Mapping literacy spaces in motion: A rhizomatic analysis of a classroom literacy performance

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Student presentations are a routine practice in many literacy classrooms and are often motivated by larger pedagogical approaches (e.g., writing or reading workshop). In these literacy events, students share their interpretations of texts, read original writings, display posters and artifacts, act out skits, make evident their completion of course work, and perform a broad range of identities (Lensmire, 1994; Wilhelm & Edmiston, 1998; Wagner, 1998). The audiences of these student presentations also engage in a number of social practices, including making backchannel remarks, asking questions, filling out evaluations, laughing, shifting in their seats, yawning, napping, and clapping. For audience members and presenters alike, student presentations do not consist of simply talk, or print texts, but are rather multimediated and constituted through relations of talk, structured and rearranged room spaces, movements and organizations of bodies, and often print text, images, and video clips.

Moreover, when students present or perform their work, they offer audience members diverse literate practices and identities. Performances position audience members with unique modes of address (Ellsworth, 1997); performances offer particular genres of interaction, particular forms of embodied engagement, and particular kinds of access to texts and textual interpretation. Audience members anticipate different performer identities and practices, they respond to the modes of address used by performers, and they also engage in strikingly different literacy practices as they shift orientations from one performance to another. Thus, even a cursory review of some of the complexities of student presentations reveals that they are composed of diverse types of texts, objects, and bodies and that power and meaning within them are stretched across diverse media, performers, and audience members. Whereas student presentations in literacy classrooms have been an ongoing focus of interest since some of the earliest systematic work on classroom

In many literacy classrooms, students engage in public performances in which they use various texts, movements of their bodies, and verbal interactions. How do we interpret such events? In this article, we critique a representational mode of interpretation and describe an alternate mode. We argue that literacy performances are often about creating differences, including differences in the moving, shifting relations of semiotic resources and differences in the performed identities of participants. Such differences—effects and affective intensities—are lost or overly stabilized within conventional interpretations, which focus on asking how meanings are represented, organized, and produced in performances. Conventionally, the texts of performances (e.g., print, images, speech) are imagined to signify (or re-present) a world that lies behind them. The task of interpretation is approached as reading for meaning. In this mode, we conceive of performances as primarily communicational or informational. Alternatively, using rhizomatic analysis, we follow the emergence of relations and differences by mapping performance-in-motion. We discuss how rhizomatic analysis shifts attention away from fixed meanings and toward action and the new "becomings" that are an important part of literacy performances. Data are drawn from an ethnographic study of interactions in a socially, culturally, and racially diverse high school American Studies classroom.

En las actividades de alfabetización en el aula los estudiantes tienen un desempeño público en el que usan diversos textos, movimientos corporales e interacciones verbales. ¿De qué modo interpretamos esos eventos? En este artículo presentamos la crítica de un modo de interpretación representacional y describimos un modo alternativo. Argumentamos que el desempeño en alfabetización a menudo crea diferencias, incluyendo diferencias en los movimientos, cambios en las relaciones de los recursos semióticos y diferencias en las identidades desempeñadas por los participantes. Dichas diferencias, efectos e intensidades afectivas se pierden o quedan fijadas en el marco de las interpretaciones convencionales, que se centran en la cuestión sobre cómo se representan, organizan y producen los significados durante el desempeño. Desde una perspectiva convencional, se supone que los textos producidos (escritura, imágenes, habla) significan, o re-presentan, un mundo subyacente. La tarea interpretativa se aborda en términos de leer para obtener significado. Desde la presente perspectiva, concebimos el desempeño como básicamente comunicacional o informativo. Usando un análisis rizomático, observamos el surgimiento de relaciones y diferencias al representar el desempeño en movimiento. Discutimos cómo el análisis rizomático desvía la atención desde los significados fijos hacia la acción y las "transformaciones" que son parte importante del desempeño en alfabetización. Los datos se obtuvieron de un estudio etnográfico de interacciones en un aula de Estudios Americanos de una escuela media con diversidad social, cultural y racial.

In vielen Schreib- und Leseunterrichtsräumen sind die Schüler mit öffentlichen Aufführungen beschäftigt, in denen sie unterschiedliche Texte, Körperbewegungen und verbales Zusammenwirken verwenden. Wie interpretieren wir solche Vorgänge? In dieser Abhandlung beschreiben wir einen repräsentativ-rationalen Modus der Interpretation und beschreiben einen alternativen Modus. Wir argumentieren, dass Schreib- und Leseleistungen oft im Kreieren von Unterschieden bestehen, einschließlich der Bewegungsunterschiede, Relationsverschiebungen von semiotischen Ressourcen und Differenzen in den dargestellten Identitäten der Teilnehmer. Solche Unterschiede—Effekte und affektive Intensitäten—gehen verloren oder werden innerhalb konventionaler Interpretationen überzogen festgelegt, die darauf ausgerichtet sind, danach zu fragen, wie Auslegungen und Deutungen in den Aufführungen repräsentiert, organisiert und produziert werden. Konventionell gilt, dass die Texte der Aufführungen (d.h. Druck, Bilder und Sprache) erdacht werden, um eine Welt zu deuten (oder zu repräsentieren), die bereits vergangen und hinter ihnen liegt. Die Aufgabe der Interpretation wird als Lesen zur Sinnerfassung angegangen. In diesem Modus begreifen wir Aufführungen als primär kommunikativ oder informativ. Alternativ, durch Anwendung der rhizomatischen Analyse, folgen wir der Schaffung von Beziehungen und Differenzen beim Aufzeichnen von Aufführungen-in-Motion. Wir diskutieren wie die rhizomatische Analyse die Aufmerksamkeit ablenkt, weg von festgelegten Auffassungen und hin zur Aktion und den neuen "Entstehungen", die ein wichtiger Teil der Schreib- und Lesedarstellung sind. Daten werden aus einer ethnographischen Studie über Interaktionen in einem sozial, kulturell und ethnisch diversifizierten Klassenraum für American Studies in einer Oberschule abgeleitet.

ABSTRACTS

Mapping literacy spaces in motion: A rhizomatic analysis of a classroom literacy performance

Representando los espacios de alfabetización en movimiento: Un análisis rizomático del desempeño en alfabetización en un aula

Aufzeichnen von Schreib- und Leseräumen in Motion : Eine rhizomatische Analyse der Schreib- und Leseleistung im Klassenraum

活動するリテラシー空間の位置づけ：教室におけるリテラシーパフォーマンスのリゾーム的分析

多くのリテラシーの教室において、生徒達は、様々なテクストや身体の動き、言葉による相互行為を使用する公的パフォーマンスに従事する。私達は、どのようにそうした事象を解釈するのであろうか。本稿では、解釈の表現形態を批評し、代わりとなる形態を描写する。筆者等は、リテラシーパフォーマンスとは、しばしば、記号的リソースが持つ、活動し変化している関係における差異や参加者達の演じられたアイデンティティーにおける差異を含む差異を創造することであると議論する。そのような差異（効果と情意的度合）は、慣習的な解釈内では、失われるか過度に固定化するが、それらは、意味がパフォーマンスにおいてどのように表現され、構成され、生成されるのかを問うことに焦点を当てている。慣習的に、パフォーマンスのテクスト（活字、イメージ、スピーチ等）は、それらの背後にある世界を意味する（或は、表す）と考えられている。解釈の課題は、意味のためのリーディングとして取り組まれる。この形態において、私達は、パフォーマンスを主に伝達的或は情報的なものと捉える。代わりに、リゾーム的分析を用い、活動中のパフォーマンスを位置づけることによって、関係や差異の発生をたどる。リゾーム的分析が、どのように固定された意味から注意をそらし、どのように行為やリテラシーパフォーマンスの重要な一部である新しい『生成』へと注意を向けるのかを議論する。データは、社会的、文化的、そして人種的に多様な高等学校のアメリカ研究の教室における相互行為の民族学的研究で収集されたものである。

Faire la carte des espaces littéraires en mouvement : une analyse rhizomatique de représentations en classe de lecture-écriutre

Dans beaucoup de classes de lecture-écriture, les élèves effectuent des représentations publiques dans lesquelles ils utilisent des textes divers, des mouvements du corps, et des interactions verbales. Comment interprétons-nous ces représentations ? Dans cet article, nous faisons la critique d'un certain mode d'interprétation représentationnel et proposons un autre mode. Nous soutenons que les représentations littéraires portent souvent sur la production de différences, y inclus des différences dans les relations mobiles, changeantes des ressources sémiotiques et des différences relatives aux identités représentées des participants. Ces différences - effets et intensités affectives - sont perdues ou recouvertes par les interprétations conventionnelles qui sont centrées sur la question de savoir comment les significations sont représentées, organisées et produites au cours de la représentation. De façon conventionnelle, on considère que les textes d'un spectacle (par exemple, l'écrit, les images, la parole) signifient (ou représentent) un monde qui se cache derrière eux. Le travail d'interprétation est alors de lire pour comprendre. Suivant ce mode, le spectacle est conçu avant tout comme communication ou information. De façon alternative, en utilisant une analyse rhizomatique, nous suivons l'émergence de relations et de différences en faisant la carte de la représentation-en-mouvement. La question est de savoir comment l'analyse rhizomatique déplace l'attention des significations fixées pour la tourner vers l'action et les nouveaux « devenants » qui sont une partie importante des spectacles littéraires. Les données proviennent d'une étude ethnographique des interactions dans une classe d'études américaines dans un lycée où les élèves sont divers sur le plan social, culturel et racial.

Пространство и динамика грамотности: ризоматический анализ развития грамотности

На уроках по развитию грамотности ученики совершают много "публичных" действий: читают вслух различные тексты, двигаются, разговаривают. Как мы трактуем эти действия? В данной статье мы критикуем традиционный и описываем альтернативный способ их интерпретации. Мы утверждаем, что становление грамотности часто связано с возникновением и изменением у детей различных представлений и отношений – к движениям, к семиотическим ресурсам, к проявлениям самоидентификации. Такие различия – их результат и эмоциональный накал -- остаются либо за пределами традиционных интерпретаций, либо трактуются излишне структурировано и статично, поскольку интерпретация сводится исключительно к пониманию, организации и передаче смысла. Предполагается, что вербальные и невербальные продукты действий (например, набранный текст, рисунок, речь) обозначают или отображают реальный мир. Таким образом, целью интерпретации становится воссоздание смысла через трактовку этих продуктов. В этом случае, мы подходим к проявлениям грамотности только с коммуникационной или информационной точки зрения. Если же использовать ризоматический анализ и динамическую схему, мы можем проследить сам момент возникновения отношений и различий и их изменения. В статье описано, как ризоматический анализ переносит акцент с раз и навсегда фиксированных смыслов на действия и "превращения личности", которые являются важной частью становления грамотности. Данные получены из этнографического исследования взаимодействия старшеклассников на уроках американской истории и культуры в социально, культурно и национально разнообразном школьном сообществе.

discourse (e.g., Cochran-Smith, 1984; Mehan, 1979; Michaels, 1981), we open with the assumption that we have much yet to understand about them.

Consider the following excerpt from a group presentation on Upton Sinclair's novel *The Jungle* in a high school American Studies classroom. The presenters (all names are pseudonyms) are indicating parts of a poster mounted behind them and are interacting with their audience:

Terrayel:	Uh, uh, we drew the, uh, the feet in the jar because, and the finger, because, uh, when the workers worked, there was some type of, the pickle juice. Had some type of acid in it. And it like, messed up they feet, or disintegrated, and it went into the food, and everythang, so we made that.
Willie:	So it was possible that you might find a <u>toe</u> or sumthin' in your ham.
Audience member 1:	Ugh!
Willie:	Or somewhere in your [*large grin as the audience laughs*]. //That was possible.//
Shameen:	//PICKLED PIG FEET, YOU//, WANT THE PIG FEET? [*audience laughs*]
Audience member 2:	( ) on my <u>toes</u>.

How might we interpret literacy performances such as this? A conventional reading of the performance might analyze how meanings are contained, indexed, and related by different bits of the interaction. Through this representational sense-making enterprise, we might analyze how the meanings offered by the poster images and print text relate to the meanings of *The Jungle*. Such analyses, focused on what particular texts represent and how representations are structured and coordinated, can be richly informative. Yet this type of conventional, representational logic can also miss much of how a performance creates effects for performers and audience members. Is the activity of Terrayel, Willie, Shameen, and the audience mostly interpretive work? If not, what kind of activity is it? What are the participants making through this event? How might we engage with the performance as researchers and educators?

Over the course of two years, we and our research assistants in the Talking Spaces Project discussed video segments from two large data sets of classroom literacy practices, including performances of various types. We have reviewed literature and explored a number of methods for representing segments of classroom interaction. One key interpretive problem that we have focused on is, broadly stated, the problem of multimodalities and the body. For instance, in the segment above, Terrayel and his partners have used linguistic text but also cartoon-like images to represent their interpretations of *The Jungle* (e.g., feet and a finger in a jar). Terrayel and the others point to these words and images and pass their hands over them. They also use their bodies in other ways, including exchanging knowing glances with audience members. A second key interpretive problem we have been concerned with involves different practices of identity. What identities is Willie making possible, for example, by claiming it was possible to "find a <u>toe</u> or sumthin' in your ham," or is Shameen making possible by calling out to the audience "WANT THE PIG FEET?" How are the subjectivities taken up by the presenters in the course of this performance related to practices of identity with longer histories, including race, class, and gender identities?

Whereas multimodality student identity practices and embodied features of classroom events present theoretical and methodological challenges for research, they also offer important cues for understanding the kinds of textual interpretations students are making, the kinds of texts they are producing, and links between student identities and engagement with literacy. Hence, these are compelling and enduring problems for literacy research and practice. Yet a significant difficulty that we have encountered in attempting to interpret literacy performances is that our interpretations fail to bring to life the experience of performances as embodied, rapidly moving, affectively charged, evolving acts that often escape prediction and structure. Even as the field develops more robust ways of representing relations between multimodal texts and bodies (Kress, Jewitt, Bourne, & Franks, 2005; Leander, 2002; Scollon & Scollon, 2003), and even as we build from theorists who have developed rich means of understanding social interaction as emergent, dynamic, and dialogic (Bakhtin, 1981; Goffman, 1981; Hanks, 1992; Scollon & Scollon), literacy performances in and out of the classroom often seem to escape our abilities to understand them. This gap may be described as the problem of representation itself. At best, our methods of transcription freeze continuous streams of action as moments in time and space. As a result, they seem more fixed and more structured than the lived-through experience of participants would suggest. Whereas our interpretations—sets of captured meanings—have some resonance for the participants, they fall short of describing the performance as an event.

Thus, a first stance that we might take on the problem of representation is that research representations only partially and inadequately capture the vibrant life and dynamism of performances. This is a

familiar position and problem within qualitative inquiry. From within this position, we recognize the contradictions inherent to our present project because we use verbal and visual representations, and reductive ones at that, to argue for the inadequacy of representation itself. Within this position, we cannot escape this contradiction but only assert that we are working to build a method for the analysis of literacy performances that moves beyond conventional representational means in important ways, even while making evident current distances between theory and method.

Yet a second stance, or movement, that we wish to engage more directly is that we are pushing toward a different kind of work than representational qualitative inquiry as it is conventionally conceived. From within this position, we are less concerned about the relative adequacy or inadequacy of representations and more directly invested in deconstructing the logic of representation as a means to understand literacy performances. From this stance, the problem we encounter is not merely that representations are inadequate or partial, but that performances themselves are not merely or even primarily representational, even though we often treat them as such. In parallel, representational logic is a limited means to conceive of our own research and writing practices. We call into question representational logic as a foundational concept of conventional qualitative inquiry, following the work of a number of others who have deconstructed other received concepts, including data (St. Pierre, 1997), validity (Lather, 1993), interviewing (Scheurich, 1995), experience (Scott, 1991), and research writing as a means of representation (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005). Whereas these researchers have not entirely rejected conventional concepts as they have been previously defined, in their dissatisfaction they have examined how the concepts affect people and knowledge production, and have attempted to reimagine and expand these concepts (Richardson & St. Pierre). Following these critiques, we do not reject representations (or our use of them) but rather consider and critique the effects that representational logic has on understanding *difference* as it is produced through literacy performances. In thinking through student performances and our own performance of research, we push away from the well-worn grooves of representational logic as we attempt to pursue new connections and invite our own audience to extend them further.

Representational logic has shaped how we analyze classroom events and what we understand them to be producing. Through representational logic, we tend to see performances as primarily communicational or informational, as vehicles for messages

among speakers and audiences. The texts of performances (e.g., print, images, speech), primarily function to signify (or represent) a world that lies behind them. Student actors and audiences produce recognition and order in their interactions, and researchers, in their work, contribute their own recognitions and order. Our own tendency, when working from a representational perspective, has been to interpret student performances as rooted in relatively stable "frames" (Goffman, 1974) for meaning and interaction. For example, in other work we have interpreted students' performances as involving shifts between established frames for school presentations and for "fooling around" with peers (Rowe & Leander, in press).

Whereas representational analyses remain helpful in many ways, we also recognize that the logic underlying them predicts stability and defines diversity as something surprising or unexpected—a "break" in the frame. Representational logic overemphasizes stability, structure, and repetition and underemphasizes the change, diversity, and innovation that are part of literacy in use. The movements among language, images, bodies, and other actors in literacy performances are creative, innovative, and affective, producing the subjectivities of performers and audience members rather than merely signifying them. Our goal in this article is to explore theoretical perspectives and develop methodological techniques that allow us to recover the performative in literacy performances. To this end, we explore a nonrepresentational logic that carries with it the assumption that literacy in use necessarily involves students generating new ways of connecting texts, modalities, and performed identities. Drawing primarily upon the work of Deleuze and Guattari (1987) and their philosophy of rhizomatic analysis (or rhizoanalysis), in this article we analyze a single literacy performance in a secondary school classroom, including the segment previously introduced.

We argue, first, that rhizoanalysis permits us to understand literacy performances in ways that more fully engage their **affective intensities**, the relationships they build, and the ways in which they create unpredictable movements of texts and identities. This approach challenges representational logic, which has dominated much of our (own) thinking in researching literacy classrooms, by examining the myriad and dynamic relations among texts, modalities, and bodies. In other terms, rhizoanalysis recasts the problems of multimodality and the body as elements of a more general problem of connectivity, including the stabilizing and destabilizing effects that particular connections have. Similarly, rhizoanalysis reworks the problem of identity to focus on "becom-

FIGURE 1
GLOSSARY

Affect or affective intensities
Affect may be described as the change that happens when bodies come into contact. Affective intensities are the forces between bodies through their contact or collision rather than an expression of their qualities as things. "In its largest sense, affect is part of the Deleuzian project of trying-to-understand, and comprehend, and express all of the incredible, wondrous, tragic, painful and destructive configurations of things and bodies and temporally mediated, continuous events" (Colman, 2005a, p. 11).

Assemblage
Social configurations or organizations of the bits of social life. Smaller assemblages may be organized into larger ones, including social institutions such as "motherhood" or "the family" (Colebrook, 2002, p. 82). Whereas assemblages may seem to be foundational, Deleuze and Guattari (1987) push us to consider a state prior to their emergence and to consider how alternate subjects and forms of social life could have emerged or yet could be actualized.

Deterritorialization
To deterritorialize is to "free up the fixed relations that contain a body all the while exposing it to new organizations." Deterritorialization is a "movement producing change" (Parr, 2005, p. 67).

Immanence
In Deleuze's thought, a consideration of immanence serves as an important critique of transcendence. Williams (2005) characterized this distinction in terms of how relations are conceived. Transcendent relations are conceived as those "to" something (e.g., from body to mind, or from created substance to God). Immanent relations, however, are relations "in" something, favoring connections over separations, and describing a process that brings differentiating and identifying processes together. Thinking "the plane of immanence" is an antifoundational critique that conceives of how transcendent foundations themselves were produced through differences, separations, and distributions (Colebrook, 2002, p. 77).

Rhizome
"The rhizome is any network of things brought into contact with one another, functioning as an assemblage machine for new affects, new concepts, new bodies, new thoughts; the rhizomatic network is a mapping of the forces that move and/or immobilize bodies" (Colman, 2005b, p. 232). Rhizomes have no hierarchical order.

Line of flight
"A path of mutation" created or put into motion when connections among bodies are actualized that were previously only implicit or "virtual." Actualizing these connections "releases new powers in the capacities of those bodies to act and respond" (Lorraine, 2005, p. 145).

Line of segmentarity
A line that forms a hierarchical system of segments and binaries. Such entities are "well defined, often massive, and are affiliated with a governing apparatus" (Conley, 2005, p. 172). Also called a "molar line."

Possible (realization of the)
A dominant mode of Western thought, where the actual world already contains all of the possibilities of things that might happen in the future. Possibility is not a power in its own right (Colebrook, 2002). When the possible is realized, the distance closes between a preconceived set of outcomes and a present state of affairs.

Reterritorialization
Reestablishing a territory. However, reterritorialization is a complex process in that it is always bound up with deterritorialization. Deterritorialized elements recombine and enter into new relations. One such reterritorializing movement is "conjunction," where the flows of elements stop one another, or bring them "under the dominance of a single flow capable of overcoding them" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 220).

Virtual (actualization of the)
The capacity of life to produce difference, and thus go beyond its already given forms. "Genes, for example, actualize themselves in distinct bodies but also harness powers for further mutation and becoming beyond the body which expresses them" (Colebrook, 2002, pp. 96–97).

ings," or creative and affective movements that cannot be predicted by available types and resources. Thus, our first and primary purpose in engaging rhizoanalysis is to offer a means of tracing and valuing the multiple connections and novel becomings produced by literacy performances, in the absence of which performances may appear as stable texts to be decoded (see Figure 1).

Our second (and secondary) purpose in this article is to argue that literacy performances afford rich opportunities for student learning and interaction. Because of the myriad relations they afford and their enactments of embodied affect, performances of various types are not merely another form of traditional print literacy practice but offer new possibilities for literacy teaching and learning. For this argument, we consider rhizoanalysis less as a means of interpretation and more as a philosophy of developing pedagogy.

Prior to introducing our rhizoanalysis of the focal interaction, in the following we discuss how Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) theory enables us to reconceive of literacy performances. Because our intent is not merely to lay out theory and claim it as an established framework for a single interpretation, but rather to read across theory and data as a "plane" toward a new mode of interpreting and engaging with performances, the following discussion is somewhat extended.

Theory

We draw on the work of Deleuze and Guattari (1987) as a means of mapping or "animating" (Slack, 2003; Stivale, 1998) our data. By "animating" we intend to indicate a way of taking up the complex and varied work of Deleuze and Guattari that responds to it—a way of "bending their work to [our] own project" while at the same time allowing our work to be "reoriented" by theirs (Grossberg, 2003, p. 3). As it would be contrary to the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari to somehow apply their work as a "framework" for our own, we instead are moved by their ideas, which spark our thinking in new directions. We begin with an overview of rhizoanalysis as a nonrepresentational approach and then discuss two closely related constructs used in our analysis: the rhizome and the assemblage. Throughout this discussion, we attempt to relate and recast the issues of multimodality, the body, identity, affect, and space–time.

First, however, it is important to acknowledge that the work of Deleuze and Guattari (1987) has historical connections to other bodies of work and that such connections are continuing to be developed. Actor network theory (ANT), for example, which is only recently being taken up in literacy studies (Brandt & Clinton, 2002; Clarke, 2002; Hamilton, 2001; Leander & Lovvorn, in press), may be considered as a sociological cousin to rhizoanalysis (Thrift & Dewsbury, 2000). Another important theoretical and historical relationship is work in complexity science (e.g., Capra, 2002; Davis, 2004). Whereas the emphases are somewhat different, a number of concepts within complexity science clearly resonate with concepts in rhizoanalysis, including the self-organization and adaptation of systems, the non-linearity of dynamic interactions, the importance of embodiment, and the surprises highlighted when emergence is taken seriously (see Complexity and Education, www.complexityandeducation.ca). Through the multiplicity of relationships within a single system (e.g., a classroom) and between systems, new possibilities unfold in an "endless dance of co-emergence" (Waldorp, 1992, p. 12). In literacy studies, complexity science is beginning to be taken up in diverse ways, including Nelson's (2004) study of how learning networks were used by ESL students in learning to write, and Yaden's (2004) nonlinear analysis of parent and child home storybook reading through state space reconstruction.

Overview of rhizoanalysis as a nonrepresentational approach

We read Deleuze and Guattari (1987) as a critique of representational logic and related approaches that dominate literacy studies. Representational logic may prompt us to ask the following kinds of questions about the performance excerpted in the introduction:

> What do the images on the poster mean?
> What did Shameen mean by "PICKLED PIG FEET"?
> What is the organizing center of this event?
> What are the generic features of this event?
> How is Terrayel's identity (e.g., as an African American, a male, a student) evident in this interaction?

Whereas these questions could be approached in more or less representational ways, our point in listing them is to give some sense of how representational logic is organized around principles of recognizing and identifying meanings, stabilizing the event and its focus, and repetitions of different sorts (e.g., genres and identities). Deleuze names four criteria of representation: identity, resemblance, analogy, and opposition (Deleuze, 1968/1994; Roy, 2003). Clearly, all of these criteria are modes of thought that are valued in literacy classrooms; identifying canonical texts, for example, or producing writing from models are important staples of modernist literacy practices. They are also important staples of literacy research.

In contrast, a rhizoanalytic approach, as informed by Deleuze and Guattari (1987), involves asking different kinds of questions and engaging in a different mode of thought regarding literacy performances. This mode of thought may be described as moving from identifying what is present or *contained* within an interaction to analyzing the interaction as a process of *producing difference.* The analysis of meaning is not rejected but is rather put in its place (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005). In other terms, this shift may be characterized as moving from a problem of *representation* to a problem of *space and movement* (Thrift & Dewsbury, 2000, p. 418). As a nonrepresentational approach (see also Deleuze, 1968/1994; Dewsbury, 2000; Rajchman, 2000), rhizoanalysis sees everyday life as "chiefly concerned with the on-going creation of effects" (Thrift & Dewsbury, p. 415). Analysis, then, shifts from concerns about meaning, as if the poster itself or the statements made by the performers contain meanings, to questions of production: What effects (and **affective intensities**) are being produced through the relations of these images

to other actors in the performance? Somewhat akin to a speech act analysis (Austin, 1955), rhizoanalysis considers the effects of the performance as a set of unfolding acts. Rhizoanalysis transforms our focus on the interaction as a stable "text" to be "read" and interprets it as a constantly moving configuration that is ripe with potential for divergent movements. The performance has no organizing center, frame, single meaning, or static pivot, but rather evolves and splinters in multiple directions, as do the identities of performers participating within it. From this theoretical vantage point, we ask new kinds of questions about the student performances:

> What dynamic relationships of bodies, texts, objects, and spaces are being formed as the performance unfolds?
>
> What effects do these dynamic relationships have on the performers and audience members?
>
> Where does this performance appear to be moving—how and when does it escape from repeated forms or the expected?
>
> Who are Terrayel and the other performers becoming through the unfolding of the performance, its relationships, and its effects?

These questions extend the previous list and its possibilities for interpretation. These extensions are not merely theoretically important but also important for the practical responses that educational researchers and teachers might develop. The questions highlight heterogeneous relationships over isolated texts, the effects of the performance in action over a single "message" or meaning, dynamic and unexpected movements over structure, and becoming over identification.

The critique of representational logic is evident throughout Deleuze (e.g., 1968/1994) and Deleuze and Guattari (1987). Whereas Deleuze associates representational logic with being, with bounded unities, and with binaries (e.g., human/nonhuman), he associates nonrepresentation, including rhizomatic relations, with difference and *becoming*:

> Representation fails to capture the affirmed world of difference.... It mediates everything, but mobilises and moves nothing. Movement for its part, implies a plurality of centres, a superimposition of points of perspectives, a tangle of points of view, a coexistence of moments which essentially distort representation. (Deleuze, 1968/1994, p. 56)

The assertion of a "plurality of centres" is important to our use of nonrepresentational theory, as it pushes us beyond a reading of the world where subjects are predefined and given preeminence among objects. Rather, subjects and objects are performed relations; if you take certain objects away from the event (e.g., texts, props, bodies, audience members) the event changes and the notion of the subject changes as well (Dewsbury, 2000). There is not the world first, and then language that represents it; rather, from Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) perspective on the **immanence** of social life, the world of objects, persons, and language are on the same plane—all are signs that interact and form new relations. This perspective does not privilege human subjects or language in relation to other social and natural phenomena that participate in the ongoing semiosis of life, including genetic codes, the stomach decomposing and "analyzing" nutrients, or a computer "chewing through data" (Colebrook, 2002, p. 107). Rather, humans and language are part of, and not transcendent to, a dynamic world that is always signifying and producing codes.

Rhizoanalysis, as an analytic process, calls attention to the ways in which performances function for the generation of difference, including differences among texts and modalities and differences among performed identities. In this manner, rhizoanalysis pushes us to emphasize the unexpected—the surprises produced in multimodal and multispatial relationships. Such surprises are not as well captured by representational systems that risk overly taming performances (i.e., as fully readable texts), or interpreting surprises as exceptions (i.e., as "breaks" in frame, Goffman, 1974). In this article, we provide a partial mapping of the innumerable connections across elements in one focal performance with the goal of sketching how performances produce complexly configured and layered identity spaces.

The rhizome

The **rhizome** and the **assemblage**, described in the following two sections, are different expressions of relations shaped by lines of desire, multiplicity, and creation (Goodchild, 1996). The rhizome is not an end in itself for Deleuze and Guattari (1987) but rather functions in their creation of a philosophy of immanent relations, or, in other terms, an approach to the active potentials of performances to create something new and unpredictable.

In nature, rhizomatic (root-like) relations are seen in crabgrass, tubers, mosses, and "when rats swarm over each other" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, pp. 6-7). Rhizomes spread in every direction and are contrasted to arborescent (tree-like) hierarchical relations. Deleuze and Guattari described six principles by which rhizomes function (Hagood, 2004; Kamberelis, 2004); we briefly consider four: connection, heterogeneity, multiplicity, and asignifying ruptures.

Two key characteristics of rhizomatic relations are *connection* and *heterogeneity* (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987), which, in the case of literacy performances, offer us a means of thinking about the nature of movement and alignment within the flow of bodies, texts, talk, and objects that are part of the performance. Any point in a rhizome can be connected to any other, unlike the tree or the root "which plots a point, fixes an order" (Deleuze & Guattari, p. 7). One advantage of theorizing student performances as rhizomatic relations is that attention is focused on the unfolding connections between various elements without regard for what category or type they represent. In our opening example, Terrayel, Willie, and Shameen's performance connects factual information about working conditions in packing plants from a canonical text (*The Jungle*) with adolescent humor about the "gross" or horrific and a verbal performance of the hawker's chanted attempts to sell his products.

The principles of connection and heterogeneity are perhaps best exemplified in the relations among signs ("assemblages of enunciation") and bodies of various sorts, including material bodies ("machinic assemblages"). For Deleuze and Guattari (1987), a body is broadly defined as a whole composed of parts and characterized by the relations among its parts. Bodies may be biological (e.g., humans and animals) but also social (a collective) or conceptual (an idea). Deleuze and Guattari (p. 7) described how "semiotic chains of every nature" are formed by connections among things of different phenomenological status. The gap between the discursive and the nondiscursive is bridged by force, which Deleuze describes as a productive movement toward the formation of new multiplicities (Massumi, 1992). In the opening example, for instance, the discursive relations of the event are interjected with embodied reactions from an audience member ("Ugh!") and the presenters (Willie's grinning and Shameen's calling out). Another audience member appears to pick up on these transformations from texts to bodies and calls out "(   ) on my toes." In interpreting literacy performances, connection and heterogeneity challenge us to reconsider how talk, discourses, material texts, human bodies, and material objects are related within interaction. Rather than conceiving of these relationships as having centers of meaning that we might discover and trace, these principles prompt us to think of uncontained semiosis as an active, dynamic process that produces effects, many of which move in unpredictable directions.

Another key principle of the rhizome is *multiplicity*. Lines extend in all directions (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). The choice to focus on rhizomatic connections functions as a critique of point-driven, either/or, dichotomous thinking. Deleuze remarked that it is not "beginnings and ends that count, but middles" (1995, p. 160). The movement and betweenness among objects (the line) is the focus rather than the identification of what is connected (the point) and where it is located (the position) (Deleuze & Guattari). Deleuze and Guattari push against representational modes of thinking that focus on foundations or "roots." Unlike representational views that describe foundational configurations (e.g., identities, meanings, categories) in a priori ways, Deleuze and Guattari move us to consider how social life and social foundations are an outcome of dynamic connections. Thinking in terms of lines and movement among heterogeneous objects is a means of thinking toward difference. For the analysis of literacy performances, this dynamic of multiplicity reorients us, temporally, to consider not merely the history of a performance genre, or of performer identity, but to reconsider the performance as something that is moving toward the future, including future interpretations, effects, and identity spaces.

Fourth, rhizomes are characterized by *asignifying rupture* (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Rhizomes may break off or be discontinuous, but they will begin again, creating new lines, like ants that "rebound" with new trails when their old ones are destroyed. Asignifying ruptures work against the "oversignifying breaks" that structure, organize, and bound identities. Two kinds of lines need to be described in this relation: **lines of segmentarity** and **lines of flight**. Every rhizome contains (oversignifying) lines of segmentarity, according to which it is stratified, territorialized, organized, and signified. Lines of segmentarity (also called "customary" or "molar" lines, Deleuze & Guattari, p. 203), produce stasis, rules of organization, and center–periphery relations (Kamberelis, 2004). Rigid, segmenting lines are identified with being or identification rather than with becoming through connection (Deleuze & Guattari). Lines of flight (also called "lines of deterritorialization") are leaks, escapes, or departures from the territories drawn by dominant systems of signification. In his Deleuzian study of curriculum enactment and teacher becoming, Roy (2003) described how, in an alternative school setting, arborescent, molar lines developed on the basis of resemblance (e.g., "If you are not a good student, then you are a poor student") and yet were performed side by side with the more "open territories" and lines of flight.

The assemblage

Another expression of how connections are socially performed is the **assemblage**. With particular relevance to the analysis of language, we consider first how Deleuze and Guattari (1987) interpreted the assemblage as a performed organization of language (enunciation) and "content" (material and conceptual bodies). Second, we read the assemblage as a means of moving identity analysis from the notion of "subject position" to the more expansive notion of performed space.

Deleuze and Guattari (1987) are empirically committed to considering how the bits of social life are connected and thus form assemblages. Human bodies, other material bodies, and (metaphoric) bodies of all kinds (e.g., bodies of knowledge) connect in endless circuits; these connections among bodies draw off pleasure. Social machines or assemblages organize "partial" investments (e.g., the infant's pleasure at the mother's breast) into larger assemblages—organized institutions such as "motherhood" or "the family" (Colebrook, 2002, p. 82). Much of the importance of the assemblage—its empiricism and ethics—is that it could have been otherwise; social constructs of "motherhood" or "the family" or individual "subject" do not come prior to the assemblage but after its formation. Deleuze and Guattari are given then to thinking about the emergence of assemblages, and those preemergent states where new realities may be actualized. For example, in literacy studies, we might ask how "reading," as an assemblage, may have been organized in an entirely different way, with different configurations of social bodies, human bodies, and textual materials. Engaging at this preassemblage level provides clues of how to open up current practices through new virtual relationships that are not yet conceived as the "possible."

Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) critique of a representational approach to language (re)conceives first of all how language (enunciation) is an assemblage and second that language is related to the assemblage of "content" (the machinic assemblage of bodies). The social character of enunciation, as noted by the authors in the work of Bakhtin (as cited in Voloshinov, 1929/1973) and Labov (1973), may be demonstrated by the way in which any enunciation is multivoiced, and thus implies a collective assemblage that exists prior to any statement being voiced. Second, language has been (ill) conceived as entirely separate from content, from the "machinic assemblage of bodies, of actions and passions, an intermingling of bodies reacting to one another" (Deleuze &

Guattari, p. 88). Language has been understood as somehow "serving" content by representing it, pointing toward it, or corresponding with it. Instead of maintaining the formal independence of expression from content, Deleuze and Guattari argued rather for the constant flow between enunciation and content. "An assemblage of enunciation does not speak 'of' things; it speaks *on the same level* as states of things and states of content" (p. 87, italics in original). Relations between assemblages of enunciation and bodies are constantly under construction.

Deleuze and Guattari (1987) described the relation of language and bodies (e.g., human bodies, bodies of knowledge) as one of force and intervention: "it is a speech act" (p. 86). Language acts to move, combine, and accelerate bodies, just as the elements of language itself are in motion:

> the expressions or expresseds are inserted into or intervene in contents, not to represent them but to anticipate them or move them back, slow them down or speed them up, separate or combine them, delimit them in a different way. The warp of the instantaneous transformations is always inserted into the woof of the continuous modifications. (p. 86)

This warp and woof is one means of describing how forms of expression and bodies (content) are more or less deterritorialized—unstable, in flux—at any moment. The notion of **deterritorialization** is directly related to the thought of the machine or assemblage; a machine has no "home or ground," no organizing center or subjectivity other than what it does. Expressions and bodies interact and move toward the "cutting edges of deterritorialization" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 88). The image of the relations among the assemblage of bodies and the assemblage of enunciation is one not of base and superstructure or hierarchy of concept, but of a flattened "plane of consistency" (p. 90) where movements and interactions are played out. A human tribe, for instance, enjoys and invests itself in an image, inscription, or object. This kind of investment cannot be described by a representational logic (e.g., the image symbolizing the tribe). Rather than some underlying identity producing the tribe, it is produced by their collective and intensive investment (Colebrook, 2002).

For Deleuze and Guattari (1987), it is important to note that the notion of territory or territorialization (stability) is secondary to that of deterritorialization. In their view the overriding tendency of the world is toward deterritorialization (Patton, 2000). Content and expression are more or less deterritorialized and territorialized at given moments, permitting them to act on each other in ways

FIGURE 2
RHIZOMATIC MAPPING OF PERFORMANCE

Cutting edges of deterritorialization

[2] Becoming producers and consumers

[3] Becoming dismembered

audience laughter

PICKLED PIG FEET, YOU WANT THE PIG FEET

We got like…grade A ham for sale—two dollars

Ugh!

toe of audience member

it like, messed up they feet

W grins

Presenters' bodies as group

audience member laughter

meat packing workers in *The Jungle*

W lifts arm

W's body shakes with laughter

on my toes

That was possible

When the workers worked, there was pickle juice

Machinic assemblage of bodies

W frequently gazes at audience

W shifts upward on stool

W's direct gaze at audience

So it was possible

W points to T

W sits back down, drop shoulder

You might find a toe or somethin n your ham

Collective expression of enunciationa

S leans into audience

consumer in *The Jungle*

It's spoiled, green stuff on it

audience as 1 body

T makes eye contact with audience

Jungle as a "body" or work

packing plant as producer in *The Jungle*

They used to take the spoiled meat out of the pickle and sell it

W points to text above drawing

poster as body

T point toward finger in drawing

We're gonna start off like explainin' the drawing

This right here is like a ham

Ham drawing

Jar drawing

T points toward feet in drawing

We drew…the feet in the jar…and the finger

spoiled meat in *The Jungle*

W's hand on face of drawing

W sweep hand over surface of drawing

T points toward drawing in general

so we made that

And that's why we drew the ham thing up there

W's fingers make crossing out motion in space

[1] Becoming the text

Spacing 1 ———
Spacing 2 ················
Spacing 3 ------

Territorial sides, or reterritorialized sides

---

that are more or less destabilizing or stabilizing. Deleuze and Guattari described the four aspects of the more abstract assemblage, including content, expression, **(re)territorialization**, and deterritorialization, as an abstract "machine" with two axes, which we have represented in our rhizomatic interpretation (Figure 2).

We note that Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) notion of the assemblage can be related to other work on the performance of identity. Over a decade ago, Butler (1990, 1993) disrupted dominant notions of gender and sexuality by arguing for a nonessentialist perspective on the construction of identity. Identity is something that is acted, repeatedly, with the body and other forms of discourse, rather than something that "is." Especially important for literacy research, Butler's notion of the work of specific acts of discourse or the body to "do" identity is directly borrowed from Austin's (1955) discussion of performativity in *How to Do Things With Words* (Butler, 1995; Gregson & Rose, 2000). Austin argued that words not only signify but also enact the very things signified. Gender, then, is both enacted and signified in moments of performance rather than existing as some type of a priori essence. As with Foucault's (1979) reading of discourse and identity, Butler's notion of performativity stressed normativity, or the subject disciplined and formed in discourse, but she placed more emphasis upon resistance and transgressivity.

Whereas Butler's work on positioning is a pivotal, antifoundational critique for understanding identity in performance, it has been more recently critiqued for being overly focused on actors or "subjects" and their "positions" and not offering a rich enough account of the spaces performed by individuals, their bodies, their material practices, and the discourses on which they draw (Gregson & Rose, 2000; Thrift & Dewsbury, 2000). These critiques take up her notion of performativity but disagree with the product of performance. Rather than subject positions being acted out upon assumed grounds or stages of social–material life, performances constitute space, and are therefore performative of particular power/identity relations (Gregson & Rose). Conceiving of space as performed and performative leads researchers to analyze the processes of spatial performance and the "relationality" of performed spaces: "Performed spaces are not discreet, bounded stages, but threatened, contaminated, stained, enriched by other spaces. As are performers" (Gregson & Rose, p. 442)

Relevant research and literacy event background

The student performance analyzed in this article is drawn from a long-term ethnographic study of students' literacy practices at Kempton High, a mid-sized urban high school (approximately 1,100 students) in a small midwestern U.S. city (100,000 residents). The literacy activities of a group of 36 students across their English and history classes, also frequently combined as American Studies, were documented over the course of one school year. The school was the oldest high school in the city and of the two high schools in the city had the most racially (65% European American, 26% African American, 5% Asian American, 4% Hispanic) and socioeconomically diverse student population. The participants in the larger study were two teachers ("Maureen" and "Sid") and the junior-level students within the Kempton Technological Academy (KTA), a school-within-a-school at Kempton High that was in its fourth year of development during the research period.

Interactions were recorded three to four times per week for seven months through field notes, audiotape, and videotape. Several key videotaped episodes were retrospectively analyzed by the student and teacher participants. All of the students and both of the teachers were also interviewed concerning the interactions, learning, and social relations across the classrooms.

One event was selected for the present analyses. This performance was constructed in response to Sid's assignment for students to create group presentations on particular aspects of Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, a book that had previously been assigned as reading for the class. Students were allowed to choose their topic from a list provided by the teacher and were also free to choose their peer work groups. Students were required to produce a visual aid for their presentations.

The following quotation is from the teacher's (Sid's) directions to the students regarding how he would grade the assignments:

> Sid: You gonna be graded on your visual aid, how easy it is to understand, if it got a lot of information on it, if it is linked to what you say. If you have something to hold up and it has nothing to do with what you really say, it's not going to get the credit. Also, it's correct. So ask questions as you're doing it.

Sid went on to explain that they were a tough audience to present to and that they would be grad-ed on how well they dealt with the audience constructively and the degree to which they shared the responsibility among group members for the project. Whereas the students had been given the weekend for previous research in the book and had completed a related assignment on finding topical information in the book, they were given just 30 minutes of class time to prepare these presentations. The focal presentation was performed by Shameen, Terrayel, and Willie, a group of African American males, who chose the topic "Corruption in the Meat Packing Industry."

Data analysis

Data selection

This article has emerged from an extended amount of individual and group reviews of different data sets with a focus upon understanding embodied literacy activity in students' classroom performances. Over the course of two years, we and our research assistants in the Talking Spaces Project discussed video segments, reviewed the literature on embodied activity, and attempted diverse ways of representing segments of classroom interaction. The event analyzed in this article was selected from the larger corpus of data in our research group, on the basis of initial impressions that it offered unique configurations of language, activity, and multimodal resources and unique possibilities for performer and audience identity. To further consider these impressions, we micro-analyzed the first few minutes of the event in relation to key issues that grew from our preliminary analysis.

Transcription

We begin with the assumption that analysis, theory, and transcription are wittingly or unwittingly closely intertwined (Ochs, 1979). After various experiments with representation of the interaction, we have settled on a multicolumn format that includes image–sketches based upon digital video frames (see Appendix). We have deliberately placed these visual frames and notes about embodied activity in the left-hand columns so as to disrupt more traditional means of considering embodied and visual activity as "nonlinguistic behavior," or as a support for the dominant linguistic modality. The oral text is placed in a column arrangement so that it is roughly aligned with the visual text to which it directly applies. This decision sacrifices the possibility of indicating the

precise timing of embodied movements that are described in the "embodied activity" column. However, we have inserted time codes at key junctures in the description of embodied activity to construct clearer links to the oral text.

The focus on images, as developed from video stills, permitted us two moves within our analysis. First, it enabled us to consider how the performances involve different participants, including not only interactive but also represented participants (Scollon & Scollon, 2003), and involve material spacings and angles (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996; Scollon & Scollon) that develop over time. Equally important, our research team's efforts to develop a way of visually representing how performances unfolded over time enabled us to consider more carefully the distinctions between different performances. Practically speaking, one cannot reproduce every frame of visual information without supplying full-motion video. Thus, we began to carefully make distinctions between different classroom episodes based on when capturing another visual frame was necessary (or redundant). Those performances with less frame redundancy, such as the one analyzed herein, tend to be those with more unruly rhizomatic maps and hence greater potential for lines of flight.

Rhizoanalysis

Rhizoanalysis, or rhizomatic cartography, has few precedents in literacy studies (see, however, Alvermann, 2000; Hagood, 2004; Kamberelis, 2004). Rhizoanalytic work on teacher education and identity is also just emerging (Honan, 2004; Roy, 2003). Hagood used rhizoanalysis to consider how youths appropriate identities but also push against social categories of identification with particular subjectivities; her mappings explored multiple connections within data that are seemingly contradictory. Hagood described how using the rhizome as a figuration is different than using it as a metaphor:

> A figuration is an analytic tool used in work influenced by poststructural theory to move beyond coding and categorizing data in order to redescribe and represent concepts differently. It is similar to a metaphor in that both are implemented to improve understanding of a concept; yet, unlike a metaphor, a figuration attempts to provide freeing ways to think about a concept by attending to the complexity inherent within it. (p. 145)

Hagood, drawing on St. Pierre (1997), cautioned that figurations do not proceed in willy-nilly fashion but rather are carefully considered reworkings of trajectories (or becomings).

The rhizoanalysis we present in this article was directed by connection, heterogeneity, multiplicity, and asignifying rupture, the four principles of the rhizome discussed earlier. We draw from descriptions of these principles in Deleuze and Guattari (1987, pp. 7–12) and further detailed for literacy research elsewhere (Hagood, 2004; Kamberelis, 2004). A fifth principle of the rhizome, the lack of deep structure (Deleuze & Guattari), was also implicitly important for our analysis, in that we worked the rhizoanalysis of the performance as a surface. That is, rather than attempting to understand the performance as a set of elements that point to preexisting deep structure, or to hidden meanings waiting to be teased out, the elements of the performance are arrayed on a common surface or plane with one another so that connections and movements among them may be considered. The figuration we present in this article (Figure 2) is our attempt at considering the elements or bits of the performance and possible, emergent relations among them. These "bits" themselves are not systematically constituted (e.g., phrase structures, or units of time, or smallest units of action without "ands"). Rather, the bits are constituted as an act of interpretation concerning the potential of their relations to other bits. Further, individual bits are assumed to embed rhizomes within themselves, affording numerous interpretations of other possible connections.

In mapping rhizomatic connections among the bits of the performance, we have often found it helpful to look for bits that seemed to be engaged or interjected in such a way as to make new relations possible. For example, one audience member's brief exclamation "on my toes" raised the question of the performance as an act of dismemberment, and we looked to see if other connections supported such dynamic relations. For the sake of simplicity we have drawn only a few lines that suggest connections and movements. This figuration represents something of the *principles* of connectivity and heterogeneity rather than the numerous possible connections and active potentials in the performance. The figuration is intended less as a partial representation of the interaction as an invitation to think through, or rather *with*, the interaction in a different and more freeing mode. We have not attempted to retain temporal representation in mapping across the event, which we take as an analytic opportunity, given Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) argument that time is somehow always out of joint—that moments (years, eras) are scrumpled and fold upon one another heterogeneously. However, in the mapping of the performance, some bits occurring in temporal sequence are

clustered together to represent the tight rhizomatic connections among them.

The rhizomatic mapping of the performance presented in Figure 2 is divided between two forms of assemblage: the "machinic assemblage of bodies" (i.e., human bodies, things, bodies of knowledge) and "collective assemblage of enunciation" (i.e., language, signs). This separation is to suggest only the traffic across bodies and expression and not their separation—to allow us to consider the interpenetrations and interruptions of bodies and expression as a form of spatial mapping. Whereas the figure is too busy as a map, it is a vast simplification of the number of rhizomatic connections one could make in interpreting the performance and, whereas not hierarchically structured, is overstructured (in part, in tension with providing a interpretable drawing). In the figure, spoken expressions are indicated by call-out symbols (cartoon-like speech balloons), and connecting rhizomatic lines terminating in arrows indicate movements toward deterritorialization or (re)territorialization.

Finally, our analysis is informed by an array of ethnographic data gathered through research and involvement with these students throughout the academic year (in addition to involvement in these teachers' classrooms during a previous academic year). We describe personal, pedagogical, institutional, and racial relations to provide evidence for our reading of the performance as reterritorializing (constructing hierarchy) or, on the contrary, deterritorializing (escaping molar lines and majoritarian politics). Additionally, we wish to document something of the confluence of multiple social spaces—the ways in which macro social spaces are copresent, and may be transformed, in the micropolitics of events. Our approach, however, in line with our reading of Deleuze and Guattari (1987), is to focus on minor, difficult to discern "flows" rather than "grand signifying breaks" (Roy, 2003, p. 31). Our attention to the unique singularities of experience—to the virtualities present in a few minutes of classroom performance—is not intended to posit the isolation of these performances from powerful histories and social formations, but rather to call attention to the formations of desire and new becomings that accelerate within the machines of hegemonic struggle. Deleuze and Guattari asked, "How could mad particles be produced by anything but a gigantic cyclotron?" (p. 34). Looking ethnographically, we focus our attention on the mad particles of performance in the cyclotrons of schooling and racial politics.

Rhizoanalysis of the performance

Deleuze (1990) distinguished between two forms of making the "new": the **"realization of the possible"** and the **"actualization of the virtual."** The realization of the possible is based upon principles of representation, including imitation, resemblance, and reference. The "possible" is based upon a set of given, latent entities or forms, such that when one of these entities is realized, then the others are eliminated. The result is a closing of the gap between the possible and its realization (Thrift & Dewsbury, 2000). The realization of the possible describes much of how we function in literacy education. It reminds one of us (first author) of a teacher he once had who developed canned computer-filed responses that could be sent out for student compositions not yet written. The canned responses were sensible in that they were non-new responses to non-new compositions—dead space.

The virtual, however, is not given in advance and cannot be captured or enclosed by the prediction and control of representations:

> In order to be actualized, the virtual cannot proceed by elimination or limitation, but must create its own lines of actualization in positive acts. The reason for this is simple: While the real is in the image and likeness of the possible that it realizes, the actual on the other hand, does *not* resemble the vitality it embodies. It is difference that is primary in the process of actualization—the difference between the virtual from which we begin and the actuals at which we arrive. (Deleuze, 1991, as cited in Thrift & Dewsbury, 2000, p. 416)

A Deleuzian approach to social life involves imagining the forces of potential or power of things to become new, or for the virtual to be actualized, without having an abstract or a priori concept of how this "newness" might appear (Rajchman, 2000).

A key limitation we confront in our analysis is how to move from methods organized around the identification of meaning-based centers or nodes (e.g., indexical ground, footing), even if these nodes are dynamic, to methods that capture *continual* movement and transformation. The problematic of continual movement and transformation is closely related to a second limitation we face. Whereas we could convey a sense of the meanings of the performance, we suspected that the performers and audience members were up to something that was stripped too bare by an analysis focused on meaning alone. Analyses of meaning produce space, or make spaces visible, but they also hide and collapse spaces.

The following rhizoanalysis attempts to account for something of the performance as an act or collection of simultaneous acts. Our research questions focus on describing the unpredictable becomings that are inherent in classroom performances: What is the performance making? What forms of affect and identity are forming in its relations or spacings?

Back- and foreground social spaces with/in the focal performance

Prior to focusing upon the performance itself, we describe something of the personal, institutional, pedagogical, and racial histories that inform our microanalysis. We read these histories as ongoing social/cultural forces—social spaces that are active along with any virtualities emerging in the course of the performance. Whereas we interpret some of these social spaces (e.g., Sid's pedagogy) as providing openings for lines of flight or new possibilities for becoming, others (e.g., racial spaces) are associated with molar, hierarchical lines against which lines of flight were acting. Our following consideration is not intended to separate these spaces (e.g., of the personal, the institutional); such distinctions are rather heuristic. As is evident in the following, these spaces, like all social spaces (Lefebvre, 1991), are overlapping and intertwined.

The three key presenters, Willie, Terrayel, and Shameen, had a history of friendship dating back to at least middle school. Willie and Terrayel considered themselves to be close friends. All three were on Kempton's football team and had played football together in a citywide junior program during middle school. Unlike the other two, Willie tended to spend a good deal of out-of-school time working at a fast-food restaurant, and Shameen was involved in regular drama productions at the school. Shameen, who was the most verbally assertive and articulate of the three in conventional school terms, was also much more likely to be disciplined in class for misbehavior. He had been dismissed from the KTA during his sophomore year but was readmitted as a junior. Whereas some teachers attributed this dismissal to his low grades, others, including Maureen and Sid, attributed it to how his behavior issues were institutionally mishandled. Shameen still struggled more than the other two student presenters to make minimum academic grades, yet he also had more of a reputation as a performer in class—he was more likely to crack jokes, raise difficult questions for the teachers, or raise the emotional pitch of a discussion by pushing a controversial issue.

The history of the three youths entering the KTA as freshmen lies at the intersection of personal and institutional social spaces. All three of them recounted how they were recruited while in middle school together and were particularly influenced by the promise of the KTA to offer more teacher availability and more one-on-one attention, promises they felt had largely been kept. They also decided to use the opportunity to secure the KTA as a common social space with a group of friends. Terrayel noted, for example, "If you are with your friends, [high school] will be easier." In addition, during an extended field trip, Shameen reported to the larger group his feeling that they "were all like family" (Leander, 2001), and in reflecting upon the class in an interview, Terrayel noted that "everybody gets along well...we'd rather be in a big group instead of small groups." Another quality attributed to the KTA by a number of students, a quality that can create fissures in conventionally gridded, institutional space, was that teachers within it were more "lenient," in terms of grading, late work, rules, discipline, and other issues.

Shameen and Sid, the key teacher involved in this classroom event, had an emotionally intense and sometimes stormy relationship, characterized by long discussions and arguments outside of class, confrontations during class time, and frustration about learning and teaching voiced by both. Yet, on several public and private occasions, Shameen commented that Sid was one of his most admired teachers since he began school. All three of the presenters associated Sid with the more lenient style of the KTA, but even more so, with his ability to connect to youth. Terrayel described Sid as a "grown man who hasn't lost his childhood," whereas Willie described him as a "friend and a teacher—not just strictly business." Willie's description of how Sid would interact with both personal and institutional stances suggests how hierarchical, molar relations (e.g., "get[ting] down to his lesson") were broken by leakages or lines of flight:

> Like, if you're on with a lesson and somebody busts out and says something funny, he just stops and laughs and puts his head down. Gives a little grin and then continues on with the lesson. Like, he won't send you out for saying something. Like, if you disrupt class or something, he won't send you out, "Get out, you're disrupting my class." He'll laugh at it and then he'll get down to his lesson.

A key characteristic of Sid's pedagogy, and also of Maureen's, with whom he cotaught American Studies, was that students were frequently assigned to make presentations of their work to the large group. A common form of this assignment was that students were to construct some sort of material form of repre-

sentation for their presentation (e.g., a poster or chart), that the oral presentation was to last a certain amount of time, that it was to be a response to a specific text or set of ideas, and that presenters were to elicit and respond to questions from the student audience. Thus, the idea of presenting to one another was a fairly routine part of the curriculum for these students, and the students appeared to develop different routine ways of handling such assignments, including selecting somewhat predictable group members, producing certain types of scripts (or not), making visuals, and the like. At the same time, large-group discussions and presentations in this class provided pedagogical openings for new mutations or escapes from conventional literacy and schooling. These openings can be institutionally understood in two ways. First, whereas somewhat conventional in this American Studies class, discussions and student presentations were relatively rare among other KTA classes, and even more rare in courses outside of the KTA. Hence, even somewhat routinized oral practices in American Studies were a departure from typical school activity. Second, oral interactions were seen by many of the students as an opportunity to get something going, to create something interpersonally and affectively that departed from the repetition characterizing closed curricula and pedagogy. Many of the students remarked that oral presentations, and even more so, interactive discussions, were their favorite forms of classroom activity.

Finally, and alongside the conceptions of the junior-level KTA as "family" described earlier, the group was experiencing an important shift in racial demographics during the course of this research, and there was a heightened sense among many of the students of racial tensions and uneasiness. In the freshman year of this group of students, the KTA comprised approximately 70% white European American students. However, at the beginning of the junior year (the year of the research), seven African American students had transferred from the regular high school program into the KTA, as well as one white European American student. Moreover, three white European American students had dropped out of the KTA program after their sophomore year. In brief, over the course of two years the junior level KTA, as well as the KTA at large, was losing white European American and gaining African American students, such that the numbers of African American and white European American students had become roughly equal. At least part of this shift in the racial composition of the group can be attributed to the reputation that Sid and Maureen, and a few of the other KTA teachers, were developing among the

African American students (and parents) as being caring and "cool" teachers. White European American students left the KTA for a number of reasons, but some of this movement was evidently a form of white flight as the KTA attracted more African American students. Whereas, officially speaking, the KTA was racially blind for admission purposes, the program principal confided that she had to be very careful about racial balance, as some white European American parents would pull their children from the program if they perceived it to be "too black," as would some of the African American parents, if they perceived the program as simply warehousing African American students to offer them a subpar education.

Some of the white European American students—males more so than females—expressed resentment in interviews about the increasing diversity of the KTA. They compared the junior year KTA with their experience of it as freshmen, and described feelings of the KTA being "taken over" by the growing group of African Americans (Leander, 2004). Willie described racial, and also gender, divisions in the KTA through the spatial arrangement of bodies in class:

> You can come in and look and see that most people are sitting opposite each other, choosing their own spaces. 'Cause we can go in there and have a discussion now, and like last time I remember it was split right down the classroom. All the blacks go over there, and all the whites goes over here. And it seems like in sections, with all the males on one side and all the girls on another.

For the student presentation analyzed in this article, the presence of racial and cultural identity practices can be suggestively read in relation to the ongoing production of racial space in the KTA. Whereas the performance does not index overt racial conflict or tensions, we contend that it worked to provide some escape from the molar and somewhat predictable history of racial space at KTA.

Visual field of the focal performance

As seen in the first still frame presented (see Appendix), the performance opens with the three boys arranged to both sides of a chalkboard on which they have mounted a poster, with Shameen and Terrayel stage left and Willie stage right. Terrayel is actually positioned partially behind Shameen and to his left, and is closest to the chalkboard. Only six or seven feet separate both Shameen and Willie from the closest audience members. The presenters are also close to the chalkboard; Willie and Terrayel can

FIGURE 3
POSTER DEVELOPED AND USED BY PRESENTERS

touch the poster mounted on it without moving from their stools.

The two boys closest to the audience are seated on stools. Their higher position combined with their relatively close proximity to the audience places the audience at a relatively low angle with respect to them. Shameen and Terrayel are rotated somewhat sideways in their seats, but Willie has his torso squared to the audience. The presenters are not holding anything in their hands. Shameen's arms hang, relaxed, in front of him and Willie is leaning forward with one elbow perched on his knee. In general, the boys maintain body postures that are open to the audience, with legs and arms spread apart or away from their torsos.

Before the presentation begins, the three boys are directing their gaze toward the poster (Figure 3) that is prominently displayed on the chalkboard. On the poster are several large and elaborate drawings. The drawing style is cartoonish, and one figure of a man in a long trench coat has a graffiti style. The most prominent of the drawings is a large jar with a foot inside it and a label on it. An oblong object appears to have a tail sticking out. A ham is drawn to the right of the jar, and on the left side of the poster are the man

in a trench coat, a chicken with a square, box-like body, and a rat peering around another jar. The title of the poster, "Corruptions in the Meat Packing Plant," runs across the midsection of the poster. There is other writing on the poster, some of which is hard to read from the perspective of the camera, but which consists primarily of labels for the images.

Following, we focus upon three spatial arrangements or "plateaus" that are shaped in territorializing and deterritorializing movements in the performance. In mapping these relations, our concern is to look for the possibilities that are emerging in the interaction. What new (and old things) are being connected in the performance? What forms of becoming are evident?

Spacing 1: Becoming the text

Plateau or Spacing 1 (Figure 2) maps lines of segmentarity. These lines identify hierarchical relations that contribute to the stability of the performance as a conventional and predictable whole. An important territorial movement of these lines is to form a space we term "becoming the text." An orientation to a common, correct text is a well-schooled

practice, as evidenced by an audience member even before the formal beginning of the performance. At (0:5) a student raises her hand to contest the spelling of *sausage* on the poster. Shameen gets up out of his seat and moves two feet closer to the poster to confirm "that's an *s*; that's not a *g*." Moments later, another audience member asks, "What's that with the rat tail sticking out of it?" Willie responds, "That's, like, the sausage. That's, like, they put everything inside." This remark helps to establish the presenters as interpreters of the cartoon drawings, and, at the same time, as interpreters who will emphasize the gory details behind the image. This exchange is soon followed up with Willie's (0:24): "We're going to start off, like, explainin' the drawings."

The assemblage of bodies that makes the poster text present and central includes both material objects (e.g., the poster body) and the orientation and movement of human bodies (e.g., Willie and Terrayel's hands moving toward and over the surface of the poster). For example, at (0:24) Willie moves his hand on the face of the ham drawing, points to the text above it, makes crossing-out signs in space in front of the crossings-out on the drawing, and sweeps his hand over the drawing. Terrayel, whose step-wise turn at performance is ordered by Willie pointing toward him, points in sequence toward the foot in the jar, the finger in the jar, and toward the jar in general. During his pointing, Terrayel keeps his gaze fixed on the drawing as well, as if to contain the visual space to its surface and not to draw gaze toward himself. Poster–hand repeated movement relations develop a focal point around the text. The near-rhythmic forms of repetition among these hand–poster relations work to create connections among bits that are better described by redundancy than by reference (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987).

Along with the poster body, *The Jungle* is copresenced as a body by a number of text summary statements. These statements, authorized by the text and by schooled practices of enunciation that include literal meanings and fact finding, are joined by lines of segmentarity and clustered together on the map to indicate a tight web of relations among them. The statements create a list of items to bound or territorialize *The Jungle* as a set of identifiable items: (0:24) spoiled meat, ham, unnamed packing plant workers, and (0:52) pickle juice. Making the poster and the novel copresent, or (0:24) "explainin' the drawings" is punctuated by an account of the group having worked with purpose in the past: (0:24) "we drew," "And that's why we drew the ham thing up there," and (0:52) "so we made that." These accounts, as lines of segmentarity, create a space in which everything finds its home root in the text of *The Jungle*. The presentation becomes a text-driven space containing agreed-upon elements. Moreover, the presenters' past actions (i.e., drawing and making), are given authority by virtue of the presencing of information from the text.

The text-centered space makes evident the co-ordinated action of the youths to develop a type of generic response to a recurrent situation. These patterns of response have developed with practice as part of students' and teachers' shared school histories. Similar text-centered approaches were observed in other students' presentations for this assignment and were common across the school year. The performers' coordinated actions of displaying and presenting a text, indicating its parts, identifying information in the core text (*The Jungle*), explaining their purpose, addressing questions, and formally marking the beginning and ending of their presentation all illustrate practices that are familiar in many classrooms where student presentations are commonplace. In many ways, such practices mirror conventional forms of text-centered pedagogy. In the cases of Shameen, Willie, and Terrayel, we also interpret text-centrism as evidence of their entering into the conventional requirements of being successful in the KTA.

Whereas the text-centrism of this performance is structured along molar, hierarchical lines, the shoots or seeds of possible rhizomes are evident in the focal topic of the presentation and in the humorous references made by the presenters. As in rhizomes such as moss and tubers, growth often occurs from the edges rather than the center, and shoots take on new and unpredictable directions. Whereas Sid structured the presentation activity with a number of requirements, and gave several possible topics, this group's choice of "Corruptions in the Meat Packing Industry" provided an opportunity to topically "riff" on schooling, or use a school topic to create effects not always found in schooling. Other groups chose topics with seemingly fewer possibilities for departure from the conventional (e.g., "The Disintegration of Jurgis' Family"). For Shameen, Terrayel, and Willie, the *The Jungle*'s themes of corruption and the spoilage and gore of meatpacking suggested possibilities for open-endedness and affect. We further consider the development of the latent rhizomatic possibilities of the group's topic in Spacings 2 and 3.

Spacing 2: Becoming producers and consumers

Spacings 2 and 3 map two related deterritorializing movements that work to destabilize the text-

centered territorializing movements of Spacing 1. Spacing 2 maps the performance as "becoming producers and consumers," more specifically, producers or merchants of worthless goods and consumers receiving their pitch. These movements support one another and are linked to the development of affect across bodies and enunciations that engage the audience in the willing, desiring production of a collective joke. An early relation in Spacing 2 is Willie's statement (0:24) "We got, like,...grade A ham for sale—two dollars." The statement is territorializing as a means of performing the presence of the poster text, described in Spacing 1, which is linked to student talk about *The Jungle*. However, in Figure 2 we have physically distanced Willie's statement about "grade A ham" from a cluster of other statements about the book because we interpret it as a line of flight that casts the performance as a sale. The ham, which started out as "grade D" before being falsely upgraded has "green stuff" on it. Willie presents it as an item offered to an audience of potential buyers at rock-bottom prices.

The audience/consumer is given additional information to consider by Willie: Different outcomes are *possible*, a line of flight term he repeats twice, including finding a toe in the ham. Willie's claim about the toe falls right on the heels of and pulls against the lines of segmentarity provided by Terrayel in his account, considered in the Spacing 1 analysis. Willie's embodied movements as well as those of an audience member develop a humorous affect that sparks the possibilities being formed in Spacings 2 and 3. Without smiling, Willie asserts the possibility of finding a toe in the ham, rises up off his stool, and sits back down. Just as he turns and extends his arm back toward the poster, in a sober, factual mode (Spacing 1), an audience member responds to the ham–toe relation with (1:16) "Ugh!" Willie then laughs, his body shaking, turns full face to the audience, and drops his shoulder. The embodied and discursive space being made (i.e., the dropped-shoulder laughing space) creates a line of flight that is contemporaneous to the territorialized space it supports (Spacing 1); spaces described rhizomatically coexist and are often codependent. Shameen overlaps Willie's summary (1:18: "That was possible") with a call to the audience that further pushes their play as potentially duped consumers: (1:19) "//PICKLED PIG FEET, YOU//, WANT THE PIG FEET?" Rhizomatically, "pickled pig feet" relates back to the idea of the (0:24) "pickle" of the meat, to the idea of the workers' feet being (0:52) "pickled," to the (1:13) "toe" in the meat, and to (0:24) ham or pigs. Here, this nest of relations is being offered up for

sale to the audience. But, as the line of flight builds, producer/consumer is perhaps too dry an expression of the becoming relations being explored and offered up in the event. After all, one buys food not merely to own it but to consume it. The available possibilities may be not only to buy the meat of *The Jungle*/the poster but also to eat it.

Further, for Deleuze and Guattari, affect was not understood as a personal feeling or characteristic, but rather as a social force. As the "power of the pack," affect throws the [constituted] self into upheaval and makes it reel" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 240). In this performance, two conventional identity positions are at risk of reeling away from the predictable center of this school event—the text-centric presenter and the passive audience member. "Becoming producers" (e.g., meat producers and merchants) contrasts in important ways to the performers' positions as the ventriloquating voices of *The Jungle* text create structure in Spacing 1. Here, their departure from a more representational stance is illustrated in Willie's language (0:24) "We got, like,...grade A ham for sale—two dollars" (0:24), where the student text is not merely something that records information from a core text; rather, the student text offers up something for the audience to be confronted with and to imaginatively "buy." The poster text (as representation, drawing) is being linked or, rather, pushed toward materially and imaginatively becoming spoiled ham. The performers take up a stance of thinking within the imagined relations between the meatpackers and merchants rather than about these relations. This stance is characteristically rhizomatic. Similarly, they invite the audience to respond from within the stance of the duped consumer. Moreover, as evident in the transcript and analysis above, these stances and the rhizomatic relations of the producer/consumer are constituted interactionally, through the production of affective intensities involving all participants.

Spacing 3: Becoming dismembered

During the audience's laughter following Shameen's (1:19) "PICKLED PIG FEET" call, one audience member calls out (1:24) "(   ) on my toes!" We map this brief and uncertain remark as an act that is related to Spacing 2 but leaks or escapes in yet another direction, working up the effect and affective intensity of "becoming dismembered" (Spacing 3). An important shift in the act with "on my toes!" is that the slippage from things happening to workers, in the time space of *The Jungle*, to things happening to audience members, as consumers and

eaters, has been ratcheted up further still. At this point, an audience member's body is called out at risk, and he is rhizomatically entering the performance through another opening. In Spacing 3, the toes of the audience member, whether imagined as cut off, doused in acidic pickle juice, or appearing in the jar, are mapped in relation to a number of other bodies and enunciations of dismemberment.

Working outward from this middle, or from this line of flight extending from *The Jungle* to an audience member's toes, a number of other rhizomatic relations expressing dismemberment can be connected. At a more general level, the becoming-dismembered relation is supported by the presenters' repetitions of different separations of body parts from bodies, including a rat tail separated from a rat (0:12), a human foot and finger in the jar (0:52), a human toe in the ham (1:13), and a rat separated in half (2:17). The images of the human foot and finger in the pickle jar, used to support the mapping of Spacing 1 as territorializing (presencing the text), serve here to deterritorialize. The jar's label of "Pickled Ham" is crossed out, with *Man* replacing *Ham*. The Ham/Man relation creates a kind of potential for reading both separation and blending of product/worker, animal/human, food/human. Rhizomatically, Shameen's //PICKLED PIG FEET, YOU//, WANT THE PIG FEET? and the related audience laughter, works in a similar manner—as an invitation to think not just "pig feet" but also to think pickled pig/human feet.

Our interpretation of the movement toward "(   ) on my toes!" as an escape toward "becoming dismembered" is based also upon the presenters' and audience members' collective buildup of affective intensity around gore. Early in the presentation, after describing the sausage, Tim (an audience member) remarks, "That's nasty" (0:17). Willie offers support to this response as a kind of "right" way of feeling ("Exactly") and Shameen ratifies the interpretation/emotional response with repetition: "It is nasty" (0:20). Tim's final response in this brief exchange is interesting in that it constructs the presenters' desire to perform "nasty," as well as his own performance of "nasty," while at the same time prompting toward segmentary lines of moving along with the performance as a well-schooled explanation:

Tim: I do have to let y'all know that, so go ahead. (0:23)

Shortly following this exchange, Willie announces that it was possible to "find a toe or sumthin' in your ham" (1:13), an audience member responds with "Ugh!" which appears to build toward

an encouragement of Willie and Shameen to describe other possibilities (1:18, 1:19). Willie grins and starts to laugh, the audience laughs, and Shameen raises his voice to call out to the audience ("PICKLED PIG FEET...") in the midst of a noticeable rise in vocal responses, laughter, and bodily shifting among audience members. Thus, the "(   ) on my toes!" exclamation from the audience acts into this space and pushes it open, effectively, as a "becoming dismembered" space, associated with and dependent upon a heightening affective intensity.

Identity as simultaneous becomings

In the analysis thus far, we have considered how the rhizomatic mapping of enunciations and bodies describes space as movement (spacings)—as "becomings" rather than as fixed "beings" or things. The mapping has provided some initial means of seeing the interrelations of multiple spaces, including the ways in which lines of flight build off of one another (Spacings 2 and 3) and also form dynamic relations with territoritalizing lines of segmentarity (e.g., the conventional, text-centered aspects of the performance mapped as Spacing 1). In the following analysis, we consider more directly rhizomatic becomings in relation to the performed identities of Shameen. We have not mapped this analysis on the diagram, but we imagine it as a deterritorializing "Spacing 4." As in the previous analyses, we take a relational perspective on identity performance. We shift from the more common construct of the individual "subject" or "subject position" in analyzing the performance to a more fully spatial perspective on identity performance (Gregson & Rose, 2000; Thrift & Dewsbury, 2000). This perspective is developed by mapping some of the relations that constitute the multiple and simultaneous spaces in the process of "becoming Shameen." The relational, spatial perspective complicates the construct of identity positioning and suggests something of how power operates in unpredictable ways.

The episode of Shameen's participation that follows in the interaction immediately after his "pickled pig feet" remark is particularly telling with respect to the complexities of identity and the performance of space. The episode begins with the following verbal interchange, which begins to enact relations that are developed throughout:

Audience member: (1:27) Au: Is that sausage or something?
(1:29) Willie: Uh-ah. That's ar-thang sausage.
(1:31) Teacher: How do you spell *ar-thang*?
(1:33) Shameen: A-R-T-H-A-N-G, ar-thang.

Willie's response "ar-thang sausage," which connects to the labeling on the poster, produces a particular form of black identity through a stylized use of African American Vernacular English (AAVE). The style of Shameen's AAVE use is clearly evident in a number of linguistic, verbal, and rhetorical choices he makes throughout his brief episode of describing sausage preparation, including dropping final consonants, repeating expressions such as (2:18) "up in 'ere," exaggeration ("everything up in 'ere"), using a sing-songy voice, and calling out for audience response (Appendix).

A detailed sociolinguistic analysis of AAVE within the episode would clearly result in a richer description of Shameen's language use and might emphasize more directly Shameen's performance of black identity. For our purposes, we focus rather on how Shameen performs black identity in relation to other social spaces, including those more distal or less obvious in the event of the performance. First, one of Shameen's performances is cast in response to the teacher's remark (1:31) "How do you spell *ar-thang*?" The teacher's (Sid's) question has reterritorializing potential for the performance; "ar-thang" is indexed as nonstandard usage, as not being in a dictionary, as without the authority of conventional spelling. Sid may also be readily conceived as a participant in the identity relations and slippages that Shameen is producing. Given Sid's history of connecting with the students, and in particular his skills in building positive relationships with African American students, we can productively read this question about correctness as a double-voiced invitation or small opening toward a line of flight. Sid appears to work both effects—territorializing and deterritorializing—simultaneously. Sid may well use his position as a teacher and teacher practices of asking correctness questions to provide an opening for more talk about "ar-thang." This talk moves forward to produce a pedagogical space in which students characterize him as both friend and teacher.

Shameen is either personally nonplussed or considers Sid's question an invitation to create a further break. He responds directly, (1:33) "A-R-T-H-A-N-G, ar-thang." Shameen's response is at once a line of flight (followed by audience laughter, a further movement away) and yet also follows the teacher's line of segmentarity. He even parses out the letters of the word and repeats the entire word in the style of conventional school spelling exercises. We emphasize this point to show that the "traditional student" identity, constituted through "becoming the text" in Spacing 1, is a significant aspect of Shameen's talk, but so is the web of relations that construct black identity

(Spacing 4). Shameen populates Spacing 1 with textual details through his body and talk—details of the grinding room, the meat, the rats, the wheelbarrow, dung, the grinder, and a reel of sausage. He assumes an act of "text-becoming." Rhizomatically, *ar-thang* functions as a tension throughout his description as he repeats it three times (twice with an AAVE pronunciation), a tension that cannot be simply described as "resistance" but is nevertheless a pull of a nontraditional black identity space against a traditional school identity (text) space. In fact, reading Shameen's activity as resistance distracts us from how power works through it—by generating animation and affective force rather than by inverting roles or relationships.

We also read Shameen's use of "ar-thang" (sausage) and other forms of AAVE in relation to the racial tensions among the junior-level KTA, described previously. Shameen acts into the racialized social space of the larger group with language embodied and representational play, asserting black culture through humor and the affective coordination of the group rather than producing an overtly critical response or a silent response as he had on other occasions. While in and of itself, Shameen's activity in this part of the performance (approx. 1:29–2:14) may not seem a remarkable line of flight, with respect to social, political, and cultural tensions internal to the KTA at this time, his performance was leaking or escaping out of racialized social space, in which diversity was often privately and harshly critiqued (primarily by European American students) and yet erased in public talk (e.g., through "we are all one family" discourse). We suggest that Shameen, through these relatively small acts, creates a fissure in the racialized social space by claiming and performing black identity, and just as importantly, by working this performance in relation to other, shifting social spaces. At the same time, we recognize the importance of seeing that this "racialized social space" was not monolithic. Even with its hegemonic power relations, as a social space it can be assumed to have some movement, some degree of multiplicity. Another possibility, which, space permitting, we could explore through additional rhizoanalysis between different group performances, is that Shameen and his group members are mocking or signifying on the more text-centric and institutionally safe performances produced by groups of white European American students, including the performance of a group of girls just previous to their own.

As a working of desire, Shameen's activity produces nonstandard and standard spaces simultaneously, stretching them against one another in

nondichotomous ways. The betweenness of his identity performance is formed with connections extending in many directions, connections forming plateaus of simultaneous becomings. For example, in the episode, along with those relations already described, Shameen is clearly involved in extending Spacing 2 or "becoming producers and consumers." Shameen's talk includes indexical expressions that point to ways of shifting the "you" of the story world to the "you" of the classroom, mapping one world atop the other. Even more evident is the way Shameen creates his own "machinic assemblage" by using his body to act out the meat production process. The transcript (Appendix) offers a simplified description of some of his complex embodied movements, including motions of chopping, holding and tipping a wheelbarrow, and grinding imaginary sausage. This sequence of production—the embodied act of becoming producer—is punctuated by expressions that serve to transform the classroom floor into a packing plant floor, but also by expressions that advance territorializing Space 1 and deterritorializing Spacing 4, as considered previously.

Further discussion

Moving across a relatively unfamiliar theoretical and methodological terrain in literacy research, we wish to unsettle our own and others' interpretations, to "actualize the virtual" of literacy performances rather than simply "realiz[ing] the possible" (Deleuze, 1990, p. 97) by playing out well-established method. Because the virtual is not given in advance as a model or set of abstractions to be reproduced, as literacy researchers, we attempt to reconsider the forces active in our own work that allow our interpretations to become new and thereby mirror the slippery newness of the literacy performances we study.

Performing literacy and space

We have concerned ourselves with the diverse discursive and material world of performances, attempting to read against the grain of anthrocentric and logocentric interpretations. Human performers/actors do not act alone (Brandt & Clinton, 2002; Latour, 1987), but rather they marshal, and are joined by, a whole host of other actors, including material texts, material spaces, objects, embodied movements, and relations between bodies. Our spatial interpretations are a response to the multiple connections and heterogeneous actors involved in

literacy performances. We have considered how these configurations or assemblages may be understood as spatial productions. The performance multiplies the number of texts available for interpretation and for the production of affective intensities: images, words, joking smiles, and a body enacting sausage grinding are made available, are coreferential, and continually shift the modality (truth value) of representation. Moreover, as multiple texts are in play, no single text provides a structure for the unfolding of the event, and as such it stutters, breaks, and moves in ways that are unpredictable to both performers and audience members.

Given the complexities of space, any analysis hides certain forms of space while making others evident. The rhizoanalysis of the performance reimagines the performance as a set of acts, or action becomings. The focus of rhizoanalysis is what is being made, or what could possibly be made. Speech and embodied actions are not read as isolated "acts" but as producing relationships to one another, as spacings characterized by different movements. The problem of the performance is not (only) about meaning and being, but about becoming—moving bodies, texts, and signs into relation with one another.

The shifting relationships in performances or performance machines, splayed across heterogeneous enunciations and bodies, are essentially affective, involving different tendencies to attract and repulse one another. Affect in this case does not describe individual emotion but rather a collective "capacity to affect and to be affected" (Goodchild, 1996, p. 217). Mapping these multiple effects of bodies and enunciations in interaction serves two purposes in our analysis. First, it permits us an initial means of considering the "warp of instantaneous transformations" and the "woof of continuous modifications" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 86), or the specific timings and spacings through which enunciations are inserted, as actors, into configurations of bodies (or vice versa) to speed them up, slow them down, drawing them toward familiar territories or breaking them open with acts that leak and escape with deterritorializing movements. For example, one audience member's exclamation (1:24) "on my toes" in the performance may be interpreted indexically, in relation to a particular indexical ground (e.g., the image of the feet in the jar on the poster). Rather, we interpret it here as punctuating or interrupting other enunciations (the poster image, and "you might find a toe or sumthin' in your ham" at 1:13) and bodies (the bodies of the presenters and audience members), and moving or deterritorializing them toward an act of (mock)

dismemberment. "On my toes" does not function as an organizing center for these relations but rather pulls across the rhizomatic web and ignites space–time movement. In asserting, then, that spatial performance is about affect, we posit that it is about making difference happen—about disrupting spaces or creating new spatial relations. The relations of performance, space, affect, and difference also provide a means of thinking spatially about identity.

Identity as spatially performed

From a Deleuzian perspective, Colebrook (2002) argued for understanding character in literature as an assemblage of affects:

> Character is not a single unified ground or body which then has certain distinguishing features; characters are collections or "assemblages" of randomly gathered affects. Miss Haversham in *Great Expectations* is a hatred of men, a rotting wedding cake, a decaying body, a memory of loss, a darkened room and a desire for revenge. Characters are the diverse events and histories that compose them, and the same applies to any self. (p. 83)

This "assemblage" perspective on identity is brought out in the analysis by considering the performances as engaging multiple and heterogeneous actors (e.g., poster texts, bodily arrangements, hand–poster relations, information statements, laughter). The diverse events, histories, and things that are recruited by performers and audience members to perform identities provide a perspective of identity as a type of bricolage of actors and relations among them. In the analysis, we offered a partial interpretation of Shameen's identity as simultaneous becomings, or spaces that organized bodies and enunciations toward different lines of territorialization and flight: becoming the text, becoming producers and consumers, becoming dismembered. The analysis does not map how such momentary "becomings" work toward other assemblages of identity for Shameen or others across space–time but rather assumes that these, too, will consist of unpredictable assemblages and movements. Possibilities for new subjectivities are dependent upon producing difference, within the lines of segmentarity and repetitions of institutions and social strada: "For it is difference rather than similarity—difference in temperature, density, currents, potentiality, for example—that drives all change and becoming in phenomena" (Roy, 2003, p. 20).

Consider, rather, if in contrast to such an analysis we analyzed the episode with Shameen spelling out "ar-thang" sausage and enacting the sausage production only in relation to a pregiven structure of identity or identities (e.g., race, class, or gender). Whereas such overly determined readings can provide critical means of illuminating structured, molar lines of power and identity, they also reterritorialize the performance, making it indexical to some (socially defined) referential ground. If the "origo" of Shameen in performance is black, or Latino, or working class, or female, then the performative working of power and identity is imagined to function for these predetermined spaces. On the other hand, imagining performance as potentially positively valenced for power and identity involves keeping an eye toward forms of emergence that cannot be predicated in advance. In addition to moving beyond the reduction of a priori identity categories for such analysis, an important analytical move that we have explored is the continual disruption of locating or fixing identity: thinking identity as nailed down to a specific "thing" or "body." The rhizoanalysis, rather, pushes us to think relationally and spatially about identity—toward "and...and...and" connections, fighting our own tendencies to claim an "is" for Shameen or others.

Conclusions

How might we describe the dead and living geographies (Thrift & Dewsbury, 2000) of literacy practice and performance? Routine student performances provide a window into the micropolitics of literacy classrooms, into the meanings of literacy for performers and audience members alike, and into the relations between literacy and identity. Certain literacy performances seem familiar, and perhaps even highly skilled, yet are predictable and produce little if anything new, whereas other literacy performances are striking and memorable but somehow escape our attempts at analyzing them. In this article we have addressed methodological and theoretical challenges associated with the interpretation of literacy performance, which, in broad strokes, might be characterized, first, as the problem of reading *space*, and second, as the problem of *reading* space.

The problem of reading *space* is a way of summarizing the movement away from a text-centered, voice-centered, performer-centered, or other "centric" form of analysis. Rather, performances are decentered; performances involve rhizomes and assemblages (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) and therefore must be read relationally. A multimodal analysis of the relations of speech to print texts, images, bodies, and objects is posited not simply as a more complete or complementary analysis of activity otherwise

interpreted as "oral" but as a means of arguing that performance involves the production of space. If performances produce space, then reading literacy performance as the production of texts or subject positions alone is a misreading of power, social relations, and literacy practice within performance. Spatial relations involved in literacy performances include the ways in which textual meaning and spaces are not given in advance but are coemergent, and the ways in which subject positions are not merely "positions" or "locations" but rather dynamic linkages and associations. A rhizomatic perspective on spatial relations asserts the importance of materiality, of moving beyond an interpretation of literacy performance as "voice" and considering the ways in which voices act with bodies, with material texts, and with objects; the coordination and contrast of multiple resources and modalities is more important than any single resource in use, including language. Through this relational perspective, we also assert how literacy performances produce not only space but also plural spaces; much of the complexity and delight of performance is their multispatiality, including the ways in which performers laminate and move between spaces by drawing on different modalities, embedding representations within lived performances, using complex forms of indexicality, and shifting between multiple footings.

In developing the perspective on space as an interpretive construct, we move also to the problem of *reading* space. This methodological problem involves the limitations of reading as an act of tracing known relations, of making texts stand still and tracing their lines with worked-out systems. We critique the limitations of representational logic to help us understand space, and in particular to help us interpret how spaces evolve and flow over time. This problem of reading asks not only how persons perform literacy spaces, but also, reflexively, how analysts "perform" or trace meanings upon performances in ways that fail to capture their movements in time. In this perspective, performance is not only about relations in space or even across spaces but also about the flows and accelerations of specific timings and spacings, about the ongoing creations of effects, about bodies and their affect, and about creative unfoldings that cannot be predicted in advance. Reading a performance nonrepresentationally, which we have attempted through rhizoanalysis (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) pushes away from an emphasis upon fixed meaning and toward action and emergence, attempting to follow the virtual "becomings" of literacy performance. Whereas such "reading" borrows on familiar practices of interpretation, it attempts to move beyond this tradition

by thinking, moving, and imagining with the performance—being drawn into its affective intensities—rather than standing outside of the performance and decoding it as a received text.

Toward a rhizomatic literacy pedagogy

Rich interpretations of literacy performances, including the problems and resources we have discussed, may be of value beyond methodology in so far as they help us to think about the potentials of literacy performances for the generation of difference. Performances allow for forms of becoming that escape our means of description (precisely the point), expanding "schooled becoming" that is overly anchored to texts, static meanings, standards, and ready verbal description. Making room for diversity, or unmooring subjectivity, involves more than a departure from teacher guides to student-centered forms of dialogue, from teacher-centered to student-centered social space. Rather, it involves an affirmation of the production of difference in pedagogy, a valuing of multiplicities and their contingent movements that cannot be defined in rubrics: "The challenge for educators is to learn to embrace teaching as pedagogical action that permits cracks to appear in order for learning to happen" (Fels, 2004, p. 76). Performing literacy moves texts and meanings and identities across spaces and toward emergent, embodied creations, where subjects and outcomes are described relationally rather than in isolation or in comparison to ideal types.

Roy (2003), in his Deleuzian theory building on curriculum and case study of an unusual school, argued that "teacher-becoming" is a problem of engaging and experimenting with sign regimes. We might readily posit the same argument for the divergent becomings of students. Pushing away from more static and linear narratives of development, Roy considered how possibilities for becoming are immanent in the relations between persons who remain open to the multiplicities of acting together and who move beyond fixed definitions of their roles (e.g., as "teacher," "poor student," or other). Sid, as discussed previously, was often described by the students as crossing the boundaries of the categories "teacher" and "friend," "adult" and "kid," and other binary forms of identification. We have suggested that an important element in his pedagogy, which resonated with the betweenness of his subjectivity, was the incorporation of a wide variety of student performances and presentations. Even though many aspects of these performances were reterritori-

alizing, and even though students developed conventions for them, they nevertheless provided the conditions whereby unpredictable and affective openings could emerge. If literacy learning is seen as the production of difference rather than merely as acquisition (Roy, 2003), then such pedagogical and curricular openings are particularly significant. Key, however, to such pedagogy, in "thinking the performance" is to think multiplicity and connections rather than domesticating the performance with representational logic.

Embodied performances such as we have analyzed appear as particularly rich sites to promote the virtual, in large part because new virtualities for connection, and therefore difference, are opened up. Multimodality, embodied activity, and performer–audience relations are not simply about doing old things—realizing the possible—in new ways (e.g., drawing images rather than writing notes). So-called "new" practices can be readily disciplined in such ways. Rather, difference is opened up by permitting new "actors" in the classroom (e.g., bodies, images, the built environment), allowing new spaces to be made that have not yet been named, and engaging those spaces in ways that do not strip them of their newness. Imagining literacy education as an actualization of the virtual cuts against the political and cultural grain of the standardization of bodies and enunciations that characterizes current trends in public schooling, with its saturation of text-centrism and knowledge as a collection of the already known and the possible. At the same time, "thinking the virtual" is not given to idealism but rather to recognizing the potential, already latent and perhaps ignitable, within current practices. Practice is always and everywhere connected to lines of segmentarity, in some contexts and eras more severely than others, but practice cannot be entirely described by such lines, as it escapes our attempts to name and contain it.

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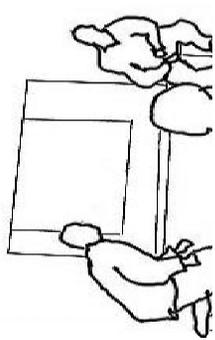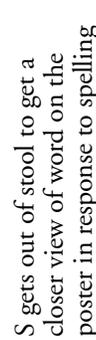## TRANSCRIPT OF PERFORMANCE

Abbreviations:
S: Shameen (seated front, stage left)   W: Willie (seated front, stage right)
T: Terrayel (seated back, stage left)   Au: Audience (seated facing performers)

Visual frame	Embodied activity	Notes	Time	Oral text
Shameen, Terrayel, Willie, Audience. Opening arrangement of presenters, poster, and audience.	Audience member raises hand at opening of segment. T points out to raised hand, followed by S. [0:5] When S points, more directly, the audience member asks question. [0:6] S points to the poster while claiming "that's an s, that's not a g." He is several feet from poster.	Performers are welcoming the audience to ask questions about the visual display before the official presentation begins. The first question asked by the audience was not about the drawings on the poster but instead about the printed text.	0:5 0:6	Au: What's a sausaguuge? [*laughs*] S: Hey, hey that's an *s*, that's not a *g*.
S gets out of stool to get a closer view of word on the poster in response to spelling remark.	[0:12] W looks over toward Tim before calling on him for the question.	W does not acknowledge Au and S or the poster. W faces the audience and redirects the participants by calling on an audience member.	0:9 0:10 0:11 0:12 0:13	Au: Sagauge [*laughs*]. S: [*responds to Au remark, getting out of his seat and moving two feet closer to the poster and leaning in to examine the print on the poster*] W: All right, Tim, go ahead. Tim: What's that with the rat tail sticking out of it? W: That's, like, the sausage; that's, like, they put everything inside.

Visual frame	Embodied activity	Notes	Time	Oral text
	[0:19] W extends arm outward toward Tim with "exactly."		0:17	Tim: That's nasty. [*laughter from class and performers*]
			0:19	W: Exactly.
			0:20	S: It is nasty.
			0:21	Au2: You think.
			0:23	Tim: I do have to let y'all know that, so go ahead.
Willie touches drawings on poster.	W puts right hand flat over drawing of ham when he begins. Shifts hand to the right side of the drawing and then points three fingers at the text above the ham while explaining. Waves his fingers in the air as a group as if to mark each "crossing out." [0:47] Momentarily pulls hand back and then sweeps hand over surface of ham drawing with "green stuff on it." Pulls hand back, then taps drawing one more time with right hand. Shifts hand away from poster and points toward T with the closing line. W shows no eye contact with other performers as he discusses the poster but frequently looks out at audience. S and T gaze at W as he speaks.		0:24	W: We're gonna start off, like, explainin' the drawings. This right here is, like, a ham. Like spoiled ham, pickled ham. It's spoiled. They used to take the spoiled meat out of the pickle and sell it on the free lunch counter and get like ham. We got, like, grade D ham and it was crossed out grade C, crossed out, grade B ham and, like, grade A ham for sale—two dollars, and it's spoiled, green stuff on it. And that's why we drew the ham thing up there.
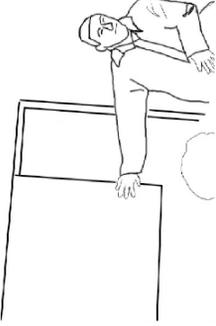
TRANSCRIPT OF PERFORMANCE (continued)

Visual frame	Embodied activity	Notes	Time	Oral text
	T points toward drawing of feet with left arm, then swings arm down, and points back at finger drawing. Points again, same hand, toward jar in general with "pickle juice." Waves hand up and down with "acid in it." T shows no eye contact with audience, rather gazes slightly downward and in general direction of W, except when pointing toward poster.		0:52	T: Uh, uh, we drew the, uh, the feet in the jar because, and the finger, because, uh, when the workers worked, there was some type of, the pickle juice. Had some type of acid in it. And it, like, messed up they feet, or disintegrated, and it went into the food, and everythang, so we made that.
	W looks out at audience, shifts up out of stool with "ham" and sits back down.	W's talk overlaps S's talk. W gains the floor and the camera shifts to him.	1:13	W: So it was possible that you might find a toe or sumthin' in your ham.
			1:16	Au1: Ugh!
	Begins to lift right arm up in direction of poster. After at least one audience member laughs, he starts to laugh and drops shoulder with "that was possible."		1:18	W: or somewhere in your. [*large grin as the audience laughs*]. //That was possible.//
		[1:19] S interrupts him with a humorous remark. W stops explaining the drawing and begins to laugh at S's remark.	1:19	S: //PICKLED PIG FEET, YOU//, WANT THE PIG FEET? [*audience laughs*]
	All three performers are looking toward poster.	The audience begins chattering among themselves during S's and W's brief interchange.	1:24	Au: ( ) on my toes.

TRANSCRIPT OF PERFORMANCE (continued)

Visual frame	Embodied activity	Notes	Time	Oral text
	With question from audience, S does not look out at audience but rather points, full arm and abruptly toward the poster with "that's ar-thang sausage."		1:27	Au: Is that sausage or something?
	Both S and T acknowledge teacher through slight body re-orientation and gaze. W is gazing in direction of S and T.		1:29	S: Uh-ah. That's ar-thang sausage
			1:31	Teacher: How do you spell *ar-thang?*
	[1:34] After spelling, and while laughing, S rocks back and forth atop stool.		1:33	S: A-R-T-H-A-N-G, ar-thang.
	[1:36] T lowers head while laughing at S's spelling, continues to laugh and looks toward back stage momentarily. [1:39] S looks momentarily toward poster and then back toward audience.			
S continues to demonstrate.	After "Look, look, look," S engages the audience through an embodied demonstration. He gazes downward in general direction of stage left, looking into the space in front of his hands as he acts out the activity of the workers. T gazes toward S during this demonstration.	Performer S becomes the text—his actions and talk create a meaning-making system used to interpret the drawing.	1:42	S: Look, look, look. See—in the, in this big room, they just had whole bunch of meat that they chopped and arythang. And, um, rats used to be runnin' around up in there and they used to poop on it and stuff like that and had a whole big thing of
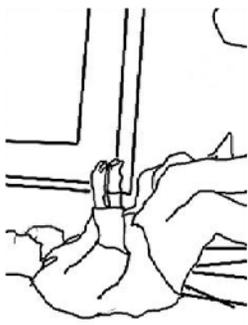
TRANSCRIPT OF PERFORMANCE (continued)

Visual frame	Embodied activity	Notes	Time	Oral text
	Sequence of S's demonstration: a. Hands circling in front of him with "chopped up." b. Pulls left hand inward toward space in front of body with "rats running around." c. Pulls right hand in toward center of space in front of body with "poop on it." Hands cross in front of body. d. Raises right hand up, palm down, as if to show pile with "big thing of dung." e. Raises up out of stool, arms extended in front as if holding and tipping wheelbarrow with "take this wheelbarrow." f. Sweeps left hand in toward space in front of body with "dung and arthang." g. Both arms out front, as if holding wheelbarrow and tipping abruptly with "dump it in there." h. Circles right fist one time in air in front of body with "grind it up." i. Swings right hand back and forth five times with "the rats and the dung."			dung and stuff, and they used to take this wheelbar-row up in 'ere, and they would get the thing, and you might have a <u>rat</u> up in 'ere, and you might have <u>dung</u>, and everything up in 'ere. And they used to bring it to the, um, thing, and dump it in there and then grind it up <u>with the rats and the dung and arythang</u> [*sing-song tone as he says under-lined words*] and spit it out that little thing—you know how they reel it to make the sausage?
			2:13	Au: Yep!
			2:14	S: Stick it into that string [*waves arms to show his imaginary string of sausage he's just made*] and then they <u>sell</u> it.

TRANSCRIPT OF PERFORMANCE (continued)

Visual frame	Embodied activity	Notes	Time	Oral text
	i. Hands in front of body. Left hand looks as if it is holding something and right hand circles around it, as if turning a crank with "spit it out that little thing." j. Pulls hands apart from one another about two foot, showing small "o" spaces with thumbs and index fingers with "stick it into that string." k. Sweeps left hand outward and swings outward toward poster, palm outward with "they sell it." Redirects gaze toward poster with this swinging motion.			
W looks toward poster and smiles.	W looks directly out toward audience when beginning to speak and then toward poster. [2:20] W shrugs one shoulder with "a roach." [2:23] W momentarily shifts head toward audience with "piece of wheelbarrow," then back toward poster; slight smile.		2:17	W: So it's possible you //might find half a rat//.
			2:18	S: //It might have a rat tail or// somethin' up in 'ere.
			2:20	W: Or a roach, or
			2:22	Au1: [comments]
			2:23	W: (...) piece of wheelbarrow [*begins to grin*] in your sausage.
		[2:26] Audience member challenges W's exaggeration by calling it to the attention of the performers and the audience.	2:26	Au2: He said piece of wheelbarrow [*W and audience laughs*].

TRANSCRIPT OF PERFORMANCE (continued)

Visual frame	Embodied activity	Notes	Time	Oral text
	[2:27] After audience's comment, W gazes out at audience with broad smile. Audience laughter.		2:29	Au3: I don't think that grind—grinds.
	[2:31] W gazes at poster with "the way, we got the Inspector drawn up there…"		2:31	W: Hello. And, the way, we got the Inspector drawn up there and he, like, got...