialism amongst the wealthy supporters of these schools for the poor. The Sunday School Union alone distributed thousands of volumes to groups around England starting in 1834 to promote literacy, but the rationale for such literature was often various and deeply paternalistic: some in more evangelical circles viewed education to be the "moral rescue of the [poor, immoral] people" (p.125) and a pacifying, anti-revolutionary agent, while others hoped it would promote social transformation by 'lettering' the unwashed

masses. While reading particular Christian literatures was considered beneficial to promote virtue and loyalty, the focus was on reading and writing instruction was nearly unheard of, largely for fear that such practices would lead to the dissemination of unorthodox theology and revolutionary sentiment in the form of pamphlets. Laqueur's study illustrates the material consequences and social circulation of literacy practices in relation to religion, and serves as a reminder of the political capacity of religious literacies.

Power (as a Social Practice)

In this research, I draw on theories that conceptualize power in relational terms, as plural forms of social relations regulated through techniques and practices that work on individuals and manifest as forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1997, 1998) or whereby individuals work upon themselves to fit forms of subjectivity, to become 'certain kinds of people' (Bourdieu, 1998; Foucault, 1972). I theorize power as a social phenomenon in contrast from overdetermined structuralist accounts of educational disparity (cf., Apple, 1979; Bowles & Gintis, 1976). From this perspective, power is dispersed and heterogeneous (Bourdieu, 1986), the product of the relation between capital and field. Bourdieu's work undermines hardened structuralist approaches to power (see particularly Bourdieu, 1977b) by positioning power differentials within relations to semi-autonomous fields.⁸

⁸ A number of educational scholars (notably Giroux, 2001) have argued that Bourdieu's work is overdetermined, leaving little room for human agency. Erickson (2001), for example, claims that because Bourdieu's model works largely from higher level forces to lower levels—from market to field to habitus—and not in reverse, Bourdieu might better be regarded as a determinist, notably when paired with ethnographies of resistance that largely demonstrate the ineffectiveness of that resistance to escape social reproduction (cf., Willis, 1977).

Education systems, like religious systems, constitute discursive practices (Blommaert, 2010): ways of speaking, of authorizing speakers and topics, ways of being in the world (Gee, 1995). Powerful discourses form individuals through institutionalized rituals and a ritualization of language. Foucault writes:

What is an educational system, after all, if not a ritualisation of the word; if not a qualification of some fixing of roles for speakers; if not a constitution of a (diffuse) doctrinal group; if not a distribution and an appropriation of discourse, with all of its learning and its powers? (p. 227)

Habitus is the largely unconscious, pre-reflexive action whereby actors orient themselves toward strategic outcomes after repeated interactions with material forces that demonstrate the likelihood of possible outcomes. This has profound consequences for an organization like the Church, which continually ritualizes and works upon the bodies of the laity and its students through symbolic labour (Christian names, saints, liturgy), bodily practice (baptism, kneeling for prayer, consuming communion, etc.) and religious texts (Bibles, hymnals, etc.). Indeed, the physicality of these symbolic practices can have profound implications for individuals: he writes in his landmark book, *The Logic of Practice* (1990) that this “cunning of pedagogic reason lies precisely in the fact that it manages to *extort what is essential* while seeming to *demand the insignificant*” (p. 69, my emphasis). Not all rituals work equally on individuals, notably those which work unannounced or unrecognized; symbolic work has greater or lesser efficacy depending on the already present habitus of the actor. This cultivation of bodily practice, gestures, ritual, eye contact, orientations to those who are different, etc, Bourdieu deems “hexis”. Religious and political belief, he argues, “is firstly a bodily hexis associated with a linguistic habitus” (2010, p. 6), meaning it is both a particular bodily orientation through

rites and rituals associated with a particular regularized deployment of language, categories, and saying, all largely invisible to conscious reflection. Given the regularity of linguistic exchanges between laity (both in frequency and in pattern), Churches and Catholic Schools are ideal locations to map a religious habitus.

Finally, Bourdieu accommodates for a heterogeneous modern society by articulating a theory of “fields” (1991b). A field is “a network, or configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined... in the structure of distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field” (Bourdieu, 1992, quoted in Swartz, 1996, p. 78). Fields are structured around different types of capital, and indicate areas of production, circulation, and distribution (a ‘political economy’). As a result, fields are places of structural inequality. Fields can overlap, and the habitus and capital in particular fields can have unexpected benefits in seemingly autonomous fields elsewhere; fields and habitus are mutually interactive, as field forms habitus (“the interiority of exteriority”) while habitus helps remake fields (“the exteriority of interiority”) (Bourdieu, 1999). This overlap Bourdieu deems “structural homology” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). In the case of religious literacy, Street’s (1985) findings that Maktab literacies and ideological orientations had significantly greater payoff in the market than secular or schooled literacies is an example par excellence; while the internal logic of the Maktab was not oriented toward material outcomes in the market, the practices, habitus, and hexis developed within the religious field had unexpected material consequences. For my own project, I seek to understand how various the language and literacy habitus and bodily hexis developed within the field of St. Dominic Savio (authorizing many speakers,

linguistic diversity, particular repertoires of textual readings, radical inclusion, etc.) at school and at church have material and political consequences for students' educational achievement, thus positioning laity, faculty, and clergy within the political economy of urban education.

CHAPTER 3- METHODOLOGY

Employing interactional ethnography (Bloome, et al. 2009; Castenheira, et al. 2001) through a Bourdieusian lens, I followed four first- and second-generation Vietnamese and Mexican immigrant youth at St. Dominic Savio to trace their interactional strategies in school, religious education, Mass, and their day-to-day lives over the course of a year. By interactional strategies, I mean how students engage in with existing institutional participant structures around text through turn-taking procedures, categorization, silence, and other interactional moves as a way of negotiating institutional domination (Heller, 1995; Candela, 1999). To trace how their literacy practices and interactional strategies as Catholics interacted and/or conflicted with school and church, I conducted numerous semi-structured interviews, collected school and parish artifacts, and participated as an attentive ethnographic observer for a year. It was from here that I turned to interactional ethnography (Bloome, et al. 2009; Castenheira, et al. 2001) as a logic of inquiry to analyze my data. This dissertation hopes to illuminate the means by which interactional structures continue to participate in social reproduction in classrooms, but equally how they represent resources for students to draw on and negotiate strategically.

Concerned with the circulation, distribution, production, and reception of interactional strategies as resources in a Catholic urban educational setting, this study seeks to answer the following three central research questions:

- I. What are the *Altar Boys'* literacy practices associated with their participation in the Catholic Church?
 - Ia. What the interactional conventions of these literacy practices?
 - Ib. How are these literacy events associated with participation in the Catholic

Church structured and organized by institutions and authorities?

II. How do the *Altar Boys* use their Catholic literacy practices and interactional strategies in their engagement with school?

IIa. What literacy practices and interactional strategies are convertible and exchangeable at school as forms of cultural and social capital?

IIb. Does the use of these literacy practices as capital produce differential outcomes?

III. How does the *Altar Boys* teacher, Ms. Walsh, contribute to structuring the interactional floor of religious and schooled events?

IIIa. How does their teacher narrate the rationale for this construction?

This chapter outlines my ethnographic research methodology. Given that this is ethnographic research, it is also here that I describe in detail the context of my study. I first outline the context of St. Dominic Savio, starting with a brief history of the origination of Catholic schools, their rise and decline over the last century, with a specific focus on their legacy in Philadelphia's urban education. Here I look at arguments of related to the so-called 'Catholic school effect' (Coleman, 1981), the claim that Catholic schools educate poor and minority students better than their public school peers, and do so based on the internal workings of social capital and interactional relationships within the schools (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993). After this I return to the Philadelphia context to describe the present state of Catholic schools in the city. From here I zoom in to look at St. Dominic Savio, both the parish and the school, and we meet the *Altar Boys*. I describe how I first came to be at St. Dominic Savio through Dr. Campano's Penn-SDS Partnership as a doctoral student, my role as basketball coach, and my eventual immersion as an ethnographer in the day-to-day life of the *Altar Boys*. After describing each of the *Altar Boys* in detail, I outline my ethnographically-oriented case study of my participants' literacy-focused interactional strategies, my classroom and church

immersion, my (largely failed) literacy life history interviews, my recordings of class and peer interactions, and my inquiries with students about their own language and literacy practices. Finally, I describe my methods of data analysis and data mapping using interactional ethnography and Bourdiesian field analysis.

**St. Dominic Savio:
An Urban Catholic School in an Era of Change and Stability**

Serving similar urban neighborhoods as their public school counterparts, US Catholic schools offer a parallel but unique set of teacher-student-community relations and instructional practices, notably with regard literacy. Despite an era of contraction due to falling enrolment (MacGregor, 2012), approximately 2 million children still attend some 7,000 Catholic schools nationwide. Catholic schools remain stalwart in the public imagination as a place for high quality education for urban children (Brinig & Garnett, 2014; Gonzalez, 2013). Further, their location in the urban political economy as alternatives to local public schools perceived as ‘failing’ and their reputation as safe harbors for immigrant students (Louie & Holdaway, 2009; Mora, 2013) makes them a vital site of investigation, particularly for the intersection of religion, schooling, and literacy. St. Dominic Savio is in many ways representative of the changes, declines, and rebirths of Catholic education in its 150-year history.

Urban Catholic Schools

Catholic schooling in America has a turbulent history, one as fraught with turmoil and controversy as the public school system. Though now orchestrated at the level of the Archdiocese (which provides various levels of funding, curriculum, and supervision), Catholics schools have always been local, neighborhood institutions, operated and

primarily funded at the parish level. While today we largely imagine the parish to be a church building proper (or in many urban parishes such as St. Dominic Savio, a church, rectory, school, and [now-vacant] convent located on the same property), a parish is in fact a territorial space: the designated authority over several blocks for each parish priest, within which he was responsible for the religious, social, and community life of all Catholics. Indeed, the parish was as much a place as it was an imagined community (Anderson, 1991), a social imaginary and real community bounded by specific blocks and moral narratives played out in ritual and symbol. McGreevy (1996) described parish life in the early part of the 20th Century as “disciplined and local”, and the church occupied the center of all that went on in the community.

Contemporary Restructuring.

Looking to changes in the 21st century, Catholic schools are in a precarious position (Hamilton, 2008; Youniss & Convey, 2000) in the wake of increased school choice, decreased enrolment, tuition fees, and demographic shifts blowing at the walls, threatening to bring the whole edifice down. Where once hallways and classrooms were bursting with new arrivals, these days fewer and fewer students attend Catholics schools. In Philadelphia alone, some 80 schools have closed since the 1970s, one of the most dramatic contractions in America (MacGregor, 2012). Such is the crisis of modern Catholic schooling in America.

Several scholars have offered suggestions as to what precipitated this crisis, and universally they point to the reforms of the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965). Vatican II was a total transformation of the worldwide Catholic Church, a revision of doctrines, ecclesial structures, and the very foundation of the church’s ritual life, the Mass, all

previously hardened (and some would say calcified) since the Council of Trent (1845-1863). Pope John XXIII described Vatican II as an attempt to “throw open the windows of the Church” by allowing Mass in the vernacular (rather than in Latin, as it had been for millennia), by reforming doctrines with regards to other faiths and other Christian denominations, and by recognizing the apostolate of the laity, thus reconfiguring what constituted ministry and who could perform it in the Church. This last reform is most relevant with regards to Catholic schooling. By allowing the faithful to pursue ministry outside of religious orders and the priesthood, the Church unintentionally caused a precipitous decline in the number of religious, and in doing so inadvertently removed the bulk of Catholic schools’ teaching workforce (MacGregor, 2012)⁹. In 1950, 90% of all teachers in Catholic schools were religious sisters; today, less than 5% are (Brinig & Garnett, 2014); in 1965, over 100,000 nuns served parishes and communities in America, while that number today has dwindled to 5,000 (MacGregor, 2012). As religious orders dedicated to teaching like the Sisters of Charity and others declined, Catholic schools began to take on lay teachers, who understandably required modest remuneration and pensions to support families and children (which of course members of religious orders had no need for). In Philadelphia, three quarters of all teachers in the Archdiocese in 1961 were religious or priests; by 1989, six out of seven teachers were laity (Van Allen, 2013).

The second major structural change came as a reaction to desegregation movements in the North and the improved economics of white Catholics. For

⁹ Catholic theologian John Caputo notes (2012) sardonically that when Vatican II ‘threw open the windows of the Church’, “everyone jumped out.”

generations, American Catholics were a marginalized fraction, typically excluded from public office and white collar work by virtue of gross ethnic and racial stereotypes; but as the 20th Century rolled on, Catholics began to integrate into the burgeoning middle class, and many saw the election of Catholic John F. Kennedy to the highest office in the land as an indicator that American Catholics had ‘come of age’ (Buetow, 1988). Nationally, newly upwardly mobile Catholics began to move out of the inner city to suburbia. However, this exodus also corresponded to the Civil Rights Act and *Brown v. Board*, and white flight wracked inner city parishes as many families fled the suburbs, and with them took their financial contributions. In Philadelphia, white flight has been complicated by contemporary gentrification in the neighbourhood around St. Domininc Savio, including attempts to ‘rebrand’ the neighbourhood as ‘Newbold’ in a bid to evade the discursive stigma associated with the area in the popular consciousness.¹⁰

All of this has meant significant school closures, notably in urban areas. The number of Catholic schools in America fell from 13,000 in 1960 to 7,000 in 2010, and the total percentage of all US students educated in Catholic schools halved in that same time, from 12% in 1965 to 5% in 2010. Between 2000 and 2006 alone, 600 US Catholic schools closed and 290,000 students simply left the Catholic system (Brinig & Garnett, 2014; MacGregor, 2012), many of them to free public charters. This system of competition between traditional parish schools and charter networks like KIPP, Uncommon and others has taken on an ironic turn, as vacant Catholic schools, shuttered

¹⁰ *Governing* magazine (Maciag, February 2015) reports that gentrification in low income areas of Philadelphia has increased by 1,800% since 1990, and specifically labelled the area directly around St. Dominic Savio as de facto ‘gentrified’ (see also Burnley, 2015).

due to enrolment problems, have been taken over by charters and repurposed. Indeed, students now move fluidly between these different types of institutions, some times even during the same academic year. These new charter options, many of which play on the Catholic model of integrating teaching staff into the life of the community, have meant a vigorous competition for students (Jacobs, 2010).

Philadelphia has been representative of this precipitous enrolment drop-off. In January 2012, new Archbishop Charles Chaput—a man called in part to deal with the crisis in school enrolment—made a bold announcement following a Blue Ribbon Commission Report: Philadelphia would be closing 48 Catholic schools, displacing some 24,000 students (Blue Ribbon Commission, 2012). The writing had been on the wall for years; already the Archdiocese of Philadelphia had closed 30 schools in just previous 5 years in response to an enrolment drop of 35% since 2001. Today, Philadelphia Catholic schools have the same number of students (68,000) as they did in 1911 (Van Allen, 2013); this is set against the backdrop of rising charter school enrolment in the city, up from approximately 16,000 in to nearly 58,000 in 2012, a trend which looks to only continue (Woodall, 2012) and in doing so destabilize Catholic schools' capacity to draw students amidst a new panoply of 'choice'. A 2010 document by the Archdiocese of Philadelphia, sombrely titled "Sobering Trends. Serious Challenges", notes that the number of priests in the city has shrunk from 3,901 in 1960 to 282 in 2010, and the average yearly subsidy from parish to parish school rose sharply from \$250,000 in 2001 to \$323,000 in 2010.

In addition to the closures, the archdiocese offered to fund a select number of city high schools—particularly low-income churches in high poverty areas serving low

income students— by way of outside funding (largely wealthy suburban Catholics and granting agencies) through the ‘Faith in the Future’ campaign. Though a controversial move, in 2012 an initial 14 schools, including St. Dominic Savio, were converted into a new portfolio of schools managed by the Autonomous Catholic Schools of Philadelphia (ACSP),¹¹ a local organization which now oversees nearly 5,000 students, 70% of whom are non-Catholic. Drawing on salvific discourses of Catholic schools as “sanctuaries to neighborhoods” and “rescuing” public school students from the “drab grey of those neighborhoods” by providing an atmosphere of “decency”, “safety”, and “values” (Artifact, 2015), ACSP equally lobbies the state government for expanding the Educational Improvement Tax Credits system and passing voucher legislation; these discourses, which appear in similar work by Bryk and others, are often used to uncharitably batter the beleaguered public system, which is dealing with its own financial fall-out, and justify contemporary Catholic schooling. The structural transformation has meant that at St. Dominic Savio, Monsignor O’Donnelly is no longer the head of the school, but equally that the parish is no longer financially responsible for the day to day operations.

St. Dominic Savio

American Catholic schools have long argued for their relative success on claims of ‘tradition’, both in their daily Catholic rituals (prayers in class, regular Mass, mandatory Religion classes for everyone regardless of religious affiliation) and their classroom relations and school organization (common rigorous instruction, limited

¹¹ A pseudonym

curricular flexibility, traditional instructional models) (Bryk, 1996; Coleman & Hoffer, 1987; Kelly, 2010). This tradition is coupled with claims to a porous school/community/parish boundary, where teachers are equally classroom instructors and foundational community members (often teaching catechism classes on the weekend, or attending Sunday Mass alongside their students).

Brief history of the parish and school

At St. Dominic Savio, Ms. Walsh is the Grade 8 classroom teacher, but also the CYO girls' basketball coach, a parish catechism teacher, a member of the liturgy committee, principal organizer of the annual parish retreat, and a communicant each Sunday. This porousness further leads to claims of common moral principles for the Catholic church and school, so that the work of the schools is buttressed by a 'common identity' between the home and the parish, solidifying teacher authority (Bryk, 1996).

This porousness is manifest in the very constitution of the property itself. If we zoom back to take it all in with a single view, we would first see a magisterial stone church building, like that of an Italianate Baroque-style basilica, rising with two towers peaked with faded copper cupolas, dwarfing every building in the neighborhood. This towering building, completed in 1904 (the original temporary church on the property first saw Mass celebrated in 1885), was opened in response to growing numbers of people at nearby St. Charles Borromeo parish, typical of the growing baptismal rosters and registries of Catholic churches in South Philly at the time. Like much of the city, South Philadelphia was still a place of great transition and industry, supported by a rich tapestry

of immigrants: in 1880, 30% of the city was Irish¹², and during this period of industrial expansion and development, immigrants tended to cluster in ‘ethnic enclaves’ around the factories and plants (Goode & Schneider, 1994). At St. Dominic Savio at this time, were you to enter the heavy wooden doors looking out onto identical row houses up and down the block, past the cool granite shade of the narthex, and into the vaulted space of the nave, you would see thousands of people in the pews, most of them Irish, facing forward toward a massive high altar. Were you to enter today, you would see much the same, perhaps wither few patrons (St. Dominic Savio sees approximately 1000 communicants a week, but has many, many more people listed as baptised members), now flanked by brightly colored stained glass windows, what some have called ‘the people’s Bible’, illustrating key moments in the life of Christ. Past the altar, at the very back of the nave where all points of attention converge, stands a stories-high painting of the crucified Jesus, a pale white figure looking down at the family, disciples, and soldiers represented at the foot of the cross. Were you to go today, you could not help but notice the line of flags- Mexico, Indonesia, Italy, Ireland, Vietnam¹³, Pan-African, and America- draped near the looming structure of the organ, and the presence of a series of small shrines dedicated to ‘ethnic saints’, set sharply against the white bodies of the Apostles and Christ in larger tapestries and glass representations throughout: St. Lorenzo Ruiz

¹² A listing of the parish block collection from 1901 indicates nearly all members were Irish, with surnames like McGlinchy, O’Brien, and Flannery appearing several times.

¹³ Because the bulk of the present Vietnamese-American parishioners are religious and political refugees (and their progeny) following the disastrous Vietnam War, the parish flies the flag of South Vietnam rather than the official red star Communist flag. In Vietnam, flying the yellow flag of the South can result in imprisonment, though it has become something of a symbol for the ‘Boat People’ now living in the US. For more on the transnational imagination of the parish, see Chapter 6.

(Filipino), Our Lady of LeVang (Vietnamese), St. Josephine Bakhita (African), and of course the Virgin of Guadalupe (Hispanic). Follow the center aisle to the high altar and take a left, and you'll walk through the doors of the sacristy, where the priests prepare for Mass, and even further and you'll enter the three story rectory, where Monsignor O'Donnely, Father John (originally from Vietnam), and Father Dennis (originally from Indonesia) now live.

Step outside the rectory, look across the parking lot, and you will see a brick, three-story school, attached to a brick, two story gymnasium-cum-parish hall. The original grade school (no longer standing) was founded in 1894 and opened the following year, incredibly with over 1000 students enrolled. Run entirely by the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary and priests who lived and worked at the rectory and convent on the property, the school gathered students from the neighborhood each day for religious lessons, catechism, and more traditional schooled subjects like Math and English. In 1957, the school building we would see today was completed and blessed by Archbishop Ryan in an opening ceremony; it was constructed, as was the style at the time, in a quasi-brutalist fashion: the local newspaper bragged about the new design at its unveiling: "The main entrance is highlighted by plate glass doors, framed in heavy aluminum, concrete canopy, and a panel of buff brick... Classroom interiors are finished in painted concrete block." For years this school would educate local elementary school students, while simultaneously serving as overflow for high school classes at Roman Catholic and Hallahan High School. Rising and falling over the years in terms of representation and numbers, St. Dominic Savio today has many empty seats and

classrooms- at its low point in the late 2000s, enrolment dipped below 200 students and there was serious talk of shuttering the parish entirely.

In many ways, St. Dominic Savio is representative of the present state of Catholic schools both nationally and locally in Philadelphia. In the midst of a full-blown funding and enrollment crisis, many aging and contracting parishes and dioceses have had to shutter or merge their schools (MacGregor, 2012). In only the past three years, St. Dominic Savio was slated first for closure, then merger with a nearby school, and then finally transformed into an autonomously governed Catholic school (Van Allen, 2013); while still on the same property as the parish, the school now operates as part of an independent school network. Nationally and locally, the exit of many middle class families to the suburbs has equally meant a new constituency for urban Catholic schools (Hannon, 1984), who now seek out enrollment from amongst the many Catholic immigrant groups that live in the neighborhood (many of whom cannot pay the tuition fees that formerly bolstered the schools) and their African American neighbors, of whom only a small fraction are Catholic (Louie & Holdaway, 2009; NCEA, 2014).

At St. Dominic Savio, the long transformation from serving largely white Irish and Italian Catholic immigrants to serving a unique mixture of Catholic and non-Catholic students is set alongside an historical demographic change at the parish, representative of the changing face of the national Catholic church. In light of changes to the neighborhood's families, St. Dominic Savio has rejected the classic 'ethnic parish' model (where each church housed a single ethno-linguistic group) in favor of a "shared" model, "in which two or more languages or cultural contexts are present in the ministerial life of a parish" (USCCB, 2013, p. 1). At St. Dominic Savio, over 1000 communicants a week

attend Mass in English, Spanish, Vietnamese, Indonesian, and occasionally Tagalog. And while the official structural links between the school and parish have weakened as it moved to the independent school model, the students at St. Dominic Savio School still attend a regular monthly school-wide Mass at the church (led by the parish priest, Monsignor O'Donnelly), participate in regular prayer services and other religious events at the parish, serve as an occasional cleaning crew of the nave before special events, and are heavily involved in the ritual life of the parish during liturgical seasons like Christmas and Lent (including a weekly Stations of the Cross prayer service). Furthermore, the Catholic altar servers missed large portions of the school day at a minimum once a week to serve at the dozens of weddings, funerals, and other services at the adjoining church. Today, the school enrolls nearly 300 students, primarily the children of local African American, Latino, Filipino, Chinese and Vietnamese families, 70% of whom designate as non-Catholic, 100% of whom are on scholarship, and 90% of whom receive free or reduced lunch.

Penn-St. Dominic Savio Partnership

My presence at St. Dominic Savio has been facilitated by an ongoing, multi-year partnership between the parish community and Dr. Gerald Campano: the Community Literacies Research Project. In 2010, the community leaders from St. Dominic Savio and Dr. Campano began to discuss the possibility of a partnership between the parish and the University of Pennsylvania. This research collaboration, under the leadership of Dr. Campano, investigates the role of community literacies in supporting educational access for families and students and forging coalitions across boundaries. The research has entailed a number of interrelated studies that examine aspects of this broader question,

including an Intercultural Family Literacy Night, participatory research with Indonesian parents on high school access, and a weekly language and literacy inquiry with Latina/o families.

I entered the doctoral program at Penn in the Fall of 2011 and immediately began to work under Dr. Campano's supervision to continue supporting the partnership. In the Spring of 2011, David Low and I partnered with the St. Dominic Savio school teacher-librarian to facilitate and inquire into an afterschool book club, a partnership that helped support the newly-founded library's programming and led to several presentations at national conferences. That summer, David, the teacher-librarian, and I continued the book and comics club at the school, which was attended by over 30 neighborhood children twice a week for six weeks. David and I volunteered that summer at the local summer day camp, leading basketball clinics and games with the children. In the Fall of 2012, Dr. Campano led his research team to support a multimodal inquiry into college by the children at the St. Dominic Savio Afterschool Program; each week for nearly three months the students engaged with photography, autobiography, and multimodal literacies to investigate the potential role of college in their lives. The partnership continues in various ways through several ongoing research and activities.

Dr. Campano's work at the parish is shaped by realist theories of identity and epistemology, notions proposed by the Future of Minority Studies Research Project (FMS). Realist accounts of identity offer an alternative to the relativity of much post-structural theory, which often anesthetize individuals' identities by proclaiming them to be 'mere constructions' which offer no grounds for accurate knowledge; realist epistemologies, by contrast, claim that while our experiences are mediated by theoretical

stances and our unique experiential trajectory, they can offer accurate knowledge about the world (Alcoff, 2005; Campano, 2007; Mohanty, 1997). This equally runs counter to much positivistic research, which claims an unmediated Archimedean point from which the social scientist might observe phenomenon (Campano, personal communication). Realist theory's answer to this problem is to pose the idea of "epistemic privilege" (Moya, 2001), a unique vantage point that various members of the social field possess which yields special insight into the workings of power in that configuration. Social theorist Paula Moya (2001) describes epistemic privilege as "a special advantage with respect to possessing or acquiring knowledge about how fundamental aspects of our society operate and sustain matrices of power" (p. 479, cited in Campano, 2007a). This theoretical orientation has driven much of Dr. Campano's work (Campano, 2007a, 2007b; Campano & Ghiso, 2011; Ghiso & Campano, 2013), as he seeks to use qualitative inquiry to examine the resources and identities of families and children as they navigate schools and neighborhoods, and the role of coalitional/cosmopolitan literacies in educational justice and immigrant. This orientation has equally led Dr. Campano to support the rights of minoritized communities to conduct their own research, notably for those heavily 'researched on' by external experts. This theme of communities reaching across ethnic and linguistic boundaries to advocate for their children undergirds Dr. Campano's research and deeply informs my study.

Call me Coach (Robert)

While I had been involved at the parish in a variety of capacities, it was largely a matter of providence that I came to be a part of the day-to-day life of St. Dominic Savio School. In late September, the parish was in need of a coach for the CYO Boys'

basketball team: in part because Ms. Walsh had decided to recuse herself from the job after an 0-15 campaign the previous year, and in part because none of the other teachers at St. Dominic Savio were willing to step up and take her place (this pattern would prove so consistent that eventually Ms. Walsh would have to volunteer to be the co-coach of the CYO girls' team when none of the other faculty offered to help). When I was still calling myself a teacher in the late 2000s, I was the Sr. Boys' basketball coach in small town Saskatchewan, and in a previous life had played competitively at a private high school that measured success by the number of provincial championships. This was of course before an ACL tear in my knee during a pickup basketball game in grad school and a stress fracture in my hip left me largely unable to play, but it seemed the kind of opportunity I was looking for to get further acquainted with the school.

What I came to realize was that while my jump shot was largely broken (without much hope of repair), basketball was the ideal medium to get to know students and for me to take on a recognized role at the parish and school, transforming me from "Who's that guy?" to "Coach Robert". Little did I know that St. Dominic Savio was about to undergo a small basketball renaissance, and by the time I left the parish in the summer of 2014, the gym was filled on various days throughout the week with Hispanic, Filipino, and community (largely African American) leagues which brought hundreds of people to the block. My first week, however, after being paired as co-coach with local legend and neighbourhood resident Lamar (who once referred to himself as "The Last Old Head in South Philly"), involved organizing fifteen eager 12- and 13-year olds in the frigid confines of the parish gym for practice. It was in these first few hours that I was introduced by Bethany Welch to Francisco, who shook my hand and appeared to shyly

examine the tops of his shoes as we talked. While he shifted his weight from one foot to the other, Bethany informed me that Francisco's application for Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) stood a greater chance of going through if he could show sustained community involvement, and basketball seemed the perfect fit. It was in these first few hours that I met JP, who clanged shot after shot off the backboard with a kind of oblivious ferocity, matched in intensity only by his ability to talk trash (seemingly unaware that he kept missing). The next few months were a blur of partially attended practices, long bus rides to foreign gyms, and endless texts (mostly from JP) predictably reading, "Yo coach. can u open the gym to shoot around?" It was in the small moments after practice or the bustle after games (some wins, some losses) that I met the *Boys'* parents, and it was there that I eventually came to ask them if they would let me research their kids' literacy practices. Just as importantly, while Ms. Walsh had been relatively unresponsive in my multiple requests to volunteer at the school in the Fall, once I took on the mantle of coach she reached out to me and offered her classroom for my research, in part because of my centrality in ensuring that CYO basketball was able to operate that year.

Participants

This dissertation draws broadly on three years of ethnographic immersion, including 9 months of focused classroom-based research, at the parish and school, St. Dominic Savio. It was during my first two years as a research assistant to Dr. Campano that I met the four boys—Francisco, Benny, Greg, and JP—who would become the central focus of my study. Each of these boys was also a first- or second-generation immigrant from Vietnam and Mexico, the children of economic and political migrants

who came to America amidst significant turmoil. In September 2013, I approached their classroom teacher, Ms. Walsh, about the prospect of conducting ethnographic research in her classroom, to which she graciously agreed and supported me in recruiting other students in the Grade 8 class, teachers, administrators, priests, parents, and other key figures in the lives of these boys; alongside the *Boys*, they were interviewed and included in much of the interactional data from the classroom and religious practice at the adjoining church. Of the 21 students in the class (see Table 1), nearly half were first or second-generation immigrants from Mexico, Indonesia, and Vietnam, while the remaining were African American. Mirroring the composition of the entire school, only 33% (7 of the 21) were Catholic (including Trina, who described herself as “Catholic but only because my parents are”). I focus here on small portion of that school-based data, the weekly (Mass at the adjacent church during portions of the church season), monthly (school-wide religious services) and occasional (special services, such as the Feast of the Virgin of Guadeloupe or Ash Wednesday) Catholic religious ritual that all students, Catholic or otherwise, had to participate in as part of their enrollment in Catholic school.

Table 1. Students in Ms. Walsh’s Grade 8 class (2013-2014 school year), St. Dominic Savio

Student	Ethnicity	Gender	Recent Immigration	Religious Affiliation	Parish Religious Service
Greg	Vietnamese	M	2 nd gen.	Catholic	Altar Server, Lector
JP	Vietnamese	M	2 nd gen.	Catholic	Altar Server, Lector
Benny	Vietnamese	M	2 nd gen.	Catholic	Altar Server, Lector
Francisco	Mexican	M	1 st . gen.	Catholic	Altar Server, Lector
Gabriel	African American/White	M	--	Methodist	--
Charles	African American	M	--	--	--
Tashaun	African American	M	--	--	--
Tyler	African American	M	--	--	--
Amarissa	Mexican	F	1 st gen.	Catholic	Altar Server, Lector

Adriana	Indonesian	F	1 st gen.	Catholic	Altar Server, Lector
Jayden	African American	M	--	--	--
Trina	Vietnamese	F	2 nd gen.	Catholic	--
Jordan	African American	F	--	--	--
Samara	African American	F	--	--	--
Jazmine	African American	F	--	--	--
Kylee	African American	F	--	Baptist	--
Amelia	African American	F	--	--	--
Jordan	African American	F	--	Baptist	--
Hoang	Vietnamese	M	2 nd gen.	Buddhist	--
Kaylee	African American	F	--	--	--
Aisha	African American	F	--	--	--

JP

Only minutes after first meeting JP, I was told by Bethany, director of the St. Dominic Savio Center, that I just been introduced to the ‘future mayor of Philadelphia.’ JP exuded confidence, even amongst complete strangers, and appeared during most interactions to be the de factor leader of the *Altar Boys* at church, at school, and on the playground (this, despite the fact that Greg had far more experience as an altar server than JP). He was 14, with a low ‘Bieber’ haircut and a flair for the dramatic. As a diehard Eagles fan, it was JP who would gather us each Saturday to the asphalt parking lot between the school and the rectory to play football, and it was JP who would mockingly perform his practiced touchdown dances each time he scored (and he scored a lot). It was JP who would pronounce that he was hungry and organize the five of us to walk to the local grocery store for a \$3.00 egg and toast breakfast. And it was JP who was that most vocal about his Catholic faith in any of our interviews.

In many ways, JP’s family’s story is reflective of the broader history of immigration from Vietnam after the war. While thousands of elite and middle class

managed to make their way out of the South prior to its collapse in 1975 (often by funding their own way out), it was in the aftermath of the fall of Saigon and the occupation by the North that a second wave of poor Vietnamese fled to Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Singapore, many of them in small, unsound craft (Zhou, 2001). Much of the fear was that the Hanoi government was going to execute all former South Vietnamese civil servants, anyone associated with the US forces, and religious minorities (including Catholics, many of whom were persecuted during and after the War). It was this treacherous journey that earned the diaspora the moniker, “The Boat People”, a term of both derision and honor in some circles. JP’s grandfather was one such traveler, and after his boat overturned during their flight from persecution, he made his way to Malaysia and then to Indonesia. JP was unclear when or where his father was born, but knew that it was several years after their flight from Vietnam that his grandparents and father were able to make the journey to the US with the help of a sponsor. Like many Vietnamese fleeing the country for America, the resettlement was accomplished by US government voluntary agencies, which tried to disperse the Vietnamese across the country (so as to ‘minimize their impact’ on various communities) (Zhou & Bankston, 1999). However, by the 1990s, the majority of Vietnamese refugees in the US had moved to urban centers like Los Angeles, New Orleans, and San Francisco. It was in this wave of resettlement that JP’s parents respectively moved to the area around St. Dominic Savio. They now own a local dry cleaning business, which JP works at occasionally on the weekend. Their small apartment is located directly above their business, within a short five-minute walk to the school and parish. Were we to characterize his parents’ financial situation, they would not be those living with a stable middle class wage, nor

would they be the economically marginal living at the thin end of the workforce (for poverty wages or in the secondary economy); rather, they occupy what Wacquant (2004) characterizes as the urban proletariat “struggling at the threshold of stable economic integration” (p. 43).

JP and his parents are Catholics, and JP was baptized here at St. Dominic Savio as an infant. JP has been an altar server for several years, and works most regularly at the Vietnamese services Sunday morning and at the various services throughout the week. JP’s parents speak some English, but it is through his faith that JP maintains his use of the Vietnamese language. Many nights JP’s father brings the family together to pray the rosary in Vietnamese, and JP participates in these practices as both an act of piety and as an act of cultural preservation. Much of JP’s Vietnamese language education takes place during his memorization, under his father’s tutelage, of prayers and Bible passages. Furthermore, JP attends *Thiếu Nhi Thành Thế Việt Năm* (Vietnamese Eucharistic Youth Society, called TN by nearly everyone at St. Dominic Savio) each Sunday after the Vietnamese Mass (see Chapter 4 for more on TN). TN is a national youth organization developed by Vietnamese refugees following their exile to America. At St. Dominic Savio, it operates as a religious and cultural educational site out of the basement, combining camp-like activities (games in the gym, songs) with quasi-militaristic marching and chanting (their outfits resemble the Boy Scouts, with colored scarves to indicate rank, and the first 10 minutes of each TN are a parade drill) and school-like educational activities (copying notes off the white board, multiple choice tests). As an attendee, JP is both a leader and a follower, devoting himself to study and marching for various events.

Francisco

Francisco was a childhood arrival to the United States at the age of five, shepherded over several days through the Mexican/Texas desert by a *coyotaje*, along with his mother. He was born in late 1990s in the Puebla region of Mexico, a rural area dramatically contending with poverty and joblessness¹⁴, and the home to many young men who left to America in search of economic opportunities for their family, including large numbers to Philadelphia (Shaw, 2011). Francisco's father was one of these young men. Soon after Francisco was born, his father gathered what he could and under the cover of night took the long journey from Puebla to Texas and eventually to the orange groves of Florida. It was from here that he later called the family to join him, to made the same chain migration over the course of many weeks, by plane, foot, and automobile. For the first year of his life in America, Francisco did not go to school, but lived with his mother and father in the Spanish-speaking confines of the orange groves, surrounded by other families and children from Latin America.

When Francisco's father heard of a job in Philadelphia, the family moved once again, this time to South Philly and the area around St. Dominic Savio. Arriving and in need of modest accommodations, the family first shared an apartment with three other families, and then for a while lived in a two-bedroom apartment where the men slept in one room and the women in another. Francisco describes his family's engagement with the church and his initial forays into school as a matter of opportunity and community support, a testimony to the continuing role of the Catholic church as an anchoring

¹⁴ The 2008 Human Development Index ranks Puebla 28th out of 32 Mexican states, marking it as one of the country's poorest and least developed.

institution in urban neighborhoods:

“One of my mom's friends told her about the church here and that they speak Spanish. And so they started to come here. And then one of the sisters [nuns]—she's not here anymore—she told [my mother] that ‘Did I go to school?’ and she said no. She's like ‘I'll help you put him to this school.’” (*Interview Excerpt- 11/6/2014*)

We see in this short interview excerpt how the church ‘s social network functions as a form of community wealth (Yosso, 2005) for Francisco’s family, offering both navigational and social capital to guide his education. Today, Francisco’s parents work for very low pay in a factory in Chinatown, often long and demanding hours that stretch into the evenings and weekends. Francisco often talks about his parents’ exhaustion, and like many young people from working homes, Francisco supports them by putting in his own long hours of labor as a child-minder for his two younger sisters, by working as a translator for his parents at the doctor and out in public (Orellana, 2011), and by attending to the bills and other English-language bureaucratic paperwork and mail. Despite having a biting tongue and an uproarious laugh, Francisco always struck me as incredibly kind—he is endlessly polite in the company of older people, gentle when he walks hand in hand with his giggling younger sisters to and from their nearby apartment, and quick to help his friends translate from Spanish to English and back again, even in the ebb and flow of the busy classroom. Though he has a tense relationship with his father, Francisco describes his life in relation to their sacrifice of coming to America: “My goals are like to be successful. I want to tell my parents. I want to show them like everything they did, the hard work they did, is like paying off. That it wasn’t in vain what they did.” (*11/4/14 Video Interview Excerpt*). While Francisco is technically ‘undocumented’ and as such subject to deportation were he arrested by the police or

Immigration and Customs Enforcement, with the help of the St. Dominic Savio Center and Bethany Welch, he was able to successfully apply for the US DACA (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals) program, and as such is now legally protected from deportation for two years (renewable) per President Obama's Executive Action in 2012. This had particular import for Francisco around his most recent birthday, as his successful DACA application meant he could care for his US born sisters were his parents ever deported back to Mexico.¹⁵

Francisco and his family are Catholics. His parents are often too tired on Sundays to come to church, having put in long hours the day before at the factory; however Francisco became an altar server in 2012, in part to support his DACA application, which required evidence of community involvement. He typically serves at the English Mass on the weekend, and regularly at the various funerals and weddings that dot the weekly calendar.

Greg

Greg would like to become the "first Asian Pope", a goal he developed in tandem

¹⁵ Francisco's documentation status brings up powerful issues of positionality and vulnerability, which come naturally from being in a research relationship with him over the course of a year or more. Figueroa (2014) reflects on how working with undocumented Mexican immigrants in rural Pennsylvania meant she had to take a much more 'humanizing' stance in her research relationships, as her participants looked to her to ensure their confidentiality, and even to aid them in protecting their children in the event of their deportation. Revealing the ongoing 'participant-observer paradox' in these kinds of fraught research relationships, Figueroa unveiled to me the complexity of my ongoing work with Francisco: as advocate, as coach, as friend, and as a research in search of data. Further, my 'exit' from the field was not without friction, and of all the four *Altar Boys*, Francisco is the one I've been in least contact with (in part because he is no longer an altar server on Sundays, which is my main point of connection with the parish). This is a question that admittedly dogs me: what is my responsibility to a young man who was once part of my study and with whom I became friends, even after I've exited the field and left Philadelphia?

with his parents' desire that he and his sister take up holy orders and become a priest and nun, respectively. Shy, quiet, and deeply respectful of authority, Greg always seemed like he would like to be somewhere else. When basketball games would come around, he would often skip them without notice, or when he did sit on the long wooden bench, he would never ask to play, or only sigh when we finally convinced him to set foot on the court. Unlike many of the Vietnamese immigrants that lived around St. Dominic Savio, Greg's parents were not 'Boat People', but instead part of the initial wave of Vietnamese exiles that had enough money to fly themselves out of the country before the fall of Saigon in 1975 (Zhou, 2001). This itself has set Greg apart from his peers, and while Greg is a core member of the *Altar Boys*, he is the member most at its fringes. His parents own a jewelry store at the casino (marking his urban existence as lower middle class), and Greg is regularly positioned as 'rich', even though his family live in the same modest row houses the other *Boys* do, his directly across the street from the parish hall. When JP asked Greg if his parents came to America in a boat, he replied dismissively, "Nooo! They came on a plane. It's modern times!"

Of the group, Greg is by far the most publically pious. In the summer, Greg and his sister serve every day at the Mass in the small chapel located in the convent, often to only a handful of dedicated elderly parishioners and Father John. This is equally true on his days off from school, compelled as he is by the dual pressures of his parents (who require him to attend and serve at Mass whenever he has a single free day) and by his proximity to the church itself. Greg's parents wish him to become a priest largely as a means to escape the potential travails of the modern US recession economy: whenever Greg discussed pursuing holy orders, it was always accompanied by his own animation of

his parents concern about money, the potential of getting a job, and the relative economic stability of the priesthood (more on this in Chapter 6. Set against his own Vietnamese and African American peers by his parents, Greg endeavored to be St. Dominic Savio's most successful student. Here we see how the largely church community functions to provide Greg with both aspirational and familial capital (Yosso, 2005), spurring him on to educational success. By the time he left the school following his Grade 8 graduation, he had been awarded a full scholarship to attend nearby Ss. Neuman and Goretti High School.

Greg and his family are Catholic, and Greg's parents are daily attendees at the 8:30am Mass in the chapel. Greg is altar server and occasional lector at nearly every weekday service at St. Dominic Savio when available, and almost unfailingly at the 8:30am Vietnamese Sunday Mass. Mirroring his dedication to school, Greg is also TN's star pupil, and he regularly raises his hand in class when the rest of his peers are silent.

Benny

For months, Benny took to calling himself "Fried Rice", a self-deprecating nickname, playing off Asian American stereotypes, and perhaps acting as a mechanism of self-defense for a young man who appeared very conflicted on the surface. He seemed to embody the French phrase, later made famous by Bourdieu (2000), "il porte la misere du monde": he carried the weight of the world on his shoulders. Despite sterling grades, high praise from his teachers, and unflinching dedication to the parish as an altar server, Benny always seemed to be in turmoil with his parents, so much so that his family drama was a regular topic of conversation amongst the other *Altar Boys* when he wasn't around. The story JP or Greg would share at the back of class or in the heat of the gym was that

Benny's parents were unreasonably strict, constantly demanding that he come home directly after school to practice piano or study for 'tests' (both of which solicited snickers from the *Boys*). While this is clearly a form of aspirational community wealth (Yosso, 2005), wherein Benny is buttressed on all sides by a common message of achievement, it also provide a great deal of tension for him. It was Benny whose parents blew up with anger when he did poorly on a single photocopied worksheet-cum-test in Ms. Walsh's class, and it was Benny who quit the basketball team for a week when his parents told him he needed more time to focus on his schooling. It was also Benny who came out the to friends as bisexual toward the end of the year, and it was Benny who had to deal with the fallout of JP and Greg's disavowal of this knowledge if they were to continue to be friends. He continually seemed to be at a proverbial crossroads with regards to his parents demands, his faith, and his sexuality, illuminating Zhou's (2001) claim that "one of the greatest challenges facing second-generation or 1.5 generation Vietnamese Americans is whether they will respect their family histories and conform to parental expectations or reject them" (p. 196).

Like the other Viet *Boys*, Benny's family came to American from Vietnam in the aftermath of the war, and unlike Greg's parents, they did not come in the luxury of a plane. Amidst talking to JP about his family's immigration experience in the back of class one idle afternoon, Benny interjected and said that his family had it harder (as though comparing narratives of woe). In the same way as JP and Greg, Benny proceeded to narrate only his father's experience, describing how his Dad was in the boat for a week on the way to Indonesia and that they had absolutely nothing at all and no money when they applied for refugee status. Finding a sponsor living in the United States who helped

them with their application, they moved to the St. Dominic Savio neighborhood. Today his mother works in a nail salon, while his father works a series of jobs (none of which Benny is particularly clear about), marking their economic situation as those with jobs “barely paying liveable wages in the formal sector, the home-based seamstress, handymen, food vendors, gypsy cab drivers... whose income evade the tax system” (Patterson, 2015, p. 61).

Today, Benny serves at almost every single Vietnamese service, and is a leader at TN. While Ms. Walsh and others have a steady rotation of dedicated altar servers, it is Benny, along with Greg, who is called upon the most and who is the most likely to say yes.

Ms. Walsh

Born in Philadelphia in 1958, Ms. Walsh came of age just as the sweeping changes of Vatican II were coming into effect. Her life as a dedicated teacher and parish volunteer at St. Dominic Savio are in many ways representative of both the new era of Catholic urban education and its past. Ms. Walsh has committed her entire life to the school and the parish, a form of life similar to the Sisters of Mercy or Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary from a generation ago, who would have been the main teaching force in urban Catholic schools (Buetow, 1988); today these roles are filled still by many single women, though now these women are lay workers, unsupported by the financial and organizational structure of a religious order.

Ms. Walsh grew up in South Philly, the daughter of a plumber and a retail worker, who earned their GED and high school diploma, respectively, both of English and Welsh ancestry. Amongst the narrow row houses that mark the neighborhood, Ms. Walsh

walked back and forth to school as a child, first to nearby St. Aloysius, and then to St. Goretti High School (of which St. Dominic Savio is a feeder school). It was in elementary school that Ms. Walsh witnessed first hand the changes from the Latin rite to the English vernacular, and the movement of the priest from facing the high altar during worship to facing the congregation. It was here too that Ms. Walsh learned the cadences of Catholic schooling in the era of the Baltimore Catechism, when Mass was obligatory each morning, when nuns ran the school with a mixture of authoritarianism and familial obligation (living at the convents on the property and regularly eating dinner with neighborhood families), when memorization and drill was the pedagogical technique of choice for all subjects (Sharpe, 1992): she describes her days in class as “You listened to the questions and the answers. You listened to Sister telling you whatever.” Following graduation from Goretti, she earned a BSW and B.Ed at a city public university (an experience she said was academically “a big shock” for someone from South Philly) and then a Master’s at Eastern University in the Philadelphia suburbs. Rather than start teaching, Ms. Walsh became a social worker, advocating for people for mental disabilities in court and in the city. But after several years of draining work moving through the byzantine bureaucracy of social work, Ms. Walsh turned to teaching, and in doing so met head on the dilemma of contemporary Catholic school: the continued low wage for its teachers (MacGregor, 2012). She described this transition with some bitterness: “Then I went into the Catholic schools. I went from making thirty-five thousand dollars in 1984 to making six thousand dollars teaching.” Teaching is for her, quite literally, a labor of love, because it is certainly not a labor of monetary remuneration.

In 2003, Ms. Walsh came to St. Dominic Savio, having taught previously at several other schools in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia, all of which closed due to low enrollment or because the parish priest no longer wanted to fund non-Catholic students. Such is the state of education in the Archdiocese today, and were you to go out to the parking lot of St. Dominic Savio school at 3pm on a weekday, you would discover a virtually empty space; like every other teacher at the school, Ms. Walsh works another job to supplement her low wage. By day, she is the Grade 8 teacher, but by late afternoon Ms. Walsh can be found answering phones and filing in the office of a local dentist, all before packing up her things and driving back over the bridge to New Jersey where she lives with and cares for her ailing mother. On top of this, Ms. Walsh is a central figure at St. Dominic Savio parish, serving as the CYO girls' basketball coach, coordinator of the yearly parish retreat, core member of the liturgy committee, and a catechism teacher to children at the parish seeking confirmation. This means that despite living a state over, during the school year Ms Walsh can be found at St. Dominic Savio parish nearly every day of the week, often for long hours late into the evening. In this way, Ms. Walsh functions as a form of 'community wealth' (Yosso, 2005) for the *Boys*, serving as a key social link between the parish and the school, helping connect their parents' aspirational capital to the linguistic and symbolic capital of the school. It is precisely this kind of school/community overlap, leading to 'social closure' and mutually reinforcing messages between the home, the church, and the school, that Bryk (1996) and Coleman (1988) claim is one of the central pillars of Catholic education and the chief cause of the 'Catholic school effect'. For the *Altar Boys*, Ms. Walsh is a near constant figure in their lives, and rarely does a day go by when they do not interact with her. Indeed, several of

the *Altar Boys* good-naturedly call her ‘Mom’, even in school, and it is not uncommon for her to bring and share lunch with them and the rest of the members of her class, or to worry deeply about their life trajectories.

It is equally this huge amount of labour that contributes to the state and tenure of Ms. Walsh’s pedagogy. This incredible labour of sustaining a classroom for such low pay, marks Ms Walsh’s relationship to St. Dominic Savio. As I will discuss in Ch 5, Ms. Walsh’s overburdened time constraints, in tandem with her own pedagogic history, contribute to the catechistic nature (Kroon, 2013) of her instruction: by relying on question/answer formats, fill-in-the-blank worksheets, and the authoritative classroom textbook, Ms. Walsh is able to ensure she can put together a full day’s lesson in a short amount of time.

Data Collection

In this section, I outline my ethnographic data collection and analysis. I describe my time in the Ms. Walsh’s classroom and at St. Dominic Savio, with a specific focus on the religious practices of the parish. I describe how I conducted interviews, and transition to exploring the Boys literacy practices related to their Catholic faith with along with them (Heath, 2012). Finally, I outline how I conducted my data analysis, using the tools of interactional ethnography (Castenheira, et al, 2001) and Bourdieusian research (Grenfell, 2014).

Ethnographic Immersion: Class and Mass

Ethnographic research would require sustained immersion in the school, in no small part to enable the slow and painstaking work of establishing relationships with the faculty, students, administration, families and clergy of St. Dominic Savio. My first two

years at the parish as part of Dr. Campano's *Community Literacies* research project had opened some doors and help me win some small favor with Monsignor O'Donnely and the parish administrator, a stern nun named Sister Barbara. After meeting the *Boys* and their teacher in October 2013, I asked Ms. Walsh. if I might come to volunteer in her class a few times as a writing tutor or TA. These earliest weeks and months were crucial in helping me get to know the students and the school.

At the center of this dissertation is the notion of habitus, particularly the notion of reading (Sterponi, 2007) or linguistic (Bourdieu, 2010) habitus. Habitus is a construct (see below) that cannot be captured or theorized in a snapshot or in a few brief days, and it was in Bourdieu's own long-term ethnographic research in Algeria that he developed this concept. To capture a literacy habitus, I would need to spend a great deal of time at the school, in the church, lingering in the parking lot, and chatting with people at the back of the narthex while the service let out.

Wacquant, Bourdieu's pupil and writing partner, offers this helpful rendering of the term:

First, habitus is a set of acquired dispositions... Second, habitus holds that practical mastery operates beneath the level of consciousness and discourse... Third, habitus indicates that sets of dispositions vary by social location and trajectory: individuals with different life experiences will have gained varied ways of thinking, feeling, and acting... Fourth, the socially constituted conative and cognitive structures that make up habitus are malleable and transmissible because they result from pedagogical work. If you want to pry into habitus, then study the organized practices of inculcation through which it is layered (Wacquant 2011, p. 85-86).

Desiring to "pry into habitus" and the "pedagogical work" that helps constitute them, I sought to immerse myself in the particularly organized parts of the *Boys'* lives, their hours in school and their lives as Catholic altar servers, but equally to set this off

against the more unstructured portions of their days. Their own repeated observations of me sitting idly in the back of the classroom in a student's desk, talking my own form of trash while raining shots on the best basketball player at the school, playing Kaiser in a small huddle between classes, sitting through Mass with them in the tightly clustered pews, and chewing glumly on a plate of cold pasta at a parish potluck all helped integrate me develop the trust and relationships necessary to understand their literacy practices.

From early October 2013 to late June 2014, I conducted literacy-focused ethnographic research (Heath & Street, 2008) in Ms. Walsh's Grade 8 class, with concentrated observation and audio-recording from January to June 2014, and further ethnographic research with the students at the parish from June until September 2014. This typically involved me sitting in the back of class, in their small groups, alongside them at Mass, or at weekly religious education (*Thiếu Nhi Thành Thế Việt Năm* - Vietnamese Eucharistic Youth Society) with a digital audio-recorder in hand, and at times recruiting them to do their own audio recordings of personal and public religious practices when and where I couldn't go. I attended English, Religion, and Social Studies class three times a week during this period, all weekly, monthly, and occasional school-based Catholic services, Mass (whichever they were altar server at) each Sunday, and many other smaller events and moments. These audio-recording data were supported by daily ethnographic fieldnotes (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995) providing additional information about the context of the classroom interaction (Lillis, 2008), classroom micro-culture, and a host of interactions that I could not capture on my digital audio-recorder for a variety of reasons. This was admittedly easier in the classroom, where I could freely scratch away, comfortable in the knowledge that the recording was capturing

the interactional data; in Mass, between the solemn prayers I took to writing furiously on the back of the bulletin or on Sticky-Notes I'd stowed away in my pocket, which I would later convert into full-blown field notes that evening. My intrusion, and aid, in the classes, in religious education, at the Savio Center, all made me a liminal figure for both the authorities and the kids: as a Penn doctoral student, I was often positioned as curricular expert (often erroneously), as a white man I was often initially regarded as a priest until I could correct the record¹⁶, and as a worshiper, I was often perceived as a Catholic. This presence undoubtedly produced performative data (Pratt, 1986), wherein the students gave me 'what I wanted to hear', but like any ethnographer, my hope was to spend enough time that parents and children eventually became at least tentative comfortable with me.

Altogether, this collection procedure produced approximately 10 hours of audio data each week, which was transcribed selectively using conventions (see Appendix 1) typically associated with linguistic ethnography (Rampton, Maybin, & Roberts, 2014). Generally I would listen to the audio-recordings that evening and convert the audio data into a lengthy transcription, which represented, along with my field notes, my first layer of ethnographic data. I further collected and scanned any instructional documents, textbook pages, or religious texts used during the school day to add to my data corpus.

¹⁶ And as a white man, I was also correctly perceived as monolingual, meaning much of the interaction directed at me was in English, even though I was circulating in multilingual Vietnamese and Spanish spaces. This was likely an act of both generosity on the part of the participants, and also a projection of monolingual white hegemony, insofar as I came to expect folks would eventually tell me what was happening in English, or that some kind of explanation was to come.

Interviews

I conducted five full-length interviews with each of the *Altar Boys* (typically between 60 to 90 minutes), alongside countless informal conversations over lunch or on the playground, in whispered voices at the back of an ongoing class, and occasionally and somewhat trepidatiously in a pew while Mass was happening. At times, this meant using the students as informal translators of oral Vietnamese or Spanish ‘in the moment’ (typically in their own truncated repertoires [Blommaert, 2010]), or for texts, which often meant having their parents translate something into English for them to return to me the following day (Temple & Young, 2004).

My interview protocols started out as largely static things, originally conceptualized as ‘literacy life history interviews’ (Brandt, 2001), a series of seemingly unending questions to pose to the *Boys* about reading preferences as children, schooling experiences through the years, and their present literacy practices (see Appendix 2). The original intent of using literacy life history interview by way of Brandt’s (2001) modified protocol was to get a sense the scope of the students’ literacy past and present, its changes and its vacillations in different fields (in school, in the church, etc.). It was through the initial fumbling attempts to work my way through my protocol—we’d meet one-on-one over lunch in Ms. Walsh’s classroom, with steaming trays of largely indistinguishable grey foodstuffs in our laps (I fully acknowledge this sounds like tired and retread hyperbole about school lunches, but ‘Guess What This Mush Is’ was the most common game we’d use to open our conversations)—that I recognized the limitations of formal interview protocols, even for something deemed ‘semi-structured’. More often than not the students seemed overly keen to give me the ‘right answer’ in one or two

word bursts (the structured interview seemingly making me appear as an authority figure in that moment), and throughout the existing formal interview extracts one can clearly hear me occupying far too much of the proverbial airtime with a barrage of elicitation questions. What would prove much more useful was sitting in on the endless conversations, riffs, blisteringly funny (and at times cutting) back and forths in the gym, in the basement cafeteria, at the back of the nave before and after Mass on Sundays, in the flurry of the hallways between classes, and in the parking lot for football on Saturdays, all the while clutching my digital recorder in my hand (which itself became an object of fascination for the *Boys*). Here, I did my utmost to keep quiet, or to prompt them with a wondering about something we just witnessed and encourage them to interact with each other over the topic. Wolfson (1976) calls these ‘spontaneous interviews’ (I have equal affinity for Kincheloe’s [2002] term “improvisational ethnography” to describe this same practice), and through them I gradually came to learn about the *Altar Boys*’ constantly shifting repertoires for speaking and interacting, notably their levels of formality around adults, their conversations about race and racial labelling, and their incredible humor in the face of the monotony of the school day.

It was in these ‘spontaneous interviews’ that one of the *Boys* shared he was afraid of becoming poor and destitute in the present economy, and in the high-velocity exchanges while walking through the parking lot that one of the *Boys* told me his father called him a ‘dog’ when his Social Studies quizzes came home a low grade. It took months before my presence became a matter of fact (and less an object of curiosity as to why this adult was always hanging around), and my relative silence was often read as a tacit acceptance of the *Boys*’ words and behaviours (and less as a matter of judgement or

as a representative of authority). It is clear from the short transcript below, however, that my presence never completely stopped being a point of contestation with regards to what one could or couldn't say around me, even as I was often used as a prop and a participant example in conversation.

1/5/2014- Audio excerpt from Ms. Walsh's class

JP, Adrianna, Gabriel, Benny, and Francisco have all gathered around my lone desk at the back of Ms. Walsh's classroom, waiting for her to tell them to be seated before they are dismissed for the day.

JP: Adrianna thought Benny was white when they met
((huge laughter from the group, and Adrianna blushes at this))

Adrianna: No I said I thought he was half white

JP: Adrianna thought Benny looked like Coach!
((points to me, which elicits even more laughter from everyone))

Francisco: ((said almost as an aside to JP)) You shouldn't say that in front of Coach

These back-and-forths help reveal my emerging place in their classroom and their lives over the course of many months, and demonstrate the continual importance for my own ethnographic reflexivity (Bourdieu, 2000; Grenfell, 2014), even as I talked myself into the claim that I had 'moved to the backdrop'.

Students Inquiring into Their Own Language and Literacies

I soon began to abandon the traditional one-on-one interview model, and invite the students to come together, in twos and in fours, to collaboratively discuss their language and literacy practices as young immigrant Catholic adolescents. This proved of far more interest to the Boys, who went from ducking interviews ("Do I have to today, Coach?") to requesting group sessions most mornings (I suspect, in my most candid moments, as a strategy to escape the slower moments of the school day). Inspired by Heath's (2012) most recent participatory ethnographic work, and the call in Egan-Robertson and Bloome's (1998) influential *Students as Researchers of Culture and*

Language in their Own Community (see Curry & Bloome, 1998; Egan-Robertson & Willitt, 1998; Thomas & Maybin, 1998), I set about constructing several prompts and language activities around speech formality at school, church and home, accents and their acceptance (indexicality) in different social spaces, and the implicit rules of practice for their participation in the Mass. The intent was to invite students to become researchers in their own right, collect data on their literacy practices around religion, and then collaboratively analyze it. Thomas & Maybin (1998; in Egan-Robertson & Bloome's edited volume on students as ethnographers) describe the use of the BBC educational series *Language File* in a London classroom to invite students to examine their own community's language variation and attitudes toward variation. After unsuccessfully hunting for the video series in the BBC archives, I stumbled upon the book-length treatment (Fuller, Joyner, & Meaden, 1990), which was produced for the Standard English GCSE's "Knowledge about Language" portion in Britain. Here, I adapted a number of the activities and ideas for an American context, most productively the chapter titled "Talking Proper", which invites students to reflect on language hierarchies in the community.

Ethnographic research, particularly language/literacy-focused ethnographic research (Hymes, 1996), is most valuable in sites of extreme complexity and shifting structure because of its rich capacity for "challenging established views, not only of language but of symbolic capital in societies in general" (Blommaert, 2009, p. 266). Unlike other research methods that seek to reduce complexity, ethnography attempts to multiply complexity, and in doing so offers a deeper account of the place, function, and role of text and language in a community (Lillis, 2008).

Practically, this process involved initial meetings over lunch (or occasionally during class when Ms. Walsh deemed the coursework insignificant) to discuss a topic (usually with some prompts and/or the introduction of basic sociolinguistic vocabulary, such as “register” or “professional, social, and academic speech”), followed by the *Boys* keeping literacy journals, activity logs that record participants, location, time, and literacy materials (Curry & Bloome, 1998). Several times during the study they were asked to audio record their own home or parish religious literacy practices (i.e., prayers at night, preparation for Religious Education, recitation of the words of the liturgy) using small (cheap) digital recorders I’d purchased for them. Unsurprisingly, given the labor involved (Horner, 2002) and the fact that these are teenagers, the recorders were a huge hit and the journals went relatively uncompleted (JP notably never wrote a single line in his journal, but provided some of the richest audio data). When we’d gather again the following week in our group of five, we’d collectively analyze their findings, listen to them together and talk about the extent of the literate interaction, the people and materials present, and the interactional types. Like all class-based activities (try as I might, these still had a rather ‘school’ like feel to them), the *Boys* were often fully capable of using these events for more peer-based interactions (Rampton, 2006). Rather than focusing on a narrow concern with ‘pure’ depictions of their language and literacies, our collaborative group settings opened a window into the dialogic construction of language and accent hierarchies, settings, and domains of practice, as the *Boys* built and played off one another’s responses, leading at times to uproariously funny, at times bawdy, and illuminating insights into literacy and social practice at St. Dominic Savio and beyond.

Altogether, this collection of recordings from class, Mass, religious education,

group sessions, interviews, and student-generated and occasional sources produced approximately 10 hours of audio data each week, which was transcribed selectively using conventions (see Appendix 1) typically associated with linguistic ethnography (Rampton, Maybin, & Roberts, 2014). These, alongside my own extensive daily field notes, collection and scanning of relevant instructional and liturgical documents, and memoing (Lillis, 2008), represent the bulk of my data corpus.

Data Analysis

For analysis, I used both the methods of conventional (Heath & Street, 2008) and interactional (Castenheira, Crawford, Dixon, & Green, 2001) ethnography. This methodology chapter is offered as a Bourdieusian account of literacy research, and it is in light of the potential of his theoretical and methodological work that I proceed to outline the field of St. Dominic Savio within the field of power, describe the field of Mass and class with regards to capital, and trace the Boys trajectory through that field.

Bourdieu on Data Analysis

Behind all the observation and data collection lays Bourdieu's vision of social analysis, applied to the field of literacy studies. Bourdieu's extensive work has been productively taken up by a number of literacy researchers (Carrington & Luke, 1997; Grenfell, 2014; Luke, 2007), specifically his work on language and literacy, and my methodological approach is an attempt to productively draw on what's been done to date and extend it to the shifting field of Catholic education; this represents, I argue, one of the key contributions of this dissertation insofar as it offers a critical literacy methodology to one of the core interactional spaces in urban education which has yet to receive

substantive examination. And while Bourdieu's theoretical oeuvre has been substantively mined by the literacy field, there remain a number of core concepts and framings that I argue have yet to be taken up by literacy researchers.¹⁷

At the core of Bourdieu's 'new social gaze' of structural relations is the explication of a three-stage methodology (Grenfell, 2014):

- 1) depiction of a field with respect to the field of power
- 2) narrative of the structure of field itself, and
- 3) description of the habitus of those occupying positions within the field.

With regards to my research project, the first stage, describing the field within the field of power, I offer the context of Catholic schooling in America and its manifestations in the rise and fall of Catholic education in Philadelphia. As I have illustrated, Catholic schools have existed in some respects as a fundamental but marginalized form of schooling in America, a parallel system to the public schools which vacillates and swells in response to a host of outside social forces: Protestant bias in the earliest schools, Catholic immigration from seemingly 'foreign' European nations, inter-parish language disputes, white flight in urban neighborhoods, the defunding of the public system, and the economic collapse of the inner city. This marks Catholic school (much like the public system) as having what Bourdieu would call relatively low 'field autonomy', meaning the system is prone change by way of external influence. It is here that traditional ethnography's troubled depiction of 'context' comes to the fore.

¹⁷ For recent creative uptakes of a broader range of Bourdieu's oeuvre in literacy research, beyond the classic capital + field + habitus, see Enriquez, Johnson, Kontovourki, & Mallozzi, 2015; Jones, 2013.

With regards to the second stage, I set the parameters of the field of St. Dominic Savio, particularly the school and the classroom in Chapters 4 and 5, showing how the field is structured with regards to particular forms of capital: symbolic and cultural.¹⁸ Field analysis is concerned with how capital comes to be exchanged, “valued derived from the field as the recognized, acknowledged and attributed currency of exchange for the field so that it is able to organize itself and position those within the field” (Grenfell, 2014, p. 26). My use of interactional ethnography’s data mapping techniques is an attempt to operationalize the notion of field and reading capital in the moment-by-moment flow of the classroom, and show how a field is constructed in interaction. It is also here that I attend most closely to Bourdieu’s notion of ‘bodily hexis’ (1992), mostly through field note data, to articulate how the body is a core part of reading and writing and as such part of the “hidden persuasion of an implicit pedagogy” (p. 69) that has real consequences for student achievement and symbolic reward.

Finally, with regards to the third stage, wherein the individual agent is analyzed existing within the field, and it is here that I focus most closely on the *Boys’* engagement with class and Mass as strategic agents, endowed with a habitus that guides them in and through this system. It is also here, offered across all three data chapters but most explicitly in Chapter 6, that the notion of ‘linguistic habitus’ and ‘linguistic market’

¹⁸ Bourdieu’s treatise on classroom interaction, *Academic Discourse: Linguistic Misunderstanding and Professorial Power* (Bourdieu, Passeron, & St. Martin, 1993) frames the tension as a series of unequally recognized linguistic and cultural resources structuring the linguistic field of schools. Grenfell (2009) comments on this, arguing that such tension “between linguistic forms—of the individual and the academic environment—shore up social selectivity...that there is an ‘interest’ in perpetuating such a misalignment as it tacitly supports the corresponding logic of practice of fields” (p. 428) and as such supports educational inequality.

overlap and come into conflict as the *Boys* knowingly and unconsciously engage the ‘game’ of school and church that values certain resources (some of which they possess and some of which they do not) to categorize and legitimate racial labelling. It is here that my sustained immersion in the day-to-day lives of these four young men becomes most useful, as trajectory and positioning in and through school meet biography and history.

Thematic Coding

I used both the methods of conventional (Heath & Street, 2008) and interactional (Castenheira, Crawford, Dixon, & Green, 2001) ethnography. I began with open coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) of interviews and data related to self-reported religious literacy practices, church and religious education literacy practices, and schools based literacy practice, including participants’ meaning of these ongoing literacy events, defined as “occasions in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of participants’ interactions and their interpretive processes and strategies” (Heath, 1982, p. 50). This allowed me to construct a taxonomy of literacy practices (Castenheira, et al., 2001) (see Chapter 4 & 5). For example, at Mass this revealed the predominance of certain practices: oral reading of pre-written prayers (at the lectern to the entire nave or in the pew), the recitation of the liturgy (as ‘practice’ under Ms. Walsh’s supervision or during Mass), the public performative reading of the Scriptures as dictated by the common lectionary, and other seeming ‘scripted’ events. In turn, I then coded for the ways in which participants’ narrated their engagement with these events (their understandings of the words of the Mass, their level of participation, their depictions of the rituals, their articulation of the purpose of the school practices, etc.).

Second, recognizing my own participation in the construction of the data and

themes (Erickson, 2004), rooted in my own “theoretical commitments and professional experiences” (Dyson & Genishi, 2005, p. 81), I coded specifically for structured interactional patterns around text (teacher censures, parental instructions, students’ strict adherence to the text of the ritual during the event), and for places where students seemingly upended or failed to follow these structures (Sterponi, 2007). In doing so, I returned to the data recursively and iteratively for a round of axial coding (Strauss, & Corbin, 1998) to collapse, revise and refine my initial categories, define domains of activity, and search for disconfirming data.

Memoing

During focused coding, I wrote multiple analytical memos (Ely, Vinz, Downing, & Anzul, 1997) to help refine my initial codes, themes, and patterns, and to provide a second-tier commentary on much of the initial raw data. For example, I wrote an entire memo titled “My Religious Identity at St. Dominic Savio” after multiple participants continued to ask me if I was Catholic (and were stunned/surprised when I told them otherwise). After Ms. Walsh originally tried to schedule several of the doctoral students from Penn to lead the children of St. Dominic Savio in religious activities at the parish retreat, I explained that I indeed was not Catholic, which made it unreasonable for me to lead Catholic education activities. Ms. Walsh was shocked by this, having assumed I was Catholic because “I was always in Mass”. When I retorted that I was Lutheran, and had always said as much when asked (not wanting her to think I had no religious identity, part of my own constant shifting position at St. Dominic Savio), she replied, “Oh” [as in, “Oh that’s no big deal then”] and added, “I always call you guys Divorced Catholics. Henry VIII wanted a divorce, so there you are” [clearly confusing Lutherans with

Anglicans/Episcopalians]. Writing the memo enabled me to reflect on the means and moments by which I was foregrounding my own religious identity (at times boldly, at times timidly, at times with specificity, and at times with a kind of vagueness), and further reflect on how my religious identity was being perceived by various participants. These further focused on how practice (attending the Mass) often trumped more theological claims as to my religious identity. Other memos examined issues of racial tension at the parish and school, often between African American parishioners and students and the white faculty and clergy. A good deal of my initial theorizations for differential access and the distribution of capital at the school and parish focused on religious identity; however, conversation and memoing illuminated how the long history of racial segregation (Goode & Schneider, 1994) and antagonisms between new immigrants and African Americans in the city and more locally at the church played into these disparate outcomes. Memoing on the pratfalls and pitfalls of my initial somewhat stilted interviews equally led me to revise my protocols and focus more intently on peer interactions and descriptions of language and practice captured ‘in the moment’. Memos written at later stages pushed a good deal of the initial coding (at times fragmentary and dispersed) into theory building, and helped cohere what at times were seemingly dissimilar ideas.

Interactional Ethnography: Data Mapping

While ethnographic techniques allow for broader generalizations about literacy events and practices, to provide closer analytic data, I selected representative literacy events as part of school interaction and the various Masses for further analysis. Here, I drew on the interpretive frameworks of interactional ethnography (Castanheira,

Crawford, Dixon, & Green, 2001; see also Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993; Green & Wallat, 1981).

Focusing on the socially-situated, group-bound nature of literate practice, interactional ethnography provides a set of methodological tools drawn from more ‘close’, linguistic-based traditions (including CA, CDA, and linguistic anthropology) for representing data, notably data where the textual object of study is not a pre-given, but is socially-constructed; what “counts as a text” is not assumed, but is rather the product of “textualizing” wherein people collaborate to construct texts to engage with (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993, p. 311) as part of (long or momentary) histories of textualizations. This is relatively clear when examining schools, however with regards to Mass, this may include the written text of the Scriptures, but may also include the social production of ‘oral texts’ such as the words of the liturgy (which are rarely written or read during Mass, but rather orally recontextualized from an authorized text or simply memorized from continual repetition each week). What counts as a text or an intertextual practice is only accomplished through the *un/recognition* and *un/acknowledgement* of texts, and while students jostle to incorporate their own texts and intertextual references into an interaction (Rampton, 2006), those in authority (in this case, teachers, priests, parents) typically do the recognizing and authorizing of what may or may not be said, what bodily comportments must accompany a textual invocation, and when a text may appear.

Here, I used transcripts of the Mass, class and interview data related to descriptions of students’ participation in that event to analyze data with regards to Goffman’s concepts *author* (who ‘writes’ the text), *animator* (who ‘speaks’ the text), and *principal* (who ‘stands behind’ the text) (1981; see also Rymes, 2008), with a concern

with how, when, and under what conditions students are allowed to take on any of these roles with regards to the literacy practices of school and Mass. These revealed a set of authorizing strategies by the teacher and routines for students to negotiate. In doing so, I constructed multiple intertextual maps (Bloome & Carter, 2014; see Appendix 3) to chart various strategies and authorizing moves.

To capture the interactional construction of religious literacy practices and identity, along with the portability and transferability of religious capital and habitus across various fields, I turned to the work of Judith Green and the Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group (Green & Meyer, 1991; Green & Wallat, 1981; Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992a, 1992b) in their conceptualization of ‘interactional ethnography’ (Castanheira, Crawford, Dixon, & Green, 2001). Interactional ethnography encompasses both a theoretical orientation toward literacy as a socially constructed phenomenon and a set of methodological tools that help researchers deconstruct literacy events over time to determine how participants, institutions, and materials cohere to produce locally determined literacies by “what they orient to, what they hold each other accountable for, what they accept or reject as preferred responses of others, and how they engage with, interpret, and construct text” (Castanheira, et al., 2001, p. 354). Because literacy is a situated phenomenon, interactional ethnography provides a systematic approach to understanding what counts as literacy in a particular circumstance, what actions, processes, artifacts, and actions are acceptable and which are suppressed. Using maps and data representations from this research approach, patterns of literacy interaction and strategies can be developed across various fields; in short, using the data mapping approaches advocated here, a Bourdieusian sense of literate habitus

(Sterponi, 2010) can be shown to function across various spaces and times. While written transcription of audio recordings is the heart of interactive ethnographic research (Green, Franquiz, & Dixon, 1997), the approach also provides several useful mapping heuristics to help researchers attend to the distribution of time, the organization of groups, the purpose of instruction, and the conditions of instruction for any interactional literacy activity.

Following the transcription of audio data, I converted selected transcript to a secondary Event Map in order to bolster moment-by-moment accounts of interaction. Event maps (Castanheira, et al., 2001; see also Knobel, 1998) provided a simple heuristic to record the various episodic interactions over the course of a larger literacy event. Literacy event maps (see Appendix 4 for a sample) allowed for the post hoc representation of various phases of a literacy event by bounding interaction by phases: a phase is “interactionally marked by participants through discourse and other contextualization cues (Gumperz, 1992), and shows the differentiated nature of conversation and action” (Castanheira, et al., 2001, p. 360). By charting various phases of a literacy event, the interactional turns and durations of literacy sub-events were captured for further analysis. Each column in the event map provides a separate set of information which can be read and interpreted separately. The initial column is a timestamp, which is procured by the researcher from time on the audiotape. The second column divides the activity into Phase Units, which is a chunked unit of activity that helps illuminate how time is divvied up within an instructional or interactional time (i.e., lecture, Bible reading, seatwork to colour worksheets, reporting on the minutes of last meeting, prayer, etc.). The following column further splits each Phase into smaller Sequence Units, the various

activities and actions that happen within a Phase (i.e., within group seatwork the Religious Education teacher may occasionally stopped for questions, instructed students to attend to a particular task on the worksheet, and the students talked quietly to one another). The following column charts Interactional Spaces, which highlights the permitted interactions within a Phase (whole group, individual, pairs, etc.). The fourth column asks the researcher to intuit the Norms and Expectations of a Phase, which may include silence (for a prayer, for example), routinized interactions (IRE formats during class time), or other tacit expectations. The fifth column highlights the Literacy Practices within each Phase, which includes a listing of all the predominant literacy demands by type: writing on worksheets, reciting prayers as a collective, responding to the teacher's questions, etc. Finally, the last column offers space for Notes, which may be theoretical or personal in nature. Event maps were particularly useful for school-based data.

The great value of this mapping procedure is that it allowed comparison of expectations, demands, and obligations across a range of literacy events, both within the scope of a similar event (week-over-week Sunday School events) and dissimilar event (completing homework at the dinner table with a parent after school). It equally allows a comparison of time dispersal by authorities within those spaces, demonstrating what various phases of literacy practice are most fostered. To facilitate this comparison, comparative timelines (Castanheira, et al., 2001) of selected school and Mass literacy events were constructed following their transcription (see Appendix 4). Comparative timelines were constructed around the time allocated to each Phase unit; as a result, the distribution of Phases (individual work time, oral reporting, self-generated prayers, etc.) across events can be easily compared.

CHAPTER 4:

THE LITERATE LABOR OF CATHOLIC FAITH: STRATEGY, LITURGY, CAPITAL

The habits of childhood are tenacious, and *Catholicism was first experienced by us as a vast set of intermeshed childhood habits*—prayers offered, heads ducked in unison, crossings, chants, christenings, grace at meals; beads, altar, incense, candles; nuns in the classroom alternatively too sweet and too severe, priests garbed black on the street and brilliant at the altar; churches lit and darkened, clothed and stripped, to the rhythm of liturgical recurrences; the crib in winter, purple Februaries, and lilies in the spring; confession as intimidation and comfort (comfort, if nothing else, that the intimidation was survived), communion as reverie and discomfort; *faith as a creed, and the creed as catechism, Latin responses, salvation by rote, all things going to a rhythm, memorized, old things always returning*, eternal in that sense, no matter how transitory (Wills, 1971, p. 16, emphasis mine)

If Catholic faith is undergirded by a tapestry of habits—embodied, sensory, liturgical, languaged, and traditional—how do these habits relate to, intersect and conflict with, and become integrated into other critical fields of production and reception? How and why do they matter to the *Altar Boys*? It is in these religious practice where what is often the “hidden persuasion of an implicit pedagogy” (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 69) is made most explicit (if only in brief flashes when things go off course), and also here that the formalized properties of a public ritual are in starkest tension and students are freest to reveal the cracks and fissures in the aura of seriousness that pervades much Catholic liturgical practice. It is here, as well, that we can view their interactional literacy strategies most clearly. This is not to suggest, of course, that the front stage, highly structured performances of the ritual are inconsequential. Most of the time, however, when the lights were brightest and the pews filled with parishioners and classmates was when many of the proverbial kinks had long been hammered out and the ritual proceeded with a smoothness that demonstrates the Church’s “integration of body space with cosmic

space and social space” (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 77), so much so that the students moved through it with seeming automaticity: or, as Benny claimed when I asked if he knows what’s going on during the Mass, “Not really. I just like *do it*. I don’t care what it means. But if it’s holy, then I’ll do it” (*Interview- 8/10/2014*). To some degree, because teachers and priests successfully regimented student bodies, conversations, and interactions during the actual performances of the Mass, front stage liturgical moments were often not ‘where the action was’ (though we will certainly engage the performative nature of the ritualized Mass and other liturgical practices later on, set amongst student commentary). While this chapter first zooms in on one particular ritual in hopes of illuminating literacy as a habitus and capital—by “focusing intensively on the pedagogical techniques whereby they are forged, or by dissecting the pragmatic designs through which they are implemented” (Wacquant, 2014, p. 7)—this chapter also illuminates the more or less mundane everyday moments of specific literacy events and practice which are fundamental to the practice of the Catholic faith for the *Altar Boys* and which in turn are fundamental for the way language and literacy is central at St. Dominic Savio for the distribution of resources. The resources include acclaim and notoriety, teacher and parental praise, bodily freedom, and social capital. To to these

Practicing Faith: The Front and Back Stages of the Religious Practice

Studies in interaction and ritual have long recognized that practices are shaped by institutional forces and structures working in tandem with individual participants, who bring their own competing and overlapping histories and interests (Goffman 1967; Hanks

1987; Wortham, 2003). In general, practices as diverse as classroom lessons and church services can be framed as in constant (and potentially productive) tension, as participant structures with a history of ritualization (Bauman, 2001) and as a series of strategies by individuals working within (and often against) those participant structures (Gutierrez, Rymes, & Larson, 1995). It is one of the great curiosities of St. Dominic Savio and Catholic schooling in general is that classroom authority and discourse often crosses over and appears in religious spaces (or draws on religious language and practice) to regiment, discipline, and form voices, literacy practices, and language.

By ritual (which I will come back to in much greater force in Chapter 5), I mean that literacy interaction can be governed by a series of strategies and conventions which typically restrict and frame the participant structures of the practice (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001): who may speak, who may take the floor, what kind of footing is possible (on the front stage, at least), and what kinds of linguistic varieties and practices are possible. Not all institutional interactions are rituals (though all can be said to have some ritualistic quality), and ritual can be conceived of as on a continuum, from more to less ritualistic (and thus more or less regimented). These typically take the form of long-standing practices in a community (the Mass or a Stations of the Cross service being only a few examples), which exist as both explicit and implicit structures. Ritualized participant structures (including classroom interaction) are interesting because they determine who can gain access to the floor in an interaction, how turns are allocated, and what kinds of resources are honored (and thus distributed [Bourdieu, 1998]) during the interaction.

All schooled activities have various degrees of ritualization to them (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977/90) insofar as they organize and codify speaker roles, but the various structures of the Mass and the Stations of the Cross go much farther than your average school play (which has of course has frontage/backstage platforms and outlined speaking opportunities) since the point of ritual is both to frame the participant structure with some stiffness and in doing so *form* the individual within the practice¹⁹ and construct certain objects as sacred: Catholic ritual (and school ritual, as we will see), operates not on a principal of an expression of inner understandings (or desires), but rather as the *crafting* of those desires, and the consequential hardening of identity categories (beyond the ‘moment’ of the ritual) in the process (Bell, 2009).

By authorizing what is legitimate in an interaction (often implicitly), a participant structure is capable of “ritually marginalizing” certain practices, placing them “back stage so as not to overly contradict front-stage affairs, that is, in order for certain forms of social order to be reproduced through symbolic practices that mask their operation” (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001, p. 9). ‘Back stage’ is not simply the place for non-legitimated practices (though it certain is that too), but is also the home of what James Scott (1992) calls “hidden transcripts”, where participants have more freedom to criticize, undermine, and engage in parodic inversions of what appears to be a stable institutional

¹⁹ Monsignor O’Donnelly describes Catholic ritual in the language of hydrology: “Catholic formation is meant to channel, to hone energies and in a sense, certainly, shotgun approach but laser beam approach too that we would learn and discover our gifts and our talents so that we would be able to be able really to use those gifts and talents in a way that would help us and help other people... I think of the Niagara Falls, if you ever visited there where they take some of that tremendous water and they channel it where it generates electricity. It’s because they force it into a path that makes it so powerful that it generates electricity to give light to other people. I would like to think our Catholic education does that with the gifts and talents young people, channels it and allows it in turn to give light to other people.” (5/29/2014- Interview)

structure and authority. At St. Dominic Savio, I argue that the regular participant frameworks of Catholic school ritual represent particular institutional rituals (Bourdieu, Passeron, & St. Martin, 1996) for students to negotiate ‘front stage’ through a range of interactional strategies, expressing a form of institutional authority that allows some students to flourish in their public performance of text, while simultaneously provoking ‘back stage’ ritual and playful inversions of various sorts. It is in ritual that we can see the distribution of forms of cultural capital, as "some groups have more resources for carrying out their rituals than others" (Collins, 2004, p. 41). Here, the formation of ritual centers and peripheries, differential positions between students emerge.

Some of the framing of the participant structures of Catholic liturgical practice are explicit, including not only the *what* of the practice (who can talk when and in what manner), but also the *why* of values, beliefs, and ideologies that drive and legitimates the practice. While much of the ‘logic of practice’ (to invoke a well-worn Bourdieusian term) in institutional ritual is implicit in the practice itself (which is what makes it a hidden logic), it is often during the rehearsal of ritual at St. Dominic Savio that the explicit pedagogy bubbles to the surface.

These analyses are admittedly the most difficult for me, in part because of my own Protestant heritage. This is particularly true in my assessment of sincerity or ‘performance’ (what I refer to in sociolinguistic terms as ‘apprehension of the text’), wherein I judge readings to be primarily about inner cultivation and/or public routine, and less about denotational understand. To this, I am wary to makes these kinds of assessment, in part because they can at times play on longstanding Protestant stereotypes about Catholic religious practice. I am also aware that our profound concern as

contemporary academic with understanding the text (often on a personal level) is a directly Protestant bias itself (cf., Wellmon, 2015) and alternatives to this model are frequently dismissed as being rote or routine themselves. It is this tension I hope to hold in my ongoing analysis.

Explicit Metapragmatic Regimentation

Audio Recording- 4/8/2014- St. Dominic Savio nave- Stations of the Cross practice
Ms. Walsh stands in the aisle in front of the first row of pews, just in front of the marble steps leading up to the altar, addressing the Grade 8 students and a handful of Grade 7 and 4 students who are helping with the service as readers and actors in the liturgy. The kids are quiet as she speaks, though the younger ones are shifting and squirming even under her watchful eye.

- 1 Ms. Walsh: Alright now remember you're do:oing this for the Lord
- 2 This is something special
- 3 Something to show (1.2) what we can do
- 4 And to pay reverence to ((3.4)) God
- 5 To strengthen our faith and everyone else's faith
- 6 This is open to the parish to come
- 7 It's been in the church bulletin
- 8 Monsignor will be back in time
- 9 Okay
- 10 (2.5) ((shifts to talking to front row, where Grade 8 students sit))
- 11 I want (0.5) Francisco and (0.8) umm (0.3) Greg to get the candles
- 12 ((to Francisco and Greg, who have stood up and move to the sacristy))
- 13 I just need one cross right now
- 14 If I decide we need more I'll get it
- 15 Don't light them, just get the candles
- 16 Get the candles
- 17 I need
- 18 Ss: xxxxx- ((student tries to interject with a suggestion))
- 19 Ms. Walsh: You don't know what I need (0.3) okay?
- 20 ((students laugh))

From my perch just a few rows behind the silent but restless children, Ms. Walsh's admonitions and instructions seemed as much about creating an aura of solemnity and seriousness for the sake of good order and discipline as it did about ensuring the right frame of mind for the students; in creating a general narrative as to the

ways to 'take' (Heath, 1983) the practice of the Stations of the Cross (even during a rehearsal), Ms. Walsh creates what Reyes (2011) calls 'metapragmatic regimentation' and in doing so indexically links the coming literacy practices to an intertwined narrative about community scrutiny ("This is open to the parish to come/ It's been in the church bulletin"), authority both local ("Monsignor will be back in time") and divine ("you're do:ing this for the Lord") and obligations of faith ("To strengthen our faith and everyone else's faith"). It further draws on the authority of solemnity and sacredness (constructed simultaneously by her metadiscourse and the space of the church), replete with a relative ambiguity for non-Catholics, and relocates them alongside more secular aspects of practice (not the least of which was the coming performance in front of many people) as an instrument of keeping control.

Students at St. Dominic Savio differ in their language and literacy practices with regards to Catholic liturgical practice (a theme explored more in the latter portions of this chapter), and back stage deviations from the regimented norm of metapragmatic framing in the key of seriousness, controlled and animating body movements in response to liturgical texts, and reverence ("you're do:ing this for the Lord/ This is something special/ Something to show ((1.2)) what we can do/ And to pay reverence to ((3.4)) God") exist concomitantly with front stage acquiescence to institutional procedures. The question, then, is how to account for the *Altar Boys*' relative front stage harmony with the institution? To do so, we must look more generally across their engagement with Catholic ritual and literacy practice in order to understand how reward in the form of capital is administered that might make such willingness to maintain front stage harmony valuable.

The Religious Labor of Being an Altar Boy

As altar boys, Catholics, students at St. Dominic Savio, children from religious families, and neighbors living just blocks from the church (or, in Greg's case, literally across the street), the *Altar Boys* engaged in a range of religious practices. As altar boys, they attended and served at Mass nearly every weekend (and often multiple times during the week for funerals, weddings, and the like), and frequently read prayers and Scriptural passages during services for school and the parish. For Benny, Greg, and JP, as Vietnamese Catholics from diaspora families, they participated in TN (*Thiếu Nhi Thành Thế Việt Năm*/Vietnamese Eucharistic Youth Movement) each Sunday under the guidance of local community leaders. As children of religious families, they equally engaged in multiple literacy events related to religious practice in their homes, including family prayers, reading the lives of the saints, memorizing Scripture and prayers with the parents, the daily rosary, and more occasional events like prayers for recently deceased ancestors.

To provide a 'bird's eye view' of literacy-oriented Catholic practices of the *Altar Boys*, I have drawn here on the field of interactional ethnography (Castanheira, Crawford, Dixon, & Green, 2001; Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992) to construct an illustrative taxonomy of kinds of written texts and particular types of student interaction with them. This taxonomy, a rough heuristic for comparison, was developed by looking across the various sets of front-line field notes, as well as data maps such as event maps, transcripts, and comparative timelines. Given that a literacy event is "any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of the participants' interactions and their interpretive processes" (Heath, 1982, p. 50), organizing student activity in relation to

written texts helps provide a wide scope of their literate practice. Appendices 3 and 4 presents the kinds of texts identified as part of Catholic religious practice for the *Boys* across all my time at the parish. As indicated, seven different common types were identified: the text of the Liturgy of the Word and Sacrament, the text of the Stations of the Cross, Scripture (Holy Bible), hymnals, devotional texts, quizzes/exams, and notes on the blackboard. Each of these has been further subdivided by a range of literate practice by the *Boys* in engaging with these various texts, and they have further been identified by domain. So, for example, while the text of Scripture was read orally under close adult supervision and correction at home, at the church in the nave, at TN, and during the multiple Stations of the Cross services, quizzes and exams were only administered as part of religious education during TN (though they certainly made an appearance at the school as part of Religion class, a point to which I will return in a coming section). Analysis of the various uses across domains of practice further revealed a limited heterogeneity of use and interaction. At home, Scripture was typically engaged with in private oral recitation for the purpose of memorization for upcoming public performance (with occasional adult supervision, focused solely around issues of ‘correct’ pronunciation), whereas during the Mass, Scripture was a text for public performance: thus, to turn a phrase from Castanheira et al. (2001), a Bible was not a Bible was not a Bible to the *Altar Boys*, and the domain of practice had a profound effect on how they engaged with it.

Despite variation in interaction and practices by way of domain, a certain uniformity began to cohere across the various spaces of practice. That is, while students

had opportunity, notably ‘back stage’, for a robust variety of engagements with texts²⁰, there was equally an emergent pattern that developed across the various domains.

Performative and Apprehensive Readings

Literacy practices include a particular orientation to text (Heath, 1983), and in religious communities this orientation is often *apprehensive* (Baker, 1993; Rosowsky, 2013): a performative practice wherein the embodied interaction with the text takes prominence over denotative understanding. Like classrooms, religious practices have certain discursive conventions and orientations to text (the centrality of a piece of writing, fidelity to that piece of writing when reading aloud, distributed roles around performing the writing) (Bauman, 1996). As well, classroom and religious literacy practices involve correction and criticism that re-define what constitutes a relation to text, proper reading, and appropriate body posture. In these practices, language is subject to critical evaluation along a limited set of criteria, often the strict adherence to the text. In schools, which are notoriously structured around evaluation and the application of standards to students’ writing and language use, performative practices are in abundance, notably in the classic Initiate-Respond-Evaluate (Mehan, 1979) interaction around text. Using Goffman’s framing (1983), Rampton (2006) refers to this kind of classroom interaction as a “forced platform performance” (p. 78), whereby the students’ responses to teachers’ known-

²⁰ Some texts circulated more as tropes (Wortham, 2001) than as actual physical texts. Some of the *Boys* actions are enacted parodies of the Passion narrative, which appears both in all four accounts of the Biblical Gospels and in the various ‘public texts’ and ‘narratives’ of the C/church. These texts are harder to pin down, as they typically appear indexically during interaction (and thus obliquely); consequently, they appear in my interactional data rather than in the taxonomy. These circulating tropes as text further given credence to linguistic anthropology’s notion of culture as a ‘circulating resource’ (Silverstein & Urban, 1996), rather than as some hardened, static thing.

answer questions (“Sandra, why did Hamlet fail to kill Claudius?”) are thrust up for public viewing in front of their peers, and subject to evaluation.

Apprehension represents one type of performative orientation to a written text, often as part of religious ritual or practice. Unlike some forms of school-based reading, where comprehension or understanding of the text is key, apprehension focuses our attention on “the socially significant practice of taking up a text and going through the process of actualizing the inscribed words in a temporal sequence” (Baker, 1993, p. 98). While performance may involve creative and even transgressive alterations to the text by the performers based on nuanced understandings of the content (Bauman, 1996), the notion of apprehension foregrounds communication with a focus other than referential content (what the text says). In apprehensive readings, it is the indexical properties of “taking up speech” (Moore, 2013)—what participation with and through the text signals by way of identity, community, and history—that come under scrutiny and take on meaning. As a relevant example in the Catholic ritual context, the liturgy of the Word and Sacrament was inscribed and orally recited in Latin for generations (finally performed in the vernacular following the Second Vatican Council in 1963), a language far removed from the realm of interpretation and transformation for most participants. Even today, long after the vernacularization of the Mass, the text still contains highly archaic wording in English (for example, the contemporary Nicene Creed reads, “*true God from true God, begotten, not made, consubstantial with the Father*”). Following Baker (1993), to ‘apprehend’ a reading is a “socially engaged process of coming to grips with what there is to know without necessarily knowing how to subject it to predications, that is, how to adequately comprehend it” (p. 108). While these types of interaction with

text may seem alienating, they are still subject to social positioning, contestation, and strategic use.

Apprehensive orientations to text, particularly the text of the Mass, featured prominently at St. Dominic Savio through my inquiry into the altar servers' understanding of the liturgy of Word and Sacrament and other religious practices. Many of their answers underscored the highly performative and apprehensive nature of their participation. There is a real danger here of reinscribing longstanding Protestant myths about Catholic ritual practice, framing it as unthinking and strictly procedural, or notions that the cleavage of the Protestant Reformation helped mark a boundary between denominational 'literate cultures' (Eisenstein, 1982). However, contemporary scholarship has sought to untangle the "Protestant Literacy Myth" (Mattingly, 2014) by demonstrating socio-economic and legal factors in early studies on literacy differences between religious groups and by highlighting the robust Catholic literary culture that had previously gone unremarked. Linguistic anthropology has demonstrated the inherently 'ritual' quality of a variety of social practices, including classroom interaction (Rampton, 2006). Returning to Bourdieu's notes on reflexivity (2000), the very construction of this as a research object indicates some of my own internet orientations towards 'sincerity' as a traditional reading practice (cf., Wellmon, 2015), and hopefully towards my own disruption of this orientation through seeing reading anew in this context; this shaking loose of our preconceptions, in Bourdieu's parlance, is the purpose of conducting research.

It was these types of exchanges and repeated observations of the students during the school-based Mass and other religious practice that I sought out explanations for what

function the students' participation in Catholic literacy practices may take at St. Dominic Savio. It further led me to conceptualize their participation not simply within the metapragmatic ideal of the official narrative of their teachers, but by way of their own understandings of the Mass and their identities.

While these more formal, ritualistic practices are criticized by some (cf., Kroon, 2013), Moore (2010) notes these types of practices have an ancient lineage and are “foundational to the traditional pedagogies associated with many religious movements” (p. 212), including Catholic schooling (cf., Fishman, 2006; Wagner, 1993). Pedagogies of religious tradition often involve the use of “prayer, recital, song, chanting, sacrament, citation, and exclamation” in a manner that is “performance-oriented” (Rosowsky, 2013, p. 308, 310), and as such are subject to concerns with ‘correctness’, characterized by attention to performative features like diction, bodily orientation, and prosody. And while this bundle of practice, text, and ritual represents a profound resource for millions of people of different faith traditions and a mobile technology for stabilizing social relations, it only takes on meaning through performance in a specific place and time, a feature which requires ethnographic investigation to reveal the full weight of their impact.

Altar Serving

One of the main obligations of the *Boys* at the parish and the school was their weekly (on Sunday) and occasional (weddings, funerals) duties as altar servers. This was by far the most prevalent form of literacy event related to their Catholic faith, and the one that occupied the most amount of their time. It was also the practice most central to their

identities as Catholics, and it is here that they are able to convert much of their social capital as Catholics into symbolic capital.

By framing religious practice within the field of a political economy (Rey, 2007; Swartz, 1996), we must equally conceptualize it as a form of labour (symbolic and alienated) (Bourdieu, 1998). For the Altar Boys, this meant that their work as altar servers developed both from their own unique habitus and the capital gained by and from their participation, and equally because they were simply given duties as labourers at the parish: among many examples, “While we're driving back, Ms. Castillo and Ms. Walsh turn around in their seats to organize servers for the two Masses the next day for Ascension Thursday. Ms. Walsh tells Greg that he has to serve at the 7:30pm service that coming evening, and that JP will be serving at that 8:30am Mass. This is not a request, but a directive. When Greg says that maybe JP or Francisco should do the late service, Ms. Walsh notes that they live too far away to be walking during the evening and his objection is overruled.” (*Fieldnotes- 5/28/14*)

In an interview in February with Benny, he outlines for me how the practice of being an altar server is much like having a job, with set hours and with expectations:

Interview Excerpt- 2/6/2014

- 1 Robert: Benny how come you're not serving today?
- 2 Benny: I'm serving on Saturday
- 3 Robert: On Saturday?
- 4 Benny: Ya
- 5 Robert: At what?
- 6 Is there a funeral on Saturday as well?
- 7 Benny: Ya
- 8 Robert: Who for?
- 9 Benny: I dunno
- 10 Robert: You don't know?
- 11 Is that generally the way it goes?
- 12 They just call you into action?

13 Benny: Ya

Much like participation in the Mass or the Stations of the Cross, the metapragmatic ideal—generated, regimented, and affirmed by priests, teachers, and the criss-crossing networks of parents and other authority figures—is ‘seriousness’ in tone and ‘seriousness’ in body. In conversation with Monsignor O’Donnelly about the *Altar Boys*, I inquire into the duties of the altar server.

Interview- 5/29/14- Monsignor O’Donnelly- St. Dominic Savio rectory

Robert What are the sorts of dispositions or attitudes that an altar server needs to have to be effective at their job?

Monsignor: One of them would be a reverential attitude. It’s not Veterans Stadium, it’s not the Linc [Philadelphia Eagle’s football stadium], it’s not a hockey game. It’s not ... like that there would be a sense of and I do say to the young folks before sometimes when we have I say, “Now take your hand and turn your spiritual channel to the different station.” We’re now going to do something that’s different from what we’re doing around in school. It’s something different now. Change the channel. You can change it back as soon as we’re done, change the channel because we want to be reverent here.

Later in the same interview, Monsignor goes on to specifically undercut any notion of altar serving as being personally rewarding or for gain: “We don’t want anybody showboating, we wouldn’t want anybody up there for the sake of being noticed. We want people up there to serve, to help, to help the younger ones to help the liturgy flow and that would be prayerful”. This runs counter to both Bourdieu’s concern with religious practice as a form of labour, but equally to emic conceptions of their altar serving by the *Boys*.

For example, after hearing from multiple sources that JP, Francisco, Benny, and Greg had been altar servers to the Archbishop of Philadelphia for the prominent, city-

wide Cultural Heritage Mass at the Cathedral Basilica of SS. Peter and Paul, I had this text exchange with JP (3/17/2015):

Robert: I heard you guys rocked it at the cultural heritage Mass
JP: You already know coach, I fell asleep during the mass tho.
Robert: How'd you get hooked up with that?
JP: Idk, they just ask us too. I think they know we have a great alter serving group in Philadelphia
Robert: What'd people say to you afterwards?
JP: They said good job, thank you for sacrificing your Saturday to be here with us and stuff like that

Along with the clear implications for the application and conversion of cultural capital reserved for the altar servers, this short correspondence brings to mind Bourdieu's (2000) note on place of the discourse of 'sacrifice' in this kind of activity: "The work of socialization... is based on a permanent transaction in which the child makes renunciations and sacrifices in exchange for testimonies of recognition, consideration, and admiration" (p. 167). This notoriety related to their proficiency as altar servers reached its zenith in the lead up to the arrival of Pope Francis in Philadelphia in September 2015 for the World Meeting of Families, when there were serious talks among parish leadership about arranging for the *Altar Boys* to serve at the Pope's Mass at the Benjamin Frankly Parkway in front of +100,000 people. It is this tension between official metadiscursive regimentation and student peer-driven action that marks the *Boys* engagement with the liturgical texts as participant frameworks of religious practice as altar servers and readers at St. Dominic Savio.

The *Boys* equally gained a level of authority at the parish through their altar serving and this, in turn, allowed them to enter into authoritative relations with younger students at the school:

Field Note excerpt- 4/23/14

JP tells me several times that he was very frustrated on Holy Saturday as a server. He had been assigned by Ms. Castillo to work several services, but for Holy Saturday he volunteered to help out because many of the servers appeared to be young and inexperienced when he arrived. Monsignor told him he could help if he wanted to. There were seven total servers for this multilingual Mass. However, JP said that many of the younger servers, including Greg, were “acting dumb”, and not doing a good job during the Mass. When I asked him, as we walked across the parking lot into the school, what this meant, he said that they were talking, that they didn’t know what to do, and that they weren’t listening to him.

This reveals the parish community contributing to the *Boys* total capital, providing them with a form of symbolic capital which they are able to exchange elsewhere for notoriety and authority.

Structures and Subversions of Performance and Apprehension

In holding the structure of the Mass and students’ purposeful (sometimes playful) engagement with it in tension, I reveal multiple micro-level strategies by the priests, teachers and students. In this section, I first outline how parents, teachers, and priests draw on the tradition of Catholic schooling and ritual (Kroon, 2013) and delimit what constitutes appropriate literacy practice during Mass, through example, directive, and correction. Here, I demonstrate the prototypical ‘apprehensive’ orientations to the text of the Mass through students’ reading. Second, I describe how students’ bodily orientations are an object of scrutiny during Mass. Drawing largely on field notes from my time at the parish, I show how body posture is not only subject to correction, but equally how it becomes the site of a series of categorizations used to construct the metapragmatic ideal of the good Catholic student. Finally, I demonstrate how these performative literacy practices of body and voice are strategically used by Catholic and non-Catholic students for advantage and social positioning.

Liturgies of the Word

During the week, select Catholic students at St. Dominic Savio School are asked to read portions of the liturgy (the ‘script’ of Catholic worship, which involves a lector and a congregation portion, read aloud and chorally), pre-written prayers, and/or the Scriptures aloud in front of hundreds of their peers as part of their participation in Mass or other religious services. This interaction is facilitated by the relative proximity of the parish to the school (they are on the same property), but equally by the long history of structural supervision (St. Dominic Savio was only recently a parochial school) and the teacher’s role at the parish as Sunday school and religious education leader. Only Catholic students are scheduled for these duties (often without their input; when asked why he reads at nearly every Mass, Greg responded “‘Cause... I don't know. Ms. Castillo just assign me to read. So I have to”), though all students at the school are present to observe and participate as congregants. During my observations, by far the most common readers of Scripture at school-based liturgical events were the *Altar Boys*. Further, Greg, as a result of his relative proximity to the parish and his parents’ insistence he altar serve on any free day (meaning every day in the summer), was regularly the reader of prayers and scripture (the Old Testament, Psalms, and Epistle; the Gospel is reserved for the priest) during the daily morning Mass in the chapel.

Despite the lexical density and relatively archaic language of many of these readings, students were usually given the text only just before or not until they read it before the assembled congregation or school. This trend continues across all liturgical and religious events at St. Dominic Savio where text is central to the interaction. Even at what was scheduled as a GROW ‘children’s retreat’ (4/6/14) for the parish kids, some of the *Altar Boys*

language ideologies of school which manifest as a participant structure of performative readings (Heller, 1995).

Field Notes- 4/23/2015- St. Dominic Savio parish hall

This issue of translation and language skills comes up only a few minutes later when JP hands me a sheet with the reading for the week of the graduation Mass, which is written in Vietnamese (photocopied from the Vietnamese missal by Ms. Walsh). JP volunteers this to me, and when I ask him what it is, he tells me it's the readings for the graduation Mass.

Robert: Can you read that?
JP: No ((with a shy smile))
Robert: What will you do?
JP: Give it to my Mom, I guess

Compelled to the lectern by Ms. Walsh without input, JP (and the other Viet *Boys*) find themselves in a particularly difficult situation. They all describe themselves as speaking 'a little' Vietnamese (typically conversational with parents and other relatives), but do not read Vietnamese. Their solution is to call on their social capital, their embeddings in the parish and within a family of Vietnamese speakers.

While pedagogies of repetition are often derided as mindless or unthinking in critical traditions (cf., Kroon, 2013), they represent a profound resource for religious communities, notably in circumstance when the denotational meaning of the text has far less resonance for the animator than the indexical quality of the reading as an expression of cultural or religious heritage (Moore, 2013). Just as importantly, they allow the *Boys* to access a range of strategies with long legacies in the religious tradition of Catholicism: guided repetition (cf., Baquedano-Lopez, 2008; Moore, 2011). Shoaps (2002) writes:

Indeed, for many Catholics, the practice of reciting set texts such as the Apostle's Creed, the Hail Mary, the Lord's Prayer, and the Glory Be with a rosary is a resource that can be turned to for prayer. The words are fixed and memorized and are *efficacious regardless of being uttered in a routinized way*. The recitation of

such formulaic prayers can be considered an authorless act, insofar as the only contribution of the person praying is the intention to pray (p. 46, emphasis mine)

It is this question of ‘efficacy’ that has particular resonance at St. Dominic Savio, and while Shoaps argues efficacy emically (with regards to the prayerful’s relationship to God), I wish to add an etic concept and think of these practices with regard to capital production and distribution (Bourdieu, 1998).

So how do the *Altar Boys* learn a truncated repertoire of Scriptural reading in Vietnamese, often in a short period of time? Greg provided with a novel solution (*Fieldnotes*, 5/21/14), a ‘hack’ of the problem by recording his mother reading the Viet prayer on his phone. Greg watched the video in spare moments between activities (I’d see him sitting on the concrete steps in the parking lot, or occasionally in the computer lab during class, watching it and quietly whispering to himself) and repeated his mother’s oral pronunciation of the Viet words. The English text of the prayer reads:

That the leaders and members of the Church may fulfil with joy their calling to proclaim, celebrate and serve the Gospel of Life. We pray to the Lord.
(5/21/14)

Here Greg further blurs the lines between the Goffmanian (1981) author, principal, and animator; this prayer originated on the internet (Greg copied and pasted it off a pro-life website, *priestsforlife.org*, though he seemed unaware of the politics of the site or the text of the prayer) after Ms. Walsh asked him to compose an original prayer on the subject of ‘praying for authorities’ for the graduation Mass. Returning to Shoaps’ (2002) point on efficacy apart from intention and originality, Greg appears to be living into this ideal; he is unconcerned with originality of the prayer (despite Ms. Walsh’s request) and prays performatively (to the entire assembled nave for graduation) in a language he has only memorized phonetically in small snippets.

Interview Excerpt- 5/21/14

- 1 Greg: I have my mom read it and then I just listen to it
2 Robert: Don't you need to understand it to say it?
3 Greg: No (0.4) I just used my memory

Greg is equally adopting a particular 'ritual register' (the words of the prayer are quintessential ritualized prayer language) and highlights one of the key features of text in ritual: its entextualizability (Bauman & Briggs, 1990). Texts can be lifted out of a context and inserted into a new context because of the relative lack of indexical grounding (often through the use of vague pronominals like 'You' and 'We', or the ultimate decontextualized pronominal, 'God' or 'Lord'). Curiously, Greg simultaneously courts "diminishing" his "volitional agency" in producing the text by copying it directly from the internet (without much by way of consideration- within a minute of being assigned the task, Greg had searched for [Googled "Petitions for Church Leaders"], identified, and printed the text of the prayer) and demonstrates his agency by choosing to ignore the request for original text.

Greg elaborates (Interview- 3/21/14) that this kind of pedagogy of guided repetition is common in his family, and a core religious practice in his home.

Interview excerpt- 3/21/14

- 1 Robert : So there was a while where he [Greg's dad]=
2 =Was reading the Bible to you every day?
3 Greg: Ya
4 And then teaching me to pray and stuff
5 Robert: Tell me:e about that
6 How did he teach you how to pray?
7 Greg: Well it's in Vietnamese
8 Like we do it piece by piece by piece
9 Ya
....
10 Robert: What do you mean piece by piece by piece?
11 Greg: Like word by word and=
12 Stuff

13 Ya
14 Robert: So let's say you had a big long prayer
15 Take me through it
16 How would your dad teach you how to read that?
17 You said it's in Vietnamese=
18 Greg: First he'll like (0.5) read the whole the whole thing for me
19 So I can like (0.2) hear it like
20 To understand what it would be like
21 And then (1.9)
22 He'll read piece by piece=
24 But (1.3) and then=
25 I try to read it
26 And then if it doesn't work
27 We'll try to do it again
28 And then (0.5) piece by piece by piece
29 And that's mostly it
30 Robert: How long does that take you to memorize a prayer then?
31 Greg: Um:mmm
32 Two hours (1.2) three hours

Unlike other instances of guided repetition developed in the research literature wherein the interlocutor/leader uses line breaks to grammatically, conceptually, and prosodically reformulate the text to create an alignment between members of the narrating event (Baquedano-Lopez, 2008), here Greg's father creates an alignment through textual and choral fidelity, and in turn frames 'reading in Vietnamese' as the capacity to recite sacred text. Returning to Shoaps (2002), Greg's sincerity or understanding of the text are largely vacated for the purposes of this exercise: instead "the only contribution of the person praying is the intention to pray" (p. 46) and by his intention to learn alongside his father, Greg is de facto praying. In doing so, we see how this form of linguistic capital in community wealth (Yosso, 2005) links Greg to the larger social capital of the church.

It is notable that pedagogies of repetition and memorization have a particularly long history in the Catholic tradition, stretching back to Medieval Europe and beyond

(Sterponi, 2008). It was in the specific practices of reading texts such as the Book of Hours or the *lecto divina* that a robust reading culture was formed in which reading was only one small part of a larger spiritual journey; reading and memorization were notable not simply for the practice itself, but insofar as they had a “foundational role in the formation of moral virtue” (p. 669).²¹ Reading was linked not simply to textual performance but also to prayer and meditation, and Greg’s father’s “teaching me to pray and stuff” through memorization is part and parcel of this tradition. Illich (1993) notes that in Medieval devotional reading, denotative understanding was far from the goal; instead, the devotee reader was one who “understands the lines by moving to their beat, remembers them by recapturing their rhythm, and thinks of them in terms of putting them into his mouth and chewing” (p. 54). Greg seems to be living into this rich tradition, as he and his father ‘move to the beat’ of repeated iterations of the text and ‘chew’ on the text without dissecting it for meaning. Sterponi (2008) describes these reading practices as cultivating a “spiritual habitus”, a set of dispositions through incorporation of the text, and it is indeed here that we see Bourdieu’s concepts at work with regards to these types of readings.

Much like Catholic notions of formation in and through a text (Ratzinger, 2000), Bourdieu argues here that by incorporating a series of dispositions (rather than conscious actions), the individual has the imprint of the social on their very being; Greg’s father’s

²¹ Commenting on the *lecto divina*, literacy historian Michael Clanchy (1983) describes this practice as a “sacred literacy”, and a literal memorization and internalization of the sacred text was the first step on the road to intuiting the higher allegorical meanings within.

pedagogy of prayer is less a pedagogy of predications (because those predications are in a language Greg cannot understand), and is rather an orientation of dispositions.

The incredible labor that goes into memorizing and eventually performing these prayers takes on secondary significance with regards to in-group relations between the *Boys*. Given their relative notoriety as lectors and altar servers at the parish (and to some respect around the city within the Catholic community), it is little wonder that skills at memorization and reading become objects of riposte, play, and contestation.

Occasionally, the labor (or lack of labor) surrounding memorizing Vietnamese prayers for public performance became a site of social positioning:

*Transcript excerpt- 6/3/2014- St. Dominic Savio Cafeteria
It's lunch (approx. 11am) and JP, Benny, Greg, Gabriel and I are sitting at the back table in the cafeteria. JP holds the Scripture reading, a single paged white sheet of paper with a Scripture in Viet on it (Genesis 11:1-9), which he just read in the nave (in part) a few minutes ago as part of the class' practice for graduation Mass. He received this reading from his teacher, Ms. Walsh, a few days beforehand.*

1 Robert ((to JP)) Seriously I mean this
2 Do you know that this means?
3 JP: Uh not really
4 Robert: How do you know how to pronounce it if you don't know what it
5 means?
6 JP: [My mom]
7 Greg: [It's ca:aa]lled|
8 Robert: Do you do it like Greg where he just sat down with his mom=
9 And asked how to say it?
10 Greg: Ya!
11 JP: I repeat after her
12 Robert: You repeat after her
13 How long did it take you to do that?
14 Greg: Like (0.4) five days
15 JP: Thirty minutes=
16 It took me half an hour
17 (1.6) It took me a day
18 Greg: That's a lie (0.2) that's a li:iiiiie!
19 JP: It took me fifteen minutes
20 Robert: Is it hard if you don't understand what it is?

While on the surface the Viet *Boys*' truncated repertoires (Blommaert, 2010) in Viet would theoretically interfere with their work as altar servers at the weekly Vietnamese Mass (Francisco speaks and reads Spanish fluently, but typically only serves at the English services), which is a complicated synchronization of movements, bell ringing, and page turning often prompted by a word from the priest, however it is specifically the relatively uniform participant structure of the Mass across language groups that facilitates their smooth participation. As a mobile technology and structure, the liturgy of the Mass stays relatively static across the Viet, Indonesian, English, and Spanish services, and as such, knowledge of the actual words being spoken during the service is largely inconsequential to the *Boys*' performance:

Interview Excerpt- 6/5/2014

1 Robert: How do you (0.4)
2 If you don't hear what people are saying=
3 How do you know where to go?
4 JP: Um:mm (0.8) Vietnamese is like the English Mass
5 Same stuff goes on
6 It's just that a little bit of the part changes
7 It really don't affect me or any of the other servers

The authorities at St. Dominic Savio also hold to this notion of uniformity of the Mass. While the priests must be at least functionally fluent in the language of the Mass, they can be supported by altar servers who are not:

On the topic of assigning people to serve as altar servers during the upcoming Masses, Ms. Walsh says to Francisco, "When Monsignor does the Spanish Mass sometimes he's on his own because he's the only person who speaks Spanish." JP asks her, "Wait, can I serve at that [Spanish] Mass?", to which she replied, "Oh ya. Of course. Mass is Mass. Mass is Mass." (*Fieldnotes excerpt- 5/28/14*)

These affordances of the Mass and other liturgical practices as stable and predictable participation structure are equally important for the *Boys*' parents. While

Benny, JP, Greg, and Francisco's parents attend the Vietnamese and Spanish Mass, respectively, on Sundays, during the week St. Dominic Savio offers an 8:30am Mass in the chapel in English only (though the Gospel is typically read in both English and Vietnamese). Though most of the attendees are native Vietnamese and Tagalog speakers, and the presiding priest is almost always Father Jim (who is Vietnamese), the Mass is conducted in English as a 'common language' of the parish. However, despite their relative unfamiliarity with spoken English, including the specific repertoire of liturgical English, Greg and JP's parents are regular attendees at this English morning Mass.

Interview Excerpt- 08/10/2014

- 1 Robert: ((to Greg))
2 Have they memorized it in English?
3 The whole Mass?
4 JP: I doubt it
5 Greg: No
6 Robert: I have heard them|
7 I've sat in front of your parents before
8 And I've heard them reciting it ((in English))
9 JP: His parents=
10 I think my just came to listen to the Gospel
11 Robert: What about your parents?
12 JP: No they just say it together
13 They follow
14 Robert: Correct me if I'm wrong=
15 Do they know what it means in English?
16 Or are they just following along?
17 Greg: Ya
18 Robert: Why (0.3) why do you think they do that?
19 JP: Cause they want to participate
20 Greg: It's ca:aaalled participation

While much of the preparation for these public readings is 'back stage', usually at home with parents, these readings typically culminate in a public performance (more on this below). As a performance, therefore, they equally become a circulating trope

(Silverstein & Urban, 1996), and Catholic and non-Catholic students recognize their apprehensive nature and thus play off of them in tandem with other circulating tropes:

Transcript excerpt- 6/3/2014- St. Dominic Savio Cafeteria

Over lunch, JP is showing the table his copy of the Vietnamese reading for Mass in the coming weeks, which he will have to read in Vietnamese to the graduating class and their parents.

- 1 Benny: ((points to words on the page)) Bài đọc one is the first reading
2 Gabriel: I know how to say it ((0.3)) look
3 ((Gabriel snatches paper from JP and holds it up in front of his face with a confused look))
4 Greg: No you don't!
5 Robert: Ya you do it Gabriel
6 Gabriel: Ba:aaay duk one! ((text reads "Bài đọc 1": "The first reading"))
7 Greg: [He's trying] XXXXXX
8 Gabriel: [Chun mot] choing ((text reads "chọn một trong": "choose one"))
9 JP: Shut up! ((sharp but playful))

This small performance by Gabriel has multiple valences. On one hand, he draws on the stylistic features of 'mock Asian' (Reyes, 2007) to pronounce the two opening lines of the Scripture in a caricatured fashion, a trope that emerges as a style in relation to other forms of speech (include the *Boys'* own English repertoires). 'Mock' performances, notably 'mock Asian', have a notably ugly history in the United States and are caught up in structural racism, legacies of coloniality, and the perpetuation of the 'forever foreigner' trope (Ng, Lee, & Pak, 2011; Reyes, 2007). In drawing on 'mock Asian', Gabriel may be mocking/repeating performances of the Scripture by Father Jim or by the *Boys* for his own social positioning and play.²² As Ronkin & Karn (1999) note, using mock forms "overtly signifies the speaker's desirable qualities... [while] covertly inferiorizing the language and culture of the outgroup" (p. 361). However, in my time at St. Dominic

²² And despite the playfulness of this exchange, we can hear my own tone-deaf encouragement of Gabriel. Mea culpa, indeed.

Savio, 'mock Asian' was not a widely circulating trope, and apart from a single other recorded instance, all other manifestations of 'mock Asian' were by one of the Viet *Boys* themselves (in a style they claimed to be 'Chinese', thus indexing ongoing neighborhood contestations between groups often uniformly called 'Asian' by others); Reyes (2007) notes that Asian Americans often take up these stereotypes as resources for their own interactional positioning, frequently to build up or dismantle ideologies of panethnicity. So while 'mock Asian' was not a common circulating trope, what was a common trope were performative apprehensive readings of Scriptural text, and it is here that we may see a second valence to Gabriel's reading of the Genesis passage. The meaning of his reading equally takes place in a socially meaningful way amongst other possible readings, here revealing the Boys' performance of the text to be apprehensive; he doesn't understand, and neither do they, at least with regards to the denotational properties of the text. It is this moment that the 'denotative text' as relative blank space coheres with the 'interactional text' for Gabriel to use this public sphere discourse to mock the *Boys'* reading.

While there were indeed many instances when Ms. Walsh or another church authority would provide the text of the reading to the *Boys'* or their classmates well in advance of its public performance, many times the readings were relatively spontaneous and the students had little or no time to even read over the text in advance of the performance. This represents another type of performance, what Rampton (2006) calls a 'forced platform performance'. The students' reading of the pre-written text of a prayer during practice for the Mary Mass (5/14/14) is illustrative of apprehensive readings without preparation in religious ritual. In the following data transcript, Josefina, a

Spanish speaker originally from Mexico, stands at the lectern while nearly 70 school children sit in the first few pews or at the back of the nave holding Mary placards. Ms. Walsh, stands supervising in the center aisle. Ms. O, another teacher, stands a few rows back. During this portion of the transcript, I am standing at the lectern to adjust the microphone. Josefina reads the text of a prayer written specifically for this Mass, which she has not seen before this moment.

Audio Recording Excerpt- Mass to honor Mary, the Blessed Virgin- 05/14/2014

1 Josefina: ((reading)) Lord [God/]
2 Ms Walsh: [Stop]
3 ((0.3))
4 Turn around ((to some students standing at the communion rail))
5 Not you Josefina
5 Turn around and face me
6 Thank you
7 ((to Josefina)) Go ahead
8 Josefina: ((reading)) Lord God ((0.3)) you have given us life and ((5.5))
9 ((points to word)) What's this? ((whisper)) ((Text reads "guide"))
10 Robert: Guide ((whisper))
11 Josefina: Guide us on our journey
12 Be ((0.3)) with us as we honor Mary in song and prayer
13 ((1.8)) Amen
14 Ms Walsh: Do that again please
15 Take your time!
16 Go from the beginning
17 From the reading
18 Josefina: Okay
19 Ms. Walsh: "We are here" ((rising intonation))
20 Josefina: We are here to celebrate our love our love for
21 Mary the Mother of Jesus
22 Ms. O: Michael! ((to student at back of nave who is not playing attention))
23 ((3.4)) Sorry ((to Ms. Walsh))
24 Ms Walsh: Go ahead ((0.3)) do it again
25 Josefina: We are here to celebrate our love for Mary the Mother of Jesus
26 ((2.6)) Lord God ((0.2)) you have given us life and ((2.5))
27 ((looks at me))
28 Robert: ((whispers)) Guide
29 Josefina: Guide us in our journey
30 Be with us as we honor Mary in song and prayer
31 Ms. Walsh: Okay step down

This extract demonstrates the specific speaker roles available for the student when negotiating this intensely Catholic stylized performance. The text is fixed long in advance and the teacher's corrective posture is focused purely on the performative features of the oral reading, in this case the speed of reading ("Take your time!") and intonation ("We are here", with exaggeration, as though to say 'like this'). And while there is undoubtedly a wealth of interactional and stylistic properties at play here, the teacher's corrective instruction narrows those features by way of mimetic invocation. Ms. Walsh's encouragement to "Do that again" is followed by her own voicing of the clarity of intonation she requires Josefina to perform, which Josefina dutifully repeats.

Rather than "retelling in one's own words", to call on a Bakhtinian phrase, she is asked instead to "recit[e] by heart" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 341), which itself constitutes a full performance. Note as well that she is asked to recite it in full, rather than in part; when a student is too loud at the back of the room, Ms. Walsh. requires Josefina to begin again from the start. Writing on ritual, Du Bois (1986) notes that a common feature is that it cannot be segmented, but must be repeated as a whole. In familiar Goffmanian terms, the students are invited here to be 'animators' (Lines 8 & 9 reveal Josefina's basic unfamiliarity with the text) rather than 'authors' or 'principals'. This animation occurs despite the language they read being of a deeply personal nature, or a proclamation which claims to speak for an entire assembled group of devotees: Josefina proclaims on Line 25, "We are here to celebrate our love... for Mary". And while God appears to be the superaddressee in this context—the text transitions between Lines 25 and 26 without pause from a statement about the intention of the assembled to hailing "Lord God"—the

text is equally for the congregation. Here, those assembled (even in a practice) serve as Goffman's ratified hearers and equally must maintain focus and the appropriate level of attention, lest they receive a severe reprimand from Ms. Walsh.

This interaction type, a forced platform performance of the words of the liturgy by a student who has had limited opportunity to practice, demonstrates the structured means by which literacy is defined in these moments in St. Dominic Savio, and reveals the inherently 'apprehensive' nature of Josefina's reading. Limiting students to 'animators', even when proclaiming "love" by way of the words of the liturgy, helps construct an orientation towards text during the Mass, and in doing so set the parameters for successful participation. By structuring a reader's orientation to text that is unconcerned with the text's content (evidence in the preconstitution of the words and Josefina's relatively low commitment), the social features of simply animating the text in time and space amongst a community come to the fore.

In a similar manner, Greg frames his own apprehensive readings with regards to 'holiness', and remarks in response to my question, "Do you understand a lot of what's going on in the Mass?":

1	Greg:	Not re:eeally
2		I just like ((0.5)) <u>do</u> it
3		I don't care what it means
4		But if it's holy ((0.3)) then I'll do it

Liturgies of the Body

During the school-based liturgies of the Mass, the students' bodies, Catholic and

non-Catholic²³, were the subject of direct, sustained scrutiny by teachers, parents, and priests: their orientation (which direction), movement (hand gestures, sitting down and standing up, kneeling), and general posture (slouching or sitting erect). The liturgy of the Catholic Mass includes both a set of discursive conventions (who may read the text, when they may read it, if and when they may divert from the text) but also a set of accompanying body movements (Ratzinger, 2000). Literacy scholars have long noted that school-based orientations to text include attention to and evaluation of students' bodies, and that the body is an integral part of the act (Haas & Witte, 2001; Luke, 1992). Scholars interested in literacy and language in religion have equally drawn attention to how the body is 'read' during literacy practice (Moore, 2008; Rosowsky, 2012). In these moments, the body is often perceived as indicating the students' orientation to the (authority of the) text, but equally the students' orientation to the authority of the teacher or supervisor.²⁴ Bishop Coyne (2015) describes the importance of bodily orientation in the Catholic Mass like this:

Posture is very important in the celebration of any ritual. It shows by the way we're standing or sitting or kneeling at a particular time, it shows that we're participating. You know I could be standing too and if Mass is going on and I'm going like this ((looks around absentmindedly)) you know my posture is not neutral. My posture is not neutral. I'm conveying meaning or distraction or

²³ Commenting on liturgy for all students, Principal V says "I was guaranteed that even though we're not a parish school we still have the monsignor as our spiritual adviser. We still ... I call them the rituals, the First Friday Mass that sort of thing, those things that we had to not let go because even though we're 70% non-Catholic we are a Catholic school. Not with a small c. We're a Catholic school with a capital C and we couldn't let that go...[Y]ou may not be part of the Catholic faith but there's some sort of discipline to saying I believe in something and I do something everyday about it. There is this kind of discipline to it." (7/18/2014- Interview)

²⁴ Bourdieu (1992) specifically incorporates the body into religious practice in order to counter notions of belief as 'in the head', suggesting that: "Practical belief is not a 'state of mind', still less a kind of arbitrary adherence to a set of instituted dogmas and doctrines ('beliefs'), but rather a state of the body." (p. 68)

whatever it might be by how I'm carrying myself. *So the postures that we take on in the celebration of the liturgy are not just things that are randomly imposed but reflect a full measure of meaning.*

Why do we have different postures? *Different postures evoke different meanings.* To kneel is to be reverent, devotional, to be submissive in many ways. To stand is to stand with the saints. To sit is to be receptive to the Word. These things show that we're embodied people who celebrate the liturgy. And hopefully in celebrating the liturgy well we embody Christ and bring him out to others. (emphasis mine)

In this section, I draw on data from my field notes to demonstrate the structures of movement orchestrated by the text of the liturgy, the priests, and the teachers, which in turn constructs an identity of ideal Catholic students during liturgy.

The following excerpts outline some of the regularities of teachers' and priests' regulation of students' bodies during the liturgy of the Mass.

Excerpts from field notes and audio recordings- Teacher and priests supervising students' bodily orientations during Mass

1/12/14

Monsignor O'Donnely asks the assembled congregation during his homily, "Be honest now. How many of you dipped your finger in the baptismal font on your way in and [makes sign of the cross]? [Monsignor puts up his hand to indicate that those who did should indicate with their hands]. How many of you are going to do it on the way out? [Monsignor puts up his hand again, and a few in the congregation follow] "All of you should have your hands up."

3/20/14

Ms. Walsh tells the kids that after lunch the students would be cleaning the church in preparation for this weekend's parish retreat. The kids groan a bit as she divides them into bathroom cleaners, sweepers, and garbage groups. She sternly tells them, "Remember that we are in the church and we are not playing in the church. We are NOT PLAYING IN THE CHURCH!"

Charles asks apoplectically, "Why are you looking at me!?"

4/24/14

Ms. Walsh. gives a short speech to the class about the importance of slowing down and being quiet during worship. "It even says in Psalms, be still and know that I am God. If we're not being still, it's because we don't like something about ourselves."

5/14/14

During practice for the school-wide Stations of the Cross Mass, the Grade 5 teacher, Ms. O, addresses the students processing down the aisle to the front.

Mrs. O: Fold your hands when you're walking!

You're in a church!
You're not on the street!

6/4/14

Ms. Walsh stands at the lectern addressing the class on how to behave during the reading of the Gospel passage during Mass

Ms. Walsh: ((looks down at sheet on lectern))

A reading from the book of=

((flips through paper))

John

And you say "Glory ((0.2)) to you oh Lord"

((makes small sign of cross on forehead, lips, and heart while speaking))

Bless your forehead your mouth and your heart

((Benny, JP, Francisco, Adriana, Greg do the same))

You want the Word to go into your head, in your mouth, and in your heart

Looking across these data excerpts, we can see how the regulation of the students' bodies contributes to the categorization and positioning of the students. Teachers and priests worked through example, direction, and censure to govern and conduct students' bodies during the Mass. Through a series of categorizations—street/church (5/14), play/seriousness (3/20)—and directions—cross self with baptismal water (1/12), make sign of cross on forehead, mouth, and heart during the Gospel (6/4)—students' bodies become part of the competencies required to participate in the Mass, and are 'read' as indicative of internal dispositions (4/24) and orientations toward the text. Bourdieu's (1977) describes the pedagogy of the body in ritual as "values given body, made body by the transubstantiation achieved by the hidden persuasion of an implicit pedagogy" (p. 94). This seems particularly fitting in this series of data excerpts as the notion of apprehension is inculcated through bodily directives; in this case "the audience is not expected to comprehend", but nonetheless, "a certain way of sitting... will accompany this performance of attention" (Rosowsky, 2012, p. 321).

Concerns over body movements and postures were equally a concern for the lectors during Mass, who were required to attend to both the written text (for oral recontextualization) and their own bodily orientation. During an interview with Greg, he described reading to the congregation Ezekiel 9:1-7, a Scriptural passage describing the execution of “Old men, youths and maidens, women and children” at God’s behest (sparing only those marked with a ‘Thau’ on their foreheads). Following the Mass, I asked what his response to the reading was.

Interview Excerpt- 08/20/2014

1 Robert: Tell me what’s that reading about?
2 So you've read that reading to the whole group=
3 Greg: It's mostly like ((1.2)) the soldiers just destroy the town
4 And don’t destroy the people with the Thau on their forehead
5 Which I don't really=
6 What's Thau?
7 Robert: Right and why=
8 Did the priest tell you what the reading was about in advance?
9 Greg: No! ((incredulous))
10 Robert: Or did you talk about it afterwards?
11 Greg: No
12 Robert: Okay ((0.4)) and the next question is=
13 Did you get any feedback on the reading from anybody?
14 Greg: Ya
15 Robert: Does your mom or the priest say that was good or do this better?
16 Greg: ((laughing)) A lot of people
17 Robert: A lot of people do?
18 Greg: Ya
19 Robert: What do they say?
20 Greg: They say that I did a good job and ya
21 And they gave me some tips ((0.7))
22 Like look up when you're reading

Appearing on the high platform of the lectern by his duty as a lector to read a text describing an act of significant violence, Greg is under no obligation to comprehend it (Lines 4-5, 8-11); instead, he is only asked apprehend, to go through the physical act of orally reading it to the assembled congregation. He does receive, however, a series of

instructions, which include typically performative notes on body posture (“look up when you’re reading”), and pronunciation. JP, another lector at St. Dominic Savio, tells me that the advice he received from parents and priests on reading Scripture in Mass includes instructions to be “clear” and “loud”, “Don't talk too fast”, “Don't talk too slow”, “Keep them interested”, “Don't bore them”, “Look up” and “Make good eye contact”. For the lectors at St. Dominic Savio, all critical attention is on the apprehensive features of the performance (not the text) under the control of the performer. This highlights the speaker-audience asymmetry, whereby the audience holds most of the cards and may freely critique the performer on a range of criteria, largely on performative features focused on the body and voice.

These types of orientations to text represent a double-edged sword for many of the lectors, who regularly find themselves criticized for a text they re-voice, and thus have little attachment to. For the immigrant and second-generation Catholic students at the school, this frame opens them up to a high-level of scrutiny, but also offers them a set of relatively stable participant frameworks with potential high rewards; a good performance (with accompanying bodily movements) is part of a larger metapragmatic identity (Wortham, 2006) about being a Catholic student (Bourdieu again calls this “values given body”). During a Mass in May, a priest offers a compelling vision of this to the students in the pews: “The only way we get strong is by being stretched. That’s why we sit up straight!” [everyone in the congregation takes this as an indication to immediately sit up straight]. With or without a uniform, there should be something different about a child who goes to a Catholic school” (5/7/2014).

Apprehension as Strategic Interactional Resource

Students' apprehensive orientations to text—"the socially significant practice of taking up a text and going through the process of actualizing the inscribed words in a temporal sequence" (Baker, 1993, p. 98)—may appear at first blush to quash student voice (Kroon, 2013), notably when derivations from the text of the liturgy are heavily restricted. However, apprehensive orientations to the written text of the Mass represent one interactional framework which can function as a resource for students (Blommaert, 2010), and like any literacy practice may be mobilized or exchanged as a form of capital.

In a strictly evaluative context, being able to fluidly participate in the rituals of the Mass has no formal grading function (there are no 'marks' or 'grades' for participating or participating expertly as a lector or an altar server). However, this does not make the performance inconsequential. As noted previously, a fluid performance gains one a certain amount of notoriety in the community as a 'good reader' and leads to a wealth of opportunities to escape the relative drudgery of the school day; altar servers and readers in the Grade 8 class at St. Dominic Savio report that they provide religious labour at funerals and services for the parish two or three times a week, often during school hours. By conforming to the metapragmatic ideal of the 'good Catholic student', students were able to acquire a certain amount of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1977).²⁵

²⁵ There is a longstanding history in the short life of educational anthropology on finding school-affiliative/school-defiant identities as the twin poles on which student identity is structured in contemporary American education, including Eckert's (1989) classic Jock/Burnout duo (itself a seeming nod, without engagement, to Willis' UK (1971) Lads/Ear 'Ole binary). The cognates to this study are apparent: the school-affiliation of the *Altar Boys*, like Eckert's Jocks, is less about aptitude, than it is about the willingness to invest in the symbolic universe of the school's order, and in doing so contribute to social reproduction. Further, these are linked to local political economies, often by virtue of class and racial differentiations (see also McLeod, 2008 for a racial engagement among his Hallwayhangers/Brothers characters). But beyond previous lack of

Further, the symbolic capital associated with being a regular and accomplished reader and server allows those students who possess it to negotiate their involvement in school in a way the non-Catholic students cannot. Whereas teachers heavily police the comings and goings of most students, I recorded this interaction in my field notes between Ms. Walsh and JP, one of the chief altar servers and readers at the parish, during a lull in class:

Field Note Excerpt- 4/24/2014

While this quiet still lingers, Ms. Walsh sits at her computer and turns to JP, at the desk immediately next to her, to talk about the wedding tomorrow. Three of the students are scheduled to serve. This is an important wedding for the parish, as Mr. Nguyen's [a prominent leader at the parish] son is getting married. Ms. Walsh is attending the wedding and will be absent that day. JP turns in his desk and tells the other altar servers in a commanding voice that they need to leave school in the middle of math class and they are to be on time for the wedding. Ms. Walsh adds that if she hears from Monsignor that they're late for the Mass, or from the principal that they're late returning to school, that they're going to be in "big trouble." JP, however, starts to negotiate with her as to what is a reasonable time for them to arrive and set up before the wedding, and for them to return to school to finish the day's lessons. After some haggling, Ms. Walsh agrees that they can arrive back at school a bit later than expected, and that they can hand in their homework late to account for their time at the parish that day.

Here JP mobilizes the cultural capital associated with his religious labor as a liturgical performer in order to structure a more favorable schedule (and free himself from some of the everyday school requirements his classmates have to endure). Along with accruing the reputation as someone who conforms to standards of Catholic school, his ability to perform the liturgy with some fluency has a number of surplus effects.

engagement in the literature regarding religious identity as a mediating category of schooling and school affiliation, these categorizations can often concretize into hardened categories; my hope in this study is to reveal these categories as performances through language and literacy practice, which are less about reproducing social identification than about strategically engaging preexisting multi-scalar categories for the sake of producing schooled cultural capital. This marks this study as far more neo-Weberian than neo-Marxian with regards to themes of social reproduction.

We can see here and in the following set of fieldnotes the relative freedom through constraint in the boys' use of their body posture, in alignment with the expectations of the liturgy and supervision of their teacher, to carry on with 'business as usual' without admonishment. While appearing as 'good Catholic students' during the Mass, they are free to perform actions that would otherwise receive a stern rebuke from Ms. Walsh.

Field Note Excerpt- 6/3/2014

During practice, Greg, Francisco, JP, and Benny walk at the head of the class' procession down the aisle, their hands folded tight in front of them. From where I'm sitting in the front pew, I can see both Benny and Francisco talking softly, even joking, to their female neighbor out of the corner of their mouths as they slowly walk, their backs still straight, their shoulders pointed forward and their hands folded as in prayer. This means that from Ms. Walsh's perspective, they're participating as they should because she can't hear them talking over the cantor's singing, and as such she doesn't tell them to be quiet- their bodies are orchestrated forward. The rest of the boys' procession, Charles, Jayden, Tyler, Tashaun, Gabriel, and Hoang, all walk casually with their hands down at their sides, and Ms. Walsh says several times from the back of the line for them to move their hands up and match the altar servers' posture. When the procession parts at the front to the communion rail, Ms. Walsh ascends to the altar and genuflects to the cross. Only Benny, JP, Francisco, and Greg bow along with her, and Ms. Walsh bellows at the class, "You have to bow!"

These strategies of apprehension, displayed through body, prosody, and tone, are crucial for Catholic and non-Catholic students alike, though with varying consequences and for varying purposes. As demonstrated in my field notes from a Stations of the Cross Mass during the lead up to Easter, all students have to strategically engage with the requirements of the participant structure, though the level of scrutiny and potential benefits of participation allows a (small) range of flexibility. For this religious service, centered on a pre-written liturgical text that includes call and response features for the congregation, the bulk of the Catholic students in the Grade 8 class were serving as

readers at the lectern or as candle bearers. The liturgical procession, headed by the priest, moved from station to station in a 20-minute loop, stopping at each for a few minutes of pause and to read the appointed text for that station. Ms. Walsh was at the lectern, away from her class. Over the course of the service, as the procession moved farther and farther along, taking the watchful eye of the priest and their teacher's attention to the back of the nave, the non-Catholic students' posture began to relax, and I could hear them whispering under their breath, with increasing volume, talking to each other out of the sides of their mouths. While retaining a seeming posture of participation, their choral reading was notable. One subtle and highly strategic form of playful resistance the non-Catholic students perform is to say the words of the liturgy (Lector: 'We adore You, O Christ, and we praise You'; Congregation [in choral unison]: '*Because by Your Holy Cross You have redeemed the world*') aloud a full beat or two after the rest of the congregation.

Field Notes Excerpt- 3/6/2014

While everyone else is reading in relative symmetry, Trina leads the Grade 8s in the pews in a contrapuntal choral reading, which seems gets funnier to them every time, and throws off the timing of all the younger kids reading chorally around them. Trina seems to revel in this, and when I cast nervous eyes over, she only shrugs as if to say 'I'm saying the words' ... When the procession returns to our side of the nave [along with Monsignor O'Donnelly and Ms. Walsh's attention], the off-beat choral reading stops.

What makes this so effectively strategic is that not only is their late reading incredibly disruptive, it is also virtually impossible for anyone in authority to scold them for it. Technically, the non-Catholic students are reciting the words of the liturgy and still posed with their bodies facing the procession, books in hand, so that by all appearances they are full participants in the ritual. For non-Catholic students in the Mass, their apprehensive participation in the text of the liturgy equally constitutes a 'forced platform

performance', though with different stakes from their Catholic counterparts. Not able to participate in the more formal, 'high platform' apprehensive readings at the lectern (which are subject to intensely close scrutiny by Ms. Walsh) because of their status as non-Catholics, they participate as congregants who equally must apprehensively perform the text of the liturgy, a script-based engagement predicated on the appearance of solemnity and timely choral reading. The structure of participation for non-Catholic under Ms. Walsh's supervision is still on a 'platform', though a 'low platform'. What the non-Catholic students reveal in this exchange, however, is the strategic nature of their participation, offering up some features of an apprehensive reading (body posture and the animation of the words) while simultaneously subverting the act itself only to those who are in closest proximity and thus unable to reproach them.

For Catholics and non-Catholics alike, the baseline requirement of apprehensive reading is mandated by the participation framework of the Mass (enforced by the teacher and priests); both must perform relatively similar actions and orientations to text. However, the stakes or distribution of capital is different: their strategic engagement offers different rewards. For non-Catholics, the Mass represents a means to negotiate the required participant framework without chastisement. For Catholic readers, beyond the obvious religious purposes, it offers the means to gain some level of temporal and bodily freedom, a seemingly ironic offer given the requirements of the Mass for lectors.

**CHAPTER 5-
FAITHFUL INSTRUCTION:
CATHOLIC SCHOOLING, CLASSROOM PRACTICE, AND SOCIAL
REPRODUCTION**

Take soldiers and parishioners. They need not know the point of the exercises and rituals (the activity structures) they perform. They need not know how some exercise prepares them for combat in order to perform the task set as the exercise. And parishioners need not comprehend the effects of participating in the celebration of the mass in order to be able to kneel, recite, sit, and take communion in the usual ways... *And as well (or poorly), students and even teachers can perform the rituals of questioning and answering with no point in sight*, through each will have some intention or objective in speaking. (Heap, 1985, p. 251, *my emphasis*)

The teachers, students, and the very institution of St. Dominic Savio sit Janus-faced at the intersection of a new world for urban education. The continued insistence on the distinctly *Catholic* nature of Catholic schools by scholars (Bryk, 1996; Fuller & Johnston, 2014; Greeley, 1998; Youniss & McLellan, 1999) and local actors gesture at the complex process of the (collective) construction of identity and the social (re)production of achievement in this kind of setting. Sitting alongside students in the hard wooden desks and stifling heat of the afternoon as they run the paces of their worksheets, or idling with them in the bustling but restrained hallways filled with children over lunch can help us understand with some clarity the continual struggle for position within the classroom. It is in watching the interplay between teacher censure and student engagement around a text or a classroom interaction that we can see the means by which pedagogic discourse of any sort structures a classroom as a literacy field, “governed by what is valued in that field, what is legitimate, what is excluded.” (Grenfell, 1998, p. 79). And it is here, in this particular and particularly common literacy event, on the ground and in the back-and-forth jostling and regimentation of classroom discourse,

that we can see St. Dominic Savio as simultaneously *sui generis* and structurally representative of the state of urban Catholic schools in the city. The purpose of this chapter, then, is to investigate the institutional operation of language and literacy regimentation (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001) and the establishment of everyday institutional norms, established and contested (often by the *Boys* and their classmates) in interaction. I hope to paint a sympathetic picture of the *Boys* as strategic actors in a classroom, and their teacher, Ms. Walsh, as a teacher balancing pedagogic histories and institutional constraints. That is, I hope to show that the classroom appears as it does because of a unique confluence of overwork on the part of Ms. Walsh, a history of pedagogic rigidity in the Catholic system, and the students' unique trajectories.

A few fundamental questions can serve as signposts for this chapter: What is the predominant interactional structure of instructional practice in Ms. Walsh's Grade 8 classroom? How do the *Boys* participate in this structure? How are different students positioned in these interactional moments and by what criteria? How do students insert their own peer-related discourse (Kamberlis, 2001; Rampton, 2006) alongside and in conflict with the regimented discourse of classroom instruction? And, how do the *Altar Boys* use the literacy resources of their Catholic faith (capital + habitus) to negotiate classroom practice (field)?

Language and literacy are central to these questions, in no small part because they are central to institutional practices of symbolic domination (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). It is here that we focus on the *Altar Boys*' ongoing interaction between formal, institutional elements of classroom process (curriculum, floor-taking procedures, the

administration of turns, literacy practices allowed and disavowed), the jockeying and positioning of students in and through their access to school-sanctioned resources.

This chapter begins, then, with a look at the institutional order of Ms. Walsh's everyday classroom instruction around reading and writing, speaking and attending to instruction. Here I examine the specific case of Ms. Walsh's classroom, bound up in the struggle for power and recognition within classroom interaction and academic discourse (Bourdieu, Passeron, & St. Martin, 1996) amongst her Asian American, Latino/a, and African American students. I focus my discussion on a particular form of instructional interaction, what I deem the '*liturgical performance of classroom literacy*', that both maps onto and modifies the well-trodden notion of IRE, Initiate-Respond-Evaluate (Cazden, 1988; McHoul, 1978; Mehan, 1982). I then turn to the heuristic and theoretical orientation of interactional ethnography (Castanheira, et al, 2001; Castanheira, et al, 2007) as a way to see and explain some of the patterns of production format, turn taking, and discourse in the classroom. Finally, I demonstrate the *Altar Boys* playful and at times strategic engagement with these concretized structures, and their willingness to work within (and against, at least offstage) them in pursuit of various other rewards and forms of capital.

Deep Grooves and Ritual Interactions

Commenting on the "normal order of schooling", what others have called the "deep grooves" of classroom talk (Edwards & Westgate, 1994), Collins (1996) provides the following summary of business-as-usual in most classrooms:

[T]eachers assign and assess turns of talk (with the sequential exchanges organized into higher-level, curriculum-shaped units such as lessons). Such conversational asymmetry reflects differences in the social power of actors; teachers are expected

to know more than students and to control student activities (Mehan 1979). It reflects what might be called a larger symbolic logic of the school, one in which officially sanctioned knowledge is exchanged for respect and obedience. The teacher instructs and directs, the children defer and learn (Willis 1977). It carries out ubiquitously and persistently a discursive form—the question or examination—essential to the practice and recognition of knowledge in formal educational settings. (p. 205)

Collins' summary provides not only a template for the general order of most classrooms, but equally links it to language and literacy ideologies about student conduct and the 'market' of classroom discourse. As "officially sanctioned knowledge is exchanged for respect and obedience" in and through patterns of discourse, we can see shades of Bourdieu's notion of a language 'market' (1977) wherein "Linguistic value is set by relations between different aspects of words and meanings and those of the established legitimate linguistic norm" (Grenfell, 1998, p. 74). Indeed, this is where Bourdieu's work proves most useful in considering the classroom as a field, insofar as we are able to consider the production of a legitimate ideal (schooled discourse, which is itself developed through multiple temporal scales, from the event to the broader history of educational practice) and the engagement of that ideal by students in and through their language practices (some of which fail to meet the norm and some of which are richly rewarded).

While Collins and others have noted some erosion at the edges of these historical patterns (Kamberlis, 2001; Rampton, 2006; Rampton & Harris, 2010), the organization of "conversational asymmetry" in which "teachers assign and assess turns of talk" largely holds at St. Dominic Savio. Rampton (2006) describes contemporary classroom discourse as 'fraying' from its formerly hegemonic standards of IRE and strict authoritative relations between teacher and student due to a confluence of social changes, demographic

and structural alterations to school, and the emergences of progressive pedagogical techniques (at least as a circulating trope), describing the back-and-forth in ‘late modern’ classrooms as a “jostling but expressively depleted style of communication which marginalises students’ judgement” (p. 80). And yet IRE, while ‘fraying’ in the wake of progressive pedagogy’s moral repudiation of such a structure²⁶, still holds sway as a basic genre in classrooms and it is here that much of the classroom regimentation is made publically visible (Collins, 1996). To this, I ask a fundamental question: why do the *Boys*’ play along? Some part of this, I argue, has to do with the construction of the interactional as a moral order, linking ideas about orderliness and quiet with the day-to-day practices of the classroom. In an interview with Greg, he narrates this as Ms. J’s authority overlapping with the church’s.

Interview- 3/6/2014- St. Dominic Savio School

Robert: Do you do things at church that oftentimes you don't understand but you do them anyway?

Greg: Sometimes... Ya... The priest asked me and Ms. Walsh so I listen to them ((laughs))

Robert: Oh ya. How come?

Greg: Cause ((pause)) I don't know/ It's that I listen to them cause they're my teacher and my priest

Heap (1985) describes IRE as a "basic normative structure of teacher-student interaction, a sequence consisting (minimally and ideally) of question-answer-comment,

²⁶ Because IRE has much in common with the ritualistic practices I have described in Chapter 4, the parallels (or *homologies*, to borrow from Bourdieu, 2000) are crucial, including the relative repudiation of IRE in the literacy field as ‘ritualistic’ (and thus morally suspect): “‘ritual’ has generally tended to feature as a term of deprecation, most often equated with old-fashioned (‘traditional’) formal modes of instruction counterposed to the more interactive, ‘communicative’ pedagogies advocated over the past 30 years or so.” (Rampton, 2002, p. 521; see also Luke, 2008).

or more generically, initiation-response-feedback”, wherein teacher “[e]licitations usually receive verbal responses. After such responses, a feedback move is obligatory...

Expansion typically takes the form of reinitiation by the teacher after an unacceptable student response" (p. 249). This orchestration may (or may not) be supplemented or resisted by student backchanneling, direct confrontation, or other non-canonical discursive practices (Heller, 1995). Much contemporary work has set its task to trying to explain the untangling of this pedagogic practice, some on moral grounds and others with an eye to linguistic anthropological concerns about societal change (Candela, 1999; Foley, 1990; Gutierrez, Rymes, & Larson, 1995; Kamberlis, 2001; Rampton, 2006, 2009; Wortham, 2006) to explain the “new settlement” (Rampton & Harris, 2010) of standardized and sanitized classroom discursive patterns existing alongside students’ canny use of popular culture, peer-centered discourse, and disruption.

So while scholars continue to gesture to the relative fixidity and simultaneous unruliness of contemporary instructional discourse, here I offer what Hymes (1996) calls a “contrastive insight”: a demonstration of the distance between prevailing notions of a phenomena and what seems to be actually happening on the ground. In our case, it is the gap between the supposed undoing of classroom discourse away from traditional IRE patterns to a more jostling (yet still depleted) instructional style that conforms to student demands and backchannels (Bernstein, 1971), and what I observed at St. Dominic Savio in Ms. Walsh’s classroom.

To follow this insight, this portion first dwells on a particular set of practices in the classroom and describes that simultaneously canonical/non-canonical IRE interaction of the *Boys* and a handful of their peers. In the section that follows, I attempt to situate

these fieldwork observations in a more general characterization of local institutional practices (Erickson, 1985) of ritualizing text and interaction (much of which we could see in Chapter 4). By ritual, I simply mean the greater or lesser regimentation of interactional moves, a “range of conventions that organize the place of linguistic varieties (and their speakers) in discursive space” through the “construction of the interactional floors and stages, participant structures, keying, and footing” (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001, p. 9). I will argue that Ms. Walsh’s classroom and St. Dominic Savio draw on IRE as a discourse to complete schoolwork, with deep roots and deep grooves that overlap with Catholic school’s long history of what some have deemed ‘catechistic instruction’ (Kroon, 2013; Sharpe, 1992), which is both a product of a textualist ideology (with an important modification) and the way classroom practice is linked to metapragmatic visions of what a ‘good Catholic student’ should be.

Regimenting Instruction

So what does this look like in practice? On the whole, Ms. Walsh found it relatively easy to maintain the conventional IRE pattern of classroom discourse amongst the students, notably amongst the Catholic participants (JP, Benny, Francisco, Greg, Adriana, and Trina) who were far and away the most active participants in any whole-class instructional dialogue. While occasionally students conversed with each other quietly ‘off the floor’ of the whole class discussion, Ms. Walsh was quick to establish her authority and ask for attention, and typically she was able to immediately establish the fundamentals of an interactional floor within the bounds of IRE. Below is are three excerpts (of many more) which represent the foundational IRE pattern in Ms. Walsh’s classroom, which bracketed classroom activities; almost universally, in all three observed classes, students

would orally read the lesson's text at Ms. Walsh's direction, then silently complete a worksheet or a series of prewritten short answer questions, followed by an oral IRE-patterned interaction around their written components (what Heap [1985] calls the 'comprehension phase' of a lesson).

Audio Recording- 2/11/2014- St. Dominic Savio School

The class is working on a classic 5-paragraph essay on the topic question, "Should schools get rid of sports?" The assignment comes directly from a Scholastic magazine, as does the central article and write-up template, which asks students to take a 'Yes or No' stance on the question. Students just finished reading the short text and then writing answers in the template. Ms. Walsh has students offer their position and then she models an opening sentence for them to copy.

- 1 Ms. Walsh: I want somebody for yes
- 2 ((Francisco puts up hand)) Go ahead Francisco
- 3 What's your thesis?
- 4 Francisco: Schools should have less sports
- 5 They should have a strict schedule
- 6 Ms. Walsh: So:ooo?
- 7 In my opinion (0.4) schools?
- 8 ((Ss start talking quietly to one another off topic))
- 9 Excuse me!
- 10 (4.6) ((Ms Walsh stares intensely at Kaylee and Amelia))
- 11 Schools should? ((to Francisco))
- 12 Francisco: Have less sports
- 13 Ms. Walsh: And more?
- 14 Francisco: Schedules

Audio Recording Excerpt- 2/19/14- St. Dominic Savio School

Students had read a chapter of the novel 'One Crazy Summer' (Williams-Garcia, 2011) just prior to this and answered a series of questions about them (from the teacher's guide, which Ms. Walsh wrote on the board and the students copied into their workbook).

- 1 Ms. Walsh: So what do you think they wanted from Cecile?
- 2 Greg: Money?
- 3 Ms. Walsh: Money?
- 4 They didn't have any
- 5 Benny: Food?
- 6 S?: Posters?
- 7 Ms Walsh: Posters
- 8 Alright somebody said money
- 9 It wasn't money they wanted
- 10 They wanted her to contribute

- 11 What did they want her to contribute?
 12 You're on the right track
 13 What did she have?
 14 S?: Paper and stuff
 15 Ms Walsh: She had her own printing press

Audio Recording- 5/27/2014- St. Dominic Savio School

Ms. Walsh leads the students in an IRE whole-class discussion of their answers to a matching activity from their Religion textbooks. Students were to match 'Vices' with their opposite 'Virtues', indicated by a series of corresponding letters (i.e., 'Diligence' is letter 'E').

- 1 Ms. Walsh Pride?
 2 Gabriel
 3 Gabriel: Uh:hhhh E
 4 (3.5) E?
 5 Ms. W: You wanna tell me what the word is?
 6 Gabriel: Um:m (1.4) ((consulting book)) Diligence?
 7 Ms. W: No ((flatly))
 8 Adriana: B?
 9 Ms. Walsh: Humility ((Humility is "B"))
 10 (4.5)
 11 Sloth
 12 (3.8) JP
 13 ((JP looks confused, scrambles for his book))
 14 Ms. W: JP's not there ((looking around room looking for JP))
 15 Uh:h there he is
 16 JP (0.3) sloth
 17 JP: ((2.3)) Um::mm
 18 ((Whispers 'help me' to his neighbor, Adriana, who mouths "E"))
 19 E?
 20 Ms. W: E?
 21 Is that what you said?
 22 JP: Yes!
 23 Ms. W Diligence

As a canonical classroom practice, a number of features stand out. First, with regards to turn-taking procedures on the floor, there is virtually no conversational overlap, either between students and teachers, or between students.²⁷ Turn-taking appears

²⁷ The lack of conversational overlap is less a feature of my transcription format and more an indication of the relative fidelity to discrete turn-taking procedures in the Ms. Walsh's classroom (that is, the effective regimentation of classroom norms).

to be either strictly directed by Ms. Walsh, or administered through the cultural logic of the IRE (McHoul, 1985), which offers only one slot on floor at a time for a speaker. Regarding the former in the case of Excerpt 1, after being prompted Francisco must remain 'on the stage' even after he gives an answer which does not suit Ms. Walsh's desired outcome, to the exclusion of other voices ("Excuse me!" followed by an unambiguous stare down); in the IRE format, teachers have the right to request elaboration on any answer they deem insufficient, and students, as the 'questioned', are required to elaborate²⁸ ("Ms. Walsh: Schools should?/Francisco: Have less sports/Ms. Walsh: And more?/ Francisco: Schedules"). In the case of Excerpt 2, after Ms. Walsh responds with a negative Evaluation to Greg's offering in Line 2, two other students make unprompted discrete suggestions in hopes of receiving a positive third turn Evaluation from Ms. Walsh. Regardless of the turns being directed or undirected (Heap, 1992), what marks all three transcripts is the discreteness of all turn-taking (apart from unofficial 'off stage' interactions, which are quickly shut down). Indeed, students in these interactions do not interact with one another, nor do they challenge one another's answers; rather, all communication 'on the floor' is directed to Ms. Walsh.

Second, student turns in this whole class discussion format are typically limited to narrow, one or two word answers, often as 'known answer' tokens wherein the teacher is looking for a specific set of information which they already possess ("JP: E?/Ms. W: E?/Is that what you said?/JP: Yes!"). Whereas the teacher can generally elaborate on

²⁸ Heap (1992) notes that traditionally "all speaker change is controlled by the teacher. The teacher selects the next speaker, a student, and students select the teacher as the next speaker after they finish their turn at talk" (p. 25).

student answers (McHoul, 1978)²⁹, the students offer up only ‘small tokens’, at times in the form of single letters to indicate deeper text-based information (“Adriana: B?/ Ms. Walsh: Humility ((Humility is ‘B’))”). Heap (1985) notes that “The F[E] move operates... as a turnstile, publically admitting responses to the corpus of academic lesson knowledge” (p. 253), and in doing so either negatively evaluating student contributions (“Gabriel: Um:m (1.4) ((consulting book))/ Diligence?/ Ms. W: No ((flatly))”) or working “build a cumulative public record of authoritative knowledge” (Heap, 1985, p. 253) not simply for the one student ‘on the stage’ of classroom interaction, but theoretically for the entire class (which is why everyone must be paying attention to the interactional floor). Continuing with the theme of ‘small’ or limited interactional tokens for students (mirroring much of the existing criticism of IRE [cf., Edwards & Mercer 1987]), JP demonstrates in Excerpt 3 the highly ‘performative’ nature of these patterns, which require not that he have a broad understanding of the material under view, but instead that he is able to convert his response into an interactionally-designated token, by hook or by crook (“JP: ((2.3)) Um::mm /((Whispers 'help me' to his neighbor, Adriana, who mouths ‘E’))/E?/Ms W: E?/Is that what you said?/JP: Yes!”).

So far, so good, and beyond the note that this pattern seems to hold for every subject I witnessed during my duration at St. Dominic Savio (including Religion class, which we may perhaps think for ideological reasons would have a different format, considering the topic), this is all relatively unremarkable when held against the long history of research revealing the IRE pattern in classroom practice (Cazden, 1988;

²⁹ Some models of IRE indicate the third turn as F [rather than E] for ‘Feedback’, indicating the teacher’s freedom to talk at length, without interruption, to provide further information.

McHoul, 1978; Mehan, 1985). As a ‘contrastive insight’, it does admittedly run up against contemporary research into public schools which demonstrate the weakening of IRE and other codified instructional discourses in light of various demographic and social changes (e.g., Bernstein, 1971; Kamberlis, 2001; Rampton, 2006), all of which have made maintaining traditional pedagogic relations nearly impossible. Students in these studies now jostle with each other for the floor (Candela, 1999; Rampton, 2006), even overtly criticizing each other or the teacher.³⁰ For example, a public school teacher in Rampton and Harris’ study (2010) remarks that in contemporary schools, “any lesson in which the students come in and you start off saying ‘we are going to pick up from the last lesson’ is bound to be unsuccessful” (p. 254). Rampton & Harris (2010) go on to summarize their study of contemporary classroom discourse: “classroom relations had changed over time; communication with pupils relied on negotiation rather than authority...lessons had to entertain; and digital cultural presented a continual challenge” (p. 255).

These kinds of contemporary descriptions run directly counter to the ebb and flow of Ms. Walsh’s classroom; each lesson began with the previous day’s lesson, the introduction of new content (usually in the form of a reading for oral recitation) and continued on via worksheets and IRE; instructional relations were not negotiated by

³⁰ Student-to-student interactions during IRE are equally regimented in Ms. Walsh’s classroom (I witnessed what could only generously be called ‘a handful’ during my year at the school), and overt criticism of another student’s contribution was not only scarce, but quickly disqualified. For example, when Francisco volunteered to argue that schools should eliminate sports during the classroom whole-floor interaction (2/11/2014), some students vocalized disbelief that anyone could make such an argument, to which Ms. Walsh instantly responded with some sternness to the outraged: “First of all/That is for no one to say anything about/It’s an opinion/Okay!? Alright?!?”

typically dictated (notably to the African American students); lessons were rarely entertaining (for example, I witnessed Ms. Walsh showing a video only a handful of times during my 9 months at the school, and all recorded times were for less than 20 minutes) and signs of boredom were usually met with rapprochement rather than a change in instructional performance. In whole-class IRE interactions and in individual ‘seatwork’ time (which together occupied nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of every class), the order of the day was precisely that: order, “respect and obedience” (Collins, 1996, p. 205) in exchange for officially sanctioned knowledge (typically in the form of teacher rehearsals in the E turn of the IRE interactions, or in the form of textbook knowledge). For example, even bodily orientations that appeared to indicate a lack of interest or any ‘backstage’ interaction off the official interactional floor were quickly corrected³¹ (though differentially by race/Catholic affiliation):

Fieldnotes- 2/6/2014- St. Dominic Savio School

“Some of the students’ patience is waning with the seatwork and they’re slumping further into their seats; I’m admittedly in the same position, sliding down into my chair and dreaming of a cup of coffee. Ms. Walsh says “Am I boring you? Sit up straight... Benny, JP, Francisco, and Greg sit up straight as rods, and appear to not require further (or initial) correction on this matter.”

So how do we account for this effective regimentation of classroom discursive relations, at least in the time occupied by teacher-led IRE interactions? And how do we account for the differentiated interactional patterns between Catholic and non-Catholic students, both in terms of offering interactional tokens (we can see in the transcripts above that it is almost universally the Catholic students who participate) and in terms of

³¹ Collins (2013) writes that that educational discourse “encompasses everything from nuances of pronunciation and posture alignment in classroom exchanges to nation-state regimentation of pedagogical forms and content and transnational ideologies of language” (p. 208)

strength and types of reproach for veering off the official floor procedures? Commenting on the need to understand educational environments within their particular contexts (including long histories and event-level interactions), Olneck (2004) writes, “Immigrants do not enter undifferentiated 'American' schools. Rather they enter specific schools whose immediate contexts, histories, memories, and commitments shape their organization and practices” (p. 386). To these questions and this framing we turn for the remainder of this chapter in hopes of understanding the means by which the interactional floor is established and held by Ms. Walsh, and the structure of the literacy and linguistic resources (at times as strategy, at times as habitus) that allow different students, including the Catholic immigrant *Boys*, to engage.

Textualism and Performance in Classroom Reading

While Ms. Walsh’s discursive engagement with the students typically required students to provide a ‘gloss’ on classroom reading in the second slot (I-R-E) of the interaction—by which I mean they were required to either use their memory of the text to provide an answer ‘in their own words’ or to use the text as a site of inference (Heap, 1985)—the central interaction often hung on a particular type of literacy rationality that Collins (1996) has come to call ‘textualism’. Textualism, Collin’s argues, is caught up in school’s fixation of reading as a ‘performance’ (Bauman, 2001)³² (for more on this notion, see Chapter 4) insofar as the literacy event of ‘classroom reading’ involves the public display of selected skills (often oral fluency in reading aloud) which come to define the student’s technical competence with ‘reading’ writ large; that is, ‘classroom

³² Bauman describes ‘performance’ as “a special interpretive frame” wherein speakers take on “responsibility for a display of communicative competence” (p. 178)

reading' reduces the broad phenomenon of 'reading' to a small set of performative surface-level features that can be decontextualized and evaluated (see also Cook-Gumperz, 1986 on 'schooled literacy'). Returning to Goffman's notion of 'forced platform performance' (1983; see also Rampton, 2006), the normal order of school involves teachers selecting students (I) for the public performance of text (R) and the subsequent, in-turn, assessment (E) of their performance along a limited range of features.

Textualism, Collins (1996) suggests, represents one particular form of this wherein classroom interaction rests on "beliefs in the fixidity of text, the transparency of language, and the universality of shared, available meaning" (p. 204). That is, the answers are to be found in the text, because the text is clear and obvious with regard to what it means: Heap (1985) describes this as "the rule that the just-correctly-read-text should be treated as the source for responding to elicitations" (p. 260). And while the text's features may be highlighted or diminished in particular interactions, by evaluating classroom interaction we can view "the extent to which the text is treated as an object for faithful utterances" (Collins, 1996, p. 208), and in Ms. Walsh's case, the place wherein fidelity to the text during performative readings is the place for evaluation. And while I will outline how textualism participates in a larger Catholic school model of reading (Shoaps, 2002), there is equally concern in educational circles that federal policies like the Common Core State Standards are encouraging a renewed form of New Critical textualism in public schools, nailing student interpretation to the 'four corners of the text'.

A common practice in Ms. Walsh's classroom was not simply to evaluate student oral reading performance during the initial reading of the text; rather, Ms. Walsh regularly incorporated this type of textualism (that is, the adherence to the text as the source of all information) as performance into the 'comprehension phase' of the lesson during student (and occasionally teacher) interactional turns.³³ These moves are marked as ALL CAPS to indicate *word-for-word reading* of the class text.

Audio Excerpt- 2/25/2014- St. Dominic Savio Classroom
Social Studies class- the class has finished reading a chapter from their Social Studies textbook on the Gilded Age of American corporations in the 1880s and 90s.

- 1 Ms. Walsh: The first question was are we in (1.4)
 2 Do you think we're bad times today or good times?
 3 (10.9) ((Some students slump in their desks))
 4 Please put your head up Jordan
 5 Jordan (0.4) put your head up
 6 (3.2) Do you feel today we're in good times or bad times?
 7 ((Hailey put up her hand))
 8 Hailey
 9 Hailey Bad times?
 10 Ms. Walsh: Okay (2.3) I asked why do you feel that way
 11 Trina: Money
 12 Ms. Walsh: Okay that's not an answer though
 13 Trina: The government is giving out money to [pay]
 14 Ms. Walsh: [Okay
 15 Start with what bad times were
 16 We read it on page six hundred and thirty five
 17 You have to answer in those terms
 18 Why do you say we are in bad times?
 19 (3.0)
 20 What are bad times? ((looks down at textbook))
 21 SPENDING AND INVESTMENT DECREASE
 22 INDUSTRY PAYS OFF AND MAKE FEWER GOODS
 23 BUSINESSES MAY STRAIN OR EVEN CLOSE

Audio Excerpt- 2/27/2014- St. Dominic Savio School

³³ Returning to Bauman (1987) on 'performance' (his definition, of course, unrelated to classroom interaction in its original formulation): "the act of speaking is put on display, objectified, lifted out to a degree from its contextual surroundings, and opened up to scrutiny... Performance makes one communicatively accountable" (p. 8)

1 Ms W: Why was Perpetua on trial?
 2 Jazmine: Because she was a Christian?
 3 Ms W: And?
 4 Why did she refuse to do?
 5 Tashaun: (4.5) SHE REFUSED TO OFFER INCENSE TO THE ROMAN EMPIRE
 6 Ms. Walsh: Right
 7 She burned incense
 8 She would not burn incense to Roman gods
 9 And she was considered a?=
 10 Benny: [Martyr
 11 Greg: [Martyr
 12 Ms W: No!
 13 ((confused look on Benny and Greg's faces))
 14 What was she considered at first?
 15 A?=
 16 Adriana: A woman?
 17 Ms. W: Umm
 18 ((looks down at teacher's guide to find the word))
 19 Adriana: A traitor?
 20 Ms. W: A traitor
 21 THE ROMAN GOVERNMENT REQUIRED ALL CITIZENS TO
 OFFER SACRIFICES TO THE ROMAN GODS
 22 FOR THE PROTECTION AND HEALTH OF THE EMPEROR
 23 PERPETUA BELIEVES IN THE ONE TRUE GOD
 24 AND OBEYS THE FIRST COMMANDMENT

Audio Excerpt- 2/19/2014- St. Dominic Savio School

1 Ms. Walsh Based on her writing ((turns to board to read the next question))
 2 (1.9) FIND THREE EXAMPLES FROM THE NOVEL THAT
 ILLUSTRATE DELPHINE'S SENSE OF
 3 RE(0.8)SPONSE(0.3)IBILITIES
 4 Go now to page thirty-one
 5 Page thirty-one
 6 There is one there
 7 ((students turn pages in novels))
 8 (10.8)
 9 Anybody find it?
 10 (3.2) Page thirty-one
 11 A sentence that tells me about Delphine's responsibilities
 12 Especially for her (0.4) sisters
 13 (12.6)
 14 It's in the first paragraph
 15 On page thirty-one
 16 (3.4) ((Francisco puts up hand)) Francisco
 17 Francisco: I WOULD HAVE OPENED UP A CAN OF BEANS

18 AND FRIED UP SOME FRANKS
19 Ms. Walsh: Uh huh=
20 I CAN BAKE A CHICKEN AND BOIL POTATOES ((she's reading the
 rest of the paragraph))
21 I WOULD HAVE NEVER LET MY LONG LOST DAUGHTERS
22 TRAVEL THREE THOUSAND MILES
23 WITHOUT TURNING ON THE STOVE
24 Please highlight that whole sentence

What these excerpts show is the insistence by Ms. Walsh that the authority of the text takes precedence of student-generated interactional tokens in response to her questions, and the students' more or less general acquiescence to this interactional regimentation. In the case of the first excerpt, Ms. Walsh's impromptu question, asking students to relate the 'good/bad times' discussion in the text to the current economic climate reveals itself not to be an opportunity for a student-generated response, but instead the opportunity for students to produce a word-for-word definition from the textbook (which Ms. Walsh takes upon herself to read when no one takes her up on this). In the second excerpt, we see that students are able to convert questions into word-for-readings from the textbook (Line 5), but equally that what might be deemed legitimate answers outside of the textualist ideology is denied in favor of reading directly from the textbook (Perpetua was indeed a 'martyr' and this fact leads to Benny and Greg's confusion when their answer is rejected). Here, Ms. Walsh uses the teacher's prerogative to expand at length to convert a single-word student offering ("A traitor?" posed as a question to indicate the 'game-like' quality of this interaction) into a register-specific gloss that comes directly from the textbook.

Indeed, it is here that we can see the 'performative' nature of these interactions at their most crystallized: understanding, relevance, and personal engagement fade to the

background in favor of a focus on the literal word-for-word recontextualization of the authoritative text, which in itself serves as adequate for this interaction. Of course, it would be a serious mistake to believe that the students went along quietly with this interactional feature each and every day, and the slumping, shifting impatiently in seats, resting heads on desks, and relative unwillingness to participate (notably amongst the African American students) were only a small example of forms of resistance (some noted and corrected, some ignored). Further, even in their acquiescence to this procedure, which requires the conversion of ‘student voice’ into textual rehearsal, the *Boys* revealed this interaction to be ‘performative’ and thus a matter of providing a coherent ‘slot’ in the IRE (rather than really understanding what the text had to offer by way of propositional content).

Audio Excerpt- 3/20/2014- St. Dominic Savio School

- 1 Ms. Walsh: WHAT STEPS DID ROOSEVELT TAKE TO HELP PROTECT THE ENVIRONMENT?
2 Francisco: ((flat voice)) A STRONG CRUSADER FOR CONSERVATION
3 (1.1) CONTROLLING HOW AMERICA’S NATURAL RESOURCES WERE USED
4 ROOSEVELT PRESERVED 194 MILLION ACRES OF PUBLIC LAND
5 INCLUDING THE GRAND CANYON IN ARIZONA
6 Et cetera (0.3) et cetera
7 Ms. Walsh: Okay good

In labeling Francisco’s second turn (R) interactional token as acceptable (“Okay good”), a token which includes Francisco failing to complete the literal reading in favor of trailing into “et cetera (0.3) et cetera”, we see again how the students’ capacity to fill the interactional slot (however incompletely) with a direct reading of the text is sufficient. Equally, we can see how the students, in this case one of the *Boys*, are in on the game of this participant frame and willing to play along while simultaneously revealing the

performative nature of the interaction. Much like their willingness to participate in the liturgy of the Mass without attending to the propositional content (we may be reminded here of JP's description of his attention to the homily: "I have no idea. I was totally zoned out. I wasn't paying attention at all"), the *Boys* can engage this framework by attending to its performative features. This is equally true in their willingness to 'play along' in bodily features³⁴, which for Ms. Walsh are as important in tracking the action on the floor as actual oral participation.

Field Note Excerpt- 5/20/2014- St. Dominic Savio School

With that, Ms. Walsh walks over to the computer, where she's cued up a short accompanying video from the Scholastic website. She says that before we read the article aloud, we should watch this and she presses play. The volume is so low that it's almost impossible to hear, and the vast majority of people have their heads on their desks or are looking out the window in the five minutes it plays. At the back of the room, with the fan blowing next to me, I wasn't sure the volume was actually on. This would be unremarkable except that I look over and see that Francisco, Benny, and Greg are all staring straight ahead at the screen as though completely enraptured.

This might appear at first blush to be genuine interest, but as the video drags, Ms. Walsh goes over to her desk and when she turns her back, Greg slumps in his desk, as though taking a breather. He runs his hands frustratedly through his hair, but when Ms. Walsh turns back to look at his side of the room, he drops his hands as though caught in a bad act, and immediately sits up straight again and returns to his posture. When the video finishes, Ms. Walsh says nothing about it, but opens up the article and informs students that they're going to read it aloud paragraph by paragraph—students are to read a single paragraph aloud and then choose the next person to read.

³⁴ "I look over several times in the course of the next few minutes to see if JP has started work on the top half of the chapter review page... which theoretically could be done without much trouble. JP is not doing any work, but is sitting in 'reading posture' - his back is hunched over and his head is down, his eyes focused just beyond the page of his book. His pen is in his hand, at the ready [this is a *defensive posture*, one that allows him to feign ignorance and plead that he's actually doing work if Ms. Walsh were to confront him]. He's looking down at his sheet, which gives him the appearance of doing his work were one to quickly glance over at him. [This kind of mimetic resistance, making like he's doing his work but not doing any of it, allows him to avoid rapprochement from Ms. Walsh but still not have to do work]. When Ms. Walsh turns her back to look at her computer, JP pulls out his phone and starts to text." (5/20/2014)

Recognizing the game at play, and the kind of metapragmatic identity (Wortham, 2006) affixed to paying attention during class time or offering interactional tokens during the lengthy IRE interactions (more on this below), the *Boys* are willing to at least appear to be engaging with the content of the course. That is, to ‘perform’ as an attentive student—in reading and in bodily attention (Haas & Witte, 2001; Luke, 1992)—is enough to demarcate them from their classmates (many of whom were reluctant to go along with the day-to-day interactional procedures or who were willing to receive censure). These represent *undirected forced platform performances* (Heap, 1985; Rampton, 2006), self-selected interactional turns by the students (for the most part, the Catholic students, including the most active participants, the *Boys*), the display of which is public (at least for the whole class) and the success of which hinges upon the ability to convert (or subvert) self-generated answers into the literal content of authoritative textbook material. This is, then, a form of textualism (Collins, 1996), but one taken all the way through the interaction: rather than, as Heap (1985) describes, “the just-correctly-read-text... [be] treated as the source for responding to elicitation” (p. 260), the just-correctly-read-text is treated as the *actual words* for responding to elicitation. It is here we see Ms. Walsh’s particular revision on the IRE structure and on the literacy ideology of textualism, and the *Boys*’ more or less willingness to play along.

This is not to say that the *Boys* are not without personal or community interpretations of their coursework, but rather to outline how those interpretations are largely pushed into the background during class time. Greg, for example, revealed to me after a textual reading in Social Studies about the Gilded Age, that he had significant occupational aspirations and wished to do something about general global poverty:

Field Note Excerpt- 5/8/14

Greg says, “I wanna be the first Asian pope”.

I remark that that’s an amazing idea, and he says that he hopes no one beats him to it ((with a laugh)).

Benny: “Ya, you should become Pope and then call the Third Vatican Council.”

Greg: “Ya, but it’d have to be about something important”

Robert: “What’s important right now that you’d want the church to talk about?”

Greg: [thoughtful pause] “Well, for one thing, the economy is fuuuuuuucked.”

While clearly meant as a moment of humor, Greg reveals how the social critique of the Catholic Church, including its mechanisms and infrastructure for addressing poverty (“Third Vatican Council”) provides a form of community wealth (Yosso, 2005) for him to draw on and make personal connections to his readings in class. However, because of the tight regimentation of his class, these resources largely exist as ‘hidden transcripts’ (Scott, 1992), and pushed to the backstage talk.

General Principles of Classroom Interaction at St. Dominic Savio

Looking across the data, we can see the interactional framework as a structured interactional regimentation (common in many classrooms, public or Catholic), but note that it breaks down largely between Catholic and non-Catholic students, both in the students’ participation types and frequencies and in Ms. Walsh’s response. That is, interaction unfolds differentially in Ms. Walsh’s classroom based on religious affiliation and race (Catholic immigrants from Vietnam, Mexico, and Indonesia and non-Catholic African Americans). For the most part, the *Boys*’ and several of their Catholic colleagues collaborate in the construction of the interactional floor on their teacher’s terms, and limit any resistance or play largely ‘off stage’ and out of site; for the African American students, notably the boys (Tyler, Tashuan, Charles, and Jayden), the resistance appears

on-stage, often through unsanctioned bodily composure (slumping, slouching, or generally not paying attention) or through an unwillingness to join the ‘game’ of classroom interaction via self-directed floor-taking in the IRE, and is more closely *noticed* and *regulated* by Ms. Walsh. The interactional norms are constructed here through a series of turn-taking practices that Ms. Walsh establishes and which are built on Ms. Walsh’s insistence for quiet and order.

While there certainly was a general division between Catholic and non-Catholic participation, the situation was actually much more complex than these broad strokes when we consider that:

i. There were several African American girls (Kylee, Amelia, and Jazmine) who regularly offered conversational tokens, unprompted, in the IRE classroom interaction, typically to Ms. Walsh’s praise or relative unremarked continuance (which stands in the place of praise; see below);

ii. There was a Mexican Catholic student (Josefina) who largely refused to participate in any of the whole-class interaction apart from direct elicitations by Ms. Walsh (and even then, reluctantly);

iii. While ‘on stage’ interactions functioned largely as institutional rituals (performances of institutionally-sanctioned information), backstage in small group work (which consumed the bulk of the remainder of class time) mirrored much of the jostling, peer-centric discourse common in the contemporary literature on classroom interaction (Candela, 1999; Kamberlis, 2001; Gutierrez, Rymes, & Larson, 1995). This matches findings in Chapter 4 that illustrate how strategic engagement, notably by the *Boys*,

requires all resistant and off-task behavior to be ‘backstage’ and not directly affront Ms. Walsh’s institutional authority.

So the Catholic/non-Catholic principle doesn’t hold absolutely, but it does appear to be an organizing heuristic looking across the various classes, and as such it seems important to consider how these various identities and the relationship between religious practice and classroom discourse format might overlap and influence one another. Because the Catholic/non-Catholic boundary is also a racial boundary, these interactional differences also participate as a series of microaggressions (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002) insofar as the African American students typically have their interactional tokens denied or revised. So far, several features of the central discursive format in Ms. Walsh’s class have been identified: a unified floor with stern rebuke to anyone not quiet or appearing to track the action, the insistence on text-specific responses (through literal oral recontextualization following elicitation), and the predominance of Catholic respondents during whole class interaction. These characteristics appear to be mutually constitutive, and in observing them we can at least begin to sketch a general model of interaction in Ms. Walsh’s classroom:

1. Ms. Walsh’s classroom almost unequivocally centred on a set of lesson-bound instructional patterns (which I will expand on below) that culminated in two central activities: the individual completion of worksheet/textbook activities based on readings, followed by an oral whole-class IRE exchange.³⁵ This played out almost exactly the

³⁵ A more general description of this is confirmed in other scholarship conducted at St. Dominic Savio: “I have come to see that classroom time is overwhelmingly spent on subject area competency... This tends to look like students copying notes directly from workbooks or from

same in each class I observed over the course of my nine months at St. Dominic Savio School, regardless of the subject matter, without much by way of deviation; apart from the content, English, Social Studies, and Religion were identical in instructional format. Not only was the text (typically the textbook), therefore, central to publically-sanctioned meaning making during whole-class interaction, it was an organizing heuristic for nearly all classroom activity.

2. Mirroring Bryk's (1996) insistence that "The central tenet of the academic organization of Catholic [school] is a core curriculum for all students, regardless of their personal background or future educational plans" (p. 26), instructional differentiation was conspicuously absent in Ms. Walsh's classroom. Everyone was expected to participate equally in all activities and assignments, and there was no bifurcation between reading groups or ability groups in any of the interactions witnessed during my year at the school. The only slight diversion from this trend was that occasionally JP and Hoang were 'pulled out' of class by the reading specialist for 'Catapult', a reading intervention program. In Ms. Walsh's class, however, there were no academic groupings for any coursework (there were self-selected peer groupings) nor was there any recorded discourse of 'high' or 'low achievers' as though these were hardened or fixed categories/identities (McDermott, 1987). Indeed, talk of 'grades' or 'achievement' was relatively nonexistent during class time.

3. While Ms. Walsh had a quasi-maternal relationship with the *Boys* and other Catholic students outside of the classroom (and occasionally inside the classroom as

their teacher's lessons... students silently reading religious texts, and students working independently on assignments" (Low, 2015, p. 114).

well³⁶), the pedagogic relations were generally marked by a severity for those students off-task or failing to track the pedagogic dialogue on the interactional floor. This severity was specifically used to ensure a unified floor, at least in terms of the distribution of speaker roles or the conditions of silence for individual seatwork. By and large, students listened to her reproaches, many of which came with little provocation; in doing so, Ms. Walsh's class runs counter to much of the literacy on contemporary classroom interaction (Rampton & Harris, 2010). In moments when the regimentation failed to hold, Ms. Walsh turned to explicit metapragmatic descriptors (often in the subjunctive form, as though calling into being an existing state):

Field Note- 2/19/2014- St. Dominic Savio School

Some students groan and turn to talk to one another following Ms. Walsh's assignment of another short answer quiz

- 1 Ms W: Excuse me!
- 2 At this moment everyone is silent
- 3 And working

So while the general regimentation of the instructional floor combined with Ms. Walsh's constant surveying of the class to ensure students were listening and bodily aligned with the classroom dialogue managed to hold order, the other means by which the *Altar Boys* were held in check in the odd moments when they seemed to violate the basic principles of the classroom interaction was through Ms. Walsh's invocation of priestly authority; that is, Ms. Walsh occasionally called on the overlap between St. Dominic Savio

³⁶ Not only did Benny and JP frequently call Ms. Walsh 'Mom' as a term of endearment, the combination of severity and maternalism occasionally combined in a single instance for policing student behavior: "Ms. Walsh gives a long speech to the assembled students (she makes them sit in the chairs they just set up) about not doing work...After she finishes this portion of the speech, she pauses and then gives a smile, saying 'How was the fish?' This move seems to melt the tension, because the students smile and say 'Good' or 'It was alright.' I turn to Adriana, sitting next to me, and ask, 'What fish?' Adriana says, 'Ms. Walsh gave us fish from her lunch and we shared it with everyone. Because we're a family.'" (4/11/2014)

school and church and used the spectre of priestly censure to redirect the *Boys* back to the interactional floor.³⁷

Field Note- 3/10/2014- St. DS School- 12:12pm

“In the transition to Literature class, Benny makes a joke [I couldn’t hear it] that causes a few people to laugh and a few more to faux gasp. Ms. Walsh says, ‘That’s okay. I heard it. And I’ll tell Father John about it and he won’t forget.’ Benny looks down shyly at his desk.”

Here, a classroom disturbance is converted into a religious matter involving a priest, who is going to be brought into the matter to police Benny’s future commentary. This demonstrates both the porousness of parish and school, but equally the easy ‘conversion’ of one set of authoritative relations for another: schooled capital for religious capital.

Catechistic Instruction: The Liturgical Performance of Classroom Literacy

So while up to this point I have characterized Ms. Walsh’s instruction as a modification of the classic IRE formula (Cazden, 1988), and the *Altar Boys*’ participation as frontstage performative and backstage playfully revealing within the bounds of her regimentation, it is here that I diverge from the established literature to offer an alternative conception of the present classroom interactional framework at St. Dominic Savio: one drawing specifically on various scalar constructions of Catholic schooling (Brinig & Garnett, 2014; Bryk, 1996; Wills, 1971; Younis & McLellan, 1999). It is at this juncture that we turn on the establishment of St. Dominic Savio as an urban school with a

³⁷ This worked in other spaces by other participants as well, as parents mobilized priestly authority to spur the *Altar Boys* to work harder at school: “I originally sat down at the back table with Greg and Benny to ask them about the sermon Father John had given the day previous at the Vietnamese service, and which I obviously had no idea as to the contents... When I asked Benny, he said he wasn’t listening either, but that he’d asked his dad about it that afternoon and his dad hold him that ‘Father John said to pay attention and do well in school.’” (3/10/2014)

Catholic accent³⁸, and not simply an urban school (which have their own distinct history of racial politics and behaviourist pedagogy; cf., Ede, 2006; Hursh, 2007; Kozol, 2005; Luke, 2010). And it is at this juncture that we think about how Ms. Walsh's pedagogical tendencies intersect with her own history of Catholic education to produce a pedagogic field and habitus; it is equally here that we begin to construct a theory as to why the *Altar Boys* go along with it all without much by way of resistance. Grenfell (1998) cautions us not to regard a teacher's practice in isolation but argues that it "must be connected to the hierarchy of valued practices and knowledge within the pedagogic discourse the field... Habitus replaces intentions with past histories, context, and ideational structures" (p. 87). It is in this spirit that we look to history, habitus, and structure for an explanation.

Were we to characterize portions of Ms. Walsh's instruction as 'traditional', we would find ourselves in good but limited company: the very few research studies that examine classroom interaction in Catholic schools as a particular phenomenon (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993; Kelly, 2010) have remarked that contemporary Catholic schools classrooms remain "largely textbook driven" and that "lecturing was a common mode of delivery" (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993, p. 309)³⁹, but note that actual, on-the ground

³⁸ Responding to criticisms by Baker & Riordan (1998) that contemporary Catholic schools were losing their Catholic quality in the midst of demographic changes to the number of faithful attending, Youniss & McLellan (1999) offer that "As far as we can tell, in every school, religion classes are required of all students, regardless of their religious affiliation. The religion curriculum and textbooks are, however, variable in their structure and emphasis... Of the inner-city schools serving large numbers of minority students in the O'Keefe and Murphy study, 95% offered religious retreats and 73% made them mandatory" (p. 111). See also Dooley, 2000; Greeley, 1998.

³⁹ Kelly (2010) differentiates *traditional instruction*—"transmitting an existing body of knowledge and skills to students"—from *developmental instruction*—"cultivating interest, concentration, and effort, under the assumption that students must be engaged in order for achievement growth to occur" (p. 2410).

classroom interactional studies in Catholic schools are rare or largely nonexistent (Grace, 2003); as an example, Hunt, Joseph, & Nuzzi's lengthy edited *Handbook of Research on Catholic Education* (2001) contains chapters on school funding, administration, curricula, enrolment, and even counselling in Catholic schools, but none on instruction. Further, those studies which have looked explicitly at interactional patterns as a phenomena in Catholic schools are limited in specificity: Bryk, Lee & Holland (1993) classically provide case study data from what they deem 'good Catholic' schools in order to characterize their micro-culture, but do so in only a piecemeal (and quite broad) fashion. From these few studies, a consensus does emerge, however, that generally Catholic schools follow a particular pattern that defies much of the progressive pedagogical orientation of contemporary education schools (Labaree, 2005):

While students were generally on-task, the instruction was not very lively and focused more on passive transmission of information rather than active engagement. For example, student-led discussion and cooperative work were uncommon, and *classroom discussions had a recitation quality* (Kelly, 2010, p. 2409, my emphasis).

"[W]e had observed relatively high levels of student engagement in classroom instruction we judged as rather ordinary. Many professional educators argue that a more relevant curriculum and more stimulating instruction are need to enhance student engagement in learning. While such developments may be highly desirable, the basic premise of their argument—an appeal for more immediate rewards from learning—was certainly not producing the student engagement we had observed" (Bryk, 1996, pp. 27-28)

This kind of instruction presents itself (and is pilloried in many corners of the research literature) under different guises and monikers: traditional, rote, ritualistic, textualist, scripted, didactic, all in contradistinction to progressive pedagogical techniques which promise 'voice', 'freedom' and other elusive ideals (Gutierrez, Rymes, & Larson, 1995; Heller, 1995; Rampton, 2002, 2009). Historically, the tradition of instruction as

rote, rigid, and highly ritualized has given the Catholic school caricatured picture in the public imagination (Wills, 1971), one built on Catholic school's legacy of religious instruction driving all instruction. Coursework was classically centred on the ubiquitous subject textbook and the Baltimore Catechism⁴⁰, both of which served as the textual center of the class for literal recontextualization at the teacher's behest through a form of monologic questioning that some have deemed "catechistic teaching" (Sharpe, 1992). Similar to Collins' (1996) "textualism", the "public display of selected skills (for example, reading aloud) and context-independent assessment of error" (p. 205), catechistic teaching reflects a textual ideology, which for some authors represents a "sacrosanct canon... connected to a fixed teaching approach" (Kroon, 2013, p. 201). What marks something as 'catechistic' beyond the IRE formulation (which we can certainly think of as ritualistic insofar as it is often performative without comprehension) is that the entirety of the interactional structure is preformulated for recontextualization.

Here, the text becomes ritualized (and sacralized, insofar as it takes on an air of authority that cannot be questioned) through practice. We have seen the way the ritualization of sacred text hardens categories in the Mass and other Catholic rituals (for legitimated readers, for Catholics, for those with special liturgical roles), we can see this same process in the classroom through the ritualization of the textbook.

⁴⁰ The catechism in the Catholic tradition is structured as a preformed-question/known-answer series: for example, the Baltimore Catechism, which was the de facto textbook for Catholic schools in America for nearly 100 years, reads: "How many Persons are there in God? *In God there are three Divine Persons – the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*"

Liturgical Performances of Classroom Literacy

A form of catechistic pedagogy is at play in Ms. Walsh's classroom, though one rife with her own unique take derived from context and history. While catechistic teaching may function as a circulating trope (one cultivated as a habitus through her own years at Catholic school), broader instructional trends are always embedded in particular circumstances, and the proverbial stick (as we will see) can be twisted in multiple directions:

Audio Recording- 3/10/2014- St. Dominic Savio School

Ms Walsh leads students in IRE discussion around English non-fiction reading

- 1 Ms. Walsh: FOR THE PAST DECADE
- 2 AMERICA HAS ENJOYED UNPRECEDENTED GROWTH
- 3 ((2.5)) ((Tyler fidgets in his desk))
- 4 Please stop that
- 5 CHECK THE BOX
- 6 WITH THE CORRECT DEFINITION
- 7 OF UNPRECEDENTED
- 8 AS IT| ((student bangs pen on desk))
- 9 That was not necessary
- 10 ((8.0))
- 11 AS IT WAS USED IN THE SENTENCE OF THE ARTICLE
- 12 What does unprecedented mean?
- 13 ((Benny puts hand up))
- 14 Benny
- 15 Benny: NOT EXPERIENCED BEFORE
- 16 Ms. Walsh: Right

What marks this as catechistic is obvious insofar as both Ms. Walsh and Benny are beholden to the textbook not simply as a site of inference during the comprehension phase of the lesson (Heap, 1985), but because both the teacher prompt and the student response are word-for-word recontextualizations of the textbook content. While the student must engage in some form of inference insofar as they must match the teacher's word-for-word questioning (though we note here that Ms. Walsh provides a final gloss on

the textbook material by asking in her own register “What does unprecedented mean?”), the words by which they express their inference are pre-written. Ms. Walsh then affirms this turn (and use of pre-written text as a gloss) with a simple “Right”, contributing the regimentation of this kind of instructional format.

We can see in other excerpts how the catechistic format holds even more tightly; Ms. Walsh and her students are moving back and forth with wholly constructed interactional patterns that defy even the IRE insofar as there is no teacher-induced third-turn Evaluation (and here we can think of the Baltimore Catechism as a model insofar as it provides only questions and answers).

Audio Recording- 2/27/2014- St. Dominic Savio School

1 Ms. Walsh: Diocletian, what was his plan?

2 JP: DIOCLETIAN PLANNED TO REMOVE EVERY TRACE OF
 CHRISTIANITY FROM THE WORLD

3 Ms W: HOW DID THE BISHOPS LEAD THE PEOPLE DURING THE
 PERSECUTION?

4 Greg: WROTE LETTERS TO STRENGTHEN THE CHRISTIAN
 COMMUNITIES

Curiously absent here is the traditional teacher third-turn Evaluation; she does not say “Right” or “Good” or provide any other indication of a correct/incorrect answer, nor does she provide directed or undirected turns⁴¹ in the traditional ‘turnstile’ slot to move the interaction onward (she neither calls on the students directly nor does she indirectly ask them to bid for the floor). She does not comment on the content of JP’s interaction

⁴¹ “In classroom interaction there are two categories of turn allocation techniques: directed and undirected. Directed turn allocations are achieved by the teacher nominating a student or otherwise directing a particular student to be the next speaker. Undirected turn allocations are achieved by various interactional formats for inviting bids or replies by students.” (Heap, 1992, p. 27). If we think about the liturgical production of text (as in church liturgical moments), they are marked by *an absence of directed/undirected turn allocations*.

either. Instead, the interaction proceeds with a kind of liturgical precision; each turn flows seamlessly between teacher and student without overlap, correction, or pause. It is here that we can think productively about more ritualized visions of classroom instruction, and in a manner that moves away from progressive condemnation. That is, it appears that in this classroom, the *Altar Boys* are capable and fluent in the catechistic instructional patterns and willing to play along. This hints then at the interactional structure being about much more than the public distribution of knowledge to the classroom (Luke, 2008). This is particularly revealed in the moments (much like Francisco's "Et cetera, et cetera") where the content is demonstrably placed in the backseat of the interaction:

Audio Recording- 2/27/2014- St. Dominic Savio

Ms. Walsh transitions into silent reading, telling the students to read p. 87 from their textbook and "Read to tell me the difference between Nero's persecutions and Diocletian's persecutions." While the students read in relative silence, Ms. Walsh sits at her computer, typing out text from her teachers' manual into a Word document she's projecting on the whiteboard. The document includes a direct quote from the text on Christian martyrdom, and also a Venn diagram, with Nero and Diocletian on either side. J then engages the class in an IRE format discussion, where the student responses were largely directly from text:

1 Ms. Walsh: Who was first? Nero or Diocletian?

2 S?: First ((Ms. Walsh writes "First" on Word document))

3 Ms. Walsh: What about Diocletian?

4 Adriana: PLANNED TO REMOVE EVERY TRACE OF CHRISTIANITY FROM
THE WORLD

5 Ms. Walsh: What?

6 Adriana: PLANNED TO REMOVE EVERY TRACE OF CHRISTIANITY FROM
THE WORLD

7 Ms. Walsh: Last, okay ((Writes 'Last' in Diocletian circle))

Whereas the content of Adriana's interaction is ostensibly ignored and validated in this exchange—Ms. Walsh, following the teacher workbook activity, is trying to solicit an known-answer to the question of chronological order of figures, whereas Adriana is

reading what appears to be an unrelated portion of the textbook in reference to Diocletian—the simple performance of the text itself is enough to constitute an affirmed turn and is converted by Ms. Walsh into whatever content needed for the activity (from “PLANNED TO REMOVED...” to “Last”). Here, either Ms. Walsh is not paying close attention to Adriana’s performance of the text or is content to simply let the performance in this ritualized back-and-forth stand on its own.

Returning to the language first articulated in Chapter 4, we can see the valuation of apprehension (“the socially significant practice of taking up a text and going through the process of actualizing the inscribed words in a temporal sequence”; Baker, 1993, p. 98) over comprehension, and thus the conflation of interactional strategies between the parish (the public performance of text) and the school (the forced platform performance of a catechistic sequence); once again, it would appear “the metacommunicative/pragmatic function of such language use over the referential function” (Moore, 2013, p. 7) has come to the fore. Here we can make explicit connection between the performative structures of the ritual register of the Mass and the ritual register of the classroom: just as Shoaps (2011) notes that in ritualized prayer “If one utters the Lord’s Prayer with the intention to pray (that is, if one becomes both animator and principal), one is praying” (p. 46), here if one reads the textbook with the intention of answering a question, one is answering a question. This conflation is known in the Bourdieusian literature as homology: “generative schemes that cut across different spheres of cultural production, generating both works and thoughts”. Where some have used the language of ‘lamination’ (Moore, 2013; Prior & Shipka, 2003) to describe the everyday intersection of resources and discourse strategies into new spaces, speaking of homology allows us to

think of the distribution within a field of positions played out in this crossover.

Speaking of regimentation—the limiting of the classroom interaction to a series of legitimated interactional moves—and its relation to other fields of production, we can see how Ms. Walsh expressively draws on the trope of catechistic teaching to both affirm students who participate in it and to chastise those who divert from the pattern.

Audio Recording-1/30/2014- St. Dominic Savio School

1 Ms. Walsh: The question is
2 MANY CHINESE WORKER FIRST ARRIVED ON THE WEST COAST
3 WHILE MANY IRISH CAME TO THE EAST COAST
4 HOW DID THIS AFFECT THEIR EMPLOYMENT?
5 Who hired who?
6 That's what I want to know
7 (2.0)
8 Adriana
9 Adriana: MANY OF THE WORKERS HIRED ON THE RAILROAD
10 COMPANIES WERE IMMIGRANT WORKERS
11 WITH FEW OPPORTUNITIES TO WORK
12 THE CENTRAL PA.CIFIC RAILROAD HIRED
13 MANY CHINESE WORKERS
14 MANY OF THE WORKERS WERE IRISH
15 ((reads directly from text in flat voice))
16 Ms W: Okay
17 And where did the Chiname|
18 Chinese immigrants work for
19 Adriana: CENTRAL ((looks at textbook))
20 Ms. W: CENTRAL PACIFIC
21 Okay
22 Now EXPLAIN THE ROLE (0.4) OF THE GOVERNMENT AND
23 IMMIGRANTS
24 IN BUILDING
25 IN BUILDING
26 THE TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD
27 (1.0)
28 What was the government's role?
29 What did the government do:oo?
30 How did they help?
31 How did they not help?
32 (1.0) ((Benny puts up hand))
33 Benny
34 Benny: THEY LENT THE RAILROAD COMPANIES

35 MILLIONS (1.5) OF DOLLARS?

36 Ms. W: Okay

37 The government lent money to the railroad companies

38 And what else

39 What else did they do?

40 Greg

41 Greg: THEY ALSO ANNEXED PROPERTY

42 AND GAVE THE RAILROAD COMPANIES LAND

43 ALONG THE TRAIL ((reads in flat voice))

44 Ms W: Right

45 Made land available to them

46 Alright so what?

47 So what?

48 Greg: MANY OF THE WORKERS HIRED ON THE RAILROAD

49 COMPANIES WERE IMMIGRANT (0.4) WORKERS

50 ((flat voice))

51 Ms W: Alright

52 Many of the workers were immigrants

53 Okay

54 Many of the workers were immigrants

55 And how did the nation|

56 result ((looks down at question in teacher workbook))

57 HOW DID THE NATION CHANGE

58 AS A RESULT OF THE WESTERN MOVEMENT AND THE END OF

59 THE CIVIL WAR?

60 There are three (0.2) points

61 Okay find any of those points

62 ((Students read through text to look for three points))

63 ((Ms W sits silently at computer desk waiting for someone to give an answer))

64 (31.1)

65 Ms. Walsh: No one got any of the reasons?

66 (5.6)

67 Ms W: Oka:ay=

68 What was the|

69 What |

70 What was the purpose of the railroad?

71 What was the purpose of the railroad?

72 To what?

73 Charles: ((says quietly and Ms. Walsh does not hear)) To help the slaves escape

74 (3.3)

75 Ms W: Come on (2.4)

76 Charles

77 Charles: To hide and escape?

78 Ms W: I'm sorry?

79 Charles: To hide and help slaves escape

80 Ms W: Okay? ((sceptical voice))
81 Um Charles
82 Where are you today? ((sharp rising intonation))
83 I'm on chapter nineteen

We can see in this lengthier excerpt several features which mark catechistic teaching, including both teacher (Lines 57-59) and student (Lines 9-14, 34-35) rigidly adhering to the text as a source of interactional tokens, with only Ms. Walsh free to provide the occasional gloss or conversational token (including a reformulation of the original question on Line 71-72 when the students did not appear to understand the prompt). However, what is most interesting is Ms. Walsh's correction of Charles to bring him 'back online' with the interactional structure (and metapragmatically demonstrate the implicit norms of the interaction). Contemporary progressive pedagogies explicitly try to cultivate student understanding of the course material by having them draw on or reflect on their own understandings (cf., Bloome, Carter, & Brown, 2010), however inchoate they may be. And here is Charles, seemingly linking the discussion of economic development, post-Civil War America, and Ms. Walsh's question about the "purpose of the railroad" to his own thoughts on the Underground Railroad (this is an interpretive move on my part, but it seems most likely given that Charles' response was "To help the slaves escape" in regards to a 'railroad' question). Regardless of the content of Charles' interactional token—which was first ignored, then requested for a reformulation ("I'm sorry?"), and then chastised ("Where are you today?")—Ms. Walsh's rejection of his series of responses was not the 'what' but rather the 'where'; the criterion by which she rejects his interactional token is its failure to adhere to the textbook ("I'm on chapter nineteen"). While this interaction participates in a larger Catholic project of catechistic

instruction, it can also be framed a series of microaggressions (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). Here, the symbolic violence of ignoring and declining Charles' contributions, including the shaming of his attempts to enter the conversation through unique interactional tokens by way of cultural knowledge about African American history, participates in a larger culture of the depreciation of Black children's rich community knowledge (Groenke, Haddix, Glenn, Kirkland, Price-Dennis, & Coleman-King, 2015; Kirkland, 2013).

Grenfell (1998) writes that in moments when a distinction is made "between what is a legitimate or illegitimate way to proceed" this is "a strategy on the part of the teacher to self-regulate, to gain control over another, to maintain core principles of her own pedagogic habitus" (p. 81). The pupil who falls outside of this pedagogical habitus, to be the pupil the teacher wants him to be, is ultimately marginalized, and "This marginalization will tend to re-emphasize the power of the original socio-cultural habitus (of the pupil) at the expense of the legitimate pedagogic culture (of the teacher)" (p. 81). And in addition to pedagogic habitus, we can see how Charles' seems to be mobilizing community knowledge about African American history, and the racialized habitus of the school produces a microaggression (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002).

Histories of Regimentation

Ms. Walsh described her own elementary education, part and parcel of her Catholic faith and the school's place within the parish in St. Aloysius, a South Philly Catholic school, in this manner:

Interview- 5/28/14- St. Dominic Savio

- Robert: So what were these hundred and fifty questions?⁴²
- Ms. Walsh: Who was Jesus? Who was God? Those kinds of things.
- Robert: You knew them in advance, the one hundred fifty, not the answer....Just to back up here ... There's a hundred and fifty questions. Is there like a workbook or someone's lecturing to you?
- Ms. Walsh: Um-hmm ((affirmative)). You had ditto sheets with these questions and answers. Your parents better have read them over with you.
- Robert: What is your preparation then with these questions? What are you doing with these questions?
- Ms. Walsh: You're memorizing. That was it. You were memorizing.

This form of instruction, one in a repertoire of teaching approaches (and only one means by which to characterize Ms. Walsh's classroom, which includes its own confluence of expressive, jostling, progressive, and peer-related instructional moments), has in many ways become iconic of Catholic education; that is, the ideological regimentation of particular interactional patterns and participant frameworks maps on to conceptions of knowledge, knowledge transmission and classroom authority and comes to stand in place of them or be necessary to them (Kroon, 2013). Indeed, Youniss and McLellan (1999) note that so iconically-linked to religious authority is catechistic instruction in Catholic schools that the 'fraying' of instructional relations and imposition of progressive pedagogies has been viewed as a portent of the collapse of the system's

⁴² The Baltimore Catechism consists of hundreds of questions and answers, broken into three 'Parts' (The Creed, The Commandments, and The Sacraments and Prayer) on the subject of Catholic doctrine (the Virtues and Gifts of the Holy Spirit, the Resurrection and the Life Everlasting, etc.). It is in framing the questions as already adjoined by concretized answers that leads Kroon (2013) to describe this form of teaching as "a tightly regulated and scripted question-answer sequence, which looks like educational dialogue but is in fact a monologue in disguise" (p. 189), wherein catechistic teaching becomes iconic of a fixed body of knowledge. Perhaps Ms. Walsh's class as a child was only focusing on a subset of the larger question set.

distinct identity: “To the casual observer, the absence of old-fashioned catechism drill may seem like a move away from religion” (p.112).

Ms. Walsh’s own testimony reveals that this form of instructional ordering came to pattern not simply her religion classes (which centered on the Baltimore Catechism), but all her classes; that is, the catechistic instructional form structured every class. Here she describes the way the nuns-cum-teachers regimented classroom instruction (*my emphasis*):

Ms. Walsh: You know what? I think it was different than any other place because they were different types of nuns. Yeah, walking up and down the aisle just strolling. *Everything was a drill. Math was a drill. Reading was a drill. Everything was a drill.*

Robert: Interesting.

Ms. Walsh: Poetry. You learned poetry. You had to stand up and recite it all.

Robert: What do you think about that as a style of instruction?

Ms. Walsh: I think it has its place. *I think our kids are missing that. I think they're not using their brains much because they don't have anything memorized.* They're relying so much on this ((points to cell phone on desk)). That's not a brain. This is. ((points to head))

Thinking in the language of field and habitus (though we need not necessarily; Cuban’s [1993] well-trodden point is that classroom instruction has carried on without much alteration for nearly 100 years), Ms. Walsh describes her the construction of her *pedagogical habitus*; in this case, one built on strict regimentation through question-and-answer sequences centered around a codified body of knowledge through her history in Catholic schooling. Revisiting an old trope in the teacher socialization field, that we tend to return to that most familiar to us when it comes to maintaining our own classrooms, we can see how Ms. Walsh’s reformulation of the catechistic instructional patterns (which

were equally drawn all the way through each of her classes as a young student-
“Everything was a drill. Math was a drill. Reading was a drill. Everything was a drill.”)
as a unique instantiation of a larger scalar history of Catholic instructional practice, which
she uses to criticism contemporary students (“I think our kids are missing that. I think
they're not using their brains much because they don't have anything memorized”) and
justify her own practice (“*it has a place*”). What constituted both the legitimate language
used to represent learning or understanding in the classroom and the means by which to
structure and regiment instructional space (that is, the construction of a field) is instilled
as a habitus, in this case, a literacy habitus for orienting to text.⁴³ Teachers do not simply
‘repeat’ their literacy training from youth (as though there were a one-to-one relationship
between site and action), but rather act “in terms of her own pedagogic habitus realized in
practice in the field context in which she finds herself” (Grenfell, 1998, p. 86).⁴⁴

To understand the continuance of this discursive feature in Catholic education, we
must think both diachronically and synchronically, situating educational discourse along
a scalar continuum of change and situating it within the present condition of urban
Catholic schools. This is a history marked by pedagogical change (including the inclusion
of progressive pedagogical techniques; Youniss & McLellan, 1999), but one located in
Catholic school’s insistence on ‘tradition’ (including pedagogic traditionalism; Bryk,

⁴³ Where Bourdieu’s (1996) conception of pedagogical habitus departs from more apolitical
constructs like the ‘apprenticeship of observation’ (Lortie, 1975) is in his argument that
pedagogic norms are not neutral, but instead part of a process of social reproduction, wherein
symbolic violence of the dominant class is the core of any pedagogic relationship.

⁴⁴ On this same subject, Bourdieu (2000) writes “Dispositions do not lead in a determinate way to
a determinate action; they are revealed and fulfilled only in appropriate circumstances and in the
relationship with a situation.” (p. 149)

1996; Williams, 2001) and a relatively decentralized structure that has allowed it to inoculate itself against some of the progressive tendencies of curricular reform (Kelly, 2010). Blommaert (2005), reflecting on the historical changes to discourse frames in the Western university, including the erosion of traditional authority relations between professors and students (in nomenclature, for example, from “Doctor Smith”, to “Ms. Smith” or even “Jane”) asks us to think of:

the ‘who, what, and how’ of university discourse. At this level, we would probably see rather drastic changes in the patterns of communication over particular spans of time. Stand-up professorial lecturing in front of large student audiences has been complemented during my lifetime by smallgroup interactions with considerable space for interventions and initiatives from students; the written course book that covered most of the course materials, has been gradually replaced or complemented by flexible sets of course materials -- books, articles, internet materials, and so on. Students would be encouraged to collect their own libraries, and books would be offered to them at affordable prices. My ways of organising discourse regimes with my students is rather fundamentally different from those of my immediate predecessors. Part of this development is enabled by technological and economic changes such as the emergence of electronic communication modalities and the mass circulation of printed materials. But at this level we would see enormous synchronic differences. (p. 133)

Looking synchronically, we can think of the present state of pedagogy in Catholic schools in reference to its rhetorically-circulating opposite, public school (ACSP, 2015). Here, Catholic schooling is regarded as more ‘traditional’, notably when pedagogical trends more committed to “transmitting an existing body of knowledge and skills to students” (Kelly, 2010, p. 2410) are seen as eroding in public schools (Rampton & Harris, 2010) due to ‘fraying’ authority relations and the influence of progressive pedagogy. Looking diachronically, we can think of the metamorphosis of Catholic education, from largely decentralized schools serving white immigrants, to their enrollment peak in the 1960s, to their present state serving huge numbers of non-Catholic

African Americans, as one that continues to pull on and modify (as a kind of palimpsest) catechistic teaching which marked Catholic education at its inception.

Kelly (2010), in one of the few existing, but comprehensive, studies of Catholic pedagogy, offers several answers as to why Catholic schooling has seemingly remained so ‘teacher-centered’, proffering both the teacher’s own pedagogical experiences as students (and thus situating contemporary pedagogy synchronically) and the comparatively low levels of teacher professionalization amongst Catholic faculty (Schaub, 2000)⁴⁵, citing the “weaker exposure to innovative teacher education programs” (p. 2434). But while the first seems especially fitting for Ms. Walsh given her own narrative, the second runs counter to the specific circumstance of St. Dominic Savio and its teachers. Ms. Walsh not only holds multiple bachelor degrees from a highly regarded public university, but also holds a Master’s degree from Eastern University in education. How else do we explain the prevalence of catechistic instruction in her classroom? I offer two mutually informing potentials here:

1. Ms. Walsh uses catechistic teaching to organize the bulk of her classroom times as a means to negotiate her overburdened work conditions.⁴⁶ During the academic year from September to June, Ms. Walsh works for minimal pay at St. Dominic Savio,⁴⁷ then

⁴⁵ Baker and Riordan (1998) argue that in 1950s Catholic schools, “The faculty was made up almost exclusively of nuns... While the nuns could teach the basics, their pedagogical training was limited...As a result, their focus in the classroom was on discipline and piety...coarsely ritualistic and academically limited” (p. 20).

⁴⁶ “1 Robert: So I wanted to start off by asking you a bit about=

2 Your life outside of school

3 Ms. Walsh: ((Loud boisterous laughter)) You're funny” (4/24/2014- Interview)

⁴⁷ Statistically, Catholic schools pay their teachers significantly less than their public counterparts (\$15,000 a year less for elementary teachers; Schaub, 2000), often by framing their labour as ‘service’ to the church (this was much more explicit when the teachers were largely members of religious orders).

leaves immediately after school to work for several hours at a local dentist's office in filing and reception, before returning to New Jersey to live and care for her ailing mother. This is, of course, her typical schedule on days when she doesn't return in the evenings to coach CYO Girls basketball or attend a liturgy committee or CCD meeting. On Sundays, you can find Ms. Walsh attending English Mass in the mornings (often supervising kids in the process) and then teaching catechism class to the English-speaking parish youth immediately afterwards back in her own classroom.

Field Note excerpt- 3/20/14

At 2:45, I exit the building with Ms. Walsh. She tells me that she's exhausted by headed to her next job, and I ask more about this phenomenon of teachers working two jobs. She only shakes her head and says that everyone works two jobs at the school. "What we make working two jobs is what a first year teacher makes in a public school." Ms. Walsh tells me she's in her 50s and has been teaching for 29 total years, 10 of which at St. Dominic Savio. I ask if she's thinking retirement after next year and says that retirement is a long way off, that she has "too many" years left before she can think about that.

It is little wonder, then, that Ms. Walsh often turns to textbook-driven instructional activities that allow her to arrive the next morning after a long night of activity and service and know precisely where she left off and where the direction of the day will take her and the students. This framing helps us understand Ms. Walsh as a far more sympathetic character (and I am not unaware that my own framing thus far may paint her in unfavorable light, despite my better intentions) grappling with untenable working conditions that compel her to rely on the materials and participation frameworks that lend themselves to straightforward implementation.

Apart from the standard textbook-driven lessons (read text orally or silently, complete textbook questions as independent work, and then rehearse answers in whole class IRE format), the other lessons were universally driven by purchased curriculum

material: two complete unit plans for novel studies (*One Crazy Summer* and *Road to Terabithia*) and Scholastic magazines (which had accompanying lessons and questions). This helps explain the presence of the occasional ‘progressive’ pedagogical activity, which was incorporated in the purchased material, and which Ms. Walsh used alongside conventional textbook material.⁴⁸

Interview- 5/21/2014- St. Dominic Savio School

1 Robert: Have you taught all/
2 You've taught this class (1.8) let's say English 8 or Social Studies 8
3 You've taught that several times already?
4 ((Ms. Walsh nods yes))
5 Same textbook?
6 Ms. Walsh: This is my five years
7 Ya
8 Robert: Same teacher manual
9 The whole thing?
10 Ms. Walsh: Right right
11 Robert: So you've got a routine around that?
12 Ms. Walsh: Uh huh
13 Robert: Does that help with the planning?
14 Ms. Walsh: Ya it does
15 It makes it easier
16 It makes it much easier to plan
17 It makes it easier to do what you have to do

As if this weren't explicit already, the cover of Ms. Walsh's teacher workbook guide (purchased online) for *One Crazy Summer* included the commercial tagline: “Novel Guides- it's like buying time!”

⁴⁸ Though the inclusion of ‘progressive’ pedagogical material was often met with confusion by the students: “She copies a new prompt from the teacher workbook that asks the students to either draw a map of the fictional Oakland neighborhood based on the descriptions in the book, or to write a poem about their own community (students literally said “What!?” when she read that second part of the prompt [making me think that writing a personal response poem was not common practice in that classroom]). (2/19/2014- *Fieldnotes*).

2. Ms. Walsh draws on local and broader-circulating discourse that situates ‘order’ and ‘respect’ as the central features of iconic or metapragmatic identities for students in Catholic school. That is, what constitutes an appropriate response to school-based activities is drawn from metapragmatic identity models (Wortham, 2006) which link student identities to external features like ‘quiet’, ‘respect’ and general decorum. IRE offers an interactional structure that makes this possible.

Wortham (2006) notes that identity models have a “social domain” that “change as they move across time and space... and are applied in contingent and somewhat unpredictable ways” (p. 8). In Ms. Walsh’s class, this means the (somewhat uneven) application of social categories like ‘good student’ and iconically linking them to particular behaviors and other intersecting identities.

Interview- 4/24/2014- St. Dominic Savio School

On the subject of differences between her Catholic and non-Catholic students

Ms. W: That makes a difference. They're either immigrants themselves or first generation born in this country. Except with English. That makes a lot of difference with respect level and priorities and how you're treated. What they expect. So their parents expect a lot because they want them to excel. More than usual.

Robert: Say more about that. That sounds like you're saying there's a different group orientation.

Ms. W: There are times that you know uhh... Last year's eighth grade, if there were five Catholics it was a lot. Okay? And so you see the difference. Everyone is expected okay? Most of the class last year was born, were born here. Mostly African American so... Their priorities and their ideals were different. Even though the parents were structured. There still... There's a difference... There are too many of them that feel that they're better than each other. You know? And umm... don't take criticism

Robert: If I heard you right, you're saying that some of the difference is about whether they were immigrants or children of immigrants. And some of the difference is about whether they're Catholic or not?

Ms. Walsh: Uhhhh huuuuuh... Well I mean, if you're just putting your child here for safe school. This is not... Then don't. There are plenty of charter schools that are safe. If you're not practicing some faith in some way then maybe you need to rethink this. Okay? Because your child is gonna be taught one way here and if they go home and it's lax then they're getting mixed signals.

Ms. Walsh draws on several broadly circulating identity models, including tropes of the model minority, hardworking immigrant student (cf., Gibson, 1997; Lee, 2001; Ng, Lee, & Pak, 2007; Ngo & Lee, 2007) and links those with Catholic identity models and local educational experiences of “respect levels”, “priorities” and “how [the teacher] is treated.”⁴⁹ Those students who were not Catholic (explicitly labeled “African American”) were characterized as having differences in “their priorities and their values”, some of which are criticized for having “lax” home lives (in contradistinction to the rigor and order of Catholic school and the supposed order of the Catholic students’ home lives), for not being able to “take criticism” (which is the heart of much of the metapragmatic discourse around off-stage classroom interaction), and for acting “better than each other” (running aground against identity models of Catholic schooling that position all students as ‘equals’; Bryk, 1996). This racial ideology, longstanding in American schools (Groenke, Haddix, Glenn, Kirkland, Price-Dennis, & Coleman-King, 2015) represent the underlying framework which equally denies the African American students the full speaker rights at students. Here was can see clearest the regimentation (it “makes clear which aspects of the context are relevant to interpreting the sign”; Wortham, 2006, p. 33) of this metapragmatic identity, through Ms. Walsh’s drawing on a Catholic/non-Catholic

⁴⁹ Collins (2014) would describe this as an act of ‘enregisterment’, “the recognition that there are repertoires of forms that are stereotypically associated with kinds of speakers and activities, as perceived by historically specific groups or groups” (p. 13)

binary and binding various practices and identities together (with Catholic on one side and non-Catholic on the other).

The Boys' play on this metapragmatic regimentation as well, recognizing that being a "good student" is less about achievement and more about order and decorum. When I ask Benny, who'd been telling me about "good and bad students" at St. Dominic Savio, he elaborates and equally demonstrates the underlying racial component:

Interview- 1/27/2014- St. Dominic Savio School

Robert: What makes you good or bad?

Benny: Not talking. Doing your work.
 ((I point to Tashaun))

Robert: Tashaun seems like he'd be a good guy

Benny: No:ooooo. He's bad.

Notice here the lack of language around achievement, and instead the wholesale application of moral language on to Tashaun's mere presence, itself a form of racializing segregation through a moral economy (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). Indeed, when it came time for individual writing activities or the weekly exams (which were the totality of evaluation by Ms. Walsh apart from a very few exceptions), the *Altar Boys* and their non-Catholic counterparts were equal in participation; all of the above (including Tashaun) were recognized and received awards from Ms. Walsh at the end of the year for subjects like English and Science. Instead, the low-stakes performance of classroom interaction combined with the circulating tropes regarding what constituted a 'good Catholic student.'

Strategies of Liturgical Engagement

Given what I've presented thus far in framing classroom engagement as a series

of game-like interactions whereby the student thrusts themselves up (or occasionally have themselves thrust up on directed turns) on the interactional stage (Goffman, 1983) for potential criticism along a limited range of features (fidelity to the textbook material, adherence to a strictly textualist ideology, narrowing interactional features to exclude personal connection to material), why do the Boys bother to participate and participate so (at least publically) boisterously? Furthermore, why don't the other non-Catholic students contribute nearly as much given how low and relatively straightforward the threshold for participation is? In what ways do the social capital of the parish and the *Boys Catholic* identity come into play?

Symbolic Capital and Intersecting Discourses

While Ms. Walsh's direct invocation of priestly authority (Ms Walsh once corrected Benny's off task behavior by warning him, "I'll tell Father Jim about it and he won't forget") is a form of the use of religious authority and the social capital of the parish to maintain strict classroom relations, another includes a subtler piece of symbolic reordering at work. Frequently, the *Altar Boys* articulate a vision of Ms. Walsh and the priests that overlaps with regards to their authority: both are referenced as figures of authority to listen to, even if they don't understand the directives:

Interview- 3/6/2014- St. Dominic Savio School

Robert: Do you do things at church that oftentimes you don't understand but you do them anyway?

Greg: Sometimes... Ya... The priest asked me and Ms. Walsh so I listen to them ((laughs))

Robert: Oh ya. How come?

Greg: Cause ((pause)) I don't know/ It's that I listen to them cause they're my teacher and my priest

This may seem like simple etic description from the students, but key members of the parish in numerous public forums conflate teacher and religious authority. In an excerpt from the church weekly bulletin which became the heart of Monsignor's sermon that week, and that was subsequently posted on the church website, the figure of the teacher is laminated on to the work of Jesus Christ, and in turn the work of mothers (making this complex symbolic work, indeed):

St. Dominic Savio parish bulletin- 5/11/2014

Thoughts from Our Pastor

(Acts 2:14;36-41; 1Peter2:20-25; John 10:1-10)

Years ago in a Catholic school in another city there was a raging, terrible fire that took the lives of many children and teachers. When firefighters were sorting through the devastation left by the fire they discovered whole classrooms of children still seated at their desks with their heads on their folded arms having died in that position. It was surmised by the fire inspectors that the teachers quickly realized that there was no way out of the blazing inferno and had instructed the children to put their heads down and rest. If you can imagine the chaos, noise, heat and smoke in the school, the trust-level of those students for their teachers is simple astounding!

They KNEW that their teachers would only want the best for them... they listened... and followed. There might be other interpretations of this event. But I can not help but believe that it is what John's Gospel is saying about Jesus and those who hear HIS voice! What trust!!

How well are you and I following Jesus and His invitation to LOVE these Easter days?

HAPPY MOTHER'S DAY to all our Mother's who act as "shepherds" for so many of us!

Father O'Donnelly

Beyond inclusion of "HAPPY MOTHER'S DAY" to the "all the Mother's" [sic] who "shepherd" the students to their figurative death in this narrative, we see teacher and

religious authority fuse.⁵⁰ While the narrated event (Wortham, 2006) includes the story of a teacher knowing what is best for their students and the students listening and following without question (to their own smoke inhalation), Monsignor uses this to align the readers/congregation to Christly authority by making an analogy between the two in the narrating event⁵¹: “I can not help but believe/ that it is what John’s Gospels is saying about Jesus and those/ who hear HIS voice! What trust!!” Here, the ideal posture is unquestioned adherence to the authority of the teacher, and the teacher is the ideal authority figure. And while we can think of this as simple rhetoric for the sake of making a point to illuminate the reading in the season of Lent, the *Boys* clearly draw on it when describing authority relations in the classroom.

Fieldnotes- 4/23/2014

Ms. W reads text, “Who have you known to have the qualities of a spiritual teacher or mystic? Briefly explain how this person has influenced you”. Underneath this are two very small lines for the students to write on... Ms. Walsh calls the class back together and asks the students to share out their answers. Adriana is the first to put her hand up and she volunteers, “My teacher, Ms. Walsh.” Several students groan, and Ms. Walsh says, “You’re already getting first honors. You don’t have to bribe me.” JP throws down his pen, and says, “She stole my answer”, while Benny says that he also picked Ms. Walsh.

So while we can think of the *Altar Boys* relatively seamless frontstage acquiescence to Ms. Walsh’s teacher authority as their playful engagement in the game of

⁵⁰ This fusion of authority relations and religious iconography shows up all over the place at St. Dominic Savio, even in the *Boys* multimodal compositions: “I peer over Benny’s shoulder and see the *Boys* are working on a felt communion banner with ‘Ms. Walsh’ written in large letters down the side. On the banner are classic images of the communion cup, the Holy Spirit as a dove, and the Host.” (*Fieldnotes- 2/27/2014*)

⁵¹ I follow Wortham (2003) here to draw a simple distinction between the narrated event—the story told by a speaker during an interaction—and the narrating event—the actual interaction itself. Wortham’s point is that the narrated event can be used to create forms of categories and social alignment for the listeners and interactants (as in the use of a “participant example” during class- “Let’s use Johnny as an example...”).

school (and it is indeed that), we equally think of it as in part a testament to the intersecting authority relations of St. Dominic Savio parish and school (even after their formal split), and a testimony to the pedagogy work of both sites to inculcate particular forms of respect, order, and compliance. That is, the rituals of class and Mass at St. Dominic Savio are not simply the space of performative action, but are structured specifically to inculcate particular kinds of values that produce a habitus, one that can be returned to or repurposed in other spaces (and here we see again the utility of Bourdieu's notion of homology to think of the overlap between agents, authority, and symbolic capital in these two spaces: The idea, simply, is that actions in one field can trigger actions and dispositions in another). If the notion of habitus has any purchase at all, then the countless hours of ritualized orientations to text in and through religious practice have to count for something beyond the space of the Mass. Indeed, it is specifically this issue that Bourdieu and Passeron (1977/1990) address when discussing the productive power of religious institutions to have influence beyond their conventionally-held boundaries: "Thus, the hold of a religious power is measured by the degree to which the habitus produced by the PW [pedagogic work] of the corresponding pedagogic agencies generates practices conforming with the inculcated arbitrary in areas remote" (p. 34), including, we might add, schooling and teacher-student authority relations. This contributes in no small part to the differential participation structures of the classroom between the *Boys* and their non-Catholic classmates.

Exchanging Forms of Capitals

One of the oddities of the canonical (and ever-present) IRE instruction in Ms. Walsh's class was that it was largely inconsequential when it came to grading or anything

we might think of as ‘student achievement’. No grades were ever distributed for participation in these kinds of interactions, and even the worksheet activities that fill the remainder of the time are largely without any grading function⁵²; this is reserved for the once weekly open-book quizzes in each of the subjects, which are virtually identical to the worksheets (indeed, they’re copied from the exact same teacher workbook and completed in the same manner by the students). Rampton (2006) comments on this type of interaction and characterizes it as “inconsequential assessment; restrictive forms of audienceship; and for some, forced platform performance” (p. 77): whole-class talk has little ‘grading’ stakes, interactional tokens are typically judged based on a limited set of criteria (this is particularly true in Ms. Walsh’s classroom), and the performative moment is often a ‘forced platform’ insofar as students are visible to criticism in front of their peers (though unlike Rampton’s students, peers cannot adjudicate each other publicly in Ms. Walsh’s class). So it is little wonder that many students opt out of the daily back-and-forth of the IRE interactions with so little at stake, but it still leaves us to wonder: why do the *Boys* opt in?

As I have demonstrated in the previous sections, some of this can be attributed to the instantiation of religious authority in Ms. Walsh’s classroom and in Ms. Walsh herself, which authorizes her directives and creates a circulating trope of the ‘good

⁵² And the *Boys* know it. “JP slips out of the room to use the restroom and I follow him into the hall, hoping to ask him quickly why he’s not doing any of his work. When I ask, he only smiles and says “I know she’s not going to check it” [so knowledge here is strictly performative- if there is no performative value in it, in this case for grades, and Ms W’s solicited answers based on self-reported responses (students have to put their hands up and offer to answer), there’s no chance that JP will be called upon). This works out to an internal daily calculus where he decides if he wants to perform knowledge that day]” (*Fieldnotes-5/20/2014*)

Catholic student' in and through practice (though, as we have seen in the last chapter, the *Altar Boys*, particularly JP, are perfectly capable of creatively subverting religious authority backstage). Further, as we have seen with regards to catechistic instruction, the pedagogical demands of the IRE interaction are structurally homologous to the interactional demands of liturgy at St. Dominic Savio (only further anchored by Ms. Walsh's religious authority). So this framing allows us to discount notions that the non-Catholic African American students were alienated or completely divorced from their schoolwork, or that a kind of grade-specific achievement gap opened up on this basis; by and large the grades washed out the same on the actual graded portions of schooling (that is, on the open-book quizzes, which few students had trouble completing), and while several of the Boys were 'star' pupils (Benny and Greg), several were 'average' (JP and Francisco).

But this does not exhaust our sense of why the *Boys* were willing to play along with the classroom interaction, far and away over and above their peers. To understand this we turn to Bourdieu's notion of capital (1992), and its potential for exchangeability in different fields. Bourdieu is clear that school is in the business of producing and validating linguistic capital, and in doing so producing sets of categories that allow for the exchange of other forms of capital (principally, cultural capital, which is economic capital euphemized): "The influence of linguistic capital", Bourdieu & Passeron (1977/1990) write, "particularly manifest in the first years of schooling when the understanding and use of language are the major point of leverage for teachers' assessments, never ceases to be felt (p. 73). Given that Ms. Walsh's Catholic schooling history has worked to laminate interactional features with Catholic identity, and that the

Boys engage these interactional features expertly, what is exchangeable?

I have already highlighted how the religious labor (and it is labor⁵³) of being an altar boy is often a space where the *Boys* are assigned work by Ms. Walsh (as a manager of their labour), typically without their input, but which allows them to avoid large portions of the school week. So while their labor (both schooled and religious) may be somewhat alienated, it still has exchangeable value:

Audio Recording- 2/6/2014- St. Dominic Savio School

- 1 Benny: I'm serving on Saturday
2 ...
3 Robert: Who calls you?
4 Benny: Ms. Castillo calls
5 Ms. Walsh
6 Robert: Do you miss school a lot for that?
7 Benny Ya
...
8 ((turns to JP))
9 Robert: How many funerals do you do?
10 JP: Not many
11 Two times a week
12 Robert: Two times a week?
13 Do you usually miss school for it?
14 JP: Ya
15 One on the weekday
16 One on the weekend

But this only captures one form of the labor the *Altar Boys* perform in exchange for their cultural capital, as altar boys, and in the case of the school, as “good Catholic students” willing to participate in the structures, rituals, and decorum of Ms. Walsh’s classroom. This plays out both in terms of the content of the interaction, their willingness

⁵³ And like all labor, even the religious kind, it is undertaken with some hesitance: “JP sighs deeply and says, ‘This is gonna be a lo:oong Mass’. When Benny asks him why he thinks that, JP begins to go through all the various portions of a wedding Mass. Benny only looks down glumly.” (4/24/2014- *Fieldnotes*)

to offer discrete interactional tokens within the limited range of features available (typically, literal recontextualization)⁵⁴, but equally to align their bodies to appear “as readers or writers” (Luke, 1992) and in doing so map on to iconic representations of Good Catholic Students by showing sufficient reverence to the interactional order and the text⁵⁵ The other reward they gain in exchange for their quietude and acquiescence is equally a paradoxical form: manual labor.

Nearly every school day, Ms. Walsh asks the *Altar Boys* (and occasionally Gabriel) to perform some kind of manual labour for the church, the school or the classroom, including but not limited to: taking out the school’s garbage, cleaning up the gym or cafeteria, carrying food to the kindergarten class from the cafeteria, setting up microphones and other equipment, carrying boxes and other heavy items up and down the three floors, setting up chairs and risers for school-wide assemblies, supervising dozens of younger students, and any other general tasks. This may seem to be one of the things that just happens at an elementary school, but after spending a year at St. Dominic Savio, the *Altar Boys* are not simply one group that does this work; they are *the* group that does this work. The most common of these tasks is cleaning up the garbage after lunch each day, a duty that is both messy but time-consuming: they are typically absent for the first 10 to 15 minutes of class, are not accountable for their time, and relatively free to move

⁵⁴ “Well she’s our teacher and she’s an adult. We have to respect her even though we don’t want to or we get annoyed. We still have to respect her.” (*Francisco- Interview- 5/6/2014*)

⁵⁵ Of all the students in Ms. Walsh’s class, the *Altar Boys* are always the most attentively positioned: “The students at the back take this opportunity...to put their heads on their desks, the clock slowly ticking off the seconds while the sounds of kids playing in the parking lot filters up through the windows. Francisco, Greg, and Benny are all intently focused on their papers, writing furiously.” (*4/24/2014- Fieldnotes*)

about during this period. Why do they get this paradoxical luxury that both consigns them to work but simultaneously frees them from the rote activities awaiting the rest of the class?

Fieldnotes- 2/27/2014- St. Dominic Savio School

JP, Francisco, and Benny are all told by Ms. Walsh to go downstairs and take out the garbage, and I follow along with them. I ask JP why it is that they always get to take out the garbage. He says that Ms. Walsh used to let different groups of boys [never the girls, it would seem] take out the garbage, but as the semester went on, this small group showed that they were the “most reliable” and so they got to be the exclusive group. We took our time and JP really dragged his feet moving back up the stairs, as though trying to slow down time. None of them wants to return to class any time soon.

Fieldnotes- 5/12/2014- St. Dominic Savio School

After everyone is seated, Benny takes the microphone next to Ms. Sandra, who’s working to lay out trays of Salisbury steaks (really, just a beef burger covered in a light gravy) and steamed mashed potatoes. Benny starts to call out the classes by grade (“Grade 1 you can come up”). JP and Gabriel stand near the maintenance closet door in order to sell raffle tickets. I wait several more minutes as this continues, Benny calling out names and Gabriel and JP selling tickets, but not a single teacher arrives to help supervise. For nearly 10 minutes, apart from Ms. Sandra, who is still working on the food, JP, Gabriel and Benny are supervising nearly 50 kids on their own [this bodily freedom that’s allowed them to escape class and allowed them to escape the heat of the 3rd floor has also granted them work obligation (like garbage) but equally leadership opportunities- this seems to be predicated on their classroom dispositions, which Ms. Walsh reads as trustworthy]

This does not go unnoticed by the other students, including the African American boys, who seemingly desire that could theoretically be an unpleasant job (only further illustrating why the nexus of racial/schooled/religious identity possessed by the *Boys* is a form of capital converted into a desirable job):

Fieldnotes- 2/6/2014- St. Dominic Savio School

Charles, who’s been sitting by himself looking over his completed work, suddenly stands up and says loudly “Yo, they took my job! Ms. Walsh...” (with falling intonation, as in resignation to the situation). I ask him what he’s talking about and he points out the window to Benny, who’s loading garbage bags into the dumpster in the cold biting wind. “You wanted to do that?” I ask. “Ya...” he

replies glumly.

Given the strict regimentation of Ms. Walsh's classroom, it is little surprise that the *Boys* relish the opportunity to convert their participation in this regimentation into a chance for bodily freedom (however temporary). This plays out almost universally on the axes of racial/religious/student identity, with the African American boys and girls confined to the classroom during the day, and the *Altar Boys* (with occasional help from Gabriel) sprung for large blocks for religious or manual labour. We can see this tension play out further amongst larger contemporary post-industrial competitions for work in Philly and other industrial centers, as African Americans and immigrants (in this case Asian and Latino) jockey for what work remains, and position one another in the discourse (cf., Lee, 2004, 2005; Reyes, 2009- see Chapter 6 for more on this).

**CHAPTER 6-
RACING RELIGION:
PRODUCTIONS OF RACE, CATHOLICISM,
AND IDENTITY IN SCHOOL INTERACTIONS**

In this chapter, I address the intersection of race and religion in interaction at St. Dominic Savio. As race is a category reproduced and deployed in interaction (Reyes, 2009; Zacher, 2008), it is imperative that we look at the *Altar Boys* as individuals racialized by the spaces and discourses of schools and communities, but equally examine how they themselves draw on racial categorization and discourse, and wrap that together with their Catholic identities to produce something uniquely localized and simultaneously structural.

Writing as recently as 2011, Shankar notes that relatively little work has been done to date on everyday language use amongst immigrant youth, and thus there is a pressing need for research into the "performative, cultural and linguistic practices that youth use" in hopes of reorienting our focus on youth from "subjects of assimilation to youth as agents who engage in everyday cultural and linguistic practices" (p. 3); this is even more true with regards to research on parochial education, and Burke and Gilbert (2015) write the despite the centrality of the Catholic school system in the construction of racial geography of urban schooling in major American cities, "research on the social experience of students of color in private and parochial schools remains conspicuously absent" (p.6) . Compounding this need, few studies have examined Asian American youth from ethnicities not traditionally captured in the 'model minority' myth (Ng, Lee, & Pak, 2011), what Reyes calls "The Other Asian" (2007), including Cambodians,

Hmong, and Vietnamese.⁵⁶ And while small pockets of research have considered the Asian American and Latino experience with regards to Catholic school (cf., Lopez, 2009; Zhou & Bankston, 1996), almost no studies to date do so with an eye for interaction and interactional analysis. This chapter contributes to these pressing needs by addressing the tactical use of racial and religious language by Vietnamese and Mexican Catholic youth to reveal how they negotiate issues of immigration, language, and race in the spaces of urban Catholic schooling. I hope to show how racializations intersect with religion and religious institutions in urban Catholic schooling, and thus draw on multiple orders of discourse in interaction.

In this chapter I examine the backstage use of religious and racial categories by the *Altar Boys* for the cultural production of schooled identity (Levinson & Holland, 1996; Willis, 1981a) at St. Dominic Savio. Here, we see how the *Altar Boys* position in the school offers them a set of distinctly religious categorizations as a way to socially position their African American classmates: and, in this act, lay claim to the social space of the classroom on the basis of a moral authority.⁵⁷ Thus, we can see the outworking of

⁵⁶ Writing to disrupt the traditional Black-White binary in the American racial imaginary, Bonilla-Silva (2002) suggests the recent evolution of a racial triad—Whites, Honorary Whites, and Collective Black—which offers a class and color gradation distinction. In the category of Collective Black, Bonilla-Silva places Filipinos, Vietnamese, Hmong, Laotians, Dark-Skinned Latinos, Blacks, New West Indian and African Immigrants, and Native Americans living on reserve. Framing Vietnamese in this manner is in some tension with authors like Ngo & Lee (2007), who see the Vietnamese as emerging in contemporary discourse as honorary whites, in part due to academic achievement and rising mean income levels.

⁵⁷ This spatial/moral division is a circulating trope at St. Dominic Savio amongst the *Altar Boys*, who problematically draw on the language of Catholic morality to distinguish between themselves and their African American classmates, and in doing so position themselves as morally superior by virtue of their Catholicism: “Though the classroom is empty at the moment, I can still see the vague outline of the jostling students who will soon retake their seats when the bell rings in a minute or two. JP, who’s been giving me an abbreviated tour of St. Dominic Savio School for the last hour while everyone else hurriedly finishes their lunch in the cold concrete

various circulating discourses of anti-black racism and other forms of racial identification intersecting with more locally-developed narratives about Catholic identity in and through schooling. In doing so, we can see the way religious discourse is not simply an additive category in the *Altar Boys*' understanding of school and the space of the classroom, nor simply a resource for productively engaging with the literacy dictates of school (Skerrett, 2014b), but rather undergirds a whole series of categorizations used for the social positioning. At stake in this categorization is the capacity to invoke representations of the social world, at times antagonistic and hierarchical: Bourdieu (1985) reminds us "It is no accident that the verb *kategoresthai*, which gives us our 'categories' and 'categoremes', means to accuse publically" (p. 729).

Focusing on the use of religious discourse, this chapter reveals how the *Boys*' draw on identities, categories, and distinctions from the Catholic Church and St. Dominic Savio (and repertoires of religious discourse more broadly) to engage with classroom literacy practice and schoolwork. While Catholic discourse is often invoked at the parish and school as a superordinate identity to construct a cosmopolitan panethnicity (Campano & Ghiso, 2011; Reyes, 2007) that encompasses many cultural, ethnic, and racial groups at the parish and school, it is also used locally by the *Altar Boys* for the production of differentiation and (de)legitimation (for themselves and their classmates). Hall, et al.

basement of the gym, ironically sweeps his hand across the room as though introducing me for the first time to the Grade 8 class. I've sat in the back of this class for months now, watching the work and the talk and the animated back-and-forth that marks every classroom interaction, the African American students (all non-Catholic) to the left and the immigrants and children of immigrants (almost all Catholic) to the right. JP, himself the son of Vietnamese political refugees and one of the chief altar servers at the adjoining parish, smiles at me in what I will learn over the course of a few months is a characteristically wry way, and says with a matter-of-factness, "I feel like this side [pointing right] is heaven and this side [pointing left] is hell. Because this side is full of brightness and this side is full of darkness." (2/20/2014- *Fieldnotes*)

(2009) note that “Interactive positioning can communicate status and power as individuals suggest what valued identities look like, who has them, and who does not” (p. 239). In this chapter I explore how racial categories are merged with religious categorizations in and through classroom interaction. Here, we see how the *Altar Boys* largely avoid the ‘safetalk’ of neutral racial discussion and dilemmas (Pollock, 2004; Skerrett, 2011; Thomas, 2015), and merge these discussions with talk of religious identity and practice to accomplish their schoolwork. I demonstrate how St. Dominic Savio school and parish provide multiple, at times conflicting, visions of racial identity as both a crucial and irrelevant category (mirroring contemporary postracial public discourse); here I show that the *Boys* largely ignore this framing when out of sight of their teachers and priests, and use intersections of race and religion for verbal word play and to critique schooled authority. To conclude the chapter, I closely analyze a small group interaction between two of the *Altar Boys*, Benny and JP, and two of their non-Catholic classmates, Gabriel and Charles⁵⁸, where racial and religious categories were deployed to authorize and deauthorize classroom contributions and complete their coursework. Here, I follow Zacher (2008) to see how students use their coursework to learn and “simultaneously jockey for positions in the status hierarchy” (p. 253), and in doing so draw on their symbolic, cultural, and social capital to use the texts of the class to mediate their otherness and the distribution of capital. This chapter examines how race and religion are

⁵⁸ One of the very real limitations of my study is that while I spent hours interacting with the African American boys, in class, in Mass and other religious services during the school week and on the basketball court, they were not formally interviewed (apart from Gabriel, who identifies as both mixed-race and also as African American, depending on the interactional moment). This means that their representations in my prose come by way of my own observations and the discursive work of Ms. Walsh and the *Altar Boys*.

discursive resources that the *Altar Boys* draw on for a variety of school tasks, and how together they are used for cornering the market on symbolic capital in the classroom.

Race Talk/Religious Talk

Rejecting static or phylogenetic conceptions of race, scholars have focused on the process of ‘racial formation’ (Omi & Winant, 1994; Winant, 2001): race not as an intrinsic quality of bodies and groups, but rather as an outcome of a process of *racialization* for the furthering of power relations (Lowe, 1996). By freeing race from invariable categorizations, scholars demonstrate the way racial formation takes on meaning within national, regional, and local political economies (Leonardo, 2013), often deeply implicated in political and economic machinations around schools, neighborhoods, jobs, and housing (Wacquant, 2012).⁵⁹ Race is not simply an additive feature to institutional discourse, but a central feature of what it means to be an identifiable person in contemporary American life and schools. Scholars have demonstrated, for example, the persistent ‘outsider’ quality attributed to third and fourth generation Americans who do not fit to the unmarked features of Whiteness (what Lee, 2004 and others call a “forever foreigner”), who are as a result unable to attain the full measure of equality: in education, in the workplace, in the cultural politics of American life. Immigrants (and their children), consequently, do not enter schools ‘unmarked’, but instead discover a long-established and continually-reworked racial formation at work:

⁵⁹ Writing specifically on the contemporary intersection of incarceration, poverty, public disinvestment, and the drastic conversion of welfare to so-called ‘workfare’ in urban neighborhoods, Wacquant (2012) characterizes this era as the “punitive regulation of racialized poverty” (p. 67)

“Non-white immigrant youth,” Lee (2005) writes, “discover that they must negotiate their identities within a racial hierarchy where Whites are positioned at the top” (p. 2). For some scholars, this has amounted to a form of ‘racial distancing’ (McClain, et al., 2006), where immigrant groups discursively position themselves closer to whites, and distance themselves from and position themselves against African Americans in order to ameliorate their own Othering (Mindiola, Niemann, & Rodriguez, 2002). Mary Francis Berry, former head of the US Civil Rights Commission suggests that America has “three nations, one Black, one White, and one in which people strive to be something other than Black to avoid the sting of White Supremacy” (cited in Alcoff, 2003, p. 8).

Processes of racialization are built on the construction of (racial/ethnic/national) categories, and the lamination (or reflexive calibration of indexical links) of negative identities attached to these categories (at times through logics of biological determinism, and at times through reductionist ‘culture of poverty’ or ‘cultural difference’ arguments; cf., Payne, 1995). These often appear as ‘naturalized’ or ‘obvious’ categories and divisions, which circulate and are taken up habitually by individuals and institutions “within social fields where capital, value and worth are evaluated and exchanged” (Luke, 2008, p. 1). Race, then, can be conceptualized within the Bourdieusian literature as a form of capital (socially constructed, functionally and contingently exchangeable for reward in tandem with other forms of capital).⁶⁰ In a telling example, Lisa Lowe (1996)

⁶⁰ Race being one of several forms of capital predicated on categorization and identity: “Race/ethnicity, gender, class, sexual preference and language constitute key, though not exhaustive, elements of embodied cultural capital. As such, they are differentially recognised and misrecognised, and exchanged for value in the multiple and overlapping social fields that people traverse” (Luke, 2008, p. 5)

argues that Asian Americans' tentative place in the racial landscape is augmented by the White establishment's need in various eras to exploit Asian labour, thus drawing various groups in different historical eras to capitalize on their labour power, but refusing to grant them the rights and privileges of citizenship; race here is as validated, however limited, as economic capital, but denied cultural capital.⁶¹ In an apt example for this particular argument, Lopez (2009) comments that in California, despite being in the state just as long (or longer) than Italian Americans (themselves once a marginalized, 'outsider' group in American cultural life), Mexican Americans have yet to be fully welcomed into the Catholic church hierarchy, and today represent only a fraction of bishops, priests, and other leaders.⁶² Race clusters around other intersectional elements (including the typically unmarked element of 'religion') to produce a unique racial formation that is habitually circulated and reformulated in interaction.

So how do we make sense of this kind of racial formation in something as simultaneously local and global as St. Dominic Savio, where networks and communities converge into an existing and transformed neighborhood and school? Like all ethnographic work, the tension is in holding what can generatively be called 'broadly

⁶¹ See Bonilla-Silva (2002), who argues more broadly that contemporary global capitalism has allowed Western nations to 'interiorize the other', where foreign workers are ushered in for labor exploitation as guest or permanent workers, often by exploiting economic fallout caused by their own global capitalist projects. In Philadelphia, this has colonialist echoes as well, as the United States has opened its borders in periods to refugee groups from Southeast Asia (including Vietnam) who experienced fallout from their various (disasterous) international wars.

⁶² Frank Wu (2002) makes a nearly identical argument about the parallel immigration and settlement paths of Chinese and Irish families in America, with the Irish eventually being welcomed as 'White' and the Chinese being stigmatized as part of the 'Yellow Peril', a nativist discourse of racialized economic and cultural contestation. This discourse, which separates 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' immigrants, continues today, notably with respect to Mexican immigration and Chinese economic expansion.

circulating discourse' about racial differentiation (for example, the quintessential black/white racial binary in American educational research, or the discourse of postracial colormuteness that operates in various platforms) and see it operating locally (including local models of religious affiliation): Soyal (1994) suggests for scholars examining immigrants and contemporary racial formation, we examine "how national boundaries and ethnic identities are created, circulated, debated and contested across social contexts and levels of scale" and in doing so "consider not only how immigrants are incorporated but also how 'incorporation regimes' themselves are culturally produced" (Soyal, 1994, p. 109). Here, boundaries and identities are examined as social arbitraries that work to position and be positioned by actors. This pluralizes notions of culture and race, so that we might think of schools as racializing institutions occupied by teachers and students who are doing their own work of racial formation within those constraints (for just a small subset of examples of this kind of work in schools, see Foley, 1996; Kirkland, 2013; Talmy, 2009; Valenzuela, 1999). This further requires attention to how this plays out in and through interaction. That is, we must understand the formation of racial identities as a "dynamic process shaped by intergroup relations" (Ng, Lee, & Pak, 2007, p. 102), which draws on multiple orders and scales. Reyes (2002), writing specifically on Asian American identities in schools, argues that for a full account of this process we must see how markers like race and culture are "interactionally emergent and how identity is performatively achieved through struggles to position the self and others in socially meaningful ways" (p. 183).

How else do we account for the *Boys'* jostling and irreverent use of racial categories in class in tandem with Catholic identity, at times ludic, at times specifically to

position others with regards to negative characteristics for their own advantage? How else but through a logic of racial formation in interaction to see how local and national categories of race and religion are entwined? For example, we can see how JP draws on multiple orders of discourse in his conversation with me and his African American classmate Kaylee (Fieldnotes- May 14, 2015) to position us on the far side of a border⁶³ that is both racialized and religious:

JP still has his angel wings, and as I'm sitting at the back in a desk, he comes running over and holds them out to me. "Do you want to wear some angel wings?" he asks. Robert: "No. I'm not an angel." JP smiles and says, "You're right. You're the devil. A white white devil. The devil's supposed to be black, but you betrayed us."

I'm admittedly not sure what to say to this, but JP has already moved on. He picks up a stack of the placards and begins to fan me with them. Kaylee is walking by, and JP says to her, "Coach Robert thinks I'm his slave. He thinks I'm black." Her face drops and in half seriousness she punches him in the arm and walks away briefly. JP seems to think this is all good fun, but only a minute later he comes back to me and says, 'Sometimes I say things, I dunno. I'm a racial slur.'

By aligning blackness with Satan (but creatively reworking it with the "white devil" trope common in postcolonial discourse⁶⁴) in an act of metalinguistic regimentation (Reyes, 2002)—the alignment of identities (black/white devil as opposed to angels) and practice ("you betrayed us")—JP works to negatively position me (perhaps in jest, perhaps for reasons I don't recognize), but by drawing on racialized discourses that mark African Americans as inferior. This is only further augmented when he

⁶³ Racial borders are both regularly established and contested by the *Boys*, though again not without troubling overtones:

Gabriel: "There are no white people at this school. Just that girl ((points to little white girl with messy hair who is running by)) and me"

Greg: "You're not white! You have to be pure!" (*Fieldnotes - 6/6/2014*)

⁶⁴ Urban Dictionary notes that "white devil" is a term in the common parlance: "A white person who takes advantage of a minority. A thief. Often representing 'The Man.' An oppressor."

positions me as a ‘slavemaster’ (“Coach Robert thinks I’m his slave”), which could of course have postcolonial overtones once again, apart from his explicitly regimentation of slavery and blackness in the following line (which is seemingly meant as a comment to both me and Kaylee). This is the kind of localized (“Sometimes I say thing, I dunno”) and broadly circulating discourse (“white devils” and the claim that the devil is “supposed to be black”) of race and religion in tandem demonstrates how the *Altar Boys* can creatively (and troubling) use these categorizations in interaction for their own ends. And while there is significant research examining racial discourse in classrooms (cf., Thomas, 2015; Valenzuela, 1999) almost none to date looks at this in combination with religious identity.

Reflexivity: Beyond ‘Owning Up’

I wish to pause here for a moment to engage what is an ongoing, but relatively unmarked feature of this ethnographic analysis: my own Whiteness. In doing so, I wish to acknowledge that what amounts to a reflexivity on my own part as a White man in a racialized space, who engages in his own forms of racialization in and through the technologies of race (including my discourse communities, but also educational research), is valuable, important, and ultimately inadequate. And while there is a substantiated pushback in the ethnographic tradition against ‘owning up’ narratives (cf., Bell, 2004) that serve to release the researcher from any future implications of their racializing work, they still largely feature in this form of work as exculpatory, and with the purpose of serving as a form of ‘talking cure’ whereby I liberate myself from my biases through revealing them (Schick, 2000). And yet I participate. Despite any ‘owning up’, my Whiteness functions as a means to access, as a form of (false) neutrality in spaces

like St. Dominic Savio, and as a way to claim perspective on communities for which I likely have little business making commentary.

Most concerning is the way my narratives, notably revealed in my own ethnographic fieldnotes throughout my time at the parish and in this dissertation, function as a means of preserving a form of White innocence (Duncan, 2002; Roman, 1997): while I clearly participate in White hegemony as a White male, this is either mitigated by calling attention to other factors—my experience in rural poverty, my first-generation college status, the fact of my father’s long term and ongoing incarceration—or by my avowed and at times tiresome discursive rehearsal of prototypical liberal virtues of equity, diversity, and justice. That is, I either qualify my Whiteness or attempt to cleanse it by appeal to my own virtue. Some of this is filtered through what Schick (2000) calls the “technologies of Whiteness”, which include the sanitising language and apparatus of educational research, which seemingly ‘distance’ me from proceedings. That is, I merge in much of my own work (and this is the ethnographer’s dilemma as a quasi-social scientist in a non-interventionist stance) the articulation of particular liberal virtues and values of diversity and equity as a way to talk about the children with whom I work (these virtues and values as discourses of professionalization into a doctoral program in Education) with professional interests (as a social scientist, as a researcher, etc.), and in doing so render my own interests ‘morally neutral.’

One of the most pressing of these, and perhaps my bleakest of perspectives, is the narrative of ‘care’, one born of teacher education and teacher work (where teaching is framed as a ‘calling’, which has its own quasi-religious valence); that is, one way to evade my own racialization in the research process is to bath my narratives, fieldnotes,

and framings in the language of care and attention to the *Boys*. This has a particular(ly familiar) form in education (Britzman, 1995), where teachers frame and are called into framing teacher labor outside of White privilege as a morally redemptive action rather than as a means to reproduce the dominant culture. In doing so, this often plays out as a form of White ‘empathy’, one which both works dangerously toward pathologizing the children and communities with whom I work (as though I know what they need) and sanitising even troubling depictions within research or pedagogy.

I offer all this up as a readerly caution, notably for a White man writing on constructs of race amongst communities of color: as White educator Christine Sleeter writes, “while I believe whites are educable, I have gained appreciation for the strength of our resistance to change’ (1993, p. 168). Much of this resistance, I would suggest, operates through my own unconscious desires for academic legitimacy and professionalization, none of which is a means to excuse the ways that unmarked Whiteness operates in research (mine included). All the ‘owning up’ in the world can’t change that.

Theorizing Religion in the Classroom

There is a surprising paucity of studies in the literacy research that have examined the strength of religious practice as a resource for literacy practices (Haas & Bakke, 2015; Juzwik, 2014; Rackley, 2014). Fewer still have looked at urban youth (Dallavis, 2011; Sarroub, 2002), and those that have are largely focused on the religious identities and literacy practices in religious spaces or out-of-school settings (mosques, festivals, museums), typically with adults and peers of the same religious orientation (Skerrett,

2014a; cf., Peele-Eady, 2011).⁶⁵ Only a small pocket of research to date has examined how students draw on religious literacy resources and religious identities to engage with school (Juzwik & McKenzie, 2015; Kapitzke, 1995; LeBlanc, 2015; Spector, 2007). Highlighting this issue, Skerrett (2014a) writes, “literacy research pays little attention to the religious identities and religious identities of urban youths” and those that do demonstrate “minimal interaction with their religious identities and religious literacies in the official world of school” (p. 4).

Those studies that do feature the intersection of students’ religious literacies and schooling have called for greater attention to the potential for this network of practices and identities to contribute to a robustly open pedagogy that honors a variety of cultures and values; Gay (2010) writes that education “is most effective when... prior experiences, community settings, cultural backgrounds, and ethnic identities... are included” (p. 22), and it is on this explicit call that many literacy scholars draw the religious into schooling. Dallavis (2011) considers the current literature on culturally relevant and responsive pedagogy and notes that while scholars typically make reference to race/ethnicity, gender, social class, and exceptionality, the concept of religion is marginal or often excluded with regards to diversity in schooling.⁶⁶ It is here, Dallavis argues, that we can see how those schools that do incorporate faith perspectives into their

⁶⁵ *Written Communication* recently published a two-volume special issue on religion and writing/literacy. Of the seven articles featured, only two were explicitly related to students and classrooms (Juzwik & McKenzie, 2015; LeBlanc, 2015).

⁶⁶ Commenting on Banks’ (2010) central work in the field of multicultural education, Dallavis (2011) writes that Banks submits significant attention to a variety of racial and ethnic categories, but “religion does not receive the same attention... The omission of religion highlights the absence of research into the intersection of religion, culture, and education” (p. 139).

educational framework are working to overcome issues of achievement amongst typically minoritized groups. In invoking the ‘Catholic school advantage’, he suggests that Catholic schooling itself is resonant with the tenants of culturally responsive pedagogy through their valuing of the home and their “tradition of respecting other cultures and giving them voice, visibility, and power in their schools” (York, 1996, p. 20; cited in Dallavis, 2011).⁶⁷ Other scholars have equally highlighted the value of teachers allowing their students’ religious perspectives and practices to constructively contribute to school. Juzwik (2014) asks how teachers and scholars might draw on the American evangelical interpretive tradition to aid evangelical students in the ‘close reading’ tasks of the Common Core Literacy Standards. Rackley (2014) and Knobel (1998), as another example, question how to bridge the rich, community-driven reading and speaking practices of the Latter Day Saints tradition which the students in their studies participate in each week, and mobilize that motivation in schools.

As for a sustained examination of the intersection of religion, literacy, and schooling, Skerrett’s work (2014b) is central, as it is one of the few studies that looks at interactional data to uncover students’ use of religious literacies, identities, and discourses to navigate schools. Conceptualizing religious literacy practices as a forgotten “lifeworld” within the New London Group’s multiliteracies framework (1996), Skerrett demonstrates how religious students recruit religious literacies for classroom interaction

⁶⁷ With particular relevance to my argument, Dallavis notes that to date “Little has been written... about cultural diversity in faith-schools, the impact of the demographic imperative on faith-based schools, or the potential for culturally responsive approaches to education in these schools” (p. 143). Burke and Gilbert (2015) write more critically that “The ways in which religious schools come to leverage history, liturgy, and social policy to maintain certain versions of their student populations... remains a little engaged research strand broadly” (p. 3)

around ‘secular’ school literature and to produce academic writing. Against poorly-founded critiques that public school teachers may not address religion in any capacity, Skerrett narrates how students Carlos and Nina, with their teacher, drew on religious iconography such as the figure of the crucified Christ to unpack allusions in Walter Dean Myers’ short story “Monkeyman”. Because the NLG suggests that teachers and policy include a greater focus on the full range of students’ representational resources, Skerrett argues this must include the ‘lifeworld’ of religious communities and practices—“structured spaces, contexts, or discourse communities that possess cultural, historical, ideological, spatial, and other dimension” (p. 5)—and in doing so recognize the tensions that this can produce.⁶⁸

The small pockets of research that highlight this relation are largely laudatory and promotional, suggesting that “research and scholarship that pay greater theoretical and methodological attention to the religious domain of literate life” can contribute to a “more robust understanding of how literacies develop in and across interconnected social

⁶⁸ There were few explicit examples in my study of the *Boys* recruiting their religious discourse or identities to interact with ‘secular’ or schooled literacies by way of critique; however, JP was particularly opposed to an English reading on dinosaur bones, which he objected to (in the hallway to me) on religious grounds, drawing on fundamentalist Biblical traditions of literalism and a young earth (which he explicitly said was not from his Catholic parents):

Audio recording- 3/14/2014- St. Dominic Savio School

- | | |
|------------|---|
| 1 Robert: | So you were saying you don't know about dinosaurs |
| 2 | How come? |
| 3 JP: | Because um |
| 4 | God created the world in seven [days] |
| 5 Robert: | [right] |
| 6 JP | He created humans on the sixth day (0.2) sixth or seventh day (0.3) I think |
| 7 | So how can there be dinosaurs=? |
| ... | |
| 18 Robert: | Why do you think the Bible is so important to these kinds of questions? |
| 19 JP: | Because I'm Catholic and I believe in the Bible so= |

contexts, including the official world of school” (Skerrett, 2014, p. 16). But not all literacy scholars, even those with an avowedly religious perspective, have painted so comfortable a picture. Juzwik & McKenzie (2015) introduce the reader to Charlie, an evangelical student in a public school composing a piece for a class assignment that drew on religious discourses of Biblical populism and in doing so foreclosed any openness to alternative positions or a cosmopolitan ethic (he describes putting a ‘slamdown’ on any ‘wrong views’ because his own text was ‘authored by God’). Here, Charlie’s religious identities run particularly counter to the goal of the school assignment and to much of progressive pedagogy’s claims to the potential of open dialogue through writing in schools. C.C. Reyes (2009) demonstrates the potential risk of something as seemingly ‘private’ as religion coming into the ‘public’ forum of school for scrutiny, where students open themselves up to criticism and rebuke from classmates. Spector (2007) examines a public school English classroom’s engagement with the Holocaust memoir *Night*, and reveals that whenever students draw on religious discourse, identities, and literacies as frames for interpreting the novel, they use them not to advance statements of tolerance and acceptance, but rather to put the blame for the Holocaust on unseen malevolent forces (Satan and demons, as opposed to human actors) or on the Jews themselves for their supposed rejection of Christ during the Passion narrative; in doing so, the students stood in direct opposition “to one stated goal that the teacher participants had for studying the Holocaust in the first place: to increase tolerance for diversity” (p. 8).

Conspicuously absent from this literature is any discussion of the intersection of race and religious literacies and identities. On the surface, this is surprising for a number of reasons, not the least of which is Christianity’s principal position in the formulation of

the American racial imaginary (Carter, 2008; Jennings, 2010), the centrality of the Black church in the educational lives of many African Americans (Barrett, 2010; Isaac, 2005), and the growing scholarship on experience of racial and demographic diversity in contemporary Catholic schooling (Burke & Gilbert, 2015; Irving & Foster, 1998; Polite, 2000). Furthermore, religion is a driving force in the lives of many of the most marginalized immigrants in the United States (Vieira, 2011), who draw on its established social networks for solace and support on the (potentially dangerous) journey and for a social and economic foundation in their first years in the country (Hagan & Ebaugh, 2003). However, given the reluctance of teachers, students, and researchers to foreground race and racial discourse in official circles (Pollock, 2004), we can perhaps wonder little as to why these pieces have rarely been put together in interactional studies of schooling. It is to this absence that we now turn to look at how race and religion feature as predominant categories in Ms. Walsh's classroom, at both the authorized (and sanitized) and unauthorized level.

Authorized Race Talk at St. Dominic Savio

The use of racial, ethnic, and national terms—often overlapping, contradicting, and contesting each other for primacy—is part of the common parlance at St. Dominic Savio, running alongside forms of postracial colormute discourse. Each Mass is designated as being addressed to a particular linguistic group (that often coalesces around racial categories): Vietnamese, Spanish, Indonesian, and English. School demographic data is broken down by distinct racial/ethnic categories: African American, Vietnamese, Latino, etc. Racial, ethnic, and national labels are frequently deployed as *prima facie* distinctions between groups with evident boundaries. These represent much of the ‘front

stage' discussion of these mutually informing concepts, which despite the continual slippage between them, demonstrate the seeming transparency of these terms, as though they were solidified, agreed upon, and obvious.⁶⁹ Much of this dynamic is captured by Pollock's (2004) claim that in contemporary racial discourse, "speakers used racial labels matter-of-factly" (p. 8) as though they were codified things; this reveals itself in tension with the common contradictory framing where "race doesn't matter" (postracial discourse)...but it does" (matter-of-face labelling) (p. 13-16). Where tensions exist and racial categories are generated and distributed, there is inevitably pushback and 'bending' by the students, but rarely does this tension reach the level of public discourse at the school; however, backstage, the *Boys* were fully capable of bending and breaking various racial, ethnic, national, and linguistic labels, notably when they felt they were being used against them.⁷⁰

On the surface, St. Dominic Savio presents racial categories as matter-of-fact identities at the 'community' level ("the Vietnamese community", "the Indonesian community"), that are undergirded by a deictic referent to Catholic 'familial' relations (not biological family, but rather cosmic- "The Body of Christ" and the "Family of

⁶⁹ These hardened categories begin to break down almost immediately upon inspection; for example, many of the Filipino parishioners are fluent Spanish speakers (a testimony to a legacy of colonialism), while many of the Indonesian parishioners are ethnically Chinese (cf., Campano, Ngo, & Player, 2015).

⁷⁰ "Benny was explaining to me how he was presently without a basketball jersey because while he was in Vietnam over the holidays, Monsignor had lent the remainder of the jerseys (we only have eight players, so the rest of the set was just sitting around in the athletic closet) to the Latino community (what Ms. Walsh called 'the Mexicans') to play with.

Benny: 'Ya, Monsignor gave my jersey to the Spanish'

Francisco: 'Whoa, whoa, whoa. Let me tell you something [he's smiling and laughing]. You mean the Latinos. Just because we speak Spanish doesn't make us Spanish.'

Benny: 'Whatever. They have my jersey.'" (*Fieldnotes- 1/14/2014*)

God”): the narrative frequently supports the idea that while there are ‘cultural’ or ‘racial’ differences, these are subordinate to more universal categories of common faith:

Interview- Monsignor O’Donnelly- 5/29/2014- St. Dominic Savio Church

Christ’s example is saying that we’re all brothers and sisters, it doesn’t matter the language, culture, color. It doesn’t matter. We’re brothers and sisters. Almost doesn’t matter for us in some ways are faith at this moment in time. We’re all called to love God and serve God, serve our people.⁷¹

The notion that “it doesn’t matter the language, culture, color” supports Pollock’s (2004) claim that while race clearly matters as a constituent category in America (enough that various ‘communities’ can be maintained at the parish), nonetheless it “doesn’t matter” insofar as alternative postracial panethnic categories are offered in and through faith (and it is by “Christ’s example” that this is authorized). As a locally constructed category at the parish, it equally draws on a robust Catholic critique forged at the national level in response to the ongoing immigration crisis (cf., the UCCB’s “Justice for Immigrants” campaign), which anchors themes such as ‘hospitality’ and ‘welcome’ for the stranger and the immigrant as a core practice of the faith (Campese, 2007). Such tension between drawing on racialized and panethnic identities reveals the ongoing struggle for variously racialized and minoritized communities to simultaneously articulate their uniqueness (often by working to create their own space for cultural

⁷¹ Lest we think Monsignor O’Donnelly is a wide-eyed idealist, he personally testifies to the history of racial exclusion in the Catholic Church, while simultaneously re-affirming the irrelevance of color: “I think for the African-American community, because of our history which is racism and prejudice in many people’s hearts, in many institutions, in many cities, et cetera, et cetera, our Afro-American community do not necessarily see the Catholic church or the liturgy of the Catholic church as in writing as some other forms of worship. But at the same time, that doesn’t mean we’re not brothers and sisters on the journey and it doesn’t mean we don’t have work to do, and other people don’t have work to do. Like if there’s any kind of prejudice or racism that exists anywhere we need to chip away at no matter what color it is, no matter what culture it is.” (Interview- 5/29/2014)

politics and citizenship; Honeyford, 2013) while strategically using panethnic categorizations as an equally important and tactical form of cultural politics.⁷² Whereas other political groups and formations use alternative justifications for moving in and out of panethnic frameworks, St. Dominic Savio members often invoke Catholic identity and religious discourse as the groundwork on which they build coalitions.⁷³ Recent work by Campano, Ghiso, & Welch (forthcoming) at St. Dominic Savio has described this orientation as a set of interlocking ‘advocacy discourses’ which “urges empathy for those most vulnerable and attempts to transcend unjust human laws by appealing to a higher morality and a more university ethos of human dignity” (p. 34). Consequently, we might think of this discourse as a strategic and specific response to the cultural politics of exclusion in the United States, notably around issues of immigration.

This narrative equally appears in the pedagogy, when the students are asked to explicitly construct (and reflect) a metapragmatic identity for the school and the parish. During *Catholic Schools Week*, a national drive for Catholic school enrollment and promotion, Ms. Walsh had several of the students collectively write a speech on the subject of “What Does Catholic School Mean to Me?” Though composed as a group by Francisco, Benny, Trina, JP, and Greg a few days beforehand, Ms. Walsh has various members of the class translate it into their ‘home language’ and deliver it to the church on Sunday in the respective ethno-linguistic Mass (itself an act of recognition of the parish’s multilingual make-up): Francisco for the Spanish Mass, Greg for the Vietnamese Mass,

⁷² Reyes (2007) specifically mentions the strategic use of “Asian American” as a panethnic term for coalitional purposes. Other scholars of the Asian American experience have invoked the term “strategic essentialism” to explain a similar process (cf. Ling, 1999).

Adriana for the Indonesian, and JP for the English Mass (only further underscoring that there were no African American students integrated into the parish life to read this at the English Mass). The wording of the short speech (one page in length) offers up standard Catholic school discourse about learning about religion as a key reason for choosing Catholic school, but equally a narrative of cultural and racial harmony: “Catholic schools teach us to interact with others of different cultures; we interact more with others and do not feel left out because of our background.”⁷⁴ Later, reflecting on this discourse and the occasion of their speech to the whole congregation with Adriana and JP, both reaffirmed the narrative of equal treatment and the superordinate frame of family (at least for those within the circle of Catholic faith):

Audio Transcript- 2/19/2014- St. Dominic Savio School

- 1 Robert: Do you feel like Indonesian people are respected here at St. Dominic?
2 Adriana: I think so
3 JP: We’re all treated the same
4 We’re all one big family
5 Robert: What do you mean?
6 Who’s we?
...
14 JP: We’re the Mexicans
15 The Hispanics
16 The Indonesians
17 The Philippines
18 The Vietnamese
19 But they’re still one big family⁷⁵

⁷⁴ This narrative did not appear ex nihilo- Ms. Walsh explicitly labels St. Dominic Savio as a welcoming and open parish to a multitude of ‘cultures and races’ when addressing the class: “Our reputation here at St. Dominic is that we’re a very accepting place. We accept everyone. That is a model for other schools and parishes. Other schools and parishes want to model themselves after us. Because we welcome everyone.” (*Audio Excerpt- 2/27/2014*)

⁷⁵ Literacy scholars looking at the means by which students and communities balance local loyalties/rootedness and more global identities have deemed this dual position “moderate cosmopolitanism” (cf., Campano & Ghiso, 2011; DeCosta, 2014).

Notable here is the shifting deictic markers in JP's discourse, particularly the overlap of the collective deictic "we" to describe "one big family" and the use of the same deictic for his anaphoric description of various ethnic groups (rather than "they're the Mexicans...", it's "we're the Mexicans"). While this is a particularly local model of identity (the "St. Dominic Savio identity" as interpreted by JP), like other identity models it is constructed both in interaction and by drawing on other circulating identity models (include parish-level models).

Postracial Discourses

But while the official narrative at St. Dominic Savio explicitly uses seemingly transparent racial, ethnic and national labels for whole communities ("Latino", "Black", "Vietnamese"), there exists a parallel and contradictory narrative of postracial color-muteness (Pollock, 2004). This discourse undergirds discussions related to specific events and meetings held particularly for one group, though I only have recorded in my documentation complaints about African American exclusivity during my three years at the parish (though this is to not exclude their potential existence, only further highlighting the limitations of any ethnographic work). Regardless, claims to being a 'postracial' nation that need not continue to focus on issues of racial difference (as though identity politics and racial disparities were largely a product of continued focus on racial categories) have taken on a new meaning in the age of Obama (Thomas & Brooks-Tatum, 2012). Race scholar Mica Pollock (2004) writes, "Many Americans have proposed we solve our 'race problems' by talking as if race did not matter at all" (p. 2). Gregory (1996) argues that "diverse segments of US society" suggest that race "has become a tiresome topic." How this manifests at St. Dominic Savio is an interesting

example of the ongoing tension between communities for status and various forms of capital.

One way postracial narratives appear at St. Dominic Savio School is in the coursework, which rarely addresses issues of racial inequality, and when it does explicitly address race does so through converting it through the lens of colormuteness. Here, we see in my fieldnotes Ms. Walsh and her colleagues addressing Black History Month with an assignment that utilizes Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream Speech", but with a curious thematic conversion.

Fieldnotes- 1/27/2014- St. Dominic Savio School

"While the students were working, Ms. Walsh went to the board and wrote down the following:

'I have a dream'

- *Martin Luther King Jr.*
1929-1965

This line is repeated several times in a famous speech given by Martin Luther King. In it, he spoke of his dream of a world in which all people live together peacefully. Write a speech about your dream.

Ms. Walsh then interrupts class to read this assignment out and offers that the 'Top 3, I'll choose and put in the yearbook.' It's not clear from her explanation when the students are to write this, or even if this is part of Literature or the coming Social Studies class.

I saw a version of this assignment in the hall outside of the classroom of Ms. Frank, the Grade 6 teacher. This assignment is evidently in honor of MLK Day and the upcoming Black History Month. Several of the completed assignments are still hanging on the wall, and the prompt, "What is your dream?" seems to have elicited 'life goals' from the students (rather than something more in line with MLK's vision for society), including things like 'My dream is to play for the Miami Heat' and 'My dream is to own a fancy car', with collage photos of Corvettes and basketballs and dollar bills signs.

This sort of evacuating of MLK's 'I Have a Dream' speech of any of the radical racial politics (evidenced by the truncation of the speech to just the line 'I have a dream', and to simply reduce the identity of to MLK as a 'dreamer') is a bit startling, notably in a

school that has large numbers of African American students, and is situated in a neighborhood which had a history of race riots. Indeed, the robust critique of racial injustice (“Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked ‘insufficient funds’”) has vanished in the wake of consumerism and celebrity.

This anesthetized postracial discourse also appears as a critique of any explicit racially-targeted community events for the African Americans in the parish. In April 2014, the local Concerned Black Catholics (CBC), a group of African American parishioners, held an event at the Savio Center called “How to Reinvigorate Black Catholic Education.” The event invited African Americans from the neighborhood to hear a guest speaker talk about increasing enrollment at St. Dominic Savio from amongst the local Black families. Flyers and posters were papered around the parish, and an announcement appeared in the Sunday parish bulletin. I first heard of this event from Damaris, the de facto creative engine and coordinator of the CBC, but was surprised to hear about the CBC’s event from the *Boys* during class. Ms. Walsh had asked them to work together in small groups and discuss the prompt from their Religion textbook, “How do we unite Catholics?” After a lengthy off-topic discussion, I asked the *Boys* why they thought Catholics weren’t united, and rather than using the Religion textbook to engage this answer (Ms. Walsh’s intent), Greg recontextualizes an external narrative to complete this work:

Audio Excerpt- 4/11/2014

[Robert: Why don’t you think Catholics are united?]

- 1 Greg: Racism
- 2 Remember the essay?
- 3 The paper said 'Only Black people for the retreat'

4 Only Black Catholic for the retreat
5 Why?
6 Robert: Can I ask you Greg?
7 So you saw a sign up that said only Black Catholics to the retreat?
8: Greg Ya yesterday
9 Robert: Ya
10 And you think that's racist?
11 JP: Don't say that!
12 All are welcome!

Here, not only do the *Altar Boys* reject any sense that an event specifically targeted to African Americans in the parish might be legitimate (on the grounds that it was “racist”), but JP replaces the discourse with the postracial “All are welcome!” rhetoric we find more commonly in the parish’s authorized spaces. This same story was rehearsed once again during an interview with Ms. Walsh, who used a similar framing to construct the CBC as “racist” through her own creative recontextualization.⁷⁶

Interview Excerpt- 4/24/2014- St. Dominic Savio School

Ms. Walsh: My kids were upset about it! They were like 'Why is it Concerned Black Catholics? Why isn't it Concerned Catholics?' That is (0.4) cause we're doing Jim Crow laws and segregation right now and the whole bit. That it is segregating. It is. And it is (0.3) it's something that might have been needed that is no longer needed, you know? I don't know how many people turned out but I know Tim [an African American student who attended the event] was upset the next day he came to class. Because supposedly whoever was there was telling them that they need to pay tuition. They don't need to put their kids in public schools. They need more Black teachers. They need more this, they need more that. *Our* (0.5) *I'm gonna say Black population, cause they're not all African Americans, have dwindled. And the Asian and Hispanic are raise| rising.* Cause the neighborhood itself is changing. So I don't know how you can get a revitalization of something that's not here. It's not here.

⁷⁶ The CBC may be framed in this way, but they are involved in a multitude of projects, including health fairs, essay contests, and movie parties, that are specifically set up to bring together a variety of communities at the parish. That being said, there remains significant tension within that parish as to the place of the CBC in the missional life of the church, and members of the CBC, most notably Damaris, narrate the continued marginalization of the African Americans at the parish due to anti-black racism.

Ms. Walsh narratively weaves together the CBC's event and makes it analogous to the divisive and racist Jim Crow laws of the first half of the 20th Century in America ("we're doing Jim Crow laws and segregation right now and the whole bit. That it is segregating) that the students are learning about in class. Further, the CBC and any kind of racially-targeted event by the African American community (as far as I could tell, the event promotional material never explicitly said other racial groups weren't allowed) is framed as an artefact of the past whose presence today only represents segregation ("it's something that might have been needed that is no longer needed, you know?"), and in doing so crafting a postracial temporal scale. This matches other contemporary postracial discourse, which aims to eliminate racial commentary as old fashioned, and turn the tables on those arguing for racial justice by framing them as the real racists: Guiner and Torres (2002) comment that in contemporary postracial discourse, "whoever mentions race first is the racist in the room" (p. 308). Finally, and somewhat ironically, Ms. Walsh turns to construct a narrative wherein "Our... Black population" is in a demographic contestation with "Asian and Hispanic" groups who are "rising". In doing so, she dismisses the concerns of the CBC as fanciful given that "I don't know how you can get a revitalization of something that's not here", and in doing so constructing an imaginary where even if race mattered (and it shouldn't, evidently), the African Americans are being written out of the community through a kind of competition (economic and demographic, seemingly). This brings us back around to the complexities of political economy in South Philadelphia, where new immigrant groups continue to live alongside African American neighbors, all dealing with white gentrification and economic destabilization (Goode & Schneider, 1994).

Unauthorized Race Talk at St. Dominic Savio

So far we have seen that in authorized talk and discourse (at least those witnessed by me), racial formation at St. Dominic Savio includes two potential conceptions of race and ethnicity which the *Boys* play off of: (1) race as a fixed social category, plowed under and subordinated to categorizations of Catholic faith as a strategic response to the American immigration crisis (and accompanying marginalization of immigrants), and (2) postracial discourses of colormuteness (often authorized by Ms. Walsh, a white woman with her own complicated history of navigating the diminishing returns of ‘whiteness as property’ in a demographically shifting South Philadelphia) which chafe at racially-focused activities and groups (at least where African Americans in the community are concerned). But this is frontstage talk, and like much frontstage talk in other realms of life it is relatively sanitized (notably the supposedly liberal postracial discourse of equality). And it is backstage, in the *Boys*’ use of racialized discourse to complete their schoolwork and position themselves with regards to their classmates, that we see how religion and race fuse for the sake of categorization and the production of capital. In this section, I detail the *Boys*’ playful and strategic use of racial labels for a variety of purposes before turning to an extended example of race/religion discourse at work in their coursework. This chapter extends the literature both on the use of racial stereotype by minority students as a resource (Reyes, 2009), but equally moves the research on religious literacy resources in the classroom (Skerrett, 2014a) forward by offering an intersectional examination of race in conversation with Catholic identity.

Racial Stereotypes and Black/Asian Relations

Reyes (2007, 2009, 2011) writes that while scholars have typically conceived of racial stereotypes with regards to their meaning for those affected (most frequently those on the receiving end of the stereotypical description), few have looked at the function of stereotypes in interaction (that is, what stereotypes are *used* for). This comes to the fore in her research on “Other Asian” students (Vietnamese, Cambodian, Laotian, Hmong), where she discovers students providing negative stereotypes about their own racialized group. Using the discourse of FOBs (Fresh off the Boat) and mock Asian accents, Reyes (2009) conceives of her participants as using stereotype not simply to stigmatize, but to accomplish a locally-mediated goal. Drawing on them as the interaction continues, “stereotypes became intricate and flexible tools with which to fashion their identities and relationships with others” (p. 29).

The *Boys* were certainly adept at using racial stereotypes in their back-and-forth interaction, often turning the power of typification on their classmates, sometimes for play and sometimes as a way to distinguish themselves from their African American neighbors (an axis on which much conflict, at least discursively, rests).

Fieldnotes- 3/10/2014- St. Dominic Savio School

When I said that they could choose their own names if they wanted, Benny began to go around the table assigning potential pseudonyms: Asian Boy (Benny), Taco Bell (Francisco), Crossfire (Greg, evidently named after a videogame), Asian Justin Bieber (JP, who did not like that name), Fried Rise (Greg again). When he'd finished, Greg told me that Ms. Walsh sometimes calls Francisco the “Latin Lover” and that he'd call Francisco “Romeo” if he was choosing. This elicits huge laughter from the table.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ The *Altar Boys* occasionally use their riffing production of racial stereotypes to break up the monotony of small group work and engage their distracted classmates, which we may regard as both everyday forms of racial positioning and the kind of playful banter one might find amongst any group of teenagers (*Audio- 3/26/2014*):

Here we see what might be considered a more ludic version of stereotypical racial names, where Benny draws on admittedly troubling names (linking Asian American identities to video gamers, and Mexican American identities to clichés of hyper-sexual masculinities) to create a moment of humor around the rather awkward (and unusual) conversation of focusing on our research relationship. However, this small moment reveals a capacity that can (and does) spill over into far more pernicious stereotypes. In another instance, Benny and JP described to me playing football in the St. Dominic Savio parking lot that past Saturday against some local African American kids, who showed up during their game and asked for some friendly competition. Embedded in this narrative is our joint awareness that only a week before, Benny had been violently mugged by an African American adult man on his way to church.⁷⁸

Fieldnotes- 3/31/2014- St. Dominic Savio School

Benny interjected with, “We taught four black guys a lesson.” I ask if he means during football on the weekend, the event that JP was telling me about on Sunday.

-
- 1 Greg: Raise your hand for alms
2 Giving alms to the poor
3 Francisco: Jackie Chan!
4 Let's go
5 JP: I'm working!
6 Okay George Lopez ((Mexican accent))
7 ((all laugh))
8 Francisco: Bruce Lee come on
9 Jet Li
10 JP: Ricardo:oooo Lope:eeeez
11 Junior
12 Benny: ((Chinese accent)) Jackie Chan

⁷⁸ This assault became a substantive point of conversation for the next few weeks, as Benny regularly reflected out loud and unprompted on the meaning of this event: “‘One of the Vietnamese leaders told me that if you see two black guys on the corner, you just cross the street’, Benny said. This was unprompted, but Benny is evidently still interested in talking about issues related to his assault. I ask him if he thought that was good advice, and he said that he thought so. JP interjected that Mr. Williams, their African American Grade 7 teacher, had told them that they had to fight when that happened, and that he taught them how to fight. JP takes several mocks swings in the air.” (*Fieldnotes- 4/8/2014*)

He tells me that those kids “cursed and we cursed.” JP adds that they were “talking trash”, so “we talked trash too.” I asked them to explain what kind of trash talking they did. JP said “Like, we said that they we slaves. That they like to work in the fields and pick cotton.” Benny added that they said “that they like fried chicken. That they eat watermelon.” I tried to maintain a neutral face⁷⁹, and asked Benny what kind of trash talking the boys were doing [JP had told me Sunday that the boys were saying Chinese people couldn’t play football]. Benny said simply that they’d “made fun of my shoes” for being out of style. I asked if there was “tension between Black and Asian kids in the neighborhood” [thinking particularly about Benny’s recent assault by two Black men last Sunday]. Benny says, “Ya, because we’re faster. We’re smarter. We make better food.”

Returning again to the trope (Lowe, 1996) that American racialization typically circulates around the exploitation of labor (Benny is clearly using his historical knowledge in this interaction), the *Boys* draw on slave narratives that link former forced field labor (“pick cotton”) to present denigration (as though fusing these two moments either invokes a legacy of shame or positions them as inferior in the present labor market). Further, Benny draws on equally on other common circulating discourses, which are gross racial caricatures of African Americans eating “fried chicken” and “watermelon”.⁸⁰ The *Boys* seem to justify this based on their own reception of a racial stereotype, that they are Chinese (this is a common trope in the research literature, the incapacity of American groups to differentiate between Asian immigrants and simply defaulting to ‘Chinese’; cf., Kiang, 1994), and that this particular stereotypical identity

⁷⁹ Retroactively, we can see my own ethnographic construction of ‘innocence’ in this interaction, as I write myself into fieldnotes as maintaining a ‘neutral face’ to mask my own supposed ‘shock’ at this racialized narrative, and in doing so construct the fiction of my neutrality and cool observation of racialization in this interaction, leaving my Whiteness untouched and discursively innocent.

⁸⁰ This particular ‘watermelon and fried chicken’ stereotype has its own long and ugly history of serving as an index to the “sambo” character of the Jim Crow South; its invocation is thus an indexical of a time of brutal racial hierarchy and violence, pre-Civil Rights Act and pre-Voting Rights Act (cf., Lopez, 2015, particularly Chapter 6)

(“Chinese people couldn’t play football”) equally positions them as physically inferior over and against equally present stereotypes of athletic African American boys.⁸¹

That the axis of this conflict is between Catholic Asian immigrants and local African Americans is perhaps no surprise given the robust literature on the contemporary racial landscape (and discursively-constructed hierarchy) of schooling. A number of studies in literacy and linguistic anthropology have highlighted the means by which Asian Americans’ identities are typically framed as a ‘model minorities’ (Lee, 2001; Ng, Lee, & Pak, 2007; Shankar, 2011) and simultaneously ‘forever foreigners’ (Lee, 2004, 2005). Asian Americans are positioned in educational spaces as ‘perpetual Others’ (Reyes, 2002, 2007), inside and outside, but always ‘up against whiteness’ insofar as Asian American students are typically positioned against the quintessentially American Black/White racial binary, and often discursively used to marginalize ‘underperforming’ minorities like African Americans and Hispanics. So while Asian Americans are tentatively given credence as ‘honorary whites’ (Lee, 2005) insofar as their educational success (though often not for the ‘Other Asians’, including Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Hmong) is attributed to ‘cultural’ factors⁸² (seemingly in concert with ‘White’ cultural

⁸¹ While I’ve framed this tension between the Vietnamese and Black children in the neighborhood as an outworking of the local and national political economy around labor and housing, members of the community also frame it as contestation over religious capital played out through race. Speaking on the racial integration of the parish, Damaris, a prominent member of the Concerned Black Catholics, a local advocacy group, tells me “Being [Black] Catholic it’s like you’re always down here [makes motion with hands of going down a flight of stairs] no matter who comes. We were the third group in St. Dominic Savio, but it still seems like you’re down here some times. And it’s frustrating a little bit. So to keep your faith, you go to church, you say hey, I’m here to pray for everybody and myself.” (*Interview- 4/17/2012*). See also Campano, Ghiso, & Welch, 2015 for commentary on this specifically at St. Dominic Savio.

⁸² On how this framing is taken up in the literature as a kind of nostalgia for a (largely mythical) former time: “Scholars attribute the success of [Asian American] students to the support of the

attitudes towards ‘hard work’ and other myths), they are simultaneously excluded from the full measure of the purchase. On this devil’s bargain, Lee (2005) writes, “Poor immigrants who want to achieve upward mobility in mainstream American society often interpret the racial conditions to mean that they must simultaneously embrace whiteness and reject blackness” (p. 4).

While Burke and Gilbert (2015) have tried to illuminate how racial framing happens in the Catholic system writ large in a city like Chicago—the production of Catholic schools as ‘white spaces’ to the exclusion or segregation of others—there is almost no work to date that looks at this intersection with the inclusion of Catholic schooling as a dynamic to Asian and Black relations. However, the most prominent scholars on Vietnamese American Catholic education, Zhou and Bankston (1998) take this issue up, but quite troublingly. Commenting on the educational successes of the Vietnamese Americans in New Orleans (a group previously framed as ‘dangerous’ and ‘low achieving’), they write that these same children "have been doing so well, in fact, that teachers and educational researchers often see them as bringing new life to deteriorating public schools” (p. 130). Given that the presence of Vietnamese immigrants would hardly improve the physical deterioration of underfunded urban schools, it leaves little to the imagination to see how African American students are coded as causing urban schools to lose ground, in opposition to the ‘vitality’ of the ‘hardworking’ Asians. In the case of all-minority schools (a term so absurd it immediately requires reconsideration), including St. Dominic Savio, identity is not simply ‘up against whiteness’ (to borrow

immigrant community, family support, and adherence to traditional values such as respect for elders” (Lee, 2001, p. 506)

from Lee), but equally constructed in tandem with Catholic and non-Catholic indexicals within Catholic schools; this has particular resonance in an era of significant demographic change in urban Catholic schooling (Louie & Holdaway, 2009). Zhou and Bankston (1994) write again in their heavily-cited study on Asian American Catholic immigrants, that:

“[Vietnamese Catholics] tended to cluster and rebuild their communities, mostly in declining urban neighborhoods. The residential pattern means that many Vietnamese children grow up in close proximity to urban ghettos and in the often disruptive environment of urban public schools” (p. 826).

This kind racial and geographic coding, wherein the values and culture of the Asian American families (now sanitized by their religious faith and their educational achievement) becomes a circulating trope, which is used by students and teachers to position Asian American immigrant students in relation to their African American peers, few of whom identify as Catholic.⁸³ Wacquant (2013) has a particularly provocative term to describe the racial coding of urban spaces: “territorial stigmatization”, the “spatial implementation of ethnoracial closure and control resulting in the reciprocal assignation of a stigmatized category to a reserved territory” (p. 34). This framing is evident in some

⁸³ As a Protestant, I too have been on the wrong side of the *Boys Catholic/non-Catholic* binary, though much like Gabriel, my whiteness seems to cover a broad range of sins (JP once told me they only like “the white part” of Gabriel- 5/28/2014), and thus enable me in their eyes to avoid stigmatization with consequences: “Gabriel is asking me about my path to America, “Did you become a Catholic when you came down here to school?” I reply, “Actually, I’m not Catholic.” Gabriel’s face drops, as though I’ve just told him a horrible secret about myself. Greg says, “Right! Mind BLOWN”, and I can see out of the corner of my eye JP making the devil horns and a screwed up face behind me and just out of view (when I turn with a smile to look at him, he pats me condescendingly on my shoulder and says, ‘You’re a good guy, Coach’).” (*Fieldnotes-5/27/2014*)

That being said, this framing equally positions me as a ‘victim’ (perhaps drawing on a reverse racism trope) that once more leaves my Whiteness unexplored with regards to its claims to innocence (‘There I was, just minding my own business, and they made the devil horns...’).

of my interactions with the *Boys*, who code part of their own neighborhood as ‘ghetto’ based on the presence of African American families, and then laminate that onto to classroom norms (including the metapragmatic identity of the ‘good Catholic student’, which they hold for themselves).

Fieldnotes- 3/25/2015- St. Dominic Savio Parish

Greg, Benny, Nguyen [one of the *Boys* closest friends and a player on my basketball team], and I are hanging out in the parish hall, and Nguyen is telling us about being in Grade 7 at St. Dominic Savio. I ask him if he likes his teacher, and he says he does, but that his class is 'bad'. When I ask what he means, he says, "Some of the kids. They just from the ghetto. They bad." I press him on this. I'm confused. Which children is he talking about? Those same children live in his neighbourhood? St. Dominic Savio traditionally doesn't attract kids from outside the neighborhood/parish boundaries. I ask him, "What do you mean they're from the ghetto? You live in the same neighborhood. They live on the same block as you." He responds, "Ya but they from the bad part." I laugh and say, "The bad part of your block?! It's the same block!" I ask him which kids he thinks are bad and he names four girls, all African American. "They don't listen or pay attention. They bad."

Here, territorial stigmatization is attached to black bodies of the *Boys* neighbors- they are from the same area (this is not even a block-by-block differentiation), but their bodies mark them as Other in their refusal (in Nguyen's discourse) to conform to the norms of the Catholic school (submission, quiet, docility); curiously, the African American girls are framed as “from the ghetto”, and while they live literally on the same block as many of the *Boys*, their presence turns their specific space from a ‘community’ to the negative index “ghetto” (drawing on broader discourses of the ghetto as violent or dilapidated, which are substantiated by Zhou). This makes them seemingly a threat to the social order, more so because they are not Catholic (and thus fail to fit the metapragmatic model of the ‘good Catholic student’- see Chapter 5).

Racial Stereotypes and Religious Stereotypes in Service of Coursework

Not only did the *Altar Boys* (and others at the school) apply racial stereotypes in the day-to-day interactions of classroom life at St. Dominic Savio (typically backstage and out of earshot of their teachers), but they also fused them with religious stereotypes and classifications and applied them to themselves and their classmates. This section analyzes a telling case of this very practice in which two of the *Boys* attempted to produce racialized religious discourse in service of their Religion coursework. The interaction occurred during a May 1 2014 class at St. Dominic Savio: the class was divided up into small groups of four by Ms. Walsh to complete an assignment drawn from the Religion textbook. The class, which had been studying various aspects of Catholic social teachings on this May Day and the Celebration of St. Joseph the Worker (likely by circumstance of where their progressive reading through the textbook had taken them, rather than by way of planning), had finished orally reading a two-page section of their textbook, which outlines the various teaching.

The main interactants in this example are two of the *Boys*, JP and Benny, and two of their classmates, Gabriel and Charles (African American). Following the reading, the group was assigned by Ms. Walsh to form a small group and complete work in relation to one of the textbook readings on the Seven Catholic Social Teaching⁸⁴: Ms. Walsh framed the next thirty minutes in this way: “(1.8) You are to discuss ho:ow you see it [Catholic Social Teaching] happening in today's world=Or what you can do to encourage it to

⁸⁴ According to the textbook, the seven Catholic Social Teachings include “Life and Dignity of the Human Person”, “Call to Family, Community and Participation”, “Rights and Responsibilities”, “The Dignity of Work and the Rights of Workers”, “Option for the Poor and Vulnerable”, “Solidarity”, and “Care for God’s Creation” (p. 132).

happen in today's world". This direction was admittedly vague for a full thirty minutes of class time, as the final purpose of this project was to complete a collage that represented the chosen social teaching, and Ms. Walsh had forgotten the collage materials at home; rather than assign something different during that period, Ms. Walsh told the class to simply form groups and "discuss" the contents, before leaving the room to attend to other matters in the office. This left only me as the (reluctant and un-consulted) supervisor of the class, and unsurprisingly led to a good deal of tangentially related talk within the groups (I was, if nothing else, a poor policeman of conversation).⁸⁵ But the opportunity seemingly opened up space in the class to discuss things like structural poverty and racism given the textbook's framing ("Richer natures are responsible for helping poorer nations, "Giving to people who are poor is not only an act of charity but an obligation", "Employers should treat workers fairly"). After assembling their desks in a small circle at the back of the room, and placing my recorder in the middle, the focal group was assigned the social teaching "Option for the Poor and Vulnerable", and JP read the

⁸⁵ This question of workload in small groups came up during the discussion (admittedly at my prompt), leading to some debate over the workload (and Charles defying the labels of minimal work which had previously been attached to him over multiple classes):

Audio Transcript- 5/1/2014- St. Dominic Savio Classroom

413 Robert How much work do you guys think you actually do in an hour?

414 I'm not telling you to do more work

415 I'm just curious

416 JP: Uhh we barely do any work

417 Gabriel: Why would you listen to him?

...

437 Robert So we've been here for fifteen minutes in this group

438 How much work do you think we've done in fifteen minutes?

439 Benny: None

440 Gabriel: Like a [minute]

441 Charles: [We've] we we've made progress

442 A little progress

definition out loud before we began our discussion.⁸⁶ The following excerpt begins as the Boys, Gabriel, and Charles begin to discuss the assignment, though a full transcript can be found in Appendix 5.

Positioning and Legitimizing Contributions

Grenfell and James (1998) argue that in Bourdieusian terms, a field is “a structured space of forces and struggles into which individuals along with their habitus-specific dispositions enter” (p. 161). And given that the field of the classroom, including the racial politics and hierarchies (Luke 2008), are both long established and continually reformulated in interaction, it is important to see classroom practice as a push-and-pull process between competing habitus over the various species of capital in the field. In looking at this push-and-pull interaction, we can see the construction and maintenance of boundaries around multiple lines.

- 90 JP: All you gotta do is just print the pictures and put them on a piece of paper
- 91 Benny: And make this stuff awesome! ((said mockingly))
- 92 JP: (3.0) XXXXX
- 93 ((JP holds out my recorder, which had been sitting on the desk))
- 94 Charles: Can I can I can I see JP?
- 95 JP: You're not a part of this
- 96 Charles: Let me see it
- 97 JP: You're black
- 98 You're not part of this
- 99 Gabriel: ((laughs))
- 100 Charles: I got something smart to say
- 101 JP: ((said like a pouting child)) I don't care
- 102 ((regular voice)) You're not part of this

⁸⁶ “Option for the Poor and Vulnerable: In our world, many people are very rich while many are extremely poor. As Catholics, to make an option for the poor means that we are called to pay special attention to the needs of those who are poor by defending and promoting their dignity and by meeting their immediate needs.”

We can see immediately the introduction of a set of racial criteria that works to exclude Charles from discussing this particularly Catholic topic; the question centers not on content, but on speaker rights. Grant and Wong (2012) remind us that “Bourdieu’s stance in posing the question, ‘Who has the right to speak?’ enables us to understand the discursive workings of class, race, cultural and power” (p. 162), and it is crucial to use this framework to interrogate the means by which the interactional floor is opened and closed. Despite Charles’ protestations that he has something to contribute to the conversation on the “Option for the Poor and Vulnerable” (“I got something smart to say”), JP speaks both personally and with authority to deny his participation (“You’re black/ You’re not part of this”). Of course there are a multitude of reasons to exclude a member from contributing to a small group conversation (they are talking over top of someone else, their contribution is not relevant to the discussion at hand, they typically dominate the discussion, etc.), but this explicit exclusion based on racial identity is both troubling and strangely ironic given the framing of this discuss within issues of social justice. Luke (2008) notes that “race” and “language” function as capital in the “contingent social and cultural fields of schools and classrooms” but cautions that “‘Race’ and ‘language’ as forms of capital never have absolute, universal or guaranteed value, either generative or pejorative. They are key but not mutually exclusive or determinate” (p. 3). By invoking Charles being black, JP temporarily draws a boundary around the activity (with blackness seemingly out for no reason other than its color and potential local indexicality to non-Catholic religious identity) and reconfigured the classroom discussion within a limited field wherein black is out and other identities are in; that is, JP preserves the discussion of an explicitly Catholic topic for those who do not

fit the Catholic/non-Catholic binary (Gabriel is a Methodist, of course), but based on racial criteria.

When Charles continues to try to contribute to the discussion, JP simply takes another tact: he pretends to shift frame and talk on a cell phone to an unknown conversation partner.

144 JP: Alright Option for the Poor and Vulnerable
145 Alright so what we gotta do is take pictures of the people that are poor=
146 And stuff like that
147 Charles: How about this”
148 You go on Google alright?
149 JP: Uh huh ((pretends to be talking on cell phone))
150 Charles: You screenshot stuff
151 JP: Uh huh ((into cell phone))
152 Charles: Then you go to edit all those pictures together
153 JP: Uh huh ((to cell phone))
154 Charles: You print
155 JP: Uh huh how you doing? ((to cell phone))
156 I'm good how are you?
157 ((to group)) Oh I'm sorry
158 Who was talking?

This frame shift, from ‘group discussion’ to ‘phone conversation’ indexes multiple valuations: from the image of the rude and oblivious person talking on their cell phone at the table, to the imagined world where the group was simply not present (and here we see the limitations of this interactional work insofar as we are unable to intuit JP’s exact motivations). But it is significant that at JP’s prompting to discuss the “Option for the Poor and Vulnerable” and Charles attempts to contribute to the basic logistics of the project, JP pivots to an imagined scenario that denies Charles’ very voice (“Oh I’m sorry/Who was talking?”) as though it were never present in the first place. “Oh I’m sorry” signals JP’s return in footing to the frame of the group discussion, having been ‘elsewhere’ and having ‘missed’ Charles’ contribution.

At my prompting, Charles eventually receives the recorder and begins to croon directly into it, making up lyrics about the group members as he goes along (and proving himself to be a pretty good singer: “Benny: That's really good”). He turns his attention to JP and sings a line to him:

116 Charles: It's Ja:ay Peee ((singing))
117 He is always lyin
118 JP: I never lie
119 [I'm a (0.2) a
120 Gabriel: ((huge laugh)) [You never lie!?
121 Benny: You never lie?
122 Gabriel: [That's a lie right there
123 JP: [I'm a holy person
124 ((mouths "fuck you" at me with huge smile on his face))
125 Benny: You just lied the whole time

So while JP chooses to exclude Charles from the group work based on gross racial categorization (which exclude some and include other based on an indeterminate field criteria), Charles immediately uses his opportunity to turn this discussion around and frame JP, admittedly with some parody, as a “liar” (a category which negatively indexes JP’s morality not only future interactional moments, but equally what had just come before); in doing so, Charles reauthorizes himself into the interaction. JP’s retort is to invoke the identity of a “holy person” (who seemingly does not lie) as a recognizable figure of authority against the now group-wide framing of him as a “liar” (Gabriel and Benny both ask incredulously, “You never lie!?”). JP’s framing, however, is ironic, as the very next turn works to undercut his claim to being a “holy man” through his sly (but unrecorded) mouthed “fuck you” with a smile. Here on the front stage (in my recording) JP claims the veracity of his contributions on the basis of his identity as a “holy man”, an identity which is subsequently denied (with some good humor) by the other group

members. In all this, we can see the back-and-forth positioning by the students in an attempt to validate and invalidate each other's contributions, at times based on racial and at other times based on religious categories.

After a good deal of what could be legitimately be coded by a teacher as 'off-task' conversation (about Youtube videos of Power Rangers, JP's texting habits, and others), I ask how much work the group plans on doing, to which Benny replies that "If it's hard we just give up." Charles, unhappy that this framing has included him (through the proximal deictic pronominal "we" that seemingly encompassed the entire group), denied this positioning:

- 458 Charles I don't give up
459 I keep trying
460 Benny: Says the person who gonna be a lawyer
461 Gabriel: ((laughs))
462 Charles: I do wanna be a lawyer
463 Robert: You mentioned that once like three months ago and they will not let it
 go
...
468 Benny: ((to Charles)) [I think you should be an NFL player
469 Charles: I could be the guy
470 JP: I destroy Charles when (0.2) when in football
471 Robert: Why [uhh why uhhh can't Charles be a lawyer?
472 Charles: [Do you wanna see my highlight tape? ((to Robert))
473 Robert: Not right now I don't
474 Charles: XXXXXX
475 Benny: ((points at Charles's arm)) You see those muscles?
476 They're called steroids
477 Charles: They not steroids
478 They're just from lifting weights=

This excerpt requires some ethnographic framing to fully understand, as Charles' identity as an unengaged African American boy (a trope more broadly in the research literature and locally forged in many urban classrooms; cf. Fordham & Ogbu, 1987) had been formulated across multiple speech chains and events, so much so that this identity

had largely hardened by May 2014 so as to undercut any classroom interactions on his part. In a previous classroom discussion, long after multiple events had begun to frame Charles as unengaged or more bluntly as ‘dumb’, Charles mentioned he wanted to be a lawyer when he grew up, which met with classroom laughter.⁸⁷ We can think of this as an example of the scalar construction of identity in interaction (Wortham, 2005), where a common circulating stereotype—the unengaged African American boy—gets produced locally and assigned to particular activities and contributions by one student—in this case, Charles. Even in group framing, however, Charles refuses this positioning and his urging that “I don’t give up/I keep trying” is in specific response to Benny’s claim that the group “just give up”. However, this refusal does not go unremarked, and Benny counters with the retort “Says the person who gonna be a lawyer”, which elicits laughter.”

Why this elicits laughter equally requires ethnographic framing (seemingly a lawyer would need to work hard and “keep going” rather than “give up” on school work). Here, we have to intuit both the tone of Benny’s comment (said with a kind of ironic

⁸⁷ The *Altar Boys*, who go to the same school and largely come from the same economic bracket as Charles, of course have their own occupational aspirations. But these middle and upper middle class desires—computer technician, public worker, priest—never come under scrutiny as being unreasonable. Greg’s own personal goal to become the “first Asian Pope” is never questioned in recorded interaction by anyone apart from Greg, who does so with a curious critical realism: Benny turns to me and says softly (but not whispering), “Can you imagine Greg as Pope? With an Asian accent? And the shortest Pope ever?” He turns to Greg at this and says, “Your dad would be so proud”.

Greg: “My dad will be dead”

Benny: “He’ll still be watching you in heaven.”

Greg: [sort of joking] “I’m afraid. People will kill me if I become Pope.

Robert: “Why’s that?”

Greg: “Because of my race”

Even in an imagined fantasy where Greg become Pope, there’s still a concern that racial prejudice would lead to racial violence and even death.

incredulity) and understand that the *Boys* regularly frame Charles' academic aspirations (even the most modest, like having something to contribute to a class discussion) as absurd; here, Charles' desire to be a lawyer is mocked by Benny for its overreach. This takes on another undertone when Benny pivots from Charles' aspirations to upper middle class work to frame him as a potential professional football player (and given the proximity to what came immediately before, it's hard not to see this as a move to 'limit' his aspirations away from intellectual labor and towards physical labor). This equally draws on common stereotypes of African American boys as overly concerned with athletics, or that sports (typically football or basketball) are their only way 'out' of urban neighborhoods.⁸⁸ Even in this framing, the *Boys* undercut Charles' legitimacy, as his notoriety as a football star (Charles was heavily recruited to play football for Father Judge High School, an athletic powerhouse in the state) is undercut by claims that he has not earned his athletic abilities (Benny claims they're the result of "steroids").

What is your option for the poor?

As the time carries on, the JP, Charles, Benny, and Gabriel eventually turn to the assignment, and try to formulate some discussion about the "Option for the Poor and

⁸⁸ While this might well have positive overtones (JP, for example, is a huge Philadelphia Eagles fan), Ms. Walsh's own metapragmatic framing of Charles and his African American male classmates' behavior as representing a "jock attitude" (something she comes back to both in interviews and explicitly to the class during instruction) means this indexical has a more negative undertone. While someone like Tyler is not particularly athletic, he curiously receives the same framing as Charles for having the same 'jock' mindset, which Ms. Walsh links to an inability to get along with others and a belief that the world owes you something. Furthermore, Ms. Walsh explicitly comments on Charles' football abilities, but then links them to another racial stereotype about African American males as criminals, commenting "Ya he might make the NFL/ He might be that good/ But he's gonna be one of those athletes that are gonna be in jail or whatever" (*Interview- 5/21/2014*). The *Altar Boys*' own basketball skills and obsession with professional sports seemingly do not garner the same framing as having a 'jock attitude', leading one to wonder what allows this distinction (and I betray my own suspicions in this framing).

Vulnerable.” Benny, in a parodic repertoire that mocks my interviewing style (558

Benny: “I got this/I’m gonna be like you ((to Robert))/ ((turns to JP)) JP/What is your option about poor and vu:uvulnerable?”), starts the discussion and moves it back toward Ms. Walsh’s frame.

567 JP: Well
568 What I think about the poor is that
569 They shouldn't be poor
570 I think the government should do something about that ((pounds
fist on desk jokingly))
571 Charles: I know I know
572 JP: And when I become [the President of the United States]
573 Benny: [What what what] should they do to prevent that?
574 Gabriel: XXXXX
575 JP: What should I do?
576 Charles: Give everybody a million [dollars]
577 Benny: [What should] they do to prevent them
from being poor?
578 Charles: Give everybody a million dollars
579 JP: Stop taxes
580 Charles: You need taxes
581 JP: Shut up!
582 Charles: For public schools
583 JP: I quit ((laughs))
584 Gabriel: And for all the parks and playgrounds
585 Charles: Everybody should get a million dollars
586 Everybody rich
587 JP: No:ooooooooo
588 Benny: No
589 If you get a million dollars it'll (0.2) it'll be gone in the next two
days
590 Gabriel: Ya everybody spend it too fast
591 Charles: I wouldn't
592 I'd take my time
593 I'd feel like I broke
594 JP: He got [points at Charles] he gotta hook strippers up and stuff
595 ((JP and Gabriel laugh))
596 Gabriel: He buy like 500 [pairs of shoes]
597 Robert: [I have] two questions then
598 Why do you think people are poor?
599 JP: Because
600 They lose jobs

601 Their families left them
 602 They can't
 603 Charles: XXXXX
 604 They don't have the money to pay their rents and stuff
 605 Stuff like that

JP begins by narrating a fundamentally structural critique of poverty, offering an imaginative scenario (complete with an authoritative, stentorian repertoire of desk banging) of him as President of the United States (so, Charles can't be a lawyer, but JP may be President). Charles counters with a model of extreme distribution ("Give everybody a million [dollars]"), to which JP counters with his own logic, which seemingly draws on discourse of a more libertarian bent: "Stop taxes." Both Charles and Gabriel interrogate this claim, and offer the necessity of taxation in America for a variety of purposes which are at least closely familiar to the interactants ("For public schools", "for all the parks and playgrounds"). It is the next turn, however, that is most illuminating in terms of the interaction, as JP appears to recognize his rhetoric is not terribly compelling in this interaction ("I quit ((laughs))"), and the *Boys* turn back on Charles' suggestion of wealth distribution.

589 Benny If you get a million dollars it'll (0.2) it'll be gone in the next two
 days
 590 Gabriel: Ya everybody spend it too fast
 591 Charles: I wouldn't
 592 I'd take my time
 593 I'd feel like I broke
 594 JP: He got [points at Charles] he gotta hook strippers up and stuff
 595 ((JP and Gabriel laugh))
 596 Gabriel: He buy like 500 [pairs of shoes]

Whereas JP's suggestion was countered with arguments that examined the impact of his suggestion for the 'public good' (drawing here on liberal discourses of necessarily public goods like schools and parks), Charles' suggestion is countered by racialized

discourses of the consumerist, hypersexual African American male. Benny first accuses Charles of having little ability to prudently hold on to any money he receives (“it’ll be gone in the next two days”), and where Gabriel applies the logic of “overspending” the distributed wealth to the vague pronomial deictic “everyone” (“Ya everybody spend it too fast”), JP invokes a sexualized discourse wherein he constructs an imagined scenario of Charles buying sex workers with his money. Gabriel finishes with an imagined scenario using present tense framing (as though it were going on immediately) where Charles foolishly buys huge numbers of a consumer good (shoes) stereotypically associated with African American youth. What this all amounts to is a racialized argument against distributive economics, framed in local metapragmatic identities (Charles as ‘irresponsible’) and broader discourses of racialized poverty (wherein the poor are responsible for their own poverty because of irresponsible spending habits and moral depravity).⁸⁹ Returning to Bourdieu, the distribution of particular categories (here, moral and racial categories) legitimize the literal distribution of economic resources (and consequently demonstrate the Boys use of religious identity to engage with their coursework).

Soon afterwards, we pivot in the discussion to a question I pose about Catholic (and then Christian) responsibility to care for the poor.

636 Robert: So the next question was umm::mmmm
637 Why is it important for Catholic people
638 Or Christian people to
639 (0.4) Why like take care of the poor?
640 Benny: Food drive!

⁸⁹ Note here as well that while Charles is framed as ‘within’ the bounds of the ‘poor’ under discussion, JP frames the ‘poor’ as an external Other, continually using the third person pronomial “they” in reference.

641 JP: [To set] a good role model
 642 Charles: [XXXX]
 643 To/
 644 JP: No Charles
 645 You're not Christian
 646 [Shut up shut up]
 647 Charles: [Can I answer?]
 648 I'm Christian
 649 JP: No you're not
 650 You're black
 651 You're not Christian
 652 Benny: It's because you have the word Charles in it ((pun lost in pseudonym))
 653 Charles: I'm Catholic
 654 I'm Chris[tian]
 655 JP: [You're] not Catholic
 656 Charles: I'm Muslim
 657 I'm Buddhist
 658 I'm everything
 659 Benny: How're you Buddhist?
 660 ((the other group- Kaylee, Tyler, Trina, Samara- hears Charles talking and starts to laugh))
 661 Gabriel: Charles you're a atheist
 662 Robert: We're signing him up for a bunch of stuff
 663 Trina: ((across the room)) Watermelon!
 664 Robert: So seriously though
 665 JP: The reason we do it is to set good examples
 666 As Catholics we need to represent who we really are
 667 Follow Christ to help the poor
 668 Charles: And [cause
 669 JP: [And do Jesus' work
 670 Benny: Okay [I am
 671 Robert: [And that's what Jesus work is?
 672 Helping the poor?
 673 JP: Helping the poor

What starts out rather gently as a set of suggestions from Benny and JP on the subject of the question, it quickly turns to the application of a set of fused religion-racial categories for the exclusion of Charles. When Charles tries to offer a suggestion (and given his years of Catholic school, he no doubt has something to say), JP jumps to deny

his Christianity on the basis of his race (as though the latter excluded the former) and thus exclude him from the classroom discussion:

648 Charles I'm Christian
649 JP: No you're not
650 You're black
651 You're not Christian

At the most general level (“Christian”, which is a religious identity which encompasses many faith traditions, including variations of Protestants, Orthodox, Mormons, and, of course, Catholics), the religious identity marker is offered by JP as the *de facto* identity necessary for entrance into the discussion, and his marker is denied to Charles by virtue of being “black.”⁹⁰ Bourdieu writes helpfully here that social contestation is both about resources and about categorization, framing it as: “a struggle to appropriate rare goods and a struggle to impose the legitimate way of perceiving the power relations manifested by the distributions, a representation which, through its own efficacy, can help to perpetuate or subvert these social relations” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 141). When JP’s tactic to exclude Charles based on a binary religious classification doesn’t work and Charles continues to press his case that he is indeed “Catholic...Christian”, JP appears to concede this point, but only at the most basic level (which would be “Christian”).

653 Charles: I'm Catholic
654 I'm Chris[tian]
655 JP: [You're] not Catholic

⁹⁰ And this may indeed be a local scale identity, as the majority of African Americans at St. Dominic Savio School are not Catholic. Moving up a scale level to the parish level (at least in terms of church attendance), there is a robust group of African American Catholics, though none attend the Vietnamese service at which JP, Benny, or Greg serve (highlighting the spatial and temporal nature of metapragmatic identity models and registers; Blommaert, Westinen, & Leppanen, 2014; see also Stornaiuolo & LeBlanc, 2016).

Bourdieu's articulation of religion, like any other social field, as a competitive marketplace, has value for our analysis here. We see playing out a contestation of categorizations which bring with them symbolic capital. At the most general level, Charles and JP struggle over the boundary marker of "Christian" and its exchangeability for offering a legitimate contribution to the classroom discussion. When Charles insists on adopting the moniker of "Christian", JP counters by refusing to grant him the legitimacy of "Catholic" (and JP's closeness to the symbolic capital of the parish, accrued over years of participation, no doubt gives him the leg up on this contestation of categorization of 'Catholic') and in doing so keep Charles at a distance and illegitimate his contributions. On Bourdieu's notion of religion as a "fundamentally interested and contested terrain," Urban (2003) writes, "it is governed by the struggle over material and symbolic resources, specifically over 'sacred capital'" (Urban, 2003, p. 362). Denied one identity marker of religion (the 'sacred capital' associated with a formal religious group), Charles offers instead a pan-religion, cosmopolitan identity, which his met with both local and class-wide derision:

656 Charles: I'm Muslim
657 I'm Buddhist
658 I'm everything
659 Benny: How're you Buddhist?
660 ((the other group- Kaylee, Tyler, Trina, Samara- hears Charles talking and starts to laugh))
661 Gabriel: Charles you're a atheist
662 Robert: We're signing him up for a bunch of stuff
663 Trina: ((across the room)) Watermelon!

By claiming multiple religious identities as an access point to the locally-constructed field of classroom discussion on religious matters, Charles adopts a strategy

of upscaling (claiming beyond the local), which is not only battered by laughter (thus demonstrating the limitations of the fluidity of identity in interaction, notably after the emergence of an identity over the course of a school year; Wortham, 2005) but also by the application of an identity by his classmates that would seemingly exclude him from any future discussion on the subject: “Charles you’re a atheist.” Thinking of identity as contextually constructed by scales and hierarchies (Blommaert, 2006; Stornaiuolo & LeBlanc, in press), “Catholic” appears to be the superordinate identity with the most symbolic capital, followed by “Christian”, and lastly “atheist”, all of which is complicated by racial discourse: from across the room, Trina invokes a gross racial stereotype (which seems to have little merit on the conversation at hand beyond delegitimizing Charles’ participation) of the “watermelon” just as Charles is attempting to situate the legitimacy of his suggestions. Heller (1995), after Bourdieu, calls this kind of interaction ‘symbolic domination’, “the ability of certain groups of to maintain control over others by establishing their view of reality and their cultural practices as most valued... as the norm” (p. 373). Where Charles intends to invoke a vision of the world where one can move between hardened religious groups, the *Boys* work to place him in a distinct category (which indexes negative value in their vision of reality), and then Trina’s comment indexes an even more pernicious reality of subjugated Jim Crow South.

After some back and forth over different visions of what caring for the poor might mean as a Catholic (675 JP: “Feeding the poor/ Healing the poor”), Charles is finally offered his turn by Benny (who distributes turns, again, in a parodic repertoire as “Mr. Robert”, suggesting the performative nature of the whole interaction, including the ‘generosity’ of offering the floor to Charles). Here, Charles, JP, Benny, and Gabriel

work together to invoke a series of racio-religious stereotypes which require close analysis. I draw on Reyes' (2009) model to identify stereotypes at work,⁹¹ looking at pronomial or referents ("Catholics") and predications marked by what she deems 'typicality devices', which can be marked ("a lot", "always") or unmarked ("X does Y"). So, for example, "A lot of Catholics take care of the poor" can be unpacked as a metapragmatic stereotype (an identity that is marked by an action or a way of being) using a simple transcription format, **Typicality device**, reference, *predication* (Reyes, 2007, p. 89-114): "A **lot** of Catholics *take care of the poor.*"

692 Charles: To take care of the poor
693 Catholics set a good example
694 Cause people be hungry
695 Be sleeping in the street
696 They raise money
697 They give it to the poor
698 Benny: Charles if you say Catholics
699 How about Lutherans?
700 [Uhhh Muslims?]
701 Charles: [Ask me] a question I answer
702 Ask me a question I'll answer
703 Benny: And Christians
704 Charles: Ask me a question
705 Benny: How about Lutherans?
706 Christians?
707 Muslims?
708 Jewish?
709 What do they do about the poor?
710 Instead of Catholics?
711 Charles: Well Christians
712 They got big churches and they raise a lot of money
713 Cause you got a lot of money
714 And umm=

⁹¹ "One way to discover what counts as typical from the participant perspective is to examine certain discursive features that index typicality, for example, adverbs such as 'always'. One way to discover what counts as typification is to analyze two elements in an interaction: reference and predication... the means relating some aspect of behavior (predication) to a particular social category of persons (reference)." (Reyes, 2009, p. 51)

715 Baptist people too
 716 JP: ((rhythmically under his breath)) Shut up shut up shut up
 717 Charles: They drop money they give it to the poor
 718 They donate it to the shelters and all that
 719 And Muslims=
 720 I don't know what the Muslims do
 721 All I see is them walking around
 722 Being mean and stuff
 723 Gabriel: ((huge laugh)) Ya!
 724 ((a number of people in the class have stopped to listen to Chris))
 725 Charles: What religion?
 726 Gabriel: Turn around behind you
 727 Charles: Jews
 728 They got a lot of money
 729 They gotta take care of the poor
 730 ((Benny, Gabriel, JP big laugh))
 731 (2.3) It's like it's like
 732 They gotta lot of money they can take care of the poor
 733 Cause they like/
 734 JP: /Man Jews
 735 Benny: [Jews]
 736 Charles: [They're rich]
 737 Gabriel: Juice?
 738 JP: Muslims they attacked um:mm
 739 They attacked us alright?
 740 Benny: Who?
 741 Charles: Muslims do
 742 JP: Muslims and Jews
 743 ((Looks over a Gabriel, who had joked earlier that people always think he's
 Jewish because of his appearance and hair))
 744 Gabriel: I'm not a Jewish! ((laughs))
 745 JP: ((laughs))
 746 You should write that down

After Charles offers a gloss on Catholic social action on poverty (“Catholics set a good example.../They raise money/They give it to the poor”), Benny confronts him over his knowledge of other religious faith traditions and their advocacy for the poor (“How about Lutherans?/Christians?/Muslims?/Jewish?/What do they do about the poor? Instead of Catholics?”); this may be a referent back to Charles’ previous claim to a pan-religious cosmopolitan identity (“I’m everything”), but equally a means for the *Boys* to

demonstrate what they deem the Catholic exceptionalism when it comes to poverty activism (Benny's tone here, obviously unmarked in the transcripts, is accusatorial). Charles responds by constructing an indexical field where different religious groups (Christians, Baptists, Muslims, Jews) have stereotypical identities. Using Reyes' (2009) transcription format, we see positive predication applied to Christian groups (and to a limited extent, Jewish people), but a negative metapragmatic identity applied to Muslims based on Charles' own local knowledge and identity models.

Christians/Baptists

711 Charles: Well Christians
 712 They got big churches and they raise a lot of money
 713 Cause you got a lot of money
 714 And umm=
 715 Baptist people too

Muslims

719 And Muslims=
 720 I don't know what the Muslims do
 721 All I see is them walking around
 722 Being mean and stuff

Jews

727 Charles: Jews
 728 They got a lot of money
 729 They gotta take care of the poor
 730 ((Benny, Gabriel, JP big laugh))
 731 (2.3) It's like it's like
 732 They gotta lot of money they can take care of the poor⁹²

Whereas Christian/Baptist identities (which Charles uses to construct a deictic field which encompasses the *Boys*- "you got a lot of money", meaning the broad identity

⁹² As a note on using Reyes transcription format for illustrating stereotype, all of these excerpts are absent any moderating typicality devices: they do not claim to represent 'some' or 'many' Jews, Muslims, Baptists, etc., but rather what is unmarked is their claims to represent **all** members of these groups ("[**All**] Christians/ They got big churches and they raise a lot of money")

marker “Christian”) are positively aligned with ongoing action to “raise money” for the poor, Muslims are characterized as inactive in charitable causes (“All I see is them walking around/Being mean and stuff”). Jewish people are characterized with common broadly circulating ethno-religious stereotypes as being “rich”, but their action is framed as an imperative (as though they were not already doing that action): because of the money they have (“Jews/They got a lot of money”), “They gotta take care of the poor” and “They can take care of the poor”. This frames Jewish people not as generous, but as miserly (and continues to draw on old and broadly circulating stereotypes of Jewish people accumulating and holding money; cf., Foxman, 2010). JP follows this with another stereotype, that of the violent Muslim (most likely linked to the September 11th terrorism given the indeterminate us of the deictic “us”), and draws together this framing to include Jewish people too (perhaps rendering conspiratorial discourses in the process):

738 JP: Muslims they attacked um:mm
739 They attacked us alright?
740 Benny: Who?
741 Charles: Muslims do
742 JP: Muslims and Jews

At its conclusion, this classroom interaction around a textbook prompt has constructed a new deictic field. Originally, the field stratified participation by religious faith linked to racial categories (with “black” being the only noted race of exclusion). By the end, in construing Catholic and then Christian exceptionalism in charitable works to the poor, another deictic field was arranged that now included Charles within the bounds of the *Boys* and Gabriel’s identity (“They attacked us alright?” seemingly encompassing the local proximal group, or perhaps American citizenship) that offered difference based on ethno-religious categorizations wherein affiliation with Christianity was the dividing

marker. In doing so, the *Boys* and Charles work together to use local identity constructs (“All I see is them walking around”) and more broadly circulating identity models (“Muslims they attacked”) that includes and excludes simultaneously.

Returning to Spector’s (2007) observation, when students invoked religious rationale and identities in their completion of coursework, it was not in keeping with the explicit intent of the assignment (to increase tolerance for diversity), but instead for the purposes of marginalization. Here, the *Boys* play on multiple racial and religious stereotypes, using them to shift and reposition themselves along multiple hierarchies. At first, we see the hierarchical positioning of Charles at the bottom of a racio-religious binary, with blacks (as non-Catholics) at the bottom and other religious identities (first as Catholic, then as Christian) on top. While this strategy only holds for a brief amount of time, it is reconstituted later by JP, Benny, and Gabriel, who draw on stock caricatures of African American youth as spendthrift, hypersexualized, and irresponsible; and it is in forming this moral binary that we see them both completing their coursework through the use of their own religious resources, and the construction of a boundary between the deserving/undeserving poor in service of the course question “What is your option for the poor and vulnerable?” In doing so, we see their use of the coursework to jockey for position by drawing on their various distributions of capital, symbolic, cultural, and social. Finally, the interaction turns a third time, and the *Boys* and Charles collaborate in offering a marginalizing discourse toward an even more peripheral group to the boundaries of Catholic school: local Muslims and distant Jews. Drawing on his own experience seeing Muslims in the neighborhood, Charles offers a stereotype of this faith group and together with JP frames Muslims as dangerous and responsible for the 9/11

attack. This is complicated by their use of stereotypes about Jewish miserliness, which together they use to exclude both marginalized faith groups in their discussion of charity and serving the poor. Together, these represent the fluid, shifting, and multi-scalar capacity of religious discourse and resources in literacy practice. Zacher (2008) writing on these kinds of interactional struggles over categorization in classrooms, reveals how “students negotiate the right to categorize themselves and others, as well as the right to claim membership in different categories and identify themselves with certain groups of people” (p. 253), and in doing so reveals the potential contestation of even the most mundane classroom interaction. It is the *Boys* particular use of racio-religious categories, however, that makes this particular interaction stand out.

CHAPTER 7- IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

[T]he issue on the table is not simply whether literacy has autonomous or ideological effects, but how those ideological effects actually are used and deployed to shape capital, social relations and forms of identity, access to material and discourse resources – that is, to paraphrase Bourdieu (1993), how literate practices have convertible exchange value as forms of capital... ethnographies can tell us how literacy counts, how it is made to count – but they can do so only in combinations with other multi-leveled social scientific analyses of the availability, local use and control of other semiotic and material resources and social relations.

- Luke, 2004

I have tried to do justice to the complexity of the literate lives of four Catholic immigrant students coming of age in a post-Vatican II, post-industrial era in South Philly, and in doing so I have intended to capture the complex interplay between school and church, between Mass and class with regards to their language and literacy practices. This has meant taking account of contemporary Catholic schooling as a changed and changing institution from the standpoint of pedagogy and demography, and to situate instruction at St. Dominic Savio (both religious and secular) as participating in a local and broader history of Catholic education. This has also meant trying to take account of JP, Greg, Francisco, and Benny as individuals—as teenagers with their own distinct personalities and peculiarities—and as representative of contemporary Catholic youth in an urban Catholic system marked by change. Further, I have tried to make the argument that St. Dominic Savio represents a form of community wealth (Yosso, 2005) for these boys, offering them speaking opportunities, high status categories and large amounts of symbolic and social capital for them to draw on in interaction, and support their own navigation of the school.

I wish to argue here that the nuances of fine-grained interactional discourse analysis are vital, but only when they are situated and linked to institutional and historical processes—in this case, linked to the renewed terrain of Catholic education in Philadelphia. It is here that we might see how schools are institutions of cultural and social reproduction, and undergoing transformation of what comes to count in a shifting field; that is, “Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital helps us to think through the potential role of schools in establishing new forms of symbolic capital while displacing old ones” (Levinson & Holland, 1996, p. 7). I want to be eminently clear about why I hope this dissertation helps prove valuable in not only illuminating the literacy practices and interactional strategies of Vietnamese and Mexican immigrants—two groups largely ignored in the research literature on schools, literature that consciously or unconsciously uses unmarked whiteness as the norm by which all others are measured—but also to foreground the theoretical potential of examining religious practice as a form of literate capital that has real impact on school for kids, notably kids growing up Catholic in Philadelphia.

This brings us back to the metaphor of *political economy*, which I have woven throughout this dissertation as a kind of Ariadne’s thread (I leave it to the reader to decide how ‘lost’ we have become along the way). Political economy may conjure up tired images of stock indices and Marxist dogmatism, but Bourdieu’s (1990) conception of political economy, taken up with vigour in the literacy field by a handful of scholars (Carrington & Luke, 1997; Cook-Gumperz, 2006; Hanks, 2005), allows us see literacy practice existing within a market (another metaphor, of course), which dictates the production, price, and exchange of literacy resources. By advancing that several markets

might exist simultaneously (nested within a national market that structures at the most basic level what a legitimate language might be; Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001), we are able to see the way that various social spaces regiment literacy practice by valuing some contributions and practices, rejecting others, and rewarding those who are able to combine the various forms of capital together in the right way at the right time. By regarding not simply linguistic code (English, Spanish, Vietnamese, etc.), but also literacy practice, as subject to field pressures and evaluation, we may see how school comes to value some literacy resources and not others. This process, Bourdieu reminds us, is never a social arbitrary, but represents instead the way that, in our case, academic discourse contributes to social reproduction.

To dispense with the jargon for a moment, this dissertation represents an effort to show how one resource, Catholic literacy practice, comes to matter in one site. It hopes to demonstrate that Catholicism is a resource, linguistic, social, and political, for children living on the edge of social and economic precarity. And in taking on language and framing from New Literacy Studies and interactional ethnography, I hope to have shown not simply that indeed there are differential strategies front stage and back stage, or that interaction is always structured in classrooms, but that these differences have fundamentally material effects: on speaking turns, on the distribution of symbolic capital for reward and prominence, on the ability of students to free themselves from the strictures, rigors, and restiveness of a classroom's sweltering afternoon. This study, consequently, contributes to a number of fields and a number of conversations: to the dearth of research on the everyday literacy tactics of language minority youth (Shankar, 2011); to the literature on urban Catholic education and its shifting demographic,

financial, and structural composition (Kelly, 2010); and to the still-evolving application of Bourdieu's oeuvre to literacy studies (Grenfell, Bloome, Hardy, Pahl, Rowsell, & Street, 2012). In light of the fact that contemporary Catholic education is an unsteady terrain while continuing to educate millions of children each year, there is a pressing need for qualitative and discourse analytic research that looks closely at how immigrant students, notably those typically in the background of mainstream pictures of schools, navigate this instructional, religious, and fraternal landscape. In this manner, I hope to move centripetally and centrifugally, from the broad to the narrow and back to the broad again: from Bourdieu's sweeping conception of social life, to the small-scale trafficking of texts, interactions, and literacies at a single site, to the implications for revealing these practices' structural homologies with literacy education in schools both secular and religious.

Principal Findings

Writing in 2015, Burke and Gilbert argue that "research on the social experience of students of color in private and parochial schools remains conspicuously absent" (p. 6). This study has offered a window into how the process of social reproduction and resistance—the twin hinges on which cultural production swings (Foley, 2010)—plays out in literacy interaction for Vietnamese and Mexican immigrant students in Catholic school. In Chapter 4, I presented data that demonstrated how the life of the Church was imminently part of the life of the school, and how the opportunity for various high and low platform literacy performances distributed social and cultural capital unevenly amongst the children of St. Dominic Savio. Here, we saw how JP, Benny, Francisco, and Greg worked front and backstage to mobilize the resources of the parish for various

rewards. In Chapter 5, I looked closely at interactional data from the classroom to show how floor taking procedures, interactional tokens, and symbolic ritualization of classroom contributions had a distinctly ‘Catholic’ flavor to it—part of Catholic schools’ diachronic and synchronic particularity amongst a range of instructional options—and how that Catholic particularity favored the Catholic immigrant students by validating their ability to play on the metapragmatic identities iconically linked to codified participation structures. Finally, in Chapter 6, we moved off the official frontstage floor of the classroom to the backstage to see how the *Altar Boys* drew on the language of their religious faith, and used their coursework to mediate local and national racial politics. This chapter situated their literacy practice as a scalar phenomenon (Stornaiuolo & LeBlanc, 2016), both intensely local in its manipulation of Charles’ identity in Ms. Walsh’s class, and broadly national insofar as it drew on various tropes and stereotypes about African American identity in the contemporary United States. Together, I have argued that these overlapping and intersecting concepts and fields contribute to a robust political economy of literacy and demonstrate, at least locally, “how literacy counts, how it is made to count” at St. Dominic Savio.

If we take Carrington and Luke (1997) at their word—that “a political economy of exchange and value is established within the social field of the school” (p. 107)—then we can use this analytic heuristic to think through the field of St. Dominic Savio. What ethnographic work can do and (hopefully) has done is show how the criteria for inclusion and exclusion gets constructed, instantiated over time, and repurposed by students operating within these various fields of power; that is, it can show how St. Dominic Savio’s teachers, priest, students, and community construct in the small field of the

school and parish a market for literacy resources and in validating them through the allowing them prominence in a discursive space, validating them through overt praise or by condemning others, and laminating metapragmatic identities to their use. More specifically, I noted in Chapters 4 and 5—on Mass and class, respectively—that what religious and classroom practice amounts to is a set of high platform performative practices of text, a literacy practice that I deemed to have a liturgical (apprehensive) quality (explicitly in the former, tacitly in the latter), and that these performances were unequally distributed. For the Catholic students attending Catholic schools, the rituals of the faith—rituals that still occupy large portions of the day in contemporary schools—were simultaneously generator of and exchangeable for cultural capital, and in cordoning these performances off by faith-affiliation, we see the means by which various forms of capital are reserved for a few in Catholic school. This, I continue, only has meaning in an era when shifting demographics in the neighborhoods and the desks of Catholic schools (and the pews, as is the custom of the institution) combines Catholic and non-Catholic students in large numbers. It was the fundamental homology between Catholic ritual and Catholic instructional practice—not as replica of a former era, but as palimpsest and recontextualization rooted in scalar change—that allowed for the continuation of this differentiation between acceptable interactional tokens along faith and racial lines.

Let us anchor this discussion in a particular literature: sociology's uptake of Bourdieu's work on 'capital' (cf., cf., Anthias, 2007; Zhou, 2005). Erel (2010), in particular, argues that researchers must stop thinking about immigrant cultural and social capital as being a 'rucksack' that they carry with them, in total, for sorting in the 'host' country. Rather, Erel argues, we must see the ways that immigrants create new forms of

cultural capital and the way they use (or strategically engage, we might say) dominant institutions for the validation of their capital.⁹³ And it is here that we return to St. Dominic Savio. Long before I arrived, the parish St. Dominic Savio set itself up in opposition to much of the state legitimated hold over education, and as such made itself an alternative field that was specifically designed by immigrants (first white, now Latino and Asian American in our local case) (Walch, 2003). Thus, St. Dominic Savio provides both a way of converting the ethnic capital of being Vietnamese and Mexican into a more broadly circulated cultural capital of respectability and religiousity through the Catholic church and the Catholic school system; systems that themselves have had to struggle for recognition, and which now have a modicum of respect in narratives regarding the urban landscape. This is, quite simply, the use of dominant (formerly and presently white) social institutions by immigrant communities to legitimate their own cultural capital. And this is agentic on the part of the immigrant and refugee students, which allows them to play themselves off in the local educational and labor market against their African American peers, most pressingly for our sake in the context of classroom interaction. It is here that we see the scalar nature of a political economy, of literacy and others.

By seeing the classroom as a site of cultural capital generation and evaluation, a place where students could exchange the religious capital of their Catholic affiliation and

⁹³ This is, of course, Bourdieu's point as well, narrow or reductionistic readings of him aside. For Bourdieu, the field is not simply a set structure, but instead is a site of contestation amongst different groups based on the volume and nature of the capital they possess. This makes Bourdieu far more akin to Gramsci than Althusser with regard to reproduction: "A capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field... As a space of potential and active forces, the field is also a field of struggles aimed at preserving or transforming the configurations of these forces" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 101).

a literate habitus, we can understand why the *Boys* were willing to participate in the arbitrary game of academic discourse (Bourdieu, Passeron, & Saint Martin, 1994) in Ms. Walsh's class while others were not. I have also endeavored to set this particular classroom structure—of floor taking procedures, interactional tokens, and performative readings—within the diachronic and synchronic history of Catholic education and history (Kelly, 2010) to demonstrate how Ms. Walsh's construction of the field of literate practice in her classroom participates in and develops on a history of pedagogy. Endowed with her own pedagogic habitus (Grenfell, 1998), Ms. Walsh constructs a literacy/linguistic field in part based on those experiences, and it is this field to which the *Boys* bring their own literate habitus, forged to some degree by their Catholic faith. Thus neither the *Boys* nor their teacher act in a field with isolated intention: field necessitates habitus, and habitus necessitates field (Grenfell, 1998, p. 87). Because both Mass and class are structured in front stage performance around the same form of literacy capital, the ability to transcribe one practice to another is evident: as Bourdieu and Passeron (1977/1990) argue persuasively in *Reproduction* “the hold of a religious power is measured by the degree to which the habitus produced by the PW [pedagogic work] of the corresponding pedagogic agencies generates practices conforming with the inculcated arbitrary in areas remote from those expressly regulated by doctrine, such as economic or political choices” (p. 111) (or schools, I might add). Embedding these interactions further in a scalar context—from the national to the local with regards to Catholic education—we see how these practices coalesce around a metapragmatic identity (Wortham, 2006) of the ‘good Catholic student’, an identity-cum-practice that comes with reward insofar as it conforms to various ideologies of literacy practice in schools and attaches them to

statements about behavior, decorum, propriety, and piety. It is here that we begin to come to some answers as to the first and second research question which drive this dissertation: what are the literacy practices associated with the *Altar Boys'* Catholic faith, and how do they intersect with school?

Pivoting to Chapter 6, we move away from what were intensely regimented interactional spaces, floors, and practices. Here, I offered a look at backstage literacy practice in the *Boys'* classroom, the kind of mundane and common literacy routine that could be found in virtually any school. Asked to discuss the implications of a short passage they had read, two of the *Boys*, JP and Benny, along with Gabriel and Charles, used this opportunity of unstructured classroom time to mobilize their religious identities and mediate local and national racial and economic politics through the coursework. This illuminates two distinct features. The first is the capacity of students to redirect coursework and class time for their own purposes, though this is filtered through what we might think of as a continuum of regimentation on the part of the teaching authority. In this case, the relative freedom of the coursework in their hour of Religion class meant they were able to engage in the kind of youthful banter we might regard as typical of small group work. Largely ignoring their teacher's dictates (though not abandoning her wishes all together), the *Boys* explore racial politics by other means, and in this case legitimize their own racial positioning against their African American classmates through the course text; it is here we see the 'outside' coming 'in', and the means by which structural features like economic competition in South Philly (Goode, 2010; Goode & Schneider, 1994) find their home in the classroom. That is, we can see how a rescaled city and school system, reconstituted along racial and religious lines, has implications for

small-scale interactional practices. The second feature is that in these data we can see the combinatory power of racial and religious capital (Luke, 2008), how these two features may be fused together in a single social imaginary by the students to construct boundaries and binaries between themselves and others. In much the same manner as the previous two data chapters, it is crucial to keep in mind that this is not free play, without restrictions. Rather, using the Bourdieusian language of structured structures and structuring structures, the *Boys* are best regarded as using the resources, identities, and structures at hand for their own (at times troubling) sense-making.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

Here, I outline implications for researchers, teachers, and schools. In doing so, I hope to encourage future research and changed pedagogy that more broadly considers the assets and cultural heritage of its students.

Implications for Researchers

Beyond understanding the context of contemporary urban Catholic schooling, I have argued that this study can help extend Bourdieu's notion of 'religious capital' (1990, 2010) into the classroom, to see it as a vibrant resource in literacy practice and recognize the structuring capacity of religious institution in the literate lives of students. We can understand how "reading habitus" (Sterponi, 2007) is a matter of literacy socialization into situationally specific authority relations, involvement with texts, encounters between readers and texts, and the like. This offers a robust ground on which to denaturalize what is a common trope about reading as a cognitive phenomenon in North American research, but equally inculcate the means to elucidate how and where various literacy practices come to matter. What Bourdieu's scholarship offers literacy researchers is not simply the

claim that literacy is simply socially produced, but instead that literacy education is a social practice embedded in a cultural market with links to historical and contemporary inequities (Heller, 2008). While Bourdieu's concepts have begun to make inroads into literacy scholarship (Grenfell, Bloome, Hardy, Pahl, Rowsell, & Street, 2012; Fairbanks & Ariail, 2006, Zacher, 2008), his extensive commentary on religious organizations have not played a prominent role in theorizing immigration, the still-relevant institution of Catholic education, and the relation between the fields of home and school. This dissertation hopes to move this conversation forward by seeing classroom interactional structures through the core concepts offered by Bourdieu—field, capital, habitus, *illusio*—and in doing so reveal distinct features of that interaction for public and Catholic schools alike. If *illusio*, for example, “it is about posing the problem of investment in the object, of adherence linked to a form of belonging” (Bourdieu, 2010, p. 2), we may think of all reading instruction as conforming to and producing a form of *illusio* in students, secular and Catholic: a commitment to certain cultural norms, bodily comportments, authority roles, and the like. In doing so, we recognize that reading is much more than understanding, but is fundamentally about participating as a kind of person, the kind of person structurally produced by the pedagogic work of the field (Grenfell, 2011). What this dissertation does is adopts Bourdieu's Weberian critique (1990) for classroom practice in revealing the fundamentally interested nature of religious resources in their application to the classroom; in combining this theoretical insight with interactional ethnography's own terminology and mapping capacities, we can go beyond theorizing habitus, field and capital to witnessing their construction in action.

However independent and isolated children may seem in classrooms, and however much the narrative may prevail of the lone teacher closing the door to her classroom and getting to work may appear, I have argued in the proceeding chapter that literacy practice, discourse, and identities are always shaped by schools and communities, histories and legacies, structures and regimes. For any teacher working in an urban system replete with policy dictates and standardized curriculum, this is unlikely to be news. But I hope that this dissertation has revealed the uniqueness of one site, St. Dominic Savio, and the particularity of how the link between home and school is bridged by students (often without teachers' knowledge), or how it can be productively bridged by communities looking to support their children's education. This is, in some part, the language of social capital and social closure offered by Coleman (1988) and others (Bryk, Lee & Holland, 1993) to explain the particularity of Catholic schooling, and these are insights that schools—secular or religious—would be blithe to dismiss out of hand. The foundational role of Ms. Walsh in the lives of the *Altar Boys*—as teacher, as coach, as religious leader, as catechist instructor, as a steady presence on the weekend—all coheres to produce a commonality amongst staff, teachers, and parents as to the central core mission of the school. This is not without its own troubling implications, for as Bourdieu (1998) reminds us, religious labor is often euphemized as service (and therefore not as labor), and Ms. Walsh's willingness to spend the bulk of her week in some corner of St. Dominic Savio is a testimony to this. It is this same language, of moralized service in the place of labor, that charter schools now draw on to extract huge amounts of uncompensated work from their teachers (Luke, 2004). This issues to the reader both a caution at trying to replicate the Catholic school model in the public sector (and this is

Bryk, Lee & Holland's point, along with Baker & Riordan, 1998) without carefully considering how to ensure that the work of establishing community relations and deep connectivity between home and class is recognized and compensated as work. However, that St. Dominic Savio is fundamentally interested in drawing on the culture, languages, and lives of its (Catholic) students as curriculum and source of strength is to be lauded. And for schools to turn to Catholic education, at least in structure (and in principle), and think about how to invite the breadth and depth of community resources (including religious resources) into classrooms is equally important.

There is today a wealth of research about scholars and practitioners going into students' homes and communities in search of their 'funds of knowledge' (Campano, 2007; Gonzalez, et al., 1995). Continuing in this tradition, but with a turn to what is largely a forgotten 'fund', this study offers implications for the critical potential of religious literacy and religious cultural resources for classroom life. By thinking of these funds not simply as ideas (knowledge about religion, as plays out in some of the literacy research- cf., Skerrett, 2014) but as practices, cultural engagement with texts, and various relations between textual authority and students, we might start to think expansively as educators about what can 'count' in our classrooms. One of the principle implications of this dissertation is to illustrate the potential connection between religious practice and classroom practice, but equally to issue a series of cautions. This potential relation involves what in America is a delicate dance in the public system, between the seemingly secular public square and the relative timidity of teachers to draw on or discussion religion for fear of rapprochement. Skerrett (2014) suggests that "Engagement with religious literacies can build students' critical literacy; moral stances; orientations toward

skills and open-minded, collective inquiry in to matters that concern their learning communities”, further suggesting that “potential social and political outcomes from religious literacy education includes a more civil and informed citizenry who are cognizant of the strengths that religious and cultural diversity add to their nation” (Skerrett, 2014, p. 5). And as we have seen play out in the pews and the classrooms of St. Dominic Savio, religious identities, discourses, and literacies provide the *Altar Boys* and their fellow community members with a robust socio-cultural critique of racism, structural poverty, and predacious narratives of ‘illegal immigrants’. These are resources that can be constructively mobilized in classrooms by teachers to further a social justice approach to literacy (Juzwik & McKenzie, 2015), and also repurposed by the students for alternative projects, including their own racialization of classmates. As Campano, Ghiso, and Sánchez (2013) write, some forms of critical literacy practices “arise organically in local contexts, especially if students...are afforded the curricular space to mobilize cultural and epistemic resources in their transactions with texts and with their worlds” (p. 119). These findings support this notion and complicate smooth visions of bringing religion into classrooms for literacy and literature, and instead ask us to recognize it as one contradictory resource or capital, which combines with race, economics, gender, and other issues we might frame under the banner of political economy.

Implications for Teachers

Literacy in classrooms has too long been narrowed to psychological constructs, often projecting white hegemonic norms onto kids of color in the process. My hope in this dissertation is to support a sociocultural perspective on classroom literacies, in part by

opening up a window onto an under represented form of literacy that is part of children's religious identities. To that, I have a number of recommendations for classroom practice:

- One of the most powerful things we can do for students is invite them to share their stories in our classrooms (Campano, 2007), and in doing so we honor their rich cultural legacies. Teachers might consider a more direct pedagogy of storytelling which includes the home religious narratives of the students they work with. While the *Altar Boys* rarely discussed Vietnamese narratives with me, they regularly told me about religious narratives that their parents welcomed them into as part of a choral reading/memorization process. While schools do not allow the explicit support of religion, many teachers think this means no religion at all in classrooms. However, *Lemon v. Kurtzman* (1992), the foundational Supreme Court case on the separate of church/schooling, does not forbid teaching about religion, and here teachers, public or Catholic, can consider ways for students from many faith backgrounds to share meaningful stories from their faith traditions. This might include structured story time, or opportunities in the students writing to draw on these powerful narratives.
- Luke (2008) notes that what is often overlooked changes to contemporary pedagogy is the way literacy has moved away from being part of interweaving authority relations (using here the Bourdieu's language of 'the gift') to being about commodity consumption (often in the form of packaged curriculum). Writing specifically on healing pedagogies for Aborigine students, Luke suggests that perhaps reframing literacy as a pedagogic gift, including the corresponding practices of welcome that go along with that, might have some significant pedagogic value. To this, I think of practices of choral reading, guided reading, memorization, and song, all of which are part of the Catholic liturgical tradition (which equally structures much of the children's home literacy practices). Classroom pedagogy can be restructured to include opportunities for song, choral chanting and similar practices as a way of bridging the home/school literacy divide, and as a means to honor students' home legacies.
- One of the most dynamic theoretical frames for education in recent years has been culturally relevant or culturally sustaining pedagogy (Ladson-Billing, 1995; Paris, 2012). Teachers have begun to draw on these resources for considering what funds of knowledge students bring with them to classes, and to see how they can be mobilized toward critical literacy and critical pedagogy outcomes (cf., Morrell, 2015). Given my argument that religious communities can be a source of rich socio-political critique, notably around areas of immigration, dehumanization, and poverty, teachers should work toward using students' resources in these communities for the work of critical pedagogy. This might include drawing on the Catholic Church's 'preferential option for the poor' as a starting place for mobilizing student community engagement, but may also include drawing on local community leaders and resources as places of activism and support for a critical literacy project.

Implications for Schools

Part of the lessons of this dissertation are recognizing the value of the unique configuration of contemporary Catholic schools (at least for the local Catholic students), which still retain some of the features of an older model of community schools. In that spirit, I wish to offer a number of recommendations to schools as well arising from my findings:

- The capacity to mobilize community wealth is predicated on established social networks, which allow parents, students and teachers to actualize it. This is, in part, Coleman's (1981, 1988) principal argument as to the overwhelming success of Catholic schools; indeed, in later studies, Coleman demonstrated that Catholic students in public schools dropped out at similar rates to their public classmates, demonstrating that religion per se was not the key factor in their success. Rather, Catholic schools' capacity to produce social closure—for teachers, priests, and parents—to be on the 'same page' and 'same message' meant that students were framed in mutually overlapping support structures. To this, schools may wish to consider this a potential option moving forward. This may mean intentionally drawing on teaching faculty from the neighbourhood (Ms. Walsh grew up only blocks from the school). This should also mean finding creative and respectful ways for teachers and parents to collaborate on meaningful educational goals for their students, beyond 'parent teacher interviews' and other one-sided dialogues.
- One of the reasons that Ms. Walsh was able to effectively teach the Catholic boys was her relative omnipresence in their lives. She taught from 7:30am-2:30pm Monday to Friday, but was also the basketball coach, Sunday school teacher, catechism instructor, and faithful attendee at Mass on Sundays. This meant her fuller integration into their lives through various authoritative and overlapping relationships. Schools should consider ways to support teachers to find involvement in the lives of students beyond the traditional hours of school. Such a 'community schooling' model (Campano, Ghiso, & Welch, forthcoming) allows teachers and staff to get to know students beyond their formal, frontstage identities as 'students'. This can include regular participation in their out of school lives in pursuit of students' funds of knowledge and community wealth, at sports, religious, and community events. One mechanism for this may be to encourage teachers through honouring these inquiries as professional development.

Moving Forward

Writing on the challenge of conducting research at St. Dominic Savio, a site marked by social and economic precarity, Campano, Ghiso, and Welch (2015) offer:

An acknowledgement of our interdependence and sociality (Butler, 2011) corrects dominant ideologies of the neutral individual research who imposes a singular interpretation. Rather than seeing ourselves as dispassionate outside critics and explicators, we recognise that we invariably bring our own identities into our research sites (e.g., Kamler, 2001; Lather, 1986) and that we are constantly engaged in the hermeneutics of learning from and alongside differentially situated others whose own cultural and experiential horizons inform our interpretive process (Alcoff, 2006). (p. 34)

Indeed, my struggle throughout has been to try to value the perspectives and voices of the *Boys* with whom I still regularly text, Facebook, and see from time to time on the hard tarmac of the parish parking lot, while acknowledging my own position as a researcher and academic with a very different agenda from them. They still ask me each time I see them, “Are you finished your book yet?”, to which I still tentatively answer evasively as any graduate student does when caught by this question over a holiday meal, “No I’m still working on it.” And while from time to time I paint myself as actively involved in their lives, the truth is like any other relationship marked by time and distance, we’ve grown apart.⁹⁴

And yet research, notably research that goes public, necessitates a linkage. And in the spirit of Campano, Ghiso, and Welch’s (2015) ethical and professional norms for research at St. Dominic Savio, this includes detailing to the community what I’ve been up to these past few years “through a systematic and transparent way to relay what we were

⁹⁴ I think there of Paul Willis’ lads (1970), who let him know rather candidly in the Appendix to his book, “I think we got to dislike you eventually... Truthfully I was a bit fed up of yer” (p. 195).

doing in order to remain attentive to the concerns and insights of the community” (p. 37). Originally conceptualized through the Education and Research (EaR) group, this ‘reporting back’ has equally become more complex as the group has met less frequently with time and time demands. In many ways I continue to think of my obligations as a matter of relationships with the *Altar Boys*, with whom I talked about local racism, neighbourhood violence, and high school rigors as a mentor and a friend. Their knowledge of this is not terribly enlightened by my findings, but by taking their knowledge seriously, I hopefully have highlighted for them a small window into what I see happening in their young lives. Campano, Ghiso, and Welch’s (2015) frame suggest that our “research practices... not only benefit the field in an abstract sense but also positively impact the lived experiences of the community members as they themselves see it” (p. 42), and it is here that I can only hope and project that my time with the *Altar Boys* as their coach, their mentor, and their friend was mutually beneficial.

Writing in 1955 to an unknown correspondent in the midst of her own inner turmoil, Catholic writer Flannery O’Connor (1998) penned these thoughts, which have stayed with me throughout this study:

I think that the Church is the only thing that is going to make the terrible world we are coming to endure; the only thing that makes the Church endure is that it is somehow the body of Christ and that on this we are fed. It seems to be a fact that you suffer as much from the Church as for it but if you believe in the divinity of Christ, you have to cherish the world at the same time that you struggle to endure it.

To cherish the world while you struggle to endure it. To cherish the Church while you struggle to endure it. O’Connor’s critical-realist assessment holds in tension two competing and fundamentally necessary ideas: that the contemporary Catholic Church is

an all too human institution, fraught with competition and politics and suffering, and that the contemporary Catholic Church is an institution of hope and support for those who are drawn to its faith. To the *Boys* of this parish, as they move out into a brave new world, fraught with uncertainty, and questions, and hesitancy, who still text me to see if I'm free to shoot hoops in the frigid confines of the parish gym, I offer my wishes in the words of their beautiful liturgy, not as platitude or reckless hope, but as a prayer: *Peace be with you.*

APPENDIX 1

Transcription Conventions

Adapted from Green & Wallat, 1981; Rymes, 2008

?	rising intonation, often associated with asking a question
[]	overlap
	An upright slash indicates a quick halt to the prose
—	underlined word or portion of a word indicates a stress or emphasis
:	Semi-colon indicates an elongated letter sound
((x.x))	Double brackets indicate a timed pause
((word))	Words in double brackets indicate physical action not captured by the audio recorder but noted by the researcher in field notes

APPENDIX 2

Literacy History Interview

Adapted from *Brandt (2001)* and *Duffy (2007)*

Demographic

Date of birth

Place of birth

Place you grew up

Ethnic community you identify with

Languages spoken/read

Grandparents' schooling and occupation, if known

Parents/guardians' schooling and occupations, if known

Names and locations of the schools attended

Other training

Past/current/future occupations

Early childhood memories

Earliest memories of seeing other people writing/reading

Earliest memories of self writing/reading

Earliest memories of direct or indirect instruction

Memories of the places writing/reading occurred

Occasions associated with writing/reading

People associated with writing/reading

Organizations associated with writing/reading

Materials available for writing/reading

Ways materials entered households

Writing and Reading in Religious Settings

Earliest memories of writing/reading in church

Memories of the kinds of writing/reading done in church

Memories of direct instruction

Memories of self-instruction

Memories of peer instruction

Audiences for religious writing

Religious reading/writing on your own

Religious reading/writing with your family

Knowledge drawn on to complete writing/reading in church

Resources drawn on to write/read in church

Kinds of materials used

Origin of these materials

Languages used in church

Ways the church influenced your reading/writing

Obligations as member of the Holy Family parish

Reading or writing connected to this

Writing and Reading in School Settings

Earliest memories of writing/reading in school

Memories of the kinds of writing/reading in school

Memories of direct instruction

Memories of self-instruction

Memories of evaluation

Audiences of school-based writing

Knowledge drawn on to complete assignments

Resources drawn on to complete assignments

Texts/materials used in school-based writing/reading

Writing and Reading with Peers/Community

Languages spoken at home

Languages spoken in community

Memories of shared writing and reading

Memories of writing and reading to/with friends

Memories of reading the writing of friends/community members

Final Reflections

Reading and writing affected your life

Reading and writing important to you

Speculate on how reading and writing is particular in faith settings

APPENDIX 3-

Event Map + Intertextuality Map

Classroom Transcription- English Class- St. Dominic Savio

1 Ms J: Okay
2 So you were supposed to
3 do the Yes and Nos
4 Then come up with a thesis statement
5 Something to open your article with
6 Alright
7 So
8 The Yeses
9 Anyone have any Yes?
10 [Adriana reads several sentences straight from the textbook]
11 Okay [writes approximation of Adriana's point on the whiteboard]
12 Alright so academics
13 Over 21 nations have proven that it helps
14 Right
15 Okay
16 Academics
17 What else?
18 What else made your yeses?
19 Anyone else have a yes? [3 second pause]
20 This is yes
21 Your school should get rid of sports
22 [Student read straight from text- Ms. J writes approximation on whiteboard]
23 Ms. J: The United States trails behind other countries
24 Because of sports
25 What else?
26 What about
27 [Tashaun reads in flat monotone voice from text]
28 Ms J: Okay
29 Alright
30 So [writes on whiteboard]
31 Why?
32 Why?
33 You don't have yours? [JP and another student are given copies of the
handout by Ms. J]
34 Why?
35 Why are so many kids
36 Not passing?
37 Greg: Distraction because of... [self generated] [looks at text- begins to read
directly from it]

38 Distraction however may be the greatest cost of all
39 During the football season in particular
40 Focus shifts away
41 From learning
42 Players spend long hours practicing
43 And that commitment extends to the rest of the school [Ms. J writes on
whiteboard]
44 Ms J: And not only do the players
45 But the spectators
46 Practices run late
47 Okay
48 They find out the students do better when?
49 Tashaun: When they don't play sports? [phrased as a question, not an answer- Ms. J
adjudicates]
50 Ms. J: No
51 What time of day?
52 Adriana: Afternoon?
53 Ms. J: Right
54 Teenagers do better in the afternoon
55 But they go to school earlier because practice is later
56 What else?
57 Early arrival
58 Because of practice
59 What else?
60 Tell me about the school in Texas
61 [Adriana reads from text- Ms. J cuts her off]
62 Ms. J After they cut their programs what happened? [6 seconds]
63 They had academic improvement
64 Tashaun: They saved more money
65 Ms. J: Right [writes on whiteboard approximation of those thoughts]
66 Academics improve
67 How many of you
68 Be honest
69 Without anyone saying anything
70 How many of you agree with the Yeses?
71 That school should get rid of
72 Sports programs? [no one puts up their hand]
73 Okay everyone in your essays
74 You're working on the no part
75 Francisco : I want to be Yes
76 [student commotion]
77 Ms. J: First of all
78 That is for no one to say anything about
79 It's an opinion
80 Okay

81 Alright
82 What about the Nos?
83 No you should not agree
84 Tashaun: It gives the students something to do after school
85 Ms. J: Um
86 Alright something to do after school
87 What else?
88 Tashaun: Um [reads straight from textbook]
89 Active kids have more focus
90 Are better problem solvers
91 And score higher on tests [Ms. J writes on board]
92 Ms. J: Better problem solvers
93 So sports help you solve problems
94 Anyone else?
95 Greg
96 Greg: [reads straight from text] Today studies show that schools
97 With big athlete programs tend to have
98 Lower dropout rates
99 Ms. J: That seems to be a controversy right?
100 One part says you have higher
101 The best academic success
102 But lower dropout rates
103 Tashaun: To be a good team player you need to be
104 Reliable
105 Hardworking
106 And disciplined [read straight from text]
107 Ms. J: Okay being reliable
108 What else?
109 Who wants to read their thesis statement?
110 You're supposed to take down information
111 In the Yes and No columns
112 And
113 Create a thesis statement

Time	Phase Units	Sequence Units (actions/activities)	Interpersonal Spaces	Norms & Expectations	Roles and Relations	Literacy Practices	Notes/Comments
11:30 am	Setting Task	T tells students to take out English Literature books with Scholastic handout. T writes Yes/No on whiteboard	Whole Class	T gives directions and Ss follow Activity is organized around text T sets task Task is constructed both orally and on the whiteboard for public scrutiny	T gives directions and Ss follow		Each of them had already been given a two-page copy of a short two part article [see STA English Assign Scholastic Feb 11 2014 in dataset] that J had copied from Scholastic Scope (a kids educational 'magazine') titled "Should Your School Get Rid of Sports?". for dialectical essay
11:31 am	Pre-Writing Oral Discussion	T asks students to raise hands to note who is on which 'side' of the debate.	Whole class	Ss interior choices for writing tasks framed as 'sides' Ss signal preferences with raised hands Contents of future writing is open to public scrutiny	Ss respond to T commands T surveys class for preferences	Choosing a predetermined 'side' in a complicated debate Pre-writing activities of topic generation	On page 4 of the assignment was another outline for a 5 paragraph essay, and J was having them fill this in just like she had them fill in the previous week's assignment on "Should Everyone Get a Trophy?"
11:31 am		T asks who is on 'No' side of essay Perhaps half the students raise their hands	Whole class	Only two 'sides' to complicated issue Ss have to declare their choices	T prompts students to declare their sides	Ss consult essay and worksheet	

11:32 am		K volunteers as a 'no'	Indiv w/in whole class	Ss may answer by raising hand	T determines who may speak when hand is raised	Oral response based on written text	
11:32 am		T asks 'why?'	Indiv w/in whole class	T may ask Ss to elaborate on simple answers	T is arbiter of how much Ss solicited information is enough		
11:32 am		K reads directly from article as answer	Indiv w/in whole class	Reading directly from text is acceptable answer to open ended question like 'why?'	Text positioned as authority, even in relation to 'personal choice' position.	Orally recontextualizing written text for class and T assessment	
11:32 am		T writes approximation of his answer on the board	Indiv w/in whole class	Oral recontextualizations are further recontextualized in writing for the whole class	Ss offer tokens for the class, and the T is able to reconfigure as they will	Converting oral text into written text	
11:32 am		T corrects K on his pronunciation of a word	Indiv w/in whole class	T surveils Ss pronunciation of oral recontextualizations Ss pronunciations of words are to be correct to T's standards			
11:32 am		T asks for Yeses	Whole class				
11:33 am		And raises hand and at T's prompting reads directly from article	Indiv w/in whole class	Requests for opinion are expressed by reading directly from text	Text is authority for opinion	Selecting appropriate text portion to read as relating to your opinion and orally recontextualizing it	
11:33 am		T affirms and writes approximation of reading on whiteboard	Indiv w/in whole class	Oral recontextualizations are further recontextualized in writing for the whole class	Ss offer tokens for the class, and the T is able to reconfigure as they will		
11:33 am		T asks for more Yeses	Whole Class				

11:33 am		Ss(?) raises hand and reads directly from article	Indiv w/in whole class	Oral recontextualizations are further recontextualized in writing for the whole class			
11:33 am		T repeats orally what she writes on board (approximation of reading) and asks for more answers	Indiv w/in whole class		Ss offer tokens for the class, and the T is able to reconfigure as they will	Determining what remaining information is still in the text (that has not been orally recontextualized yet in this exchange) related to the T's topic and reading it aloud.	There is virtually no non-evaluative or recontextualized exchanges here. T asks for responses, Ss read directly from text, T affirms and writes version on board, asks for more responses
11:34 am		Ty raises hand and at T's prompting reads directly from	Indiv w/in whole class	Oral recontextualizations are further recontextualized in writing for the whole class			
11:34 am		T says 'okay', writes approximation on whiteboard, and asks "Why? Why are so many kids not passing?"	Indiv w/in whole class	T may ask for specific sub-questions within an answer	T evaluates the depth of Ss' answers and may solicit more information		
11:34 am		K raises hand, is affirmed, and offers first a self-generated line before reading directly from text	Indiv w/in whole class	Personal answers should be converted into direct textual readings	T offers information and the specific language for a classroom exchange	Converting personal language into text specific prose through reading aloud	K started with some of his own words, a kind of recontextualization of the ideas of the text before stopping, flipping through the text, and then reading

							straight from the text itself.
11:35 am		T writes approximation on whiteboard and elaborates on K's answer	Indiv w/in whole class	Textual readings are acceptable, and attempts to state in your own language are neither affirmed nor recognized Text's language is final arbiter of acceptable			
11:35 am		T asks a 'fill in the blank' question	Indiv w/in whole class	T can ask questions in which Ss will respond in a single word	T asks Qs and Ss respond		T: "They find out the students do better <i>when?</i> "
11:35 am		Ty answers with self-generated words as a question	Indiv w/in whole class	Ss attempt to answer T questions in their own words	T questions are generated by T, and Ss have capacity to answer with own words		Ty asks "Wheny they don't play sports?"
11:35 am		T responds with 'No'	Indiv w/in whole class	T can judge Ss' responses to T questions with a single word of evaluation	T is adjudicator of acceptability of Ss' responses to T questions		
11:36 am		T asks single word answer question, "what time of day?"	Whole class	T rephrases Qs how she would like-narrows answer to known-answer response			
11:36 am		And responds with a single word, "Afternoon"	Indiv w/in whole class	Ss may give single word answers as response to T questions			
11:36 am		T affirms and elaborates	Indiv w/in whole class	T provides most of the information about a question			
11:36 am		T asks "What else?" and then says "Tell me about the school in Texas"	Whole class	T can ask general and specific question, but also require students to provide	Ss are required to respond to T commands to read portions of text directly		

				specific information from text at command	related to her request		
11:36 am		And begins to read from article when T cuts her off and says "After they cut their programs what happened?"	Indiv w/in whole class	Not all oral recontextualizations are acceptable T has right to cut off Ss mid-sentence		Reading appropriate text aloud, with sense of what T wants to hear	T does not explain to And why her /answer reading was incorrect- 'No' is enough
11:36 am		T answers own question after brief wait time	Whole class	T may answer own question			
11:36 am		Ty volunteers additional point	Indiv w/in whole class	Self-generated prose (as a gloss) is acceptable in an exchange	Ss may recontextualize text in their own words	Reformulating general information in text as a response to T's question	"They saved money"
11:37 am		T affirms and writes on whiteboard approximation of those words	Indiv w/in whole class				
11:37 am		T asks students "How many of you- be honest- without saying anything- how many of you agree with the Yeses?"	Whole class	T may ask Ss to raise their hands in response to her question T may limit whether Ss may talk or not	T determines speaking roles, also even the form of Ss responses		What does 'be honest without saying anything' mean? Seems to be a strategy to control the volume of prose from students but still receive a physical response to carry on conversation in pursuit of lesson
11:37 am		No one puts their hands up T tells everyone that "in your essays, you're working on the No part."	Whole class	T determines Ss decisions on writing topics	T adjudicates whole class response and reports back to class		

11:37 am		R volunteers that he agrees with the Yeses, to the groans of his classmates	Indiv w/in whole class	Ss may change their minds about writing topics Class responds directly to classmates decision to write on a topic			
11:37 am		T cuts in protectively and says, "Excuse me. That is not something for anyone to say anything about. That is an opinion" Class immediately quiets	Whole Class	T may discipline class verbally for disruption, or for disagreeing with Ss responses			Class seemed like they wanted to genuinely debate with R about his choice to rid the school of sports. T read this as criticism and directed all the dialogue back between her and R (as opposed to R and the class, who disagreed)
11:38 am		T asks R what his thesis statement will be	Indiv w/in whole class	Ss must read aloud personal writing for whole class and T evaluation			
11:38 am		R reads from his paper "Schools should have less sports and strict schedules"	Indiv w/in whole class	Ss writing is orally recontextualized for entire class Sharing writing means reading it directly	Own text positioned as authority	Formulating a thesis statement in relation to a reading and oral discussion with class	"Schools should have less sports and strict schedules" [which is actually a much more moderate position than the article].
11:38 am		T asks class, "Do I want to read that article?"	Whole class	T may ask entire class to adjudicate personal writing and argumentation	T asks class to respond orally to prompt to evaluate Ss respond and evaluate		Meaning, was this interesting enough to 'hook' her as a reader', which was her point in soliciting the thesis statement

11:38 am		Class responds in unison, "Nooooo".	Whole class	Class' judgement comes in simple and immediate form	Ss as judges, R as judged		
11:38 am		T asks, "What about the Nos?"	Whole class	T can switch topics in a whole class discussion when she feels other topic has been exhausted			
11:38 am		Ty recontextualizes article, saying "It gives students something to do after school"	Indiv w/in whole class	Ss may give answers in their own prose	Text still positioned as authority, but via Ss' own prose	Transforming information and ideas in written prose into token for classroom discussion	
11:39 am		T affirms and asks for other responses	Indiv w/in whole class	T may accept answers from Ss in their own prose			
11:39 am		Tina reads directly from text	Indiv w/in whole class	Ss read directly from text			
11:39 am		T writes response on board and orally repeats one portion of Tina's response	Indiv w/in whole class				Oral recontextualization directly from text gets affirmation AND elaboration, while Ty's rephrasing got only affirmation
11:39 am		T asks for more responses	Whole class	T decides when topic has been exhausted			
11:39 am		K raises hand and when affirmed, reads directly from the text	Indiv w/in whole class			Determining what prose remains unshared and then finding it in text for oral recontextualization	
11:39 am		T asks class hypothetical "That seems to be a controversy,	Indiv w/in whole class	T may dispute or complicate Ss readings/answers	T has right to challenge Ss answers by virtue of own thoughts or		

		right? One part says you have higher the best academic success but lower dropout rates”			prose of text itself		
11:40 am		Ty reads directly from text	Whole class	Ss may offer multiple tokens in a single exchange Tokens may vary as to specificity to text			
11:40 am		T affirms and asks students to read out loud their thesis statements	Whole class	T may ask Ss to read their writing aloud	Ss writing is open to whole class oral recontextualization		
11:40 am		No one offers to read aloud	Whole class	SS are not required to respond to T			T’s wait time was less than 6 seconds
11:41 am		T tells class to work quietly and independently on their thesis statements.	Whole class	T may end an exchange type when she feels like it			
11:40 am	Indiv. Seatwork (writing essay)	Ss work quietly at desks	Indiv	Silence when T tells students to work	Text and authorized text (via whiteboard and teacher IRE) mediate their thesis statement	Writing thesis statement in relation to information from text, the whiteboard, and the class conversation	
11:43 am		T hands out worksheet that accompanies the article	Whole class	Ss will use additional materials T provides	Worksheets guide Ss writing		
11:46 am	Lecture	T lectures class on the structure of the 5 paragraph essay	Whole class	T may lecture on a topic and ‘hold the floor’ as long as she wishes T will set the parameters of a writing assignment	T adjudicates Ss writing, thus explains criteria for Ss writing prior to their writing	Interpreting T lecture	
11:53 am	Unsupervised Seatwork	Someone comes to the door to talk	Whole class	Ss talk when the T is out of the	T supervisors and maintains		The rest of the class starts to talk

		to T. Students talk loudly to one another when T steps out.		classroom-work stops and Ss talk to one another	quiet- when the T is absent, the class may speak freely with one another Ss quiet is only maintained via T watchfulness and discipline		across the room to each other, calling out and trying to get each others attention now that they're free to talk [they're in Grade 8, after all]. But B hunkers down at his desk and starts to write on his assignment paper. B's posture is quiet, as though bored but composed as he writes. R sits at his desk and stares straight ahead. R breaks the posture occasionally to reach across the aisle and faux punch Makayla. As the class continues to get louder in J's absence, D turns around and says to me, "Are you watching this? People are talking and yelling", as though I'm the teacher and have some control over this situation
12:02 pm	Lecture	T returns and continues her lecture on what she'd	Whole class	T may lecture on a topic and 'hold the	T is arbiter of Ss writing, and arbiter of what a		She notes that in this essay, she doesn't want

		like to see from the students' writing		floor' as long as she wishes T will set the parameters of a writing assignment	proper essay should look like		them to be "wishy washy" like the last ones [I did notice that D's was the only version of that essay that I helped with that made it to the 'wall of honor', and I suspect this is because I made it a truly dialectical essay, with both sides equally considered before the author chooses one side] but instead she says that the students should only add 1 sentence that briefly acknowledges the other side's point
12:05 pm	Setting Task	T tells Ss they can work in partners for the remainder of the period on their thesis statements and essays	Whole class	T may rearrange classroom working groups however she likes	Peers source of aid for writing projects		
12:05 pm	Group Seatwork	Ss gather together in pairs and begin to talk to one another	Groups	Group work occasional, at prompt of T Group work includes writing individually and talking to partner	Ss aid one another, but not responsible for each other's writing or final product	Soliciting ideas from peers Maintaining 'look' of work while talking to socially talking to peers	
12:20 pm	Transitioning Class	T tells students to put away	Whole class	T may end class period whenever she			

		their English work and take out their Social Studies textbook		likes (though typically after 1 hour) T determines work periods and work distribution			
--	--	---	--	--	--	--	--

Timeline

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

1. Setting Task [1 min]
2. Pre-Writing Oral Discussion [9 min]
3. Individual Seatwork [6 min]
4. Lecture [7 min]
5. Unsupervised Seatwork [9 min]
6. Lecture [3 min]
7. Setting Task [- 1min]
8. Group Seatwork [15 min]
9. Transitioning Classes [-1 min]

APPENDIX 4-

Mass Event Map

Time	Phase Units	Sequence Units (actions/activities)	Interpersonal Spaces	Norms & Expectations	Roles and Relations	Literacy Practices	Notes/Comments
2:25	Responsive Chanting	Chin Dinh leads a responsive chant with congregation from the lectern	Whole Group	CD is the leader and speaks only prefabricated words Congregation responds with prefabricated words Not everyone participates	CD leads Cong follows	Memorize chant Respond at appropriate time in low chant	Some are standing and some are sitting, though almost everyone actually chanting is in the first half of the congregation ANIMATING SPEECH
2:40		Chin Dinh leaves lectern and congregation continues to chant alone in plain chant	Whole Group	Not everyone is required to chant Congregation is responsible to carry on memorized/internalized chant on their own after the leader starts	Male lector must clearly lead chant Congregation mirrors his prose and expands All text is fixed by established prayer		It'd say maybe 30 people, mostly older women, are chanting, while everyone else sits quietly waiting ANIMATING SPEECH
2:10	Announcements	Viet man gives brief announcements to congregation	Whole Group	Everyone is silent when this person talks			SPON SPEECH (though with notes)
2:48	Procession of the Cross	Choir Sings Cross Processes	Small Groups (choir and procession al)	Reverential posture toward the cross- many people bow as it goes by Bible is held aloft in the procession Some objects are sacred or representative of sacred things	Sacralisation of the event by the procession-response by the congregation recognizes this Procession responsible for shifting activity	The Bible (really, the lectionary) is positioned as having a special place amongst the congregations	Unlike the English Mass, the congregation does not sing a song from the hymnal. Instead, the choir sings here, perhaps as kind of intermediary for the congregation

0:28	Call/Response Chant	Chin Dinh leads a responsive chant, to which most of the congregation responds in plain chant	Whole Group	Words of the chant are prefabricated and to be adhered to. Chants typically require a leader	The chant text is positioned as the authoritative text for this performance	CD controlling task through invocation of known words, which are memorized and rehearsed with correct timing	ANIMATING SPEECH
2:22	Father Joseph welcomes	Father Joseph gives a welcome to the congregation	Indiv. (to whole group)	Authority figure (priest) responsible for welcoming people to Mass. Able to provide first spontaneous speech of the Mass		Spontaneous speech which deviates from the text of the liturgy. Most of these welcomes, however, are relatively formulaic	I ask B after the Mass what Father Joe was talking about and he says, "I dunno. The usual stuff." SPON SPEECH (though in typical fashion)
1:02	Call/response sung prayer	Chin Dinh leads a prayer in plain chant, using a memorized text	Whole Group	Text of response is memorized and authorized by another body (a combination of tradition and ecclesiastical authority) for performance	The text is complete and the congregation is to respond to the lector	Memorization of the prayer's responses, recognition of when to respond	ANIMATING SPEECH
0:28	Collect	Father Joseph chants collect after invoking "Let us pray" in Vietnamese. B hold aloft the common lectionary for Ft. Joe to read from, directed toward the congregation	Indiv. (for whole group)	The official 'collect' is pre-written and read verbatim. The congregation is silent and 'prayerful' when the notion of prayer is invoked. The priest, as authority, prays on behalf of the assembled parish	The text is the conduit through which prayers are offered. The text is prewritten on a cycle in order to ensure continuity of prayers across parishes	Priest must read collect loudly and clearly for the assembled to hear. The congregation must have the appropriately reverential hexis (several children are shushed for not listening)	Like most formal prewritten prayers, the congregation is a ratified overhearer, though the priest is ostensibly serving as our intermediary in these instances. ANIMATING SPEECH

1:1 5	First Lesson	Woman reads first lesson, Genesis 12:1-4a from printed sheet at lectern	Indiv. (to whole group)	The readings are predetermined by the common lectionary Congregation is to listen silently during the readings Women cannot be priests, but they can be lectors	The text of the lectionary stands on its own- there is no introduction of content, nor explanation	Woman must read verbatim from text	Gen 12 tells of God's covenant with Abraham to make him a "great nation", and to "bless/curse those that bless/curse you" ANIMATING SPEECH
2:0 8	Responsive Psalm	Sung Psalm (Psalm 121) by same woman with congregational response Woman provides response and then signals congregation to follow along Woman chants text of song and then congregation responds when she raises her hands	Whole Group	Words of the chant are prefigured, and the congregation responds only when prompted	Text of lectionary is set Psalms are chanted/sung rather than read	Congregation responds in prefigured words at the appointed time, in the right rhythm, chant	Psalm 121 is a song of proclamation that the Lord protects people- "I lift my eyes up to the mountains..." ANIMATING SPEECH
0:5 4	Second Lesson	Text of lesson (Romans 4:1-15, 13-17) read by same woman	Indiv (to whole group)	Words of lesson predetermined by the common lectionary Congregation is to listen silently during the readings Women cannot be priests, but they can be lectors	Lector reads text, congregation is silent Each week there is one lector who reads all the texts except for the Gospel	Reader reads text verbatim from lectionary	Romans 4 discusses Abraham's justification by faith, and our own justification by faith, rather than by works ANIMATING SPEECH
0:2 2	Gospel Acclamation	Congregation sings a series of 'Alleluias', lead by woman Father Joseph takes Bible from the altar, holds it above his head, and flanked by two candle	Whole Group	Book is given reverential status Congregation responds with alleluias without prompting, using a pre-known song Standing represents reverence	Priest is responsible for reading Gospel Gospel readings is a shifter in readings (not like the others)		ANIMATING SPEECH

		bearers, brings it to the lectern Congregation stands					
2:3 4	Gospel	Father Joseph reads John 3: -17 When Father Joe says “This is the Holy Gospel according to St. John” (in Viet), the congregation and priest bless their foreheads, lips and hearts with their hands	Indiv. (to whole group)	Priest invokes this reading with a bodily motion, which the congregation matches Everyone stands	Text is prefigured and read verbatim without commentary	Accompanying body movements with reverential text Listen attentively to text while standing Priest reads loudly for whole congregation	Christ speaks to Nicodemus about being 'born again'. “For God so loved the world...” ANIMATING SPEECH
11: 26	Homily	Father Joseph gives homily to congregation	Indiv. (to whole group)	Priest has reflected on Gospel readings and written a sermon to present to congregation Priest can speak from text or extraneously as he wishes	Priest responsible for elaborating on text Congregation listens silently	Priest has prewritten sermon and must now deliver it to the congregation	This is only the second spontaneous non- liturgical words uttered in this service ANIMATING SPEECH (though Ft. Joe is the author and principal)
3:4 5	Nicene Creed	Congregation standings and collectively chants Nicene Creed	Whole Group	Congregation stands for Creed Creed is recited from memory	Text of Creed is long-since established and seen as authoritative	Memorization of the entire Creed Update of memorization recently to reflect changes in Creed (2012?)	This is an incredibly complicated and relatively lengthy text, but the congregation has no problem reciting it, likely aided by the mnemonic of the chant ANIMATING SPEECH
2:0 5	Prayers of the People	Chin Dihn stands at lectern and reads prayers of the people	Indiv. (for whole group)	Everyone remains standing during prayers Text of the prayers is prewritten and	Text of prayers is prewritten, but subject to variation week to week if	Congregants ratified hearers- pray along in body posture	ANIMATING SPEECH

		Congregation remains standing		read verbatim by authorized reader Reader prays on behalf of the congregation	clerical structure wishes to change	Chin Dihn reads verbatim text given to him on the prayer sheet at lectern	
1:39	Collective Prayer	Chin Dihn leads congregation in collective, recited prayer	Whole Group	Chin Dihn utters the first few words of the prayer and everyone follows along Text of prayer is prefabricated and memorized	Prayer is authorized through the prefabricated words	Recitation of memorized words	Some read/chant prayer off a sheet handed out before the service, but many do not have and do not chant ANIMATING SPEECH
4:53	Offering	Congregation sits Choir sings as men with offering plates move up and down the aisles collecting offering Offering is presented to Father Joe at altar Congregation stands Brief prayer of blessing over gifts	Small Group	People regularly give their own money to support the church This giving is done publically at the Mass Talking is okay during this period	Congregants are responsible for the operating of the church		All the choir's songs are call/response format as well. A male or female voice begins and sings the verses, and the whole choir sings the refrain
2:09	Words of Institution	Father Joe stands at altar and reads text	Indiv.	Congregation stands as words are given	Priest reads text and congregation listens		ANIMATING SPEECH
3:19	Call/response prayer	Stand as congregation and recite prayer in response to Father Joe	Whole Group		Priest leads prayer while congregation follows		ANIMATING SPEECH
1:59		Kneel as congregation and recite further call and response prayer (asking for forgiveness of sins)	Whole Group	Everyone in the congregation kneels at appointed point in text Priest does not signal to kneel but congregation knows when it is appropriate to do so	Priest leads prayer and congregation follows	Priest controls bodily movements of congregants by way of prefigured text	With regards to bodily hexis, everyone on their knees is a inculcation of a posture of humility to God. The priest kneels too, though

				Prayers of forgiveness have accompanying bodily postures which are icons of inner dispositions of humility and petitioning someone of greater authority			he is still positioned at the head of the nave in an authority role (signalling a tension between commonality and authority) ANIMATING SPEECH
0:36	Passing the Peace	Father Joe offers "The Peace of Christ" to congregation, who respond with "And also with you" (in Viet) Congregation turns to neighbors and wave, or shake hands	Whole Group	Priest leads "Peace", and congregation responds People stay in their pews More general, spontaneous talking is okay during this period if kept short	Priest shifts activity in accordance with text Congregation speaks to one another largely in authorized words	Careful negotiation of authorized text ("Peace be with you") and 'backstage' conversations	People turn around to nod or wave, perhaps shake hands with the person in the pew next to you, and say "Peace" ANIMATING SPEECH (with some spontaneous speech)
1:17	Words of Institution	Father Joe reads text of the words of institution Blesses the elements	Indiv. (for whole group)	Congregation stands silently while Father Joe blesses sacraments Congregation crosses themselves when Father Joe invoked Triune God	Father Joe reads authorized, traditional text		ANIMATING SPEECH
9:38	Distribution of the Elements	Choir sings while people line up and receive communion from priest and communion distributors	Whole Group	Ushers authorize congregants by row People are to be silent in line waiting for communion People receive just the bread (not the wine), and cross themselves after receiving it Those who have not been confirmed (children) do not receive communion but wait in line for a	Priests (and their representatives) have the elements and give them to the waiting congregants (this has a slight reversal, insofar as the elements are brought 'from' the congregation)		ANIMATING SPEECH

				<p> blessing (a prewritten oral text) When done receiving the elements, congregants sit back in pew silently</p>	<p> ritualistical ly)</p>		
0:5 2	Second offering	A second offering is collected by the same men, walking down aisles with plates Choir continues while congregation sits	Whole Group	<p> Offering is collected twice, first for general needs and second for extraordinary needs Congregants give twice, though not everyone is expected to give twice (many do not)</p>			
1:3 6	Chanted Prayer	Father Joe chants from memory	Indiv. (for whole group)	<p> Ft. Joe chants and the congregation listens Prayers are given on behalf of the congregation by authorized leadership during Mass</p>		Memorization of prayer Performance of prayer to congregation	ANIMATING SPEECH
2:3 6	Announcements	Father Joseph talks, while consulting several pieces of paper	Indiv. (to whole group)	Priest may speak extemporaneously, with or without notes	Priest speaks to congregation on congregation's news	Spontaneous speech by way of a series of notes about upcoming parish events	<p> First real spontaneous speech in the Mass since the opening words (which came before the procession and thus were 'outside the bounds' of the formal Mass SPONTANEOUS SPEECH (with notes)</p>
0:1 5	Blessing	Father Joe recites blessing and crosses the air at the invocation of the Trinity Congregation stands and crosses	Indiv. (for whole group)	<p> People perform preformed bodily motions in response to invocation of Trinity Priest recites prefabricated blessing</p>	Priest blesses people on behalf of God People receive blessing, participating through	Indexical representation of Trinity's blessing through bodily motion	ANIMATING SPEECH

		themselves when he makes the motion			bodily action		
0:57	Choir Sings	Congregation remains standing silently	Small Group				
1:00	Collective Chant	The congregation chants along with Chin Dihn, at the lectern, using prefabricated words	Whole Group	Collective chant frames beginning and end of Mass Chant uses prefabricated words, which are not deviated from	Lector begins chant Congregation follows and chants in unison	Memorization and performance of prefabricated chant	Only a few voices, clustered together in the same location as the opening responsive chant ANIMATING SPEECH
6:00	Dismissal	People exit the nave	Whole Group				

APPENDIX 5

Race and Religion Discussion- Transcript

Audio Transcript- 5/1/2014- St. DS Classroom

J's classroom- 10:30am- Religion Class

J stands at front of the room, addressing the various groups

- 1 Ms. J: Alright (0.2) on page one hundred and thirty two
2 You're gonna see the seven teachings of Catholic
3 Catholic teachings
4 There are seven Catholic teachings
5 There are three groups
6 (1.1) Okay?
7 I am breaking you up (0.5) at this moment
8 (1.5) And assigning you one of the seven Catholic teachings
9 You are to read it
10 (1.8) You are to discuss ho:ow you see it happening in today's world=
11 Or what you can do to encourage it to happen in today's world
12 And by Tuesday of next week
13 (0.9) Alright Tuesday at 12:30
14 You will hand in a collage (0.4) that represents
15 (1.0) One of the Catholic Social Teachings that I am assigning you
16 Greg: ((whispers to me at desk)) Too much work
17 Ms. J: XXX
18 Greg: (4.9) This is hard
.....
35 Ms J: I'm giving you until 11:15 to work on it today
36 Know what magazines you're bringing in=
37 Newspapers or whatever
38 Monday you will get more time and it's due 12:30 come Tuesday
39 (1.3) Anyone who wants to finish theirs and volunteer when you're
finished
40 To do "God's Creation" [final unassigned Social Teaching] for an extra
50 points=
41 You let me know
.....
[7:08]
*B, D, Ch, and G sit in a circle at the back of the classroom. J has assigned them "Option
for the Poor and Vulnerable" as the Social Teaching to read and discuss [page 132]*
69 JP: ((reading from Christ Our Life)) In our world
70 Many people are very rich
71 While many are extremely poor
72 As Catholics to make an option for the poor means that we are called
73 To pay special attention (0.5) to the needs of those who are poor by

defending

74 And promoting
75 Their dignity
76 And by meeting their immediate needs
77 Benny: You're such a good reader [said sarcastically]
78 (3.4)
79 JP: Gimme my phone!
80 Gabriel: Mister Robert
81 How do we do this?
82 Robert: Huh?
83 Gabriel: How are we gonna do [this?]
84 Benny: [First] of all!
85 What is collage?
86 Robert: What is a collage?
87 Gabriel: It's like pic[tures]
88 Charles: [You] combine pictures
89 Put pictures together
90 JP: All you gotta do is just print the pictures and put them on a piece of
paper
91 Benny: And make this stuff awesome! ((said mockingly))
92 JP: (3.0) XXXXX
93 ((JP holds out my recorder, which had been sitting on the desk))
94 Charles: Can I can I can I see JP?
95 JP: You're not a part of this
96 Charles: Let me see it
97 JP: You're black
98 You're not part of this
99 G: ((laughs))
100 Charles: I got something smart to say
101 JP: ((said like a pouting child)) I don't care
102 ((regular voice)) You're not part of this
103 Benny: He is now
104 ((JP hands recorder to Charles))
105 Gabriel: XXXXXX
106 Benny: Ba-dum ba-dum ba-dum
107 Charles: ((singing)) Lo:ooong ago
108 Benny and Jaaa:aaay Peee
109 Keep on lyin
110 Keep on lyin
111 ((Hands recorder to JP))
112 Benny: That's really good
113 JP: That's terrible
114 Benny: I like your rhyming
115 Charles: XXXXXX
116 It's Ja:ay Peee ((singing])

117 He is always lyin
 118 JP: I never lie
 119 [I'm a (0.2) a
 120 Gabriel: ((huge laugh)) [You never lie!]
 121 Benny: You never lie?
 122 Gabriel: [That's a lie right there
 123 JP: [I'm a holy person
 124 ((mouths "fuck you" with huge smile on his face))
 125 Benny: You just lied the whole time
 126 Charles: JP XXXXX
 127 XXXXXXXX
 128 JP: Charles Charles you smell like piss [into the recorder] ((rhymes))
 129 ((Gabriel and Benny laugh))
 130 Benny: That's funny that's funny
 131 JP: I was like hey
 132 Your name is Charles
 133 You smell like piss
 134 Benny: Hi Gabriel
 135 Hi [Gabriel
 136 JP: [Hi Guy
 137 You an ugly Gabriel ((rhymes))
 138 Hi Gabriel I hope you die
 139 Hi Gabriel
 140 Do you like pie?
 141 Charles: ((singing)) His name is Gabriel
 142 He keeps saying hi ((rhymes))
 143 Keep getting rejected ((everyone laughs))
 144 But that's not the objective
 143 (2.1)
 144 JP: Alright Option for the Poor and Vulnerable
 145 Alright so what we gotta do is take pictures of the people that are poor=
 146 And stuff like that
 147 Charles: How about this
 148 You go on Google alright?
 149 JP: Uh huh ((pretends to be talking on cell phone))
 150 Charles: You screenshot stuff
 151 JP: Uh huh
 152 Charles: Then you go to edit all those pictures together
 153 JP: Uh huh ((to cell phone))
 154 Charles: You print
 155 JP: Uh huh how you doing? ((to cell phone))
 156 I'm good how are you?
 157 ((to group)) Oh I'm sorry
 158 Who was talking?
 159 Gabriel: He's like|

160 Charles: He's so sarcastic= ((JP laughs))
 161 Benny: He's so sarcastic
 162 Charles: Alright (0.4) you go on Google
 163 JP: Uh huh
 164 Charles: You screenshot pictures
 165 [Print them] out to the printer
 166 Benny: [He gonna] be sarcastic
 167 He ((JP)) being sarcastic right?
 168 JP: No I'm listening
 169 Charles: XXXX the printer
 170 Print the pictures
 171 JP: All you do is go to Google=
 172 Go onto the printer and just print it
 173 It's not that hard
 174 Charles: You have to screen shot JP
 175 JP: You don't have to screen shot
 176 Charles: Huh?
 177 JP: You do not have to screen shot
 178 Benny: Hold up hold up
 179 ((to Robert)) Mr. Robert
 180 Can we screen shot?
 181 Robert: On (0.2) what?
 182 Benny: [Collages
 183 JP: [Have to screen shot?
 184 XXXXX
 185 Robert: Why would you wanna screen shot?
 186 JP: There's point
 187 Robert: I mean you could
 188 But I'm tell|
 189 Why/
 190 Tell/
 191 What is the advantage of that?
 192 There's no reason you couldn't
 ...
 [10:58]
 243 JP: Alright let's look up pictures of the poor
 244 Robert: So looking up pictures of some [poor people?
 245 Benny: [Excuse me
 246 I don't have a phone right now so=
 247 JP: Ha ha
 248 You're poor as shit
 249 I'm kidding
 250 (2.1) Don't hate me
 251 Benny: Says the person who made a house out of straw and sticks
 252 JP: ((laughs)) Says the wolf who's got no where to live and will blow the

house down

253 Benny: Well at least I can eat bacon

254 JP: Benny=

255 Robert: You can't eat bacon?

256 JP: No=we=can

257 Robert: Oh okay

258 JP: It's a play that we're doing [they're doing Three Little Pigs for TN]

259 Robert: It's what?

260 JP: It's a play that we're doing

261 He's making comments about my character

.....

[12:48]

C and D have been talking about C's Youtube highlight video, and B is on his phone

301 Robert: Uh:hhhh so JP?

302 JP: Yes

303 Robert: What are you doing right now?=
304 You're looking up/
305 You're just looking up pictures of the poor?
306 ((JP gets sheepish look on face))
307 Or that's theoretically what you said you were do[ing?
308 JP: [Ya:aa

309 Robert: What are you actually doing?

310 JP: I'm looking it up

311 Robert: No what [were you doing?]

312 Benny: [He's texting his friend]

313 JP: No actually I was looking at pictures

314 Robert: Alright

315 I don't care

316 JP: I was watching stuff ((mouths the word "porn"))

317 Robert: Okay

318 ((JP laughs))

319 Robert: ((to group)) Um:mmm
320 Can I ask about this thing that we're supposed to be doing?
321 XXXXXX
322 JP: Found it!
323 ((holds up picture on camera and shows to group- photo of white doctor helping starving African child))

324 Robert: Those are poor people?
325 Those are poor people?
326 JP: Yes
327 Alright I send a picture of Coach Robert
328 Wearing nothing but like a piece of cloth

329 Gabriel: Alright

330 JP: And then just take a picture of me giving him like two cents
331 And that works

332 Right Coach?
 333 Robert: Two cents
 334 I appreciate your generosity
 335 Gabriel: Ya now you can buy like a:aaaa something from the 1950s
 336 Two cent store
 337 Ya
 338 JP: I'll just give him 99 cents
 339 He go to the 99 cents store
 340 Gabriel: It's called the Dollar Store
 341 JP: Shut up
 342 That's none of your business

 412 Robert: This is just a curious question
 413 How much work do you guys think you actually do in an hour?
 414 I'm not telling you to do more work
 415 I'm just curious
 416 JP: Uhh we barely do any work
 417 Gabriel: Why would you listen to him?
 418 Robert: Let's say in a full hour
 419 How much do you think you do?
 420 Charles: ((to JP)) all you do is text Teresa ((JP's girlfriend))
 421 JP: I don't text Teresa!
 422 Robert: Seriously?
 423 (1.5)
 424 So let me answer that question
 425 I'm just curious
 426 I'm not telling you what to do
 427 I just wanna know
 428 Gabriel: Out of ten it'd be like a six maybe
 429 Charles: Whatcha mean?
 430 Like=
 431 Robert: You think if it was ten minutes you'd do six minutes of work in that ten
 minutes?
 432 Gabriel: Ya
 433 Robert: Really?
 434 JP: If it's an hour/
 435 Charles: /Uh uh uh but
 436 Robert: So so hold on a sec
 437 So we've been here for fifteen minutes in this group
 438 How much work do you think we've done in fifteen minutes?
 439 Benny: None
 440 Gabriel: Like a [minute]
 441 Charles: [We've] we we we've made progress
 442 A little progress
 443 Benny: So we did like 23 seconds of that

444 And then we just gave up
 445 Charles: How bout we Google this
 446 Benny: We already did Charles
 447 Gabriel: We've already [done it]
 448 Charles: [You talk] it keep making me tired
 449 Stop talking
 450 ((JP laughs))
 451 Robert: Hold on a second
 452 But you guys do seem to eventually get your work done right?
 453 So it's just that the work's really easy?
 454 That you don't have to put much time in?
 455 Benny: If it's hard we just give up
 456 If it's like easy then/
 457 Charles: /No you give up
 458 I don't give up
 459 I keep trying
 460 Benny: Says the person who gonna be a lawyer
 461 Gabriel: ((laughs))
 462 Charles: I do wanna be a lawyer
 463 Robert: You mentioned that once like three months ago and they will not let it
 go
 464 Ms J: XXXXXX
 465 JP: I'm right here
 466 Love you too ((sarcastic))
 467 Charles: I could be uh [the lie detector show
 468 Benny: ((to Charles)) [I think you should be an NFL player
 469 Charles: I could be the guy
 470 JP: I destroy Charles when (0.2) when in football
 471 Robert: Why [uhh why uhhh can't Charles be a lawyer?
 472 Charles: [Do you wanna see my highlight tape ((to Robert))?
 473 Robert: Not right now I don't
 474 Charles: XXXXXX
 475 Benny: [points at Charles's arm] You see those muscles?
 476 They're called steroids
 477 Charles: They not steroids
 478 They're just from lifting weights=
 479 JP: What weights?
 480 From bunny toys
 481 Robert: How much time you put in at the gym? ((to Charles))
 482 JP: Them bunny toys?
 483 Benny: Two seconds and then put on steroids?

 [23:25]
 549 Robert: While while I have you here
 550 Cause we're here

551 I'm just gonna ask you about this
 552 Cause my (0.2) [I suspect we'll] just chill for the rest of the time ((JP
 laughs))
 553 Benny: [Oh ya ya ya]
 554 What is your option about the poor?
 555 Robert: I'm curious
 556 Benny: Mr. Robert
 557 Robert: Ya
 558 Benny: I got this
 559 I'm gonna be like you
 560 ((turns to JP))
 561 JP
 562 What is your option about poor and vu:uvulnerable?
 563 ((Gabriel laughs))
 564 JP: My option for the poor and [vulnerable]
 565 Charles: ((to JP)) [You seem] tired
 566 Look at your eyes
 567 JP: Well
 568 What I think about the poor is that
 569 They shouldn't be poor
 570 I think the government should do something about that ((pounds fist on
 desk jokingly))
 571 Charles: I know I know
 572 JP: And when I become [the President of the United States]
 573 Benny: [What what what] should they do to prevent that?
 574 Gabriel: XXXXX
 575 JP: What should I do?
 576 Charles: Give everybody a million [dollars]
 577 Benny: [What should] they do to prevent them from
 being poor?
 578 Charles: Give everybody a million dollars
 579 JP: Stop taxes
 580 Charles: You need taxes
 581 JP: Shut up!
 582 Charles: For public schools
 583 JP: I quit ((laughs))
 584 Gabriel: And for all the parks and playgrounds
 585 Charles: Everybody should get a million dollars
 586 Everybody rich
 587 JP: No:ooooooooo
 588 Benny: No
 589 If you get a million dollars it'll (0.2) it'll be gone in the next two days
 590 Gabriel: Ya everybody spend it too fast
 591 Charles: I wouldn't
 592 I'd take my time

593 I'd feel like I broke
 594 JP: He got [points at Charles] he gotta hook strippers up and stuff
 595 ((JP and Gabriel laugh))
 596 Gabriel: He buy like 500 [pairs of shoes]
 597 Robert: [I have] two questions then
 598 Why do you think people are poor?
 599 JP: Because
 600 They lose jobs
 601 Their families left them
 602 They can't
 603 Charles: XXXXX
 604 They don't have the money to pay their rents and stuff
 605 Stuff like that
 606 Robert: Okay
 607 Benny: Leaving the family
 608 Like some people
 609 JP: I don't leave my family
 610 [You were] planning on it
 611 Charles: [Food bills
 612 JP: He was planning on
 613 He was planning on running away
 614 Benny: Ya okay
 615 I was trying to run over to my friend's house
 616 JP: No you call me and say
 617 "Hey JP I run away"
 618 Benny: Ya
 619 To my friend's house
 620 JP: That's not what you said
 621 Benny: Let me finish yet! [JP laughs]
 622 JP: You said "Hey JP I know it's a bad idea but I want to run away"
 623 Benny: Uh huh
 624 JP: You told me that
 625 Benny: A stupid idea
 626 To run my friend's house
 627 JP: You didn't say friend's house
 628 You said run away
 629 Benny: Run away
 630 To my friend's house
 631 JP: I recorded our conversation
 632 Don't lie to me
 633 Robert: So uhh
 634 JP: Coach is sitting here saying
 635 What the hell are they talking about?
 636 Robert: So the next question was umm::mmmm
 637 Why is it important for Catholic people

638 Or Christian people to
 639 (0.4) Way like take care of the poor?
 640 Benny: Food drive!
 641 JP: [To set] a good role model
 642 Charles: [XXXX]
 643 To/
 644 JP: No Charles
 645 You're not Christian
 646 [Shut up shut up]
 647 Charles: [Can I answer?]
 648 I'm Christian
 649 JP: No you're not
 650 You're black
 651 You're not Christian
 652 Benny: It's because you have the word Charles in it ((pun))
 653 Charles: I'm Catholic
 654 I'm Chris[tian]
 655 JP: [You're] not Catholic
 656 Charles: I'm Muslim
 657 I'm Buddhist
 658 I'm everything
 659 Benny: How're you Buddhist?
 660 ((other group- Kaylee, Tyler, Trina, Samara- hears Charles talking and starts to laugh))
 661 Gabriel: Chris you're a atheist
 662 Robert: We're signing him up for a bunch of stuff
 663 Trina: ((across the room)) Watermelon!
 664 Robert: So seriously though
 665 JP: The reason we do it is to set good examples
 666 As Catholics we need to represent who we really are
 667 Follow Christ to help the poor
 668 Charles: And [cause
 669 JP: [And do Jesus' work
 670 Benny: Okay [I am
 671 Robert: [And that's what Jesus work is?
 672 Helping the poor?
 673 JP: Helping the poor
 674 Charles: Mr. Robert can I ask a question?
 675 JP: Feeding the poor
 676 Healing the poor
 677 Charles: He saying random stuff
 678 JP: I'm not saying random stuff
 679 I'm telling the truth
 680 As Catholics we need to be continuing Jesus work
 681 Benny: Guys hold up hold up hold up

682 First of all we need everybody's opinion about poor
 683 Charles: Yes
 684 Benny: About the poor
 685 So starting with you ((to Charles))
 686 JP: ((blows raspberry))
 687 Robert: Thank you
 688 JP: He doesn't know what he's talking about
 689 Charles: My turn
 690 Gabriel: Charles trying again
 691 Be be like 'what am I gonna say?'
 692 Charles: To take care of the poor
 693 Catholics set a good example
 694 Cause people be hungry
 695 Be sleeping in the street
 696 They raise money
 697 They give it to the poor
 698 Benny: Charles if you say Catholics
 699 How about Lutherans?
 700 [Uhhh Muslims?]
 701 Charles: [Ask me] a question I answer
 702 Ask me a question I'll answer
 703 Benny: And Christians
 704 Charles: Ask me a question
 705 Benny: How about Lutherans?
 706 Christians?
 707 Muslims?
 708 Jewish?
 709 What do they do about the poor?
 710 Instead of Catholics?
 711 Charles: Well Christians
 712 They got big churches and they raise a lot of money
 713 Cause you got a lot of money
 714 And umm=
 715 Baptist people too
 716 JP: ((rhythmically under his breath)) Shut up shut up shut up
 717 Charles: They drop money they give it to the poor
 718 They donate it to the shelters and all that
 719 And Muslims=
 720 I don't know what the Muslims do
 721 All I see is them walking around
 722 Being mean and stuff
 723 Gabriel: ((huge laugh)) Ya!
 724 ((a number of people in the class have stopped to listen to Chris))
 725 Charles: What religion?
 726 Gabriel: Turn around behind you

727 Charles: Jews
 728 They got a lot of money
 729 They gotta take care of the poor
 730 ((Benny, Gabriel, JP big laugh))
 731 (2.3) It's like it's like
 732 They gotta lot of money they can take care of the poor
 733 Cause they like/
 734 JP: /Man Jews
 735 Benny: [Jews]
 736 Charles: [They're rich]
 737 Gabriel: Juice?
 738 JP: Muslims they attacked um:mm
 739 They attacked us alright?
 740 Benny: Who?
 741 Charles: Muslims do
 742 JP: Muslims and Jews
 743 ((Looks over a Gabriel, who had joked earlier that people always think he's
 Jewish because of his appearance and hair))
 744 Gabriel: I'm not a Jewish! ((laughs))
 745 JP: ((laughs))
 746 You should write that down
 747 Charles: XXXX
 748 Benny: ((formal teacher voice)) How about you Gabriel?
 749 What is your opinion about the poor?
 750 Robert: I agree
 751 Gabriel: XXXXX
 752 Charles: You're not richie rich
 753 Robert So my question was not (0.3) like should we help the poor
 754 But why:y do is it important for Catholics [that] they take care of the
 poor?
 755 Charles: [Cause]
 756 Robert: XXX
 757 Charles: That what God do
 758 Gabriel: [Charles we don't] want your answer
 759 JP: [XXXX]
 780 Can I answer?
 781 Robert: No I'm glad Charles answered
 782 I heard Charles answer
 783 I wanna hear some other folks now
 784 Benny: ((mock teacher voice)) How about you Gabriel?
 785 You didn't answer
 786 JP: Ya Gabriel
 787 You're [Allen Iverson
 788 Charles: XXXX [Richie rich
 789 JP: You're the answer

790 Come on Gabriel
 791 Gabriel: About what?
 792 Robert: About helping the poor
 793 Why?
 794 Gabriel: For Christians?
 795 Or=
 796 Robert: Ya for Christians
 797 Sure
 798 Gabriel: Uh like you should like make soup kitchens
 799 Robert: Ya but why?
 800 JP: [XXXX]
 801 [Why is] it important to do that?
 802 Robert: Why should we help them?
 803 Gabriel: Cause maybe they had like a struggle
 804 And like=
 805 They probably lost their jobs and were unstable
 806 JP: ((frustrated voice)) So why should we help them?
 807 Give an answer!
 808 Charles: XXXXXX
 809 Robert: So my question is as a Christian
 810 Why is it important as a [Christian to help people?
 811 JP: [Why is it important
 812 Why do you XXX
 813 Robert: I'm good I'm good JP
 814 I appreciate your help
 815 JP: Like some some
 816 Sometimes both people don't understand
 817 I'll shut up now
 818 Gabriel: It's racial
 819 That's racial discrimination
 820 JP: Not discrimination
 821 Benny: Come on Gabriel (0.4) answer Gabriel
 822 Gabriel: So (1.1) why?
 823 Robert: Cause it does seem to me that being part of a religious group
 824 That that's part of what you do as a religious person often times
 825 You think I should help people who are poor
 826 Ms J. ((to whole class)) Alright you have thirty seconds
 827 Start wrapping it up
 828 Charles: Oh I'm gonna be able to answer!
 829 (1.4) Uh what's the question?
 830 ((JP laughs))
 831 JP: Game over
 832 Stop it

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