Silencing in Classroom Interaction: Producing and Relating Social Spaces

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Researchers have studied silencing practices in a number of ways, including focusing on turn taking and temporal dynamics, documenting specific interactional strategies, and analyzing the types of discourses expelled from a given context. The article forwards an alternate approach, arguing that silencing is an interactional achievement that involves producing, dividing, and relating social spaces such that participants are positioned as more or less privileged or silenced. In the production of social space for silencing, I argue that 2 key processes are active: narrating social "scenes" through talk and producing embodied spaces. The production of social space in the service of silencing is traced *diachronically* (as a joint, dialogic accomplishment over time) and *synchronically* (as the articulation of multiple social spaces in a single moment). The argument is developed from an analysis of a segment of interaction concerning women's rights within a high school history classroom, in which a girl is silenced by a group of boys. Methodologically, the article also develops alternate means of representing silencing within interaction, including maps of embodied spaces and an initial means of transcribing the shifting and nuanced participation status of a silenced participant.

Silencing may seem an odd topic in a journal concerned with discourse processes. First, silence is often thought of as the absence of discourse, and hence beyond the central interest of discourse analysts. Although very brief silences may be marked and coded to indicate turn taking, longer silences are often invisible in the transcription and analysis of communicative events. Second, silencing processes—the means by which an individual or group's participation is diminished or closed out of an interaction altogether—appear to be somewhat evident from

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our everyday experiences and folk theories of communication. For instance, talking over another, raising one's volume, interruption, and criticism all appear to be obvious processes by which one interactant silences another. As a challenge to these assumptions about the role of silence in interaction and the nature of silencing processes, in this article, I began with the premise that silence is a rich medium of communication. Limiting discourse analysis to the modality of talk alone leaves out important insights concerning the nuanced nature of participation in interaction, the negotiation of power, and relations between interaction and social identity. A related premise of this study is that silencing is an interactional achievement. Just as a particular stretch of talk is accomplished across participants and is productive of particular social meanings and relations, so is silencing socially accomplished, socially distributed, and socially productive.

However, analyzing the achievement of silencing in interaction presents a number of interpretive problems. Among them, silence itself may be considered even more ambiguous than talk; silence has been discussed as a "weakly constitutive mechanism" of communication (Bilmes, 1994, p. 78). Hence, whether a particular instance of silence may be meaningfully related to a process of silencing is difficult to determine. Conversely, silencing processes may be carried out without the evident presence of interactional silence at all. As suggested by over-talk and interruption processes, interactants may be routinely silenced by others while they continue to speak. Thus, the presence of silence during interaction is only suggestive of silencing, and is not itself a sufficient indication of silencing processes.

This study develops an alternate approach to the analysis of silencing. This approach is designed to expand current interpretive constructs, while illustrating the importance of silencing processes in interaction with respect to social relations and power. The central claim of the analysis is that silencing is accomplished through processes of social space. In particular, two key processes create social spaces for silencing: narrating social "scenes" through talk and producing embodied spaces. Through these spatial processes, participants position themselves and others such that they are more or less privileged or silenced. Narrating a social scene involves creating, through talk, a representation of actors within a scene that provides an important means of interpreting participation and identity within the embodied interactional scene (further discussed following). For instance, in silencing a child's complaints, a father might narrate a brief scene of his own childhood and the hardships that he had to endure. The production of embodied spaces (also discussed following) involves the movement and coordination of group formations to create physical space relevant to floor management and control, as well as microlevel individual movements, such as gesture and gaze. By tracing the relations between narrating social scenes and producing embodied spaces, my intent is to provide a focused account of how silencing is constructed in interaction among a range of interactional processes and accomplishments. The argument is worked

out through the analysis of a brief segment of discourse from a secondary school classroom, in which I traced how one girl participant, "Chelle,"[1] is silenced by a group of boys.

SILENCING IN COMMUNICATION

Even though there is currently an increased interest in silencing, there are relatively few microlevel analyses of interactional silencing, and still fewer within school classrooms. Prior to the analysis and argument, I briefly review a number of the current studies of silencing.[2] Many of these studies (as with this study) are concerned with the silencing of women by men. I have divided the following discussion into three broad categories: temporal perspectives on participation, perspectives on silencing as constructed by interactional processes, and perspectives on discourse expulsion, in which silencing is considered to be the outcome of particular discourses disallowing other discourses. These categories are neither cleanly bounded nor mutually exclusive, yet are useful ways of understanding the different purposes of inquiry regarding silencing. While research in the first category is largely concerned with documenting *that* silencing occurs, made evident through participation, research in the second category is directed at documenting *how* silencing occurs. The third category, by contrast, is principally concerned with analyzing *why* silencing occurs, argued at the level of competing social discourses.

Temporal Perspectives on Participation

In broad strokes, temporal analyses are primarily concerned with the participation status of participants (as indicated by the presence or absence of speaking), and tend to equate the relative amount of talk and silence among participants with an analysis of power relations. For example, Biggs and Edwards (1991) observed that teachers in multiethnic, primary school classrooms interacted less frequently with non-White than with White children and that interactions with non-White students were less elaborate and shorter in duration. Many classroom studies that analyze the control of the speaking floor by boys, and the resulting silencing of girls, rely at least in part on temporal perspectives, including turn length, speaking turn numbers, numbers of interruptions, and teacher nomination to the speaking floor (e.g., Bousted, 1989; Kramarae & Treichler, 1990; Sadker

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[1]All names are pseudonyms. Students in the study selected their own pseudonyms.

[2]In this review, I have not discussed an important body of work on silence, itself, as a form of communication (e.g., Basso, 1972; Bilmes, 1994; Danenhauer, 1980; Jaworski, 1993; Lippard, 1988; Scollon, 1985; Tannen, 1985).

& Sadker, 1990; Spender & Sarah, 1980). These studies typically adopt a dominance perspective on cultural reproduction, where "the classroom is viewed as a micropolitical version of the outside world in which talk forms an important arena for the reproduction of gender inequalities in human relations and social interaction" (Baxter, 1999, p. 83).

The direct and quantitative correlation of speaking with power and silence with a lack of power has been critiqued for not accounting for the persuasiveness of content or rhetorical style (Baxter, 1999, p. 84), and for masking critical resistance strategies of the "silenced." The latter are made more visible by interpreting the content and context of discourse (Bergvall & Remlinger, 1996, p. 454). Further critique of temporal analyses includes, as noted previously, the limits of directly equating the presence of silence with silencing as constructed by particular interactional processes. Moreover, temporal perspectives on participation, based on a tradition of creating recordings and transcripts of interactions that are linear and sequential, often avoid or gloss the simultaneity or synchronicity of interaction. For classrooms, in particular, we need detailed accounts that foreground both the diachronic and synchronic aspects of interaction (Gutiérrez & Stone, 2000). Such accounts, moving beyond participation counts, will permit us to better trace, for example, how a participant may be simultaneously speaking and being silenced by others.

Perspectives on Silencing as Constructed by Interactional Processes

A second broad approach considers how silencing is constructed by particular interactional processes. While these processes are considered by some to be intentional and well-formed strategies, others consider the processes to be more improvisational, worked out in the course of interaction. Representing the strategy perspective, Houston and Kramarae (1991) cataloged nine different groups of silencing strategies, which ranged from microinteractional processes (e.g., ridicule, censorship), to strategies of media control, to educational strategies that reflect men's ways of knowing, to the control of public spaces by men through sexual terrorism. Kramarae and Treichler's (1990) research in a graduate school classroom analyzed how women are put off by a lack of collaborative work within classroom interaction. Women in this study associated their silence with a lack of feeling comfortable within classroom relationships. In contrast to the women, the men critiqued classroom interactions for the quality of statements and ideas more often than for the relative quality of relational work. While this analysis favors a macrodynamic approach, relying, for example, on post-interaction interview data, ethnographic observation, and media study, DeFrancisco's (1991) research took a microdynamic approach. Through extended audiotaped conversations and gathering discourse-based interview data of interaction among heterosexual couples, DeFrancisco documented how failing to respond is a key

means that married men use to silence their wives. That is, silence itself is used as a process of silencing, even more strongly than interruption, put-downs, or "teachy" behaviors, also considered as common silencing processes.

Even though most studies of silencing processes foreground verbal communication, a small amount of research (e.g., Gilmore, 1985; Swann, 1988) considers nonverbal communication. Swann argues that teachers and students may powerfully use nonverbal communication (e.g., eye gaze, gesture, and posture) to secure speaking rights. Spatial arrangements, including student positioning and the use of equipment, may also contribute to silencing strategies. This study extends this analysis of nonverbals by considering how students use gestures and position their bodies vis-à-vis one another (and the teacher) as significant interactional processes in the construction of silencing.

One difficulty in considering research on the interactional processes of silencing is that the processes themselves multiply quickly in the cataloguing practices of research, making it difficult to conceive of how such processes might be coordinated during interaction. Moreover, while diverse processes of silencing could potentially function in similar ways across the space-time scales of social life, we do not yet have a principled means of considering such articulations of micro and macro silencing processes. An additional concern with interactional process perspectives is reflected in the use of both "process" and "strategy" in the previous review. To what extent ought interactional processes be considered as intentional or conscious? The language of "strategy" or "tactic" in silencing processes risks overlooking the ways in which silenced and powerful positions are produced and improvised through the course of interaction, rather than being consciously decided on in advance by individual participants. To avoid prematurely attributing intent to individuals, and to avoid conceiving of silencing strategies as prefabricated before interaction, we are compelled to trace the emergence of processes and positions as they are jointly produced through interaction (Davies & Harré, 1990; Shotter, 1993).

Perspectives on Discourse Expulsion

In an important piece on silencing in school contexts, Fine defined silencing through what I have termed a "discourse expulsion" perspective:

> [Silencing] constitutes a process of institutionalized policies and practices that obscures the very social, economic, and therefore experiential conditions of students' daily lives, and that expel from written, oral, and nonverbal expression substantive and critical "talk" about these conditions. (Fine, 1987, p. 157)

Fine argues that public schools, and particularly those with large percentages of low-income students, "subvert," "appropriate," and "export" talk about the diffi-

cult conditions of students lives and the failure of schools to help them. By not "naming" school dropouts, racial inequity, and other social problems, administrators and teachers systematically expel the discourses and social lives of many of their students. Fine's analysis suggested how the expulsion of particular discourses is connected to the advancement of powerful positions. What is most important is not simply the presence or absence of speech, but what can be said, when, and to whom. The expulsion of discourse is evident within noisy forms of cultural "truth":

> what can be spoken, how and in what circumstances is important. It tells us not only about its obverse, what is left out, but also directs attention to how particular forms of language, supporting particular notions of truth, come to be produced. (Walkerdine, 1985, p. 205)

Fine's analysis, based on an alignment between macro social structuring and everyday interaction, developed the argument through analogy and ethnographic data that silencing operates in similar ways across levels of social structure. Young African American girls who say nothing all day are directly linked to the institutional control of allowable discourses. The discourse of the girls is not permitted, thus they are silenced. Less apparent in the analysis is the heterogeneity of speaking and silenced subjectivities within discursive practice. If power operates not simply through direct coercion, but through hegemony, a "constant struggle in the creation of positions," (Clair, 1998, p. 52) then what does this everyday struggle among discourses and positions look like? Carter's (2001) work is an extension and critique of the discourse expulsion of African American adolescent girls, teasing out a complex analysis of silencing. Drawing on black feminist theory, Carter's (2001) classroom-based research includes an important distinction between processes of *silencing* (related to the reproduction of privilege), the state of being *silenced* (submitting to processes of silencing), and, most important, the qualities of the *silence* of African American girls. Through microlevel analysis of backchannel commentary, bodily positioning, gaze, and post-hoc interpretations of classroom interactions, Carter has begun to document how the girls' silence is not the absence of voice, but is rather is the presence of "rich diverse voices that are not affirmed by mainstream culture" (p. 7).

Clair's (1998) research expands a discourse expulsion perspective in important ways that can only be suggested here. Clair's work suggests the multiple and complex positions of women silenced by sexual harassment. While analyzing the powerful macro discourse of sexual harassment, a dominant ideology of patriarchy and fraterarchy, Clair also documented how women are complicit in maintaining this discourse, and thus have a role in their own silencing. In one study, Clair considers the production of "sequestered stories," or stories told outside of the public mainstream, shared with coworkers and friends. Clair draws

on frame analysis (Goffman, 1974) to analyze the sexual harassment narratives given by women concerning the workplace, and identifies key framing devices that these women use. For example, a significant framing device is "trivialization," that "reduces the significance of the act and invalidates the target's feelings" (Clair, 1998, p. 82). Even though sexual harassment makes women angry or uncomfortable, Clair documents how women trivialize it by joking. Such trivialization, Clair argues, participates in the silencing of sexual harassment, and evidences how the targets of sexual harassment (primarily women) are complicit in this silencing. In sum, Clair's work documents how dominant discourses—discourses capable of expelling and silencing other discourses—are maintained not only by those who silence, but also by those who are silenced.

SILENCING AND THE PRODUCTION OF SOCIAL SPACE

Positioning, Identity, and Social Space

The claim of this analysis, as stated earlier, is that silencing is achieved in interaction through processes of social space, with a focus on narrating social scenes through talk and producing embodied spaces. Prior to considering these specific processes, I consider below relations between positioning and identity, and second, between positioning and social space. Positioning, identity, and social space are conceived of as interrelated social processes; social relations are continuously spatialized in interaction. Researching how one "takes a position" on something, therefore, necessarily involves considering how the activity of positioning is negotiated and coordinated with the physical positions, talk, and silences of other participants. It also involves interpreting how this position-taking activity is productive of social spaces, spaces that are relevant to ongoing interaction.

Davies and Harré (1990) analyzed the dynamics of positioning within interaction and have provided a framework useful for understanding positioning as interactionally achieved. The researchers make a distinction between interactive positioning, in which a speaker can give another participant a specific part in a story (which he or she may or may not take up) and reflexive positioning, or positioning oneself within the story (Davies & Harré, 1990, p. 48). Perhaps more important, interactive and reflexive positioning may be concurrently achieved. Davies and Harrésuggested a number of different processes to consider in analyzing the joint production of positions, including the narration of fragments of lived autobiography, the invocation of familiar or shared "story lines," ephemeral shifts in power and access, and the creation of "this sort of occasion" by the talk (1990, p. 49).

Such positioning dynamics in interaction can be understood as productive of identity through what has been termed a "practice theory" of identity (Holland, Lachicotte Jr., Skinner, & Cain, 1998). To take a practice perspective on identity is to consider identity as worked out among a struggle and negotiation of discourses, contexts, simplified representations of social action, and artifacts during the course of activity. To focus on processes of positioning and resulting "positional identi- ties," is to foreground "day-to-day and on-the-ground relations of power, defer- ence and entitlement, social affiliation and distance—with the social-interactional, social-relational structures of the lived world" (Holland et al., 1998, p. 127). From this perspective, positions are not unitary, monolithic locations, but rather joint so- cial achievements. To assume or to assign a position involves aligning, distancing, and creative maneuvering vis-à-vis other persons, discourses, and social struc- tures—the construction of selves and others through relations of power. Posi- tioning works out gendered, raced, and classed identities, student and institutional identities, friendship identities, conservative and liberal political identities, and so on, and along with other identity practices stretching across time and space (Hol- land et al., 1998), produces the complex nexus of relations that make up one's sociocultural identity.

The language of "positioning" that has been appropriated by critical social anal- ysis (e.g., position, location, center, margin, third space, etc.) directs us, like other metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), to a closer analysis of how social meaning is both physically and symbolically realized. The analysis of positioning that does not carefully map the metaphorical and physically real spaces of situations, loca- tions, and associated positionings has been critiqued as meaningless (Harvey, 1996, pp. 111–112). Understanding the dynamics of silencing involves tracing the processes of space-forming and space-contingent interactional processes. As such, the effort is consistent with postmodern, neo-Marxist, and feminist conceptions of space-time as co-constructed *through* social life and neither absolute nor external to social processes. Such conceptions consider space-time as necessarily produc- ing relations of power (e.g., Gregory, 1994; Harvey, 1996; Lefebvre, 1991; Rose, 1993; Soja, 1996) and therefore as a critical domain for the study of discourse and identity.

A discursive turn in geography has placed a significant emphasis not only on physical space, but also on representations of space, or spaces as they are symbolized through various semiotic resources. According to Lefebvre (1991), we cannot as- sume that the meaning of space for persons in activity can be read off of embodied practices alone. Rather, we are compelled to ask not simply how participants coordi- nate their activities in space and how they move through space, but what sense they make of the space that they produce within activity, and what symbolic resources they bring to these sense-making processes. Analyzing the articulation of embodied practices with symbolic resources is thus central to the project of interpreting the production of social space in interaction, and by extension, the production of si-

lenced positions. Toward this end, this analysis deliberately articulates participants' processes of narrating social scenes (symbolic constructions of space) with their embodied practices, or physical realizations of space. Although I have separated these processes as an analytic strategy, the argument to follow will emphasize ways in which the processes are coordinated in the joint production of silencing.

Narrating Scenes

A significant aspect of the creativity of talk is our ability to represent or "figure" ourselves as agents in a described scene, "someone, after all, who belongs to the world that is told about, not the world in which the current telling takes place" (Goffman, 1981, p. 147). Scene construction and its relation to positional identity has been theorized in Holland et al.'s analysis of "figured worlds" (Holland et al., 1998) and in Bakhtin's discussion of the time-space or chronotope (Bakhtin, 1981b) as the ground on which characters act. In Bakhtin's analysis, as with postmodern perspectives on social space, time-spaces are not static backdrops to social action; on the contrary, they produce

> subjectified, perspectival, motivated situations, associated plots, motifs, persons (with exterior behavior and interior consciousness), classes of objects, affective atmospheres, and evaluative orientations. (Prior, 1998, p. 303)

Thus, in analyzing the narrated scene, it is not simply participants that are at issue, but the qualities of the particular scene, possible action within it, and the ways in which participants are related to it.

In spoken interaction it is critical to consider how the social world between copresent participants—the organization of the event of speaking—is coproduced with actors and their associated positions in narrated scenes. In both Bakhtin and Goffman, social scenes constructed in narratives are not isolated from those lived out in face to face interaction. Bakhtin maintained that the specific time-space of the reader and the time-space of the character in his or her social situation interpenetrate in complex, dialogical fashion (Bakhtin, 1981b). Goffman (1981) uses the term "footing" to indicate the shifting alignments or stances of participants vis-à-vis one another. Constant changes in footings index how participation frameworks are constantly being worked out. Moreover, participation frameworks that belong to "alien" interactional worlds may be embedded within new social situations. Such embedding (a process Goffman terms "lamination") can be illustrated by two individuals who are completely alone, and yet mark their sharing of gossip by whispering (Goffman, 1981, p. 154). Goffman suggested how nuanced readings of participation need to relate symbolic representations of self and other, such as produced through narrating scenes, to the "full physical arena in which persons present are in sight and sound of one another" (1981, p. 136). Such interpretive work will illuminate how

interactants do not simply move from footing to footing, but maintain multiple footings and embed footings within others.

Producing Embodied Spaces

In considering the production of embodied spaces, I focus on the movements of bodies through space as well as the microanalysis of bodily movement (e.g., gesture, gaze), areas of study initially developed from structural linguistics and often termed, respectively, proxemics (Hall, 1959) and kinesics (Birdwhistell, 1952). Embodied spaces, as they function in the development of social space, may be internally parsed or divided into zones, a process Giddens termed *regionalization* (Giddens, 1984, p. 119). Regions are not simply bounded from one another, but are coarticulated and interdependent. For parsing and relating various embodied spaces, I borrow directly from Kendon's (1990) development of the F-formation (face-formation) system.

An F-formation is described as arising "whenever two or more people sustain a spatial and orientational relationship in which the space between them is one to which they have equal, direct, and exclusive access" (Kendon, 1990, p. 209). According to Kendon, F-formation system study also serves as way of showing how the system "maintains the separate identity and integrity of an interactional situation" (p. 209). A problem that interactants face is what to treat as relevant context to interaction, and they resolve this problem, in part, by demarcating the "world" of the encounter from the rest of the "world" around them; entering an F-formation is an "excellent means by which interactional and therefore social and psychological 'withness' may be established" (Kendon, 1992, p. 330). Kendon argued that the orientation of the lower body highly determines the orientation of individuals or their "transactional segment" that extends forward from them. While interactants might move out of this orientation briefly, F-formations can be largely traced along the lines of this lower-body orientation. Of course, the seating of student in desks and facing the teacher can be readily interpreted as a means to form the F-formation around student–teacher exchange, with the aid of classroom furniture stabilizing this relation. At the same time, while highlighting the constraints of embodied practices within classrooms, the analysis suggests how such constraints are used, appropriated, and overcome.

RESEARCH SETTING AND DATA COLLECTION

Data for this study were drawn from a 10-month ethnographic study examining the relations of school-related discourse to the production of social space (Leander, 1999). "Kempton High," a mid-sized urban high school in a moderately sized midwestern city (approximately 1,100 students and 100,000 residents), was the primary institutional context for this study. The school is the oldest high school in the city, and

among the two high schools in the city has the most racially (65% European American, 26% African American, 5% Asian American, 4% Hispanic) and socioeconomically diverse student population. The population and research setting for this study was the junior level students within the Kempton Technological Academy (KTA), a school-within-a-school at Kempton High, in its 4th year of development during the research period. The KTA was funded in its first 3 years primarily through school district funds, but also partially through a special state board grant, through a local business consortium, and through the Junior Partnership Training Academy (JTPA), a state organization assisting low-income students in obtaining summer employment and job training. In exchange for its diverse support base, part of KTA's stated mission is to meet the needs of "middle level students," defined as those students who fall between the 25th and 75th percentile on standardized test scores. However, KTA also needed to draw from some "at risk students," as defined by the JTPA, to receive their funding. Most KTA students took all four of their core subjects (English, social studies, math, and science) within the program, and took electives in the regular school. However, the juniors took only English and history together, which were often taught as integrated American Studies. Maureen Tsekos, a European American, taught English in her 11th year of teaching, and Sid Bartoli, a European American in his 5th year of teaching, taught history.

Making use of a number of ethnographic research techniques, the extended study was informed by assumptions of interpretive-constructivist research (Erickson, 1986; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Data were collected through interviewing, video recording, field notes, and the collection of artifacts. Because I was attempting to capture a range of activity and its relation to spoken discourse within the research, including the mapping of embodied activity, classroom discussions were videotaped. For video recording, the camera (a Hi8 Hitachi Model VM-H720A) was placed on a tripod at the side of the room. Interaction was simultaneously audiotaped with three microphones and a mini-mixer. Unclear parts of the videotape were cross-checked with the audiotape. The focal interaction is selected from a corpus of data that includes 85 hr of audiotaped interaction (large and small student groups) and 45 hr of videotaped interaction over a 10-month period. The videotape of the focal interaction was digitized, and a transcript and figures representing the production of embodied spaces were produced by repeatedly reviewing the digitized transcript.

BACKGROUND OF THE INTERACTION

Context

A short (2.5 min) interaction is the focus of analysis. The students recognized Sid and Maureen's classrooms as involving an unusually large amount of classroom discussion and oral presentation. In interviews, many students remarked that large

group discussion was their favorite activity within these classrooms. At the same time, students participated in discussion in widely different manners and degrees. The silence of certain students during discussions puzzled me as much as the relative garrulousness of others. In particular, I became intrigued by the silent position of "the White girls." The White girls were a relatively stable group of 5 or 6 friends so labeled by other students in the class. (One of the White girls was biracial, and not all of the European American girls in the class were part of the White girls group.) Although the White girls seemed to form a close-knit community among themselves, and were generally positive about their experiences within the KTA, they were overwhelmingly silent within classroom discussion. Chelle, who participated verbally more often than the other White girls, described her participation practices as follows:

> It's like we're more, we tend more to like raise our hand where the guys just jump up and say what they have to say. But then again if there is something I want to say, and I figure that it's gonna do the conversation some good, then I usually just jump in and say it.

The selected (2.5 min) focal interaction permits an opportunity to consider the White girls in relation to other classroom participants—how speaking and silenced positions are produced and related. Moreover, the focal interaction suggests how dominant positionings may be both reproduced and destabilized.

The focal interaction occurred in Sid's history class in early January. Sid was between major units at this point in the year, finishing off the first semester, and was spending 2 weeks having student groups present and lead discussions on the topics of women's rights and African American rights in history. Girls in general seemed to be actively participating very little in the classroom discussions on women's rights, which the boys in the classroom seemed not to notice, although Sid called attention to this irony on several different occasions. Presentations consisted primarily of students reviewing information they had garnered from a set of readings. Some groups took a more creative approach by including a short dramatic sketch in their presentation. The presentation of 3 of the White girls, however, which preceded the day of focal interaction, consisted primarily of reading a set of well-prepared notes. This followed a general pattern of the practices as preferences of the White girls. In the words of Nicole, "This kind of thing isn't something I would choose. If I had a choice between like writing an essay or like having a discussion, I would probably do the essay."

On the day of the focal interaction, involving 16 students, Sid is reviewing Constitutional law from the previous day's class as part of a preparation for an upcoming test. At the same time, Mike and Anthony (and occasionally, Ian) are preparing for their presentation on African American rights. Sid's purpose across the review seems to be to make explicit the meaning of the 14th Amendment with respect to women's rights, and also to promote reflection on whether the amendment has bearing on the current social lives of men and women.

Representation of the Interaction

The 2.5 min interaction was transcribed and is embedded in this article in three different forms. First, the entire transcript was produced in a musical score format (Ehlich, 1993; Hengst, 1998), although this format is only represented herein in Segments[3] B and D, in the consideration of length. (A more traditional transcription format was used to represent Segments A, C, and E.) This format, used for analysis, permits me to foreground the simultaneity of participation and of interactional footings. Furthermore, the transcript format provides a nuanced interpretation of Chelle's participation in the interaction, highlighting the emerging dynamics of her speaking, silent, and silenced positions. Four states of participation are indicated: silent participation (ω), silent participation while being silenced (ϖ), speaking participation (indicated by text of speech), and speaking participation while being silenced ($\otimes$). The markings do not associate speaking with communication and silence with noncommunication (critiqued by Bilmes, 1994; Clair, 1998; Jaworski, 1993). On the contrary, they disrupt this simple relation by suggesting that Chelle's silences as well as her verbal interactions are rich sites of communication.

In addition to the musical score format and the traditional, linear format of transcription, F-formation diagrams are included for each of the five segments of the interaction. Within the F-formation diagrams, the oval figures represent individuals; the solid lines extending forward from either side of them are meant to suggest the transactional segment that extends forward from each person. Solid line ovals represent the established positions of individuals (based on trunk positions when seated), dotted line ovals represent their previous positions, or positions they took up along a path of movement to this position. Solid arrows represent the "path of movement through space of an individual" (Kendon, 1990, pp. 228–229). To avoid over-burdened diagrams, I have in most cases not represented objects other than bodies (e.g., furniture) except when they are part of the analysis. In addition, I have added figures that represent head positions in gaze (see Figure 1).

DATA AND ANALYSIS

Overview and Macroanalysis

In the following, an overview of the interaction is provided to outline the general shape of the episode, and to begin to analyze important shifts in Chelle's participation. This analysis, at a macro level as compared to the following analysis of individual segments, begins to suggest that Chelle's participation is much more complex than could be observed from her simple presence as a speaker or nonspeaker

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[3]The interaction was divided into five segments according to significant shifts in participation, as derived through a focus on Chelle's shifting participation status.
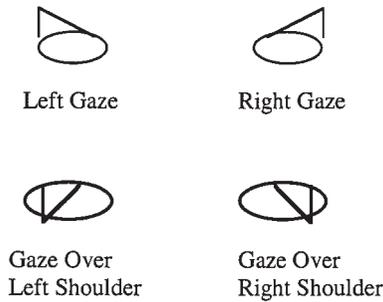
FIGURE 1   Head and gaze orientation.

(as represented in a traditional transcript). The analysis also indexes how Chelle's silencing, as an interactional achievement, is not always concurrent to her silent or speaking participation.

Chelle's opening position is that of silent participant (ω), engaged in the interaction (as evidenced, for example, by posture, gaze, and later speaking participation). When Chelle makes a backchannel comment during Sid's review session that women do not have equal rights, she begins to be silenced ($\otimes$) by Robert, who brings her comment to the floor of the class. (Robert's move could also be interpreted as foregrounding Chelle's contribution rather that silencing it, discussed later.) Along with Robert, Trent joins in the silencing activity, and at 17.5, Chelle makes her first bid for the public floor, confronting the countermoves with "We don't [have equal rights]." Following, the discourse moves back into the test review mode and Chelle appears to take a position as silent participant (ω) once again. At Segment B (46.5), Chelle poses a "question" to the teacher, which shifts her role to that of speaking participant. Chelle's question confronts the lack of equal rights in everyday life, by relating a story of how some men responded when she and her friends were working on an emergency car repair. Kimberly briefly assists Chelle in affirming the story with "We did it." The transcript indicates how the boys then silence ($\otimes$) Chelle's speech by speaking over her, minimizing the importance of her story (Rod, approximately 53.0), correcting her for not addressing the topic of equal rights (Robert, 55.5), and ridiculing her (Rod, approximately 1.00; Shameen, approximately 1.03).

As Segment C begins, the interaction moves from Chelle's story to focus on a series of scenes constructed by the group of boys as counter to the scene offered by Chelle. Despite this overriding garrulousness, and despite the assertive silencing of her story, Chelle continues to contribute for a short time (1.14). The boys rapidly develop stories of being gazed at by others while in Victoria's Secret (1.18), while buying Maxipads (1.42.5), and finally, offer accounts of spotting one another in a city scene known for illicit sexual activity (1.52). During this period, through Segments C and D, Chelle is both silent and silenced (ϖ), positioned by the boys as a

sexualized object and as an observer of their focal social spaces (analyzed in the following). During Segment D, Sid (the teacher) is pulled out of the group interaction to help a student (approximately 1.45). In Segment E, the end of the interaction, Sid rejoins the group and bids the class to "bring it back," proceeding with his test review. During this final segment, Chelle appears to reassume her original position in the interaction as a silent participant.

A broad analysis of Chelle's speaking and silenced positions suggests something of the overall movement or flow of her positioning from that of a silent participant (Segment A), to a (backchannel) speaking participant, (Segment A) to a silenced participant (Segment A), to a speaking participant (Segment A), to a silent participant (Segment A), to a speaking participant (Segment B) to a speaking while silenced participant (Segment B), to a silent while silenced participant (Segments C & D), and finally (and recursively), to a silent participant (Segment E). The transcript also suggests how the boys draw on communicative resources to silence Chelle, including overlapping and simultaneous speech, volume, and tempo. However, such communicative resources do not adequately account for the microdynamics of silencing when considered as a production of social space, developed in the following interpretation of interaction Segments A through E.

Segment A: Destabilizing the Classroom Space
With Girl Trouble

Transcript of Segment A.[4]

Sid:	Do women have full and equal rights? [Anthony and Mike engaged in separate interaction to side of room.]
Rod:	Yes, the ( ) [. .]
Sid:	And wh-what guaranteed them full and equal rights?
Shameen:	19th Amendment? [.]
Sid:	The 19th Amendment gave them the right to <u>vote</u>.
	°What guaranteed them full and equal rights?°
	[ ]

---

[4]Transcript conventions include the following:

=	latched speech
( )	inaudible speech, relative to length of space
[	overlapping speech of two or more speakers temporally linked by brackets
(talk)	questionable transcriptions
[. .]	pause, in which each period represents 1 sec
[11.5]	clock time of interaction to the half second
<u>because</u>	stressed word
NOW	emphatic stress
°sorry°	de-emphasized speech, spoken softly
ha::rd	lengthened sound or syllable

Chelle: (No, we don't have equal rights)
    [11.0]
Robert: She says—we got somebody back here that says they don't have
         equal rights.
    Sid: They don't have equal rights?
                          [
Trent: You're kidding. There was an Amendment that did it.
                                 [
Robert: °That's what she said, "No, we don't."°
         [Facing forward, pointing toward Chelle with thumb of left hand, over left shoulder.]
Chelle: We <u>don't</u>.   [Chelle smiles as Robert looks back at her.]
    [18.0]
    Sid: What, what are the laws that give women full and equal rights, from
         the Amendment to the Constitution? [Kareena enters, sits in desk behind
         Robert, sitting up on knees.]
    [24.5]
Shameen: 13th, 14th, and 15th?   [Ian gets up from seat, walks to back of room.]
    Sid: 13th says a::ll people are—no—13th says you can't own a person,
         no slavery, as you'll find out. 14th says—what's the 14th? [Holding
         hands up, palms pressed together.] Raise your hand.
         [Kareena moves from seat in front to seat in back.]
Shameen: Ah-hah, I said it though.
    Sid: 14th says?
Shameen: 14th says that all people are created equal.
    Sid: °No.°

Segment A: Narrating scenes.   The speaking participants within Segment
A are primarily Sid and Shameen. Sid poses questions at the front of the room,
prompting participants to state which amendment guaranteed women "full and
equal rights." Shameen, seated at the front, energetically makes several attempts
to answer the questions correctly, incorrectly guessing the 19th Amendment, and
guessing three amendments in a row (13th, 14th, 15th), as if to increase his
chances of being correct. Shameen appears to sense that the 14th Amendment is
the correct answer by Sid's continued prompting of a response ("what's the
14th—raise your hand") and remarks aloud "Ah-hah, I said it [the 14th], though."
Segment A, in its participation structure, is a familiar form in classroom life–an
initiation, response, evaluation (Mehan, 1979) period in which a single student is
the primary respondent to the teacher's bids or questioning.

   In this midst of this exchange, Robert reports Chelle's speech with "She
says—we got somebody back here that says they don't have equal rights"
(11.0). In terms of participation, Robert's nomination of Chelle's backchannel
talk draws himself, Trent, and Chelle into the exchange for several seconds,
following which Sid and Shameen (17.5) reassume their previous roles as
questioner and respondent. Yet equally important is that Robert begins to shape
the present interactional event itself as a type of "scene" with a group of actors
("we"), who are in implicit disagreement with another unnamed actor ("some-

body") who is presently challenging the assumptions of the ongoing discussion. The meaning of Robert's *we* in the interaction is indeterminate, but as the interaction proceeds this *we* becomes jointly constituted and serves an important function in the work of positioning. At this point, *we* is made to contrast with the position of *somebody*, thus generally supporting a claim of Chelle as outside of a collective. Robert's naming of Chelle as *somebody* can be interpreted (akin to pointing over his shoulder, following) as inherently contradictory. He is naming and not-naming Chelle, claiming her position and yet suggesting its nonimportance. Functioning together as a clause, *we*, *somebody*, and *back here* construct the present interactional event as a rudimentary scene with characters and trouble—elements of a developing narrative. Robert is helping to destabilize the interaction and move it away from the Constitution as an abstract topic of testable information; the here-and-now is brought to the fore as a scene of potential interest.

Segment A: Producing embodied spaces.   As the interaction begins, the participants reproduce the embodied spaces of interaction for the Junior Academy in predictable ways. Durable communities position themselves together in the AS (American Studies) room, dividing the classroom in a familiar manner. For example, Anthony and Mike (Figure 2) are pulled to one side, four of the "White girls" (Tracey, Chelle, Kim and Nicole) are seated in an "L" formation to the back, and four African American boys (Shameen, Willie, Rod, and Trent) are grouped across the front of the classroom. I am videotaping, and standing to the right side of the classroom, a position I sometimes assume to capture classroom dynamics that include both the front and back regions of the classroom. The embodied space of the students facing the teacher supports the initiation, response, and evaluation (IRE) (Mehan, 1979) format of the review. As a form of embodied structuration, the arrangement allows the teacher to see all of the students and nominate or call on them, keeps the students some distance apart from one another and facing the teacher as the focal point, and permits the rapid distribution of materials and movement of bodies in and out of the room. These latter affordances suggest how the IRE structure is not simply related to verbal interaction in classrooms, but to a broad range of schooling practices, including the movements of materials and bodies through space.

Segment A is a critical point in the interaction for reproducing typical social structures through routine productions of embodied space, while at the same time destabilizing this space as the interaction proceeds. As Robert remarks that "we got somebody back here that says [women] don't have equal rights," he maintains a face-forward position (Figure 2), pointing over his shoulder with his thumb at Chelle and then looking back at her only briefly. Robert invites Chelle's backchannel comments to the floor for discussion, but at the same time maintains an embodied alignment with the "we" of the class. Robert's embodied
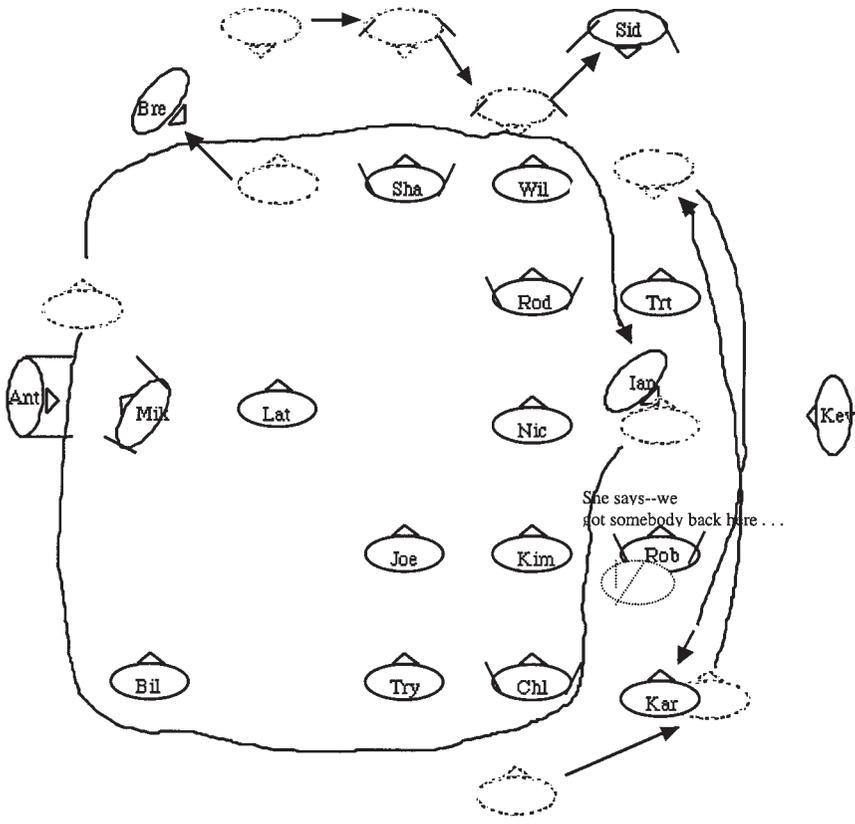
FIGURE 2 Map of Segment A. Name Key: Ant: Anthony; Bil: Billy; Bre: Brett; Chl: Chelle; Joe: Joeline; Kar: Kareena; Kev: Kevin (Researcher); Kim: Kimberely; Lat: Latanya; Mik: Mike; Nic: Nicole; Rob: Robert; Rod: Rod; Sha: Shameen; Sid: Sid (Teacher); Trt: Trent; Try: Tracey; Wil: Willie.

and discursive positioning functions to situate himself squarely within normative ongoing interaction while destabilizing this interaction by literally pointing at dissent for group attention. This double movement of both inviting dissent and facing away from it, I argue, is an important process of silencing. Since silencing can be seen as not merely closing off a particular participant, but rather creating a silenced position vis-à-vis a dominant focal position, silencing processes are concerned with recognizing as well as appropriately positioning opposition. At the same time, the meanings of Robert's verbal and nonverbal pointing at Chelle are indeterminate with respect to how they become jointly produced as the interaction unfolds. Foregrounding Chelle's position could potentially work toward producing her speaking space, toward silencing her, or toward a doubled speaking/silenced position.

Simultaneous to these constructions of embodied space, Kareena's negotiation of a seating position (Figure 2) illustrates how students negotiate their embodied positions with respect to how they discern their social alignments on particular occasions. Seating positions are somewhat durable, but also vary according to the topic and nature of situated interaction. Temporary shiftings in position can be related to shifting topics, the ideologies called up by them, and their relations to identities. Duranti's remark, writing about the fono (a legislative event attended by titled people in a Samoan village) is relevant also in this context: "The spatial configuration at the beginning of a fono can provide relevant information about the political agenda of the day" (Duranti, 1994, p. 64). Kareena had initially entered the classroom, just prior to the start of this class period, and had left her books on the seat in front of Trent. Yet, when Kareena reenters the room during the discussion (approximately 18.0) she takes a position at the back of the class, sitting on her knees in her desk, and appears to be observing the interaction in the classroom. After observing this interaction for approximately 18 sec, Kareena moves to the front, retrieves her books, and assumes a position behind Robert. Her decision to relocate to the back corner could well be motivated by Kareena's desire to stay to the periphery of an argument that could confront her and impose on her to speak from her identity as a young woman, an interpretation that is generally supported by observing Kareena's careful management and distancing of herself within other controversial classroom interactions. As the interaction continues, Kareena's new seating position affords her the ability to interact and align with the girls in the back of the class, while avoiding the public conversational floor of the entire classroom. In Segment C (1.14), Kareena strongly develops such an alignment interactionally by defending Chelle's remarks before Robert, which ultimately emerges into a side-sequence with Robert that continues for most of the remaining interaction. In sum, Kareena's embodied re-positioning is a suggestive example of how students "take positions" with their bodies as well as their discourse, how they can bring these resources together at particular moments, and how the arrangement of bodies is drawn on as a resource in the joint production of positions.

Segment B: Chelle's Speaking Space and Attempts at Closure

Transcript of Segment B.[5]

SEGMENT B

Chelle:	ωωωωωωωωωωωωωωωωωωωωωωωωωωωωωωω*Mr. Bartoli, I have a question.
Shameen:	all people are created equal.
Sid:	°No.° Chelle.
13 Others:	**

Anthony:	
Mike:	

Notes:	*Sitting tall, upright. **Joelynn looking back over shoulder at Chelle.
	[0.46.5]

Chelle:	How come whenever like a female's outside working on a car all the men look at em
Shameen:	
Sid:	
13 Others:	*
Anthony:	
Mike:	

Notes:	*Brett gets out of seat, to teacher's desk and gets Kleenex, remains standing.

Chelle:	like they're stupid?⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗*We were trying to jump her car yesterday and
Robert:	(That's) not equal rights.
Rod:	Cause we feel like it.
13 Others:	
Anthony:	
Mike:	

Notes:	[0.55.5]
	*Pointing straight forward with right arm, past Kimberly and toward Nicole.

---

[5]The transcript can be compared to a musical score, read from "staff" to "staff," as indicated by the bold bars (Ehlich, 1993; Hengst, 1998). Overlapping talk and interaction is assumed to be the norm and is simply indicated by presenting the talk as it occurs in time. In addition, the presence of all participants, including the researcher, is marked by noting the (shifting) array of "others" who either are not speaking or whose interaction could not be transcribed. Side-sequences are separated from focal interactions by a thin continuous line. To facilitate reading, I have bolded the names of "new" (not present in the previous staff) speakers. In addition, I have included the names of speakers as current interactants for one staff beyond their last utterance. (An exception to these participation markings is Chelle, whose participation is marked throughout.) Notes are linked to speakers and utterances by one or more asterisks. Time is indicated for the different segments to the half- second. Conventions added for indicating participation with respect to silencing are as follows:

ω	silent participation
ϖ	silent and being silenced
⊗	speaking while being silenced

The transcript begins a few seconds prior to Segment B to facilitate linking with Segment A.

Chelle:	everyone at the gas station was standing there looking at us like we didn't know
Robert:	
Rod:	
13 Others:	

Anthony:	
Mike:	

Notes:	

Chelle:	what we was doin' and we got her car started. ⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗
Robert:	That ain't got nothin to do with equal
Kimberly:	We did it.
Rod:	( ) yesterday, A::, HAH.
12 Others:	* **

Anthony:	
Mike:	

Notes:	*Troy puts arms up, folds hands in back of head. **Ian taking seat, looking toward Robert. [1.02.0]

Chelle:	⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗⊗
Robert:	rights though.

Kimberly:	
Rod:	
Shameen:	We was chyin to chu chu ca and you guys keep looking at my like an (idiot).
11 Others:	

Anthony:	
Mike:	

Notes:	[1.03.0]

Segment B: Narrating scenes. Prior to considering how Chelle is silenced in the interaction, I turn to an analysis of how she develops a speaking space. While the teacher-directed floor of the class is attempting to recall the content of the 14th Amendment, Chelle poses the following question: "How come whenever a female's outside working on a car all the men look at em like they're stupid?" Chelle's use of a real life example during the activity of classroom discussion was a highly common practice among students and the teacher in this classroom. Sid also structured the more formal curriculum around life experiences; students orally presented diverse interpretations of their experience as American citizens as an opening assignment for the year.

Chelle poses her contribution as a question for the teacher, which serves to reproduce her own position as a student in the class even as she concurrently takes decisive action to recast the social spaces of the dialogue with newly narrated scenes. Chelle carefully manages this transition from the abstraction of the Constitution to a specific narrative of situated experience at a gas station with the group of

others. Rather than initially naming herself as a character within the story, Chelle generalizes the character to a "female," abstracts the time as "whenever" and the space as "outside." She does not stay with this transition long, however, but moves to personalize the narrative:

> We were trying to jump her car yesterday and everyone at the gas station was standing there looking at us like we didn't know what we was doin' and we got her car started.

Chelle's story is of herself and a group of others working together. The "we" of Chelle's story, as with Robert's "we," is indeterminate, but is suggested to be a group of women by the nature of Chelle's opening question. The group's success with (traditionally male) mechanical work critiques the male gaze and the constraints of social spaces for women. Thus, Chelle narrates an everyday, recent social scene to assert a position in the class and does not enter the interaction through its former grounding of historical women's rights and Constitutional Law.

Rod first replies to Chelle, with an appeal to whimsical coercion ("Cause we feel like it") in a quick attempt to close off her narrative. Robert's counter to Chelle, twice repeated, initially overlaps Rod's counter: Chelle's narrated scene "ain't got nothing to do with equal rights." It could be argued that Robert did not believe in, or could not understand, any connection between women being guaranteed equal rights according to the Constitution and Chelle's gas station episode. For this analysis, I would argue that Robert rejects Chelle's narrated scene by reinvoking the dominant scenes of the interaction thus far—the Constitution and the kinds of things likely to be said in a test review—to attempt to close off Chelle's speaking position. Robert moves to disallow Chelle's story, as if to say, "We aren't going to go there because we're in the classroom time-space, discussing the Constitution, not gas stations and stalled cars." In their responses, neither Rod nor Robert allow a position for Chelle's narrated scene in the classroom. At this point, their approach to closing off Chelle's speaking within the classroom is to trivialize the narrative (Rod, "Cause we feel like it") and to claim that it is out of bounds of classroom discussion (Robert).

Shameen overlaps with Robert's second repeated claim and begins imitating Chelle's story. Speaking loudly from the front of the room and turned in the direction of Chelle, he ventriloquates (Bakhtin, 1981b) a line from her narrative with a high-pitched, ironic, whining voice: "We was chyin to chu cha ca and you guys keep looking at me like an (idiot)." Shameen's parody could be analyzed sociolinguistically as the use of an African American linguistic resource that mocks and "marks" (Mitchell-Kernan, 1986) his and Chelle's relative identities in the classroom. An alternate interpretation of identity and community is possible by examining the production of space that Shameen's marking initiates. Shameen's ventriloquation of Chelle's story involves at least three voices—bringing together Chelle's words, a male critique of the speaking participation of a woman in the class-

room, and the scene of the gas station. Through the slurred, heavy-mouthed and mis-pronounced words, Shameen ridicules Chelle as an actor within the scene of her own story. Shameen's response is significant as a silencing strategy because it involves not direct critique, but an occupation of her speaking position. By mocking Chelle's speech, Shameen appropriates her represented and embodied positions; the slurred speech and word substitutions work to recast Chelle and her friends as incompetent within the story, and the story as an incompetent performance within the classroom. Simultaneously, with the joint action of others, through his use of mocking humor Shameen is able to assume a more central position in the social space of the class discussion. These movements prepare for a rapid regionalization with a new series of male-dominated representations and interactions in Segment C.

Segment B: Producing embodied spaces.   In the dynamics from Map A to Map B (Figure 3), at least three F-formations are being formed, which I have highlighted on Map B with shaded regions. The first F-formation involves Chelle and Kim as well as Joeline and Tracey through the orientations of their gaze. It is important to note that this F-formation also involves Sid, who works to maintain Chelle's contribution within the interaction. A second F-formation can be imagined as a space extending from Shameen to Robert, which includes Rod and Trent, who are roughly in a J-shaped arrangement to Shameen. Willy is also temporarily in this formation by looking over his shoulder and talking to Trent. Thus, as the interaction is being shaped there is at least a preliminary pattern of one F-formation crossing another, one that is more vertically oriented on the map and one more horizontally, one which is more of an officially ratified formation than the other. Sid's management of classroom space at this moment appears located at the nexus of these two F-formations. A third, fairly stable F-formation during the interaction is produced between Anthony and Mike, who seem largely absorbed in their own conversation, preparing for their classroom presentation.

For Chelle to advance her question from the back of the class forward involves both a strong verbal projection and a production of the primary F-formation from its previous location in the front of the class (between Sid and Shameen) to a much extended location across the entire depth of the class. Chelle's projection of her question or statement from the back of the classroom is directed at reconstituting the social space of the discussion, reaching forward to expand the organization of the discussion event.[6]

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[6]Note that this brief analysis suggests something of the complex meaning of taking an embodied position in the back of the classroom. It is not simply that students want to distance themselves from a focal interaction. Rather, the back can also afford a way of assuming a panoptic position with respect to the class, which can be a strategic resource for becoming involved, as in Chelle's case. A trade-off, of course, is that verbal participants in the back have to rely on embodied re-positionings of others facing the front to maintain more durable F-formations with them.
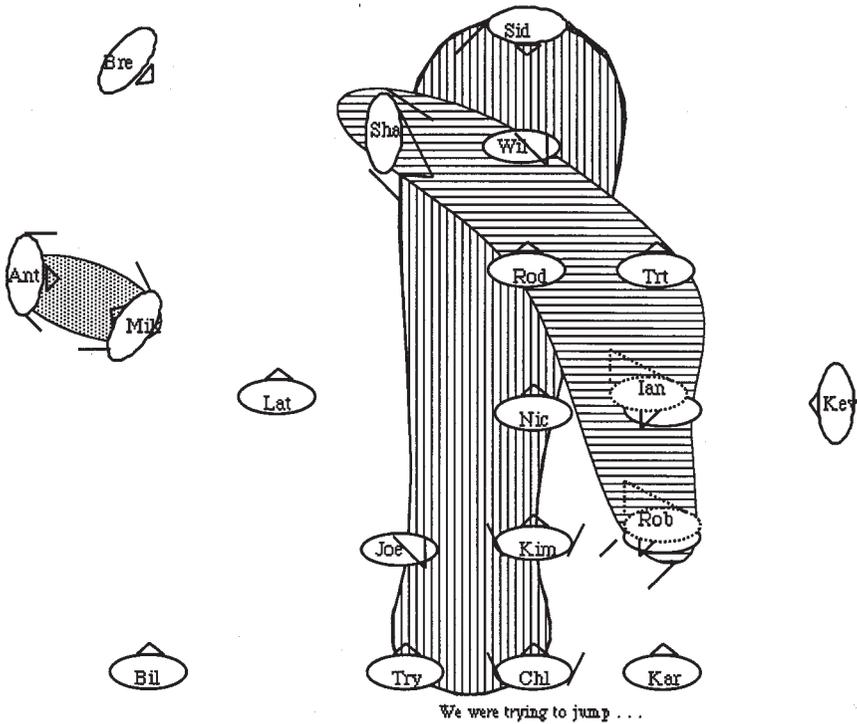
We were trying to jump . . .

FIGURE 3   Map of Segment B.

In a situated sense, there is likely little doubt whom Chelle is referencing with the "we" of her gas station narrative. The meaning of "we" has been built up through the ongoing close relations of the "White girls": Chelle, Tracey, Nicole, Leslie, Heidi and Kimberly. Chelle, Tracy, Nicole, and Kimberly are seated to the back of the room in close proximity to one another. (Leslie and Heidi, who are in another class at this point, would also be depicted by many of the class members as likely participants in the gas station episode.) As an interactional achievement, the embodied positions of the girls together helps to jointly produce the meaning of "we": Chelle not only uses her embodied position, but the bodily positions of others through her gestures toward them. She extends her right arm fully forward and points to Nicole with "We were trying to jump her car." In pointing, Chelle connects herself to Nicole and Kimberly (seated between her and Nicole), and attempts to reinforce an F-formation of her friends that extends from the back of the class forward. Kimberly jointly affirms this construction with "We did it."

Kimberly is a more peripheral member of the "White girls" community, and in this regard it is interesting that she signals her alignment and participation in the narrated scene by confirming Chelle's story.

As Chelle works to construct the scene of the gas station story, and with others to jointly connect this scene to an embodied "we" in this interaction, three responses by boys attempt to quickly close off the social space she is producing. Robert, who repeats that Chelle's story has nothing to do with equal rights, looks over his shoulder at Chelle. This positioning addresses Chelle as if she is located beyond the F-formation of focal interaction. Rod's reaction is similar to Robert's, but more directly positions Chelle as beyond any interaction calling for his regard. Rod sorts index cards at his desk while Chelle speaks and simply continues to face forward, away from Chelle and toward the front of the room, responding that men are critical voyeurs of women "cause we feel like it." Rod's "we" positions him with the men in the gas station scene as well as with the men in the classroom. Moreover, his use of "we" as associated with his forward-facing position responsively is suggestively aligned with Robert's earlier "we got somebody back here" (11.0), for which Robert produced a similar embodied space. The membership of this constructed "we" in the classroom is being gradually narrowed to include those who are male and whose contributions are ratified by males, in sharp contrast to Chelle and Kimberly's use of "we."

Shameen, however, takes the approach of occupying and appropriating Chelle's scene (discussed previously) as well as the F-formation she is constructing toward the front of the room. Overlapping Robert's second correction of Chelle (1.03), Shameen shifts sideways in his seat to form an F-formation with Chelle. At the same time, his body faces sideways and forms a counter F-formation with the group of boys, extending to Robert (Figure 3). In this manner, Shameen serves as a kind of pivot, participating in Chelle's representational and embodied regions only to cut across them with an alternate, developing region.

Segment C: Stabilizing an Alternate Focal Region

Transcript of Segment C.

```
[1.06.0]
    Rod:  That's just like if the men were going on, like (            )
                          [
    Sid:                  I don't know. [Shrugging shoulders, hands in pockets.]
                                        [
    Chelle:                             All them guys (         )
              [Pointing toward Robert.]
                                        [
Shameen:                                Well how come when men go
          into Victoria's Secret to buy the beltless underwear people look at them?
                  [
```

Kareena: That's what she's sayin, Robert! [Side sequence from main interaction, Kareena extends right arm in front, palm up.]

Robert: What? [Shifts in seat to orient toward Kareena.]

Kareena: That's just what she's sayin!

[1.23.0]

Ian: YEAH, <u>SHAMEEN</u>! [Holds left arm up in direction of Shameen, clenched fist.]

Willie: GOOD MORNING, KEMPTON!

[

Rod: Oh, God!

Sid: What do you think? [Arms held out straight to sides, parallel to floor.]

Ian: I like Shameen's analogy better. Why when women go into Victoria's Secret, why do men look at them different? It just don't seem right. [Turns head quarter turn back toward Chelle. Points pen at her twice, with left hand.]

Nicole: Women go into Victoria's Secret?

Ian: No::, <u>men</u> go into Victoria's Secret to buy women's underwear— why do they get looked at funny? [Points at self with pen with "men."]

Segment C: Narrating scenes.   In Segment C, Shameen's appropriation of Chelle's narrated scene is evident in the similar structure between her original question and Shameen's replacement:

Chelle: "How come whenever like a female's outside working on a car all the men look at 'em like they're stupid?"

Shameen: "Well, how come when men go into Victoria's Secret to buy the beltless underwear people look at them?"

Yet with Victoria's Secret, Shameen greatly complicates relations of voyeurism. Although his scene construction may appear to reverse the positions that Chelle has constructed of men watching women, it actually extends this relation through the soft pornographic voyeurism associated with Victoria's Secret. While Victoria's Secret indexes intimacy and sexuality, it is a laminated space that brings together the bedroom and the shopping mall, lingerie and the coffee table catalogue, constructing the gaze as a regular practice of consumer activity (Juffer, 1998). Victoria's Secret normalizes the pornographic through associations with everyday attire, activity, and spaces (Juffer, 1998). Shameen's scene plays with the laminations of private and public spaces that is characteristic of Victoria's Secret, which perhaps allows the topic to be considered as borderline, but not taboo, in the public space of the classroom.

The replacement of Chelle's gas station scene with a Victoria's Secret scene is a negotiated, joint achievement involving various participants and interactional resources. Prior to considering how this replacement is worked out, it seems important to consider in some detail the potentials of this scene replacement for the relative positioning of men and women. Shameen's scene is not just a reversal of power relations in gendered social space, but concerns a particular form of voyeurism-as-power identified with men. In this activity, women are objects of male voy-

eurs, while men are engaged in voyeurism as a collective (note Shameen's use of the plural "men" in Victoria's Secret, unlike the "female" in Chelle's scene). Furthermore, women are also beginning to be located as critics of male voyeurism, watching from the periphery. Thus, the mirroring of gaze is extended—men, as voyeurs, are being watched by others.

One available position for women in the Victoria's Secret scene—that of a critic of the male gaze—partially aligns with a position that Chelle has already assumed in relation to the gas station scene she has narrated. However, the critical gaze is not uniquely associated with women in the Victoria's Secret scene (rather, "people") nor does it appear to be strongly critical ("people look at them"). Thus, in contrast to the active and decisively gendered critique of male voyeurism in Chelle's gas station scene and commentary on it, the Victoria's Secret scene suggests a present, but weakly constituted and weakly gendered onlooker. A second available position for a woman in the Victoria's Secret scene is that of the body-as-object. Unlike the active agents constructed in Chelle's narrative—women who are busy coordinating and accomplishing work together—gaze in the Victoria's Secret narrative is suggested to directed toward passive and silent representations of bodies (e.g., mannequins, images), and material goods associated with bodies and body parts (e.g., "the beltless underwear"). This representation of another's body, particularly as an object of voyeurism, is a significant means of positioning women. Gillian Rose, a feminist geographer, argues that men and women have very different relations to their bodies, related to dominant gendered forms of representation and power:

> Unlike men who believe they can transcend the specificities of their body and see themselves and their intentions as the originating coordinate for everyday space, women see their bodies as objects placed in space among other objects. Because our bodies are an object to us, we see ourselves as positioned in a space not our own. And that space can feel like alien territory. (1993, p. 146)

The production of positions as a spatial process is evident not only through the joint productions of power, suggested previously, but also when participants unwittingly position themselves in undesirable ways and resort to rapid improvisations and negotiations. Such a process can be followed through Ian's interaction in this segment,[7] which concerns contrasting representations of the same scene and also begins to suggest relations to the embodied spaces discussed in the following. After his "Yeah, Shameen!" Ian attempts to reproduce Shameen's Victoria's Secret

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[7]From a sociocultural perspective, Ian's participation is particularly notable for his insider/outsider status with respect to the community of boys who are most active in the interaction. All of group of boys, but Ian are African American, are close friends, and have long neighborhood and school histories together. Shameen and Willie are also cousins.

scene, but accidentally reverses an important detail. In Ian's account, women rather than men are going into Victoria's Secret to shop, and this is something that "just don't seem right." Nicole, who is seated near Ian, is quick to pick up on this mistake and teases Ian: "Women go into Victoria's Secret?" prompting Ian to self-correct and repeat the relevant characters and their positions. This brief interaction, a side sequence, but likely audible to a small group of others, illustrates something of the instabilities of social spaces, as they are jointly produced, and the dangers of mispositioning oneself. Ian is a pivotal person in the shift of the main focus of interaction from the back of the room to the front, and Nicole, with a brief remark, interrupts his work of refocusing the interaction into an F-formation with the other boys and around the Victoria's Secret scene. Her question repositions Ian as possibly defending women. Simultaneously, at the heart of Nicole's challenge is that Ian's (mis)representation adds confusion to his own sexual identity with respect to the scene invoked: is Ian aligning himself with a woman as the main character in the scene? This interpretation is supported by the form of Ian's immediate correction, in which he points at himself with a pen when with words "No:::, men," a deliberate reversal of his earlier pen-pointing at Chelle with "women go into Victoria's Secret."

Segment C: Producing embodied spaces.   Chelle's last audible remark in the entire focal interaction—"All them guys" (1.14)—a comment on the men in the gas station scene who were critically watching the women—is also an eerily appropriate subtitle for the transition in this segment. The primary footing in the interaction shifts from its temporary location among Chelle and Sid and becomes reorganized among the boys. It is noteworthy that Chelle's comment is directed to Robert (who is interacting with Kareena, following) at the back of the room, rather than toward the front of the room, evidencing her weakening F-formation with Sid and her diminishing involvement across the expanse of the classroom. Interactions between Chelle and Sid do not continue, and with the exception of Nicole's challenge of Ian (approximately 1.39), none of the girls are audible verbal participants in the classroom during the remainder of the focal interaction.

Shameen builds on the F-formation initiated in Segment B, in which he draws on the privileged resource of facing the group from the front. Furthermore, as he is seated sideways in his seat, his position forms a diagonal with others who join him in a production of social space (especially Rod, Trent, and Ian, see Figure 4). At the same time, because he is facing toward the back of the room, unlike the other boys (with the exception of Robert, following), Shameen's position permits him to serve as a pivot between the F-formation of the boys and that of the girls and Sid. This pivoting is an important means not only of participating within both F-formations, but of signaling their relation to one another. Shameen can begin to produce a relationship that does not simply override Chelle's speaking position, but rather relocates her (and the other girls) vis-à-vis the interaction among Shameen and the other boys.
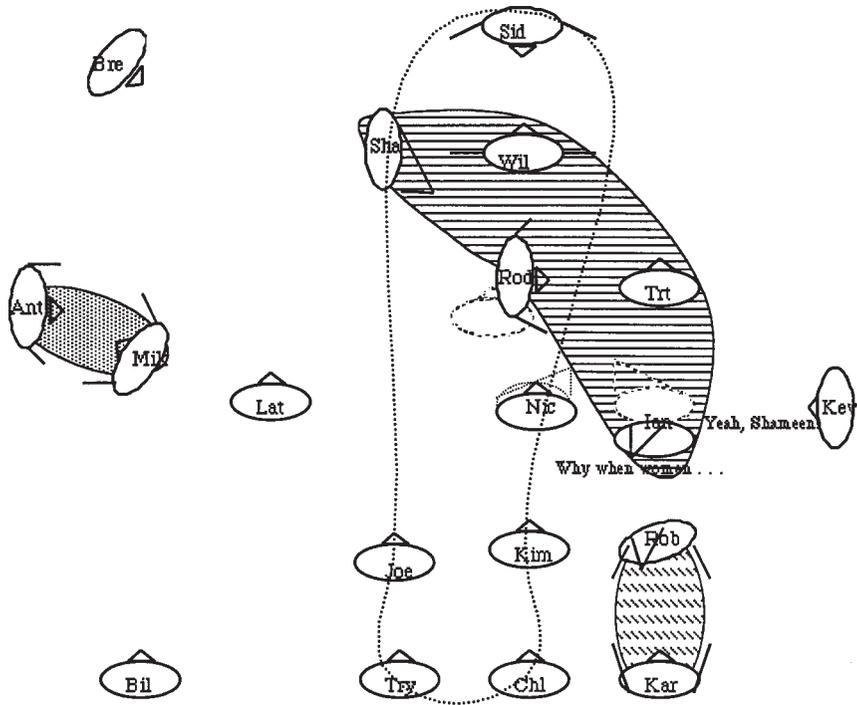
FIGURE 4   Map of Segment C.

As the interaction evolves, the ongoing structuring of an F-formation among the boys is strengthened, while the interaction and F-formation among the girls is weakened. At the level of the class, the focal interaction moves from being momentarily doubled and complexly laminated between the boys and girls groups to a more complete development of a speaking region for the boys and a silent region for Chelle and the community of "White girls." This means of floor control is developed by a range of interactional resources, including the rapid and unbroken nature of the boys' interaction, and through their increased volume and overlapping speech. From a microanalytic perspective, particular embodied movements also serve to regionalize the interaction around the boys. For example, following Shameen's Victoria's Secret example, Ian turns his head in Shameen's direction and raises his left arm and extends a clenched fist salute with "YEAH, SHAMEEN!" Through the orientation of his head and especially his broad arm gesture, Ian serves as an embodied pivot for the focus of interaction. Ian's movement seems not simply a pivot between two spaces, but rather a "pass," an embodied attempt to refocus the activity in another location. Next, Sid holds out his arms to his sides and asks, "What do you think?" in a gesture that bids for response from

the entire class, but Ian's quick uptake ("I like Shameen's analogy better"), contributes to foregrounding the embodied space and contributions of the boys. Ian faces both Shameen and Sid, serving as an outer perimeter point for an F-formation that encompasses Willie, Rod, and Trent. Other gestures and embodied positions contribute embodied texture and alignment within the boys' embodied space, including Rod patting Willie on the back (1.18).

An additional F-formation between Robert and Kareena is also taking shape, as Kareena defends Chelle and corrects Robert with "That's what she's sayin', Robert! That's just what she's sayin!" (1.18). As Robert rotates in his seat to face Kareena, this side-sequence is supported by embodied practice to take on a life of its own as a separate F-formation. While Robert initially engaged Chelle's discourse and destabilized the footing of the Constitution discussion, in the joint production of an emerging interaction he and Kareena shift their orientation from the public engagements of the classroom to produce what appears to be a topically related, but more private, social space.

Segment D: Positioning Women as Objects and Bystanders

Transcript of Segment D.

SEGMENT D

Chelle:	ƜƜ
11 Others:	**
Rod:	*YEAH, AND IF I GO BUY MY
Ian:	women's underwear—why do they get looked at funny?
Nicole:	
Anthony:	
Mike:	
Robert:	
Kareena:	
Notes:	*Facing forward, organizing cards and papers on desk while speaking.
	**Trent sitting upright in seat, shifting toward Rod.
	[1.42.5]

Chelle:	ƜƜ
Rod:	MAMA SOME <u>MAXIPADS</u>, WHAT'S UP, MAN?
Ian:	
Shameen:	Ye::ah, why do people look at us funny the::n?
13 Others:	
Sid:	*
Mike:	
Notes:	*Sid moves closer to Mike, leans over desk to talk with him. Anthony gets up and leaves room.
	[1.47.5]

Chelle:	☭☭
Rod:	O:::H, O:::H, YOU
Shameen:	Huh? If you saw a woman** on Winston Street like I saw Willie*** the other day.
14 Others:	*
Sid:	
Mike:	
Notes:	*Darrijah taking seat behind Shameen. **Points toward girls in back of room. [1.52.0] ***Points at Willie, same arm. [1.57.0]

Chelle:	☭☭
Rod:	KNOW WHAT I'M SAYIN? I SAW TRENT OVER THERE, YOU KNOW
Shameen:	
14 Others:	
Sid:	*
Mike:	
Notes:	*Sid backs off from Mike. Mike walks toward back of room and back again, stays standing.

Chelle:	☭☭
Rod:	WHAT I'M SAYIN, HE WAS IN THE CLUB!*
Trent:	Hey, I was only there doin' a
14 Others:	
Sid:	
Mike:	
Notes:	*Three up and down dancing movements in seat, elbows up and hands clenched near face, lifting out of seat. Faces Trent intermittently, continues moving cards on desk. [2.02.5]

Chelle:	☭☭
Rod:	
Trent:	report*, you know what I'm sayin, I was checkin' out*** how they—handle things
16 Others:	**
Notes:	*Putting left hand down on desk, thumb and pinky extended, emphasizing "report." **Willie looks back at Trent and smiles. ***Palm up, pans arm across class in direction of Rod and Shameen. [2.05.5]

SEGMENT E

Chelle:	☭☭☭☭☭☭☭☭☭☭☭☭☭☭☭☭☭☭☭☭☭☭☭☭☭ωωωωωωωωωωωωωωωωωωωω
Sid:	Alright, bring it back. The ah, the laws that
Rod:	No Trent.
Shameen:	That's the **truth**.
Trent:	over there.* ((laughing))***
14 Others:	**

Segment D: Narrating scenes.   To the Victoria's Secret scene, Rod adds the scene of buying Maxipads for his mother, presumably in a drug store or supermarket. This brief scene constructs again a relation of being both voyeur and the subject of voyeurism within a public space of consumption. An important transition at this point is that, unlike Shameen (who uses the generic term "men" to represent actors in his scene), Rod explicitly represents himself as an actor. This movement toward increased self-representation within illicit sexual spaces, as a joint production, is greatly increased in the Winston Street scenes (following). This shift is important for the positioning of the boys and copositioning of Chelle within the emerging scenes.

Items of consumption (first, "beltless underwear" and now Maxipads) objectify female bodies, body/objects that are repeatedly invoked at the center of the boys' discourse. Yet, while extending the dalliance into sexual taboo begun by Shameen, Rod's Maxipad example also produces a scene well outside of sexual engagement: a boy is helping his "mama" by going to the grocery store. That the narrated scene is more juvenile may contribute to the way in which Shameen, after quickly aligning with Rod (1.47.5), moves to pull Willie into the conversation and narrates the scene of Winston Street.

Winston Street is a location in the city of Kempton for clubs with dancing and lingerie shows, as well as for occasional prostitution. Winston street clubs are frequently advertised in Kempton by posters and in nonmainstream newspapers. Significantly, at this point the scenes produced by the boys become more specific places or locales, and become more proximal to the classroom setting both spatially and temporally (e.g., "the other day," 1.57). Furthermore, in their construction of the scene the boys populate it with themselves as principal and collective actors. The assertion of self-as-actor mirrors the gas station scene in form and may well be a responsive extension of the Maxipad scene.

With rising enthusiasm, Shameen's "Huh? If you saw a woman on Winston Street" constructs an imagined woman as sexually noteworthy, a construction worked out by associating a woman with the street, and also be responsively building this scene on the Victoria's Secret and Maxipad scenes. Significantly, Shameen equates the importance of seeing the woman with that of seeing Willie (1.57). Shameen represents himself watching Willie, and then Rod parallels this movement, watching Trent. The multiple and aligned positionings are highly complex. It seems reasonable to assume that Willie and others spotted as being on Winston Street (Trent, approximately 1.59) are positioned as participants in illicit activity. Another complementary reading is that the "spotters" (Shameen and Rod) are also indexing their own position within the illicit scene—one must be present on

Winston Street to spot copresent others. The narrated scene is produced as a cat and mouse game of imagined sightings and confessions (e.g., Trent, 2.02.5). Women are positioned as the object of the activity, but not as active participants; men watch men who are watching women.

Unlike the gas station scene, the Winston Street scene moves well away from the threat of the narrator being subjected to the critical gaze and judgement of those of another gender. Rather, the scene actually reverses the affect and argument of Chelle's gas station scene in three key ways. First, the male gaze (on both women and men) is practiced and celebrated rather than critiqued; second, women are further objectified as (sexualized) objects of this gaze; and third, voyeurs are positioned as actors of key interest rather than those on whom a gaze is fixed. The scene borrows or "rents" (e.g., Bakhtin, 1981a) some of these meanings from the local social and cultural situatedness of Winston Street, but also comes to have these meanings through its responsive relation to earlier scenes interactionally produced, including the ways in which the scene builds on the objectification of women and associates commerce, sexuality, and voyeurism.

Rod's identification of Trent "in the club" (2.02.5) is a development of the Winston Street Space, shifting from a possible outdoor representation to the premiere "club" on Winston street, "Tongue." Tongue hosts regular lingerie "fashion shows" and "fetish shows," attracting a younger and trendier audience than the Hot Pistol strip club for middle-aged men across town. Rod not only identifies Trent with "the club," he constructs his own identification with it by mimicking a dance while in his seat, clutching his hands near his face and moving up and down. The construction of copresence in an alternative, and illicit space demonstrates the coordination of discursive resources to construct, in a fleeting manner, a community within the discourse, as well as through discursive practices held-in-common (e.g., share register, tempo, volume, syntax, lexis).

Trent admits, as a continuation of the drama, that he was "in the club," but he was "only there doin' a report," (approximately 2.04), a move that laminates the social spaces of schooling and Tongue. Trent's remark seems to anticipate Sid's eventual return to the classroom time-space and the Constitution. It is as if Trent is preparing for Sid's respatialization by intentionally laminating schooling activity with the Winston Street scene. When Sid remarks "Alright, bring it back" (2.09.5), in some sense the interaction and social space is already moving "back." Finally, the responses of Shameen and Rod to Trent's account suggest something of the complex work jointly accomplished by the boys in constructing an alternate social space. Shameen's "That's the truth" (approximately 2.08) works to support the construction of the narrated drama as a truth-telling episode. Rod's overlapping "No Trent," on the other hand, seems a correction of Trent's shift back toward school scenes and associated identities.

Segment D: Producing embodied spaces.   The ongoing production and strengthening of the F-formation among the boys—a type of celebration of "the
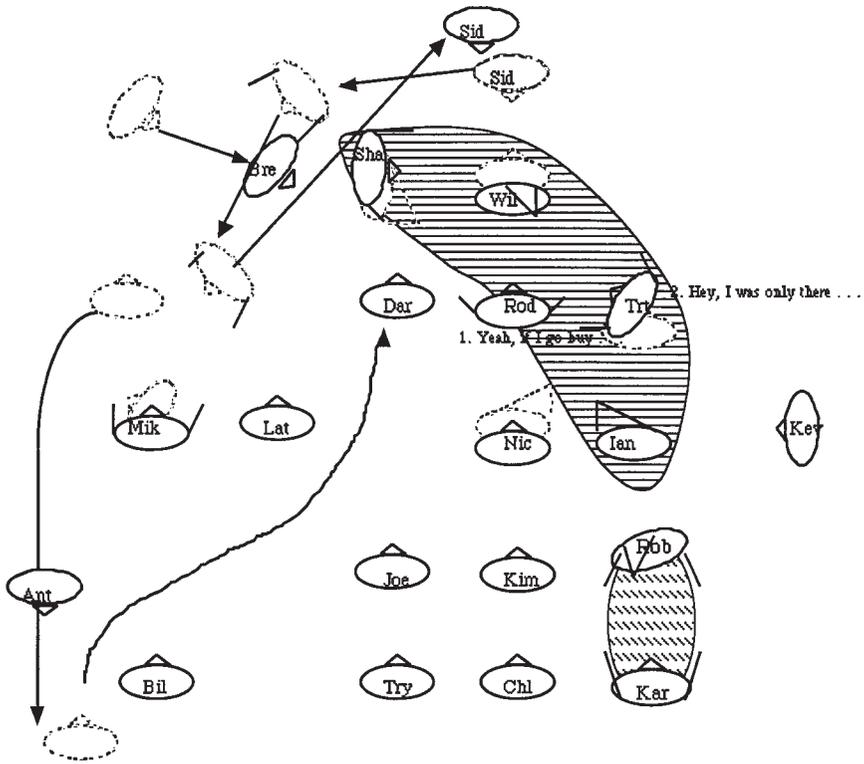
FIGURE 5   Map of Segment D.

zone"—is evident in gesture and movements within Segment D (Figure 5).
Shameen points at Willie (1.57), Rod dances in his seat (approximately 2.02.5),
(arm and head movements most readily visible appreciable by Shameen, Trent and
possibly Willie), and Trent pans his arm in the direction of Rod and Shameen (ap-
proximately 2.05.5). These movements create a hub of embodied activity that con-
structs this embodied space, along with the narrated scenes being developed, as a
primary locus for the boys and onlookers alike.

Yet, while the activity of the group of boys is a focal production, it is not a produc-
tion of embodied space that is separate from other embodied spaces. Shameen points
toward the group of "White girls" at the back of the room as he exclaims, "If you saw
a woman on Winston Street like I saw Willie the other day" (approximately 1.52.5).
As Shameen's pointing symbolically links Chelle and the girls around her to an un-
named "woman on Winston Street" it also forms an embodied linking between the
girls and the focal region produced by the boys. The gesture bids the girls' attention
around this production and thus positions them as actively attending to the focal re-

gion. Shameen's gesture is an important visual cue between the boys as ratified participants of the dominant encounter and the girls as bystanders, beyond this boundary. In Goffman's terms, this communication is a form of "crossplay" (Goffman, 1981, p. 134). The girls are not simply absenced from the focal embodied space produced by Shameen and other boys; rather, they have a double position. First, the girls are positioned, through the narrated scene, as passive and silent objects of voyeurism, as women walking on Winston Street or performing in the "club." Second, through Shameen's gesture they are indexed as silent (but involved) onlookers, positioned "beyond" the focal interaction while at the same time connected to it as an engaged audience. This complex set of positioning processes highlights how silencing functions not merely as straightforward coercion, in which one's opportunity to speak is simply closed off, but through the construction of one or more social spaces in which silenced positions serve meaningful purposes for the activity of nonsilenced participants. Here, the girls are silenced as active speakers when positioned as peripheral onlookers to the boys' performance, and silenced as speaking subjects when positioned as objects within a voyeuristic social space.

Segment E: Reproducing the Classroom Space

Transcript of Segment E.

> [2.09.5]
>> Sid: Alright, bring it back. The ah, the laws that guarantee women, at least legally, equal protection are (   )
>>   [
>> Ian: (All of this?)
>> Sid: the 19th Amendment [holding hand out to Shameen, fingers spread] guaranteed the right to vote, but the 14th, the 14th Amendment says that all people should have equal-protection-of-the-laws.
> [2.26.5]

Segment E: Narrating scenes.   Sid is the only speaker in Segment E, apart from a brief comment by Ian and some laughter by Trent. The discourse and participation structure of Segment E is remarkably like that of Segment A, with Sid as principal speaker, conducting a review of material, and evaluating Shameen's responses (e.g., approximately 2.2). The discourse brings back to the foreground the abstract space of the Constitution and its protection for women "at least legally," and moves away from the scenes of social life with which Chelle was attempting to challenge legal abstractions and through which the boys were challenging Chelle. While Sid often engages students' contributions at length, and is known by his students as using an exceptional amount of "open" discussion, on this occasion he is moving ahead in a test-review mode, as evidenced, for example, by the way in

which the segment is completed by Sid with the correct answer ("the 14th Amendment," 2.24) to the question he posed to the class at the outset of the interaction. Although Sid allowed the class to briefly consider Chelle's story and its uptake by the boys, in this transition it is clearly considered an aside to the activity of test review and Constitutional knowledge. In this manner, Sid's quick shift back to the Constitution can be interpreted as silencing both Chelle and the boys. A related, nuanced interpretation is that the boys use the institution as a resource to silence Chelle, by jointly creating conflicts with institutional norms through illicit narrated scenes, through embodied spaces contrasting with paradigmatic practices, and through carnivalesque interaction. That is, after Robert helps bring Chelle's narrative to the fore, interrupting the formal footing of the test review, the boys' jointly produced responses to the narrative produce a counterinstitutional social space and associated positions that eventually function to prompt institutional closure of their contributions as well as of Chelle's.

Segment E: Producing embodied spaces.   Figure 6 makes evident at least part of the dramatic shift with Sid's "Alright, bring it back." This directive to "bring it back" was commonly invoked by Sid in his teaching. This practice is fascinating in a number of ways, including how the students seemed to immediately recognize its appropriateness—"it" was somewhere else and could be "back," somehow more aligned with the typical business, topics, forms of interaction and time-spaces of classroom life. As Sid directs the students to "bring it back" he is "back" himself, having reassumed a position at the front and center of the class.[8] Brett, who seems to anticipate this return and Sid's reconstruction of a more traditional embodied classroom space, is already moving toward his seat and moves to a seating position as Sid gives the direction. Even more striking as a group coordination is the choreography that occurs across the F-formation among key participating boys just following Sid's directive. While difficult to represent this bodily "return," it can be partially described as a type of snapping back into position. Shameen shifts from a sideways position in his seat to a face-forward position, Willie turns his head back forward from its backward gaze, and Trent also rotates an eighth turn to reorient to the front of the class. As if to revisit and enjoy the alternative social space just one more time, only a few seconds later (approximately

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[8]Just after Segment 7 begins, Sid moves to the right side of the classroom and then forward, to interact with Mike about his upcoming presentation for the class. This movement is important for the ongoing production of social space in the class. The cross-pattern of F-formations described earlier (sketched by Sid to Chelle vertically, Trent to Shameen horizontally) has already faded away (Map B) while the embodied space becomes still further regionalized among the boys in Map C. Sid manages multiple social spaces in this classroom, and his temporary interaction with Mike, which pulls him briefly into a very different F-formation, is another instance of this management. This interaction also illustrates how being "in front" of a class does not describe one embodied space, but many possible productions.
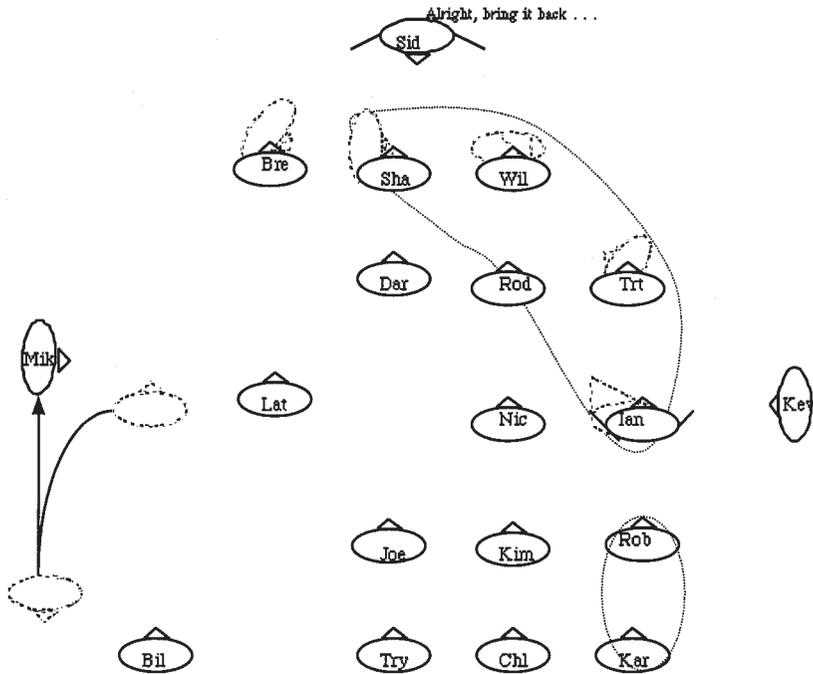
FIGURE 6   Map of Segment E.

2.11), Trent shifts in his seat momentarily back toward Rod once again, laughing briefly in Rod's direction as Sid presses on with "The ah, laws that guarantee women at least legally … "[10]

FURTHER DISCUSSION

Producing Social Space Dialogically With Narrated Scenes and Embodied Practices

The movement of the entire interaction and processes of silencing is shaped as a joint production and not determined in advance. While we might be able to predict

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[10]Kendon notes that a participant leaving a conversation will often take two to five steps away from the group, "as if, as he leaves the F-formation, he undertakes first to leave it, so the walking away is a *walking away*" (1990, p. 190). After such walking away, a participant may often give a backward glance in departure. Trent's embodied shifting toward Rod, laughter, and then shift back again toward the front appears to be such a "leaving" sequence, and as such also marks the presence of the F-formation formed by the boys as well as the typical classroom-based formation that Trent is helping to reproduce.

the expulsion of Chelle's critique that women lack equal rights, given historically gendered opposition to such discourse, on-the-ground silencing processes cannot be either described or predicted by this eventual result and are highly dialogic, multimodal, and improvisational. Moreover, to claim that Chelle's discourse concerning women's rights and her position as a speaking participant in the classroom were "expelled" is to underestimate the active reproduction of power relations across the course of the interaction. More accurately, Chelle as a speaker, and her discourse as an enunciated position, were actively "put in their place(s)" through the dynamic production of social spaces and articulations among these spaces. Rather than being put out of the interaction, Chelle was given a newly constructed home within it—a silenced position among its social spaces.

Across the flow of interaction, the analysis documents how narrated scenes are dialogically responsive to one another (Bakhtin, 1981a). As such scenes are jointly produced, they respond to scenes already in play and also anticipate scenes yet to be developed; the Winston Street scene, for example, builds on the Victoria's Secret Scene and also anticipates the scene of school work, to which it is brought "back." That scenes are constructed dialogically is important for considering how positions are relationally produced even over brief stretches of time. Such dialogicality is also evident in the ongoing production of embodied spaces, and articulated across embodied spaces and narrated scenes. For example, the F-formation of the boys, initiated in Segment B and shored up in Segment C, becomes a significant resource for their productions of the Victoria's Secret and Winston Street scenes, scenes that they then "act into" in embodied fashion (e.g., Rod dancing in his seat). Furthermore, as the focal, embodied space of the boys is produced, the earlier F-formation among Chelle and Sid shifts from an officially ratified space to a private formation at the back of the room, and eventually dissolves. While this parsing or regionalization (Giddens, 1984) is developed through scene construction and other discursive practices (e.g., volume, overlapping speech), the analysis suggests that embodied practices, in some sense, "lead" this separation of social space. The data suggest that bodies play an important role in leading this dialogic interplay, "crystallizing" (Harvey, 1996) or reifying (Wenger, 1998), if only briefly, social spaces in which narrated scenes and copresent interactants find an appropriate "fit." In interpretation, then, we might consider the utterances related to such embodied practices as "parakinesic," rather than considering the verbal modality to be focal and all other activity to be "paralinguistic."

Relating Simultaneous Social Spaces

The joint and dialogic construction of social spaces begins to suggest how positioning is not simply mapped "within" space, but relationally across spaces and among diverse resources used to produce social space (e.g., narrated scenes and embodied spaces). Moreover, this is the case whether multiple spaces are "embed-

ded" within others, or juxtaposed within a moment of interaction. This simulta-
neous or synchronic (Gutiérrez & Stone, 2000) dynamic of relating multiple social
spaces is critical for understanding silencing practices. Davies and Harré (1990)
offered a metaphor of multiple story lines "braided" within interaction (p. 50), and
Goffman's describes talk as "firmly standing on two feet," yet "jump[ing] up and
down on another" (1981, p. 155). In addition to these images, we might conceive of
interactants' positions as stretched across multiple social spaces—produced, ex-
panded, contradicted, collapsed and negotiated among the interactional geography
of a moment.

The analysis underscores how social spaces are simultaneously invoked and
juxtaposed so as to become coreferential, or meaningful for one another in the pro-
cesses of positioning. For instance, how does the woman of Shameen's Winston
Street scene become associated with an embodied Chelle in the classroom? A
mapping of embodied space helps address this question. When Shameen points to-
ward Chelle while stating "If you saw a woman on Winston Street … (1.52.5), he
effectively positions Chelle in his narrated scene as a silent, sexualized object.
Conversely, Shameen also overlays the narrated scene onto the present interaction.
Moreover, the gesture works to signal the relation of the (now silent) girls' embod-
ied space to the (now focal) boys' F-formation: the girls are alerted to actively, but
silently attend to the boys' focal activity. Thus, the gesture helps produce a referen-
tial relation not simply among individuals, but among divided embodied spaces
across the scene of interaction, demonstrating the relative positions of participant
spaces within the larger geography of possible participants. Such coordination of
simultaneous social spaces is evident at a number of points in the analysis, includ-
ing, for instance, the manner in which Ian, Shameen, and Rob pivot their bodies
and gaze between Chelle's more official F-formation with the teacher as they are
concurrently producing an F-formation among themselves. This multidirectional,
coreferential relationship among embodied spaces, narrated scenes, and this, un-
folding interaction is potentially richly productive for meaning-making, and
moves well beyond merely an additive or synthetic combination of social spaces or
resources used in its production.

Chelle's Positioning and Contradiction

In the political work of arguing for and imagining more equitable social spaces for
Chelle and the White girls, as well as for the discourse on women's rights advanced
by Chelle, the present analysis risks being overly two-dimensional. Despite read-
ing across multiple social spaces, these spaces are interpreted in the service of si-
lencing relations. Alternate readings, given more space and time and different pur-
poses in analysis, could be advanced which interpret, first, Chelle's agency in the
classroom—how she constructs the occasion as a "space of authoring" (Holland et
al., 1998)—and second, complex contradictions of Chelle's positions:

> A geographical imagination is emerging in feminism that, to indicate the complexity of the subject of feminism, articulates a "plurilocality." In this recognition of difference, two- dimensional social maps are inadequate. Instead, spaces structured over many dimensions are necessary; what Haraway has described as a "geometrics of difference and contradiction." (Rose, 1993, p. 151)

Chelle's opening "Mr. Bartoli, I have a question" can be interpreted as a remapping of social space by Chelle. Her remapping shifts the space of interaction from a male- dominated "boys' club" at the front of the room to a scene of her and her friends, who have significant agency, but at the same time, paradoxically, are under the gaze of men. Moreover, across the interaction Chelle creates a kind of borderland, a back/front space, where a back region (Giddens, 1984; Goffman, 1981) is produced, which becomes a dominant ground for the following discourse. Her opening is a deliberate move to reconfigure or remap the institutional classroom interaction with explicitly gendered space(s), spaces that provide openings for the scenes and positions constructed by the boys. The boy's development of these spaces, with respect to the overall direction of the conversation, can then be interpreted as a form of collusion with Chelle, even while they are paradoxically silencing her. Such an interpretation only begins to suggest some of the paradoxes of Chelle's and others positions within the interaction. It also could be developed as an extension of the interpretive process taken previously: like all spaces, a silenced space is not monolithic and unitary, but rather articulated with multiple other possible and actual positionings.

CONCLUSIONS

To understand silencing we need a fully social view of interaction that permits us an understanding of how power/discourse relations are socially produced and involve complex and distributed relations. In this article I have advanced one social perspective on silencing, arguing that silencing involves not simply expelling speakers or coercively closing down discourses, but producing, dividing, and articulating multiple social spaces so as to produce silenced positions. Following an interaction among "Chelle" and a group of boys in a high school classroom, the analysis traces how silencing processes are joint, dialogic achievements, in which social-space producing processes such as scene narration and embodied coordinations are dialogically constructed. Moreover, positions among different scenes and embodied spaces are simultaneously coordinated, such that a silenced position may be understood as "stretched across" the multiple social spaces of a given moment. Alternatively stated, silencing may be understood as the coordination of multiple positions in the development of power relations or hegemony. Such is evident in the case of Chelle, as she is positioned both as a sexualized ob-

ject *within* the narrated scenes being developed by the boys, and simultaneously as an active observer *beyond* their focal interaction.

This study also moves toward a more nuanced interpretation of silencing processes through the development of alternative means of representing and analyzing interaction. Standard transcription modes that do not represent nonspeaking participants, which may lead to confusing the silenced, the silent, and the altogether absent, are disrupted with an alternate forms of transcription in an effort toward theory-building (Ochs, 1979). Chelle is not simply a nonparticipant in class; rather, across the course of the interaction her status develops from that of silent participation (ω), to speaking participation, to speaking while being silenced ($\otimes$), to silent participation while being silenced (ϖ), and, recursively, to silent participation (ω). This detailed interpretation of Chelle's participation status through the transcript argues for an understanding of Chelle and her discourse as not passive or shut out from the interaction, but as confronting processes that reproduce her as having an actively silent position. Embodied spaces are also mapped, not as a definitive reading, but rather as a richly textured account of silencing across the discursive and material dimensions of social life. Despite the limitations and flattening through translation into two-dimensional texts, the production of embodied spaces is advanced as worthy of further analysis in silencing processes. Further analysis of silencing needs to consider both the possibilities and limits of analysis and its inextricable link to transcription. Such problems are important not only for research, but direct us back to processes used by participants themselves: "the mapping problem … is not only an analytical problem; it is also a participants' problem, to which there are creative, if evanescent, solutions" (Irvine, 1996, p. 136).

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