"You are confusing!": Tensions between Teacher's and Students' Discourses in the Classroom

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ABSTRACT

This article concludes that a *pedagogic discourse* is legitimized in school practices when power in society is actualized and exercised through the use of language as symbolic power. Under these circumstances, the classroom becomes an arena where teachers' discourse as *the regulator* collides with students' discourse as *the regulated*. Reflecting on the context, this article investigates a classroom where pedagogic discourse prevails and highlights that teacher's identities and students' identities are met and negotiated by each other through alignments and conflicts. The significance of these tensions of discourses between teachers and students is discussed.

INTRODUCTION

At present, a growing number of second-generation students from Korean immigrant families are joining classes in U.S. public schools.[1] These young Koreans, as Linguistic Minority Children (henceforth, LMC), must shoulder two burdens at the same time: learning the Korean language (and culture) and learning English (and American culture). Most of the Korean LMC in the U.S. enroll in weekend Korean schools,[2] from which they can maintain their heritage, language, and culture. This article focuses on: 1) how the classroom interactions between teachers and students represent the power structure of school and society in terms of the *pedagogic discourse*; and 2) how the teacher's discourses and identities collide with those of students. This article investigates these questions using the theoretical perspectives of critical pedagogy, and analyzes pedagogic discourses in the target setting by adopting Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA) as a methodology.

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[1] By 2001, there were more than 2.1 million Korean immigrants in the U.S., which is 38% of all Korean immigrants worldwide. The Korean language is one of the eight largest minority languages, among 350 language groups in U.S. school districts (Escamilla, 2000).

[2] According to Park (2004) and MOE (2005), there are over 1,000 community-church based Korean language schools in the U.S., and over 60,000 young students learn Korean as their heritage language in these schools.

The main goal of this study is to determine how the identities of LMC are realized, challenged, and negotiated with teachers or peers—and how their discourses are created and collide in classroom interactions. This micro-level CDA for classroom interaction will show how the macro-level power structure of a society permeates pedagogic discourses in the classroom, and will further illustrate the struggles of students' voices and identities during their journey of heritage language learning.

Critical Theories, Pedagogic Interaction, and Discourse

Critical Pedagogy: The Conceptual Framework

Language learning is always embedded in cultural settings. This is especially true for second language learners who live in complex and heterogeneous communities (Krashen, 1981). In a heterogeneous society, there exists unequal power relationships between genders, races, classes, and ethnic groups. In this situation, linguistic minorities who are learning a dominant language are never free from these unequal relations of power because language teaching and learning is not a neutral practice but a highly political one (Giroux, 1983).

Bilingual learning in a society where languages and ethnicity are hierarchized tends to be politically charged in terms of the issues of inequality and injustice (Pennycook, 1992). Pennycook (2001) also argued that the classroom is seen as a kind of microcosm where the political relations of the outside world are reproduced, and where critical pedagogy is convened for. Furthermore, critical pedagogy encourages students to develop their own voices and resist the marginalization of school, which Pennycook (2001) emphasized as *critical language awareness* or *voice* (p. 95). This concept of *awareness* or *voice* is closely related to the theme of this article on LMC's identity struggle in classroom discourses. By paying attention to their discourses−*voices* or *resistance*−it is possible to conceptualize how teachers or students negotiate with each other and create their own positions.

Here are the definitions of major terms in this article.

The notion *power*, as it is used in this article, aligns with that by Pennycook (2001, 2004): e.g. "language is not autonomous from power, which creates domination and, then, provokes resistance" (2004, p. 14). Reminding us of the concept of *resistance*, he emphasized that any language study needs to pay attention to the speaker who produces discourses as a language user. In the same vein, Fairclough (1992) defined that *discourse* is "a language use as a type of social practice" (p. 28), which is not neutral or value-free but ideological and value-laden. In this sense, Gee (1996) argued that discourses are intimately related to the distribution of social power and hierarchical structure in society, which is why discourses are always ideological. By *identity*, this article means the subjectivity of an agent (a student) that is affected by cultural and political disposition imposed on individuals or peers within a social (pedagogical) relationship in school settings. In sum, critical pedagogy is a significant practice to disclose ideological discourses in school by listening to the students' identities, and to help them to create their own meaning throughout their schooling.

Pedagogic Discourse: The Target of Analysis

Bernstein (1996) defined pedagogic discourse as a *recontextualising principle* by which "distributive rules translate into the field of production of knowledge with their own rules of access" (p. 33). Thus, the term *pedagogic* refers to the practice of transformation of social values and ideas through the instruction held in institutional settings to reproduce such legitimized social values. In this sense, classroom interaction between teachers and students is the typical source for producing *pedagogic discourse*.[3]

This article proposes that the pedagogic discourse yields three characteristics: (a) there are explicit or implicit power hierarchies between teachers and students, and even among students; (b) some of the objectives or goals of classroom interaction are rather pre-described and pre-consented; and (c) classroom interactions are full of diverse and dynamic relationships between teachers and students. This being said, this article argues that, going beyond Bernstein (1996), the power dynamics between teachers and students are not static and unilateral, but always bilaterally constructed with negotiation, challenge, and resistance (Bourne, 2001).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA): The Method

According to Corson (2000), CDA explores hidden power relations between a piece of discourse and wider so-cial and cultural formations and uncovers inequality, power relationships, injustices, discrimination, etc. In other words, CDA creates a politically engaged form of linguistic discourse analysis (Weiss & Wodak, 2003) in terms of interpreting and explaining the relationship between the "form and function of language" (Gee, 2001). Furthermore, CDA also explicitly addresses social problems and seeks to solve them through emancipatory and participatory social and political action (van Dijk, 2001).

In spite of its theoretical and methodological merits, Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui, and Joseph (2005) pinpointed two things as criticisms of CDA; it has not performed a close analysis of linguistic resources in the discourse structures of the micro-level interactions and it doesn't fully appreciate the issue of unequal power distribution between races or ethnicity, especially in school settings. Therefore, this study adopts CDA as a method to investigate the pedagogic discourses created in the classroom interaction between teachers and students who are teaching/learning heritage language in a weekend Korean school. Classroom interaction with the perspectives of pedagogic discourse could be a good target of investigation of LMC's identity and the creation of their own discourses with a conceptual and methodological consideration of CDA.

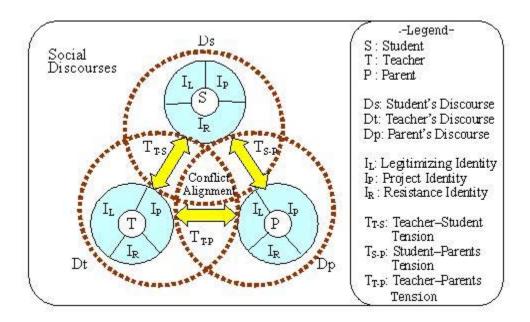## METHODOLOGY

Analytic Framework

Micro-interactions in school classrooms have been considered as good examples of the way in which social structures are reproduced through educational institutions (Bourdieu, 1979, 1984). For the CDA of classroom interactions, this study adopts Rogers' (2004) methodological approach, and uses her notion of *alignment* and *conflict* of discourses as a main framework of the analysis. From the experience of teaching and interacting with the participants, this article argues that there are at least three kinds of tensions in a classroom setting as a pedagogic discourse: tensions between teacher and students (T_{T-S}), between students and parents (T_{S-P}), and between teacher and parents (T_{T-P}). Each party (teacher, students, and parents) has its own identity,[4] which I will categorize in terms of Castells' (2004) classification: legitimizing identity (I_L), project identity (I_P), and resistance

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[3] However, this article does not rule out the influx of home discourses into institutional settings. As Rodriguez (2006) investigated, parent-visits to the classroom provided an opportunity for the home subjectivities to be introduced into the classroom culture. In this case, the students are supposed to possess multiple and shifting identities and the discourses taken up by the students, their parents, and the classroom teacher collide when the tensions between the discourses are surfaced.

[4] Gee (1996) integrated the participants' identity as "situated identities" that are referring to the nexus for discourses and practices as people construct, and are constructed by, their social world. And Rogers (2004) investigated identity as for *alignment* (consistency between identities either within or across contexts) and *conflict* (disjuncture between identities). However, I'm arguing that Gee's and Rogers' notion of identities are equivalent to Castells' (2004) categorization of identities, in terms of how they react to the situations or discourses and create their own discourses through three different identities, within and across the contexts.

FIGURE 1

Tensions of Discourses among Identities

identity (I_R).[5] Among these relationships between identities, this article focuses only on the tensions between teacher and students (T_{T-S}).

As Rogers (2004) argued, these three types of identities incessantly interact and are negotiated through processes of alignment and conflict. Let me illustrate this theorization of pedagogic discourses in terms of tensions among identities in the dynamics of alignments and conflicts with the figure above.

As shown in Figure 1, each party—teacher, student, and parents—has different proportions of identities; e.g., students usually have more resistance identity (I_R) than teachers or parents; parents have a greater project identity (I_P) than students; teachers have more legitimizing identity (I_L) than students or parents, etc. Each set of identities (the smaller solid circles: teacher's identity, student's identity, and parents' identity) constructs its own discourse (the dotted larger circles): i.e., Student's Discourse (D_S), Teacher's Discourse (D_T), and Parents' Discourse (D_P). These Discourses create tensions (the double-headed arrows: T_{T-S}, T_{S-P}, and T_{T-P}) among each other. Where these tensions among discourses meet, alignments, conflicts, and negotiations arise.

[5] Castells (2004) argues that legitimizing identity serves mainly the dominant group for carrying out public authority. And the resistant identity usually emerges against this legitimizing identity; due to resistance, this systematic exercise of inequitable power by the ruling dominant group often hits the wall. Now, where there is dominance and resistance, there are conflicts, alignments, and negotiations between legitimizing and resistant identities. These conflicts create a new space for negotiation to reach an alternative form of identity, e.g., "project identity." According to Castells, the project identity is how social actors redefine their position in society.

The Setting and the Participants

The participants are three Korean LMC who attend a church-based weekend Korean (literacy) school in a midwestern university city in the U.S. The three participating girls, G (8 years old), H (8 years old), and J (7 years old), have shown very different attitudes throughout all of the class sessions. For example, G has been very taciturn but defiant, while H has been very active, extroverted, and adaptive. On the other hand, J has newly arrived from Korea for a short-term English-immersion program: she has been very silent and docile.[6] The pedagogical interactions─teaching and learning Korean literacy─between these three children and their teacher are analyzed and interpreted in terms of the struggles between the teacher's and the students' identities. Such struggles are, what this article calls, tensions between pedagogic discourses.

Data Collection

This study is participatory action research performed and reported by the teacher, who is also the author. The author has been teaching and observing the children for five months. The Korean lesson has been held for two hours on every Friday afternoon. To collect data, the classroom interactions have been video-recorded and some semi-structured interviews have been conducted to hear more about how the students reflect on the class or on their Korean learning. The

[6] These idiosyncratic characteristics will turn out to be very different reactions and identities throughout the data analysis.

TABLE 1

Examples of the teacher's intentions, alignments, and conflicts with the students' identities

Teacher's Discourse	Strategies*	Examples (lines / speaker : utterance)		Align with	Conflict with
Legitimizing identity (I_L)	Selection	9/T:	J, you try it.	J: 8	
	Making rules	13/T:	Can you wait until the class finished?		H:11-2
	"	57/T:	Do you like it? But, not during the lesson!		J: 56
	Threatening	40-1/T:	H, you keep talking about candies. That's why you got a cavity!		H: 42
	Admonishment	44-46/T:	Patience will make you a great person! If you eat them after class, you can feel yourself more accomplished, right?		H: 43
	Comparing Students	135/T:	G, your mom's sharpened your pencils, hasn't she?		H: 134
	Applying a test	213/T:	Look, No.1. It's a test.		H: 212
	Grading students	257/T:	(Teacher was grading what the students were assigned)		G: 256
	Control resource	273/T:	I won't give this to whom are not here.		G: 271
Project identity (I_P)	Making a goal	5/T:	(Speak) In Korean!		H: 6
	Reasoning	14/T:	Because if you chew something, you can't talk.		H:11-2
	Verbal Rewarding	29/T:	I can't believe you did that by yourself! Good job!	G: 28	
	Diversion (Joking)	106/T:	Is this blood?	J: 105	
	Changing topics	119/T:	Then, next chapter is...		All: 117
	Decoying	121/T:	These hand-outs are only for who listening to me.		All: 120
	"	128/T:	These are for whom are good at penmanship.	H: 129	
	"	165/T:	Look! This one...is homework.		All: 162

* These categories of strategies, though they were initiated by the author, have been reviewed and revised by a peer researcher. Nonetheless, the categories adopted in this paper are very context-sensitive and subject to be reevaluated or renamed.

students have often switched their codes between Korean and English, while the teacher has mostly used Korean for his instruction. Korean utterances made by the students and the teacher were transcribed into English for analysis and interpretation.

Scope and Limits of the Analysis

As a part of the author's larger project, this article focuses only on a specific theme: tensions of identities between the students and the teacher when the students were learning Korean as their heritage language. The particular session of data was selected, out of 28 hours of video-recorded classroom interactions, because it includes many interesting episodes and types of discourses, such as alignments, con-

flicts, or negotiations between the teacher and the students, in comparison to other sessions. What this article argues is that the classroom is the typical place where these discourses from different sets of identities conflict and create tensions. In this conjunction, the more the discourses conflict, the more the tensions arise. These tensions that are created from the interactions among teacher, students, and parents in and outside the classroom are negotiated by alignments and conflicts. Since the design of this research has emerged and been revisited during the ongoing process of teaching and reflection, the analysis and discussion of this article is open to any critique or further analysis.

TABLE 2

Examples of the students' alignments and conflicts with the teacher's identities

Students' Discourses	Strategies	Examples (lines / speaker : utterance)	Align with	Conflict with
Legitimizing Identity (I_L)	Self-defense Compliance Making Excuses Inattention Irrelevant remark	50/ G: *I need this because ...*(unintelligible; not relevant) 129/ H: *I'm trying!* 136/ H: My mom didn't do that to me. 157/ G: Ok...(ignoring teacher's trial of explanation) 221/ H: *"body?"* (saying somewhat irrelevant to tease the teacher)	T: 128	T: 48 T: 135 T: 156 T: 220
Resistant Identity (I_R)	Complaining Arguing with Denying Alliance Finding fault with T. Making fun of T. Pretending teacher Blaming Doubting " " Manifestation Bantering (Naming) Challenge Authority Refusing	6 / H: Ah, I don't know it in Korean 43/ H: No, like this...I can speak like this...(arguing) 47/ H: *No!* (not agreeing) 63/ H: See, everybody laughing...They also think its strange. 105/ J: *Period* (when the teacher said that in "Korean" again) 111/ H: *Period is machimpyo. OK? Period? Oh, period~...* 113/ H: *Ok, second page!* 149/ G: *You're confusing!* 71/ G: Teacher, you go to school? (Suspicious) 151(~157)/ G: *You know what "confusing" means?* 155/ G: *What's "cooperating" mean?* (Testing teacher's knowledge) 201/ G: *I hate dictation! I hate it!* 210/ H: *Yes, pee boy~* (all laughing) 256/ G: *You're supposed to know "period!"* 269/ G: *Nothing!*	G: 60 J: 105 G: 206	T: 5 T: 44 T. 46 T. 104 T. 104 T: 148 T: 70 T: 146 T: 153 T: 200 T: 251 T: 268

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

This article analyzes the data collected in three thematic categories: i) alignments and conflicts; ii) pedagogic discourse: the regulator vs. the regulated; and iii) processes of negotiation.

Alignments and Conflicts

The teacher's utterances in the classroom showed his legitimizing and project identity as a teacher, and its alignments and conflicts with the students' identities. The previous table (1) shows how the diverse strategies the teacher employs in his lesson and how his discourses, represented in these strategies, align or conflict with the students' discourses.

In the examples provided in Table 1, the teacher's discourse consists mostly of legitimizing identity (I_L) and project identity (I_P), which represent various pedagogical strategies. Such strategies included, but were not limited to, selecting or comparing students, making rules, threatening/admonishing, giving assignments, and testing/grading students. The teacher's legitimizing identity, which works to maintain his/her authority in the classroom, is an essential part of the student-teacher relationship or a part of the nature of pedagogic discourse. Meanwhile, other strategies—making a goal/reasoning, changing a topic, rewarding, or decoying—can be categorized under the teacher's project identity with which the teacher pursued his role or responsibility in the classroom.

Though this categorization of teacher's strategies can be sorted in more than one way, it is notable that the teacher's legitimizing and project identities align and conflict with

students' legitimizing or resistant identities. For instance, the teacher's "making a goal" strategy (line 5) as a project identity conflicts with a student's "complaining" (line 6) as a resistant identity. Students' discourse and their strategies vis-à-vis the teacher's are listed in Table 2.

As shown in Table 2, the students showed a variety of reactions−e.g., self-defense, compliance, making excuses, irrelevant remarks, or inattention−to the teacher's discourses. These reactions represent their legitimizing identity in the sense that they accept their social status as students in a classroom and accredit the teacher's authority. Nevertheless, a larger portion of their responses consisted of a resistant identity−e.g., complaining/arguing with the teacher, finding fault with/making fun of the teacher, blaming/doubting the teacher, challenging/refusing his authority. For example, when the teacher uttered "Confusing? Then, you can do it later," after he had explained a grammar rule, student G promptly replied to the teacher, "You're confusing!" (line 148). This reaction is just a token of the resistance that she has implicitly (in her spared utterances) or explicitly (with her gestures and attitudes) exhibited during the lessons.

In short, almost all classroom interactions entail these kinds of collisions of discourses among teachers and students, and the processes of alignments and conflicts depend on what kind of identities they put forward in the situation or at the moment of collision: the teacher's legitimizing and project identities and the students' resistance and legitimizing identities. Classroom interactions between teachers and students can yield a variety of these strategic negotiations, and the character of the teacher's and students' negotiation represents their identity as *the regulator* and *the regulated*. How these two discourses collide is discussed in the next section.

Pedagogic Discourses: The Regulator vs. The Regulated

The teacher, the regulator in pedagogic discourse, produces project and legitimizing identities, and the students, the regulated, reveal, mostly, their resistance identities. To examine the pedagogic discourses between the teacher's identity as *the regulator* and students' identities as *the regulated*, I have illustrated the participants' strategies in terms of the category of the regulator and the regulated in Table 3.

The teacher's legitimizing identity in Table 3 can be categorized into three sub-classes: Making Authority, Administration, and Selecting/Comparing. The rationale for this grouping originates in the one vs. many, or the regulator vs. the regulated, opposition between teacher and students. For instance, in the situation of a "one (teacher) vs. many (students)" confrontation, the teacher tends to provoke rivalry among the students by comparing them (e.g., "G, your

mom has sharpened your pencils, hasn't she?," line 135 in Table 1). The teacher, as the only regulator in the classroom, is endowed with the authority to control the class. With the project identity, the teacher tends to apply various strategies as in Table 1 to pursue pedagogic aims. When the teacher said, "These handouts are only for those who are listening to me" (line 121, Table 1), he was trying to regulate the student by controlling the distribution of handouts. With these legitimizing and project identities, the teacher is straining to achieve pedagogic goals, discipline the students, or habituate them to schooling.

In response, the students expressed their own identities: the resistance identity, which denies the teacher's authority, and the legitimizing identity, which acknowledges it. With resistance identity, students tend to challenge and ridicule the teacher's authority, or make alliances among themselves to oppose the teacher's legitimizing identity. For example, when student H said, "See, everybody is laughing...They also think its strange" (line 63, Table 2), she was making an alliance with others to defend her argument against the teacher. To give another example, the students also laughed or bantered together when they were making fun of the teacher ("Yes, pee boy~" in line 210, Table 2). On the other hand, students also hold a legitimizing identity that corresponds to the teacher's project identity. They reacted with anti-reasoning, making excuses, or self-defensive: e.g., "My mom didn't do that to me" (line 136) or "I need this because..." (line 50). One thing to note is that the students' resistant identity does not necessarily make the class out of order or mean that the teacher had lost his control; it was a normal class with both teaching and learning fairly well-performed. What this article highlights is that the power structure of society is legitimized in such seemingly normal classroom interactions as pedagogic discourses between teachers and students as the regulator and the regulated in a classroom. In the next section, I will focus more on the processes of negotiation that comprise alignments and conflicts.

Negotiation Process

Classroom interactions between a teacher and students represent a process of negotiation that entails a series of alignments and conflicts. The teacher's discourses of project and legitimizing identities for control are realized in this process, but these often meet students' discourses of resistant identity which react against the teacher's control. This confrontation of two different identities yields various regulating strategies or maneuvers on the teacher's side, and also summons up diverse objections or excuses on the students' side. This was my meaning when I mentioned that the pedagogic discourses in classroom interactions are not static or unilateral, but rather dynamic and bilateral practices. Let me

TABLE 3

The categorization of strategies of Discourses and their collision *

The Regulator (Teacher's Discourse)		The Regulated (Students' Discourse)	
Identities	**Strategies**	**Identities**	**Strategies**
Legitimizing Identity	-Making authority (making rules/ admonishing/ threatening, etc.) -Administration (giving an assignment/ applying a test/ grading, etc.) -Selection & Comparing	Resistant Identity	-Challenging-authority (complaining/ arguing with/ denying/ refusing, etc.) -Ridiculing authority (finding fault with/ making fun of/ pretending/ blaming/ bantering/ doubting, etc.) -Alliance
Project Identity	-Reasoning & Making a goal -Decoying & Rewarding -Diversion (joking, changing subject, etc.)	Legitimizing Identity	-Anti-reasoning -Making excuses & self-defense -Compliance (obedience/ inattention/ irrelevant remark, etc.)

* Refer to Table 1 and Table 2 for the examples of teacher's and students' strategies.

introduce examples for each of the students' and teacher's negotiation process in Table 4.

In case 1, the teacher suggested a sentence for a quiz, but met with negative reactions from two students (G and H). When the teacher insisted on going on, the reactions of the two students were different: student G kept expressing her resistance to the teacher's directions (lines 240, 260, and 263–64), even though she performed the same work as student H; student H, on the other hand, tried to negotiate, wanting to answer an easier sentence, "I want another one!" (line 242) and wanting to have just one quiz, "I will answer just one question!" (line 262). Student H was very sensitive to the teacher's grading (refer to line 257 for the teacher's action, and lines 258–59 for her reaction) and kept attempting different negotiations to ascertain the teacher's intention. The negotiation continued until all parties reached some degree of complacency (line 267). The teacher could not simply push the students to his pedagogic goal without considering their voluntary involvement in the lesson because he knew that a teacher's such *dictatorship* in the classroom is pedagogically meaningless and fruitless. On the other hand, the students could not just ignore the teacher's direction because they all care about the teacher's grading and comments on their assignments, artifacts, or notes to their parents.

Case 2 shows another aspect of negotiation. The teacher was administering a quiz as a strategy for controlling the students. When he tried to give them a quiz, "Look, No.1. It's a test!" (line 213–14), the foci students G and H refused it. It was almost the end of the session, so student H protest-

ed against the quiz by pretending that she was about to leave, "Good bye! I'm going~" (line 216). As a result, the teacher changed his remark, "It's not a test" (line 217) to persuade her not to leave because this would not be a desirable situation. However, he finally returned to his own legitimizing identity, the regulator who administrates a test, "No hints. This is a test" (line 229). As Bourdieu (1991) employed the notion habitus as "a set of dispositions which are inculcated, structured, durable, generative, and transposable, and which incline agents to act and react in certain ways" (p. 12), this remark was so *unconscious* but persistent that it might be identified as the teacher's *habitus*. It also invoked the students' habituated reactions, as Bourdieu reconceptualized the notion of habitus as an agent's action and reaction to the employment of power (Joseph, 2004).[7] Through power-laden pedagogic discourses, the teacher's habituated identity as the regulator has been imposed on the students' identity as the regulated.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

There are four arguments that I have strived for in this article. The first argument of this article is that the classroom was the arena where the teacher's discourse, represented as a legitimizing and project identity, aligned and conflicted with the students' discourse, represented as legitimizing and resistant identity. An important point is that the teacher's dis-

[7] In this sense, the teacher's utterance, "This is a test!," has always showed strong impact on the students' behaviors: that is, the word 'test' has conjured up the teacher's actions and the students' reactions in a habituated way.

TABLE 4

Exemplary cases of student-initiated and teacher-initiated negotiation process

Case	Negotiation process	Examples (line / speaker: utterance)
[Case 1] Student-initiated Negotiation	T: Suggestion S1: Immediate response S1,2: Negative reaction T: Persistence S2: Negotiation trial (1) T: Maneuvering S2: Complying to teacher's authority for grading S1: Vetoing T: Doing action S2: Negotiation trial (2) S1: Avoidance S1: Rejecting T's suggestion S2: Final checking T: Final allowance	238/T: Now, I'll give you a full sentence. Ready? 239/G: What? 240/G, H: Ah~ (irritated) 241/T: "A teacher is putting socks" (reading a sentence) 242/H: No! Not that one! I want another one! 257/T: (Teacher is grading on what students did) 258-9/H: Teacher, did I do it well? I'm trying "very faithfully" 260/G: I don't like the sentence, "A teacher is putting..." 261/T: (Teacher is writing a question on the board) 262/H: I will answer just one question! 263/G: Oh, my mama already got that. 264/G: I know it! 265-6/H: Is it finished all, now? Is it finished? 267/T: Uh? Yes, we've finished... but...
[Case 2] Teacher-initiated Negotiation	T: Initial suggestion S1,2: Refusing S2: Checking T's response T: Compromising S3: Complying T: Changing/Redirection	213-4/T: Look, (question) No.1. It's a test. No. 1! 215/G, H: No ~ no ~ 216/H: "Good bye. I'm leaving~" 217/T: It's not a test, but just want to make sure you remember what you learned today. 218/J: Yes. 229/T: No hints. This is a test.

course (or identity) is situated in his social role as a teacher. Even though the teacher is well aware of the issue−social hierarchy and dominance−as the researcher of this article, it seemed that his identity had already been constructed by the social structure which continuously bestows a teacher's role upon him. In other words, the social role of a 'teacher' has already been habituated in the teacher (Bourdieu, 1991), even as he tried to problematize and challenge the unequal power relationships among agents in a pedagogic setting.

When a social discourse is represented by the identities of social agencies, it is always situated in the context where the discourse is created. In the case of this study, the teacher's identities were tri-fold: he was a researcher (the investigator), a classroom teacher (the regulator), and an insider (belongs to the same linguistic minority group as the participants). Because of these multiple identities, the teacher himself struggled along with the students in the pedagogic situation. Therefore, the dynamic relationships between the teacher's and the students' identities can be analyzed only after the structures of pedagogic discourses have been fully scrutinized.

Second, the analysis explicated pedagogic discourses between the teacher's identity as the regulator and the students' identities as the regulated. These identities are not fixed, however; rather, the students' and teacher's discourses, represented by diverse responses in which they accessed different identities, were dynamic, interactive, and negotiable. As Rogers (2004) argued, there are shifts in ways of interacting, ways of representing, and ways of being; these shifts constitute a "repositioning of self (or identity)" vis-à-vis the other party's positioning (of identity). In this sense, the opposition between the two identities, those of the regulator and the regulated, were not deterministic, but changing and transforming.

This is a notable point of the significance of micro-level (classroom) discourse analysis in relation to the macro-level CDA. Social discourses are constructed, maintained, and challenged (or resisted) based on unequal power relationships between social agencies that are situated in different social contexts. A school or a classroom, where pedagogic discourses prevail, is a place where social discourses are presented, ideologized, and reproduced (Bourdieu, 1979,

1984; Pennycook, 2001). In fact, a school is an agora where social hierarchy or hegemony is represented in the form of the teacher's *knowledge, authority, or expertness* as distinct from the students' *ignorance, naïveté, and inexperience*.[8] However, these discourses are not always taken for granted: they are doubted, challenged, and transformed as it is analyzed in their negotiation processes.

The third argument is that, though they revealed the same strategy of negotiation, the confrontation of two different identities−regulating vs. resisting−had different purposes. The teacher intended to achieve the pedagogic goal, teaching Korean literacy, while each student reacted to it with idiosyncratic responses. For example, the younger student J was the most proficient in Korean literacy because she was newly arrived from Korea. Since the lesson did not seem challenging to her, she was mostly compliant: there was no reason to struggle and to create stress in Korean literacy class. On the other hand, the other two girls, students G and H, showed a lot of antagonism toward the teacher and exhibited their resistance to learning.

The comparison exposed that, though all three children belong to the category of LMC, their identities (or voices) construct very different individual discourses as they are represented in diverse reactions and negotiations. In the previous literature about LMC's heritage language learning and identity struggles, there has been little attention paid to the individual differences of identities or discourses. The micro-level analysis in this study suggests that identity can also be individualized, depending on individual characteristics, personal goals or interests, it can also depend on different family histories, as identity is also affected by group membership, and factors such as ethnicity or language, which can be the target of macro-level analysis.

Fourth, as the teacher's identities were confronted by the students' identities, tensions between identities often arise in the classroom, and those tensions constitute the pedagogic discourses of the classroom.[9] These tensions between teachers' and students' discourses are not necessarily a negative aspect for education. According to Tzuo (2007), high teacher control and high children's freedom are not exclusive of one another: children's freedom—what is realized in their strategies of resistant identity in this article (e.g., challenging or ridiculing teacher's authority)—can be defined in an active way, as freedom to participate, rather than in a passive way, as freedom from any constraints. Though this article has focused on the distinctive roles of the teacher and the students

as the regulator and the regulated, respectively, it does not intend to dichotomize or fix their roles in such labels; rather, there have been much more occasions that they cooperated, negotiated, and worked in tandem with each other for the pedagogic goal. In this sense, what teachers need is reflexive and dialectic awareness of the fact that classroom is an arena where the broader level of social/cultural power can be penetrated into the student-teacher relationship.

CONCLUSION

This article has investigated the pedagogic discourses of a heritage language classroom through micro-level CDA. The classroom is a place where the teacher's discourses as the regulator collide with the students' discourses as the regulated. The school, where pedagogic discourses are legitimized, is a site where power in society is actualizing and exercised. This article has also described how the teacher is inevitably a part of the social structure that legitimizes social hegemony through his teaching and disciplines, and delineated the students' discourse in their resistance against and/or negotiations with the teacher's discourse.

Though there are constant tensions between the teacher's and the students' discourses, the collision of discourses does not necessarily imply that the pedagogic goal will fail; rather, it is always the case that the classroom allows the teacher's and students' identities to be negotiated through alignments and conflicts. Critical theory looks at such classroom dynamics using the perspectives of reflexivity and resistance (Hoy, 2005). In this sense, this study has ventured to analyze a teacher's reflection on how his pedagogic discourses are exercised in the classroom and challenged by students' discourses of resistance. In this way, critical pedagogy can be an insightful theoretical framework in studying the exercise of power in relation to resistance in classrooms where the pedagogic discourse becomes a valuable resource for analysis. In such a setting, micro-level CDA is a useful methodology in investigating how the daily use of language works for maintaining and reproducing social hegemony, and how it permeates into the pedagogic discourse.

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[8] As Gramsci (1971) defined hegemony as leadership through legitimization and consensual rules, education and schooling might be used as a course of the social hierarchies and hegemony are legitimized.

[9] It must be noted that, though the tensions have been persist throughout the class session, the teaching and learning were very normal and successful, rather not disastrous.

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