

Interethnic relations: A case study of senior students at an Australian high school¹

Louisa Willoughby

School of Languages, Cultures and Linguistics, Monash University
louisa.willoughby@arts.monash.edu.au

This article provides a case study of the relevance of ethnicity in senior student's social interactions at an Australian high school where over 90 per cent of the students speak a language other than English (LOTE) at home. Drawing on ethnographic methods it explores students' own views on the role of ethnic background in shaping who they are friends with, and how these relate to their observed behaviour. It shows that several major peer groups in the school divide on broadly ethnic lines, but that shared orientation toward language and cultural maintenance, rather than common ethnic background are the glue that holds these groups together. The study also finds that relations between ethnic groups at this school are remarkably cordial and closes by reflecting on the possible reasons for this, and the steps schools can take to mitigate inter-ethnic hostility and promote a climate of tolerance and inclusion.

Interethnic relations, Multiethnic schools, identity, friendship, adolescents

INTRODUCTION

It is lunchtime at Ferndale Secondary College. As local students unwrap sandwiches or head off to the canteen for hot dogs, pies and instant noodles, a crowd of Chinese international students gather around the two microwaves in the senior student common room, pushing and joking in Mandarin, in a mock race to be the first to heat up their takeaway container of meat and rice. Their meals fetched, the Chinese international students sit in groups of four or five at tables on the left hand side of the open-plan common room, while on the right-hand side a highly multiethnic group of the most popular girls in Year 12 drape themselves over the large industrial heating vent and chatter with the popular boys who eat their lunch at (or more correctly sitting on) the neighbouring table. In bad weather, the students often remain at their tables for the entire lunchbreak, but more often the boys head off to play sport – the Chinese international students commandeering a basketball court for a game in Mandarin and the local boys fluctuating between basketball, soccer and Australian Rules Football. Meanwhile, regardless of the weather, a small group of Sudanese boys stand in a tight circle under an awning, talking in Arabic as they finish their lunch before adjourning to the library to do work or, more commonly, to the basketball courts, where they join in games with the local students.

The above description raises a number of questions about the ongoing relevance of ethnicity to friendship group formation in the senior high school years. On the one hand, the divisions into Chinese international students (who speak Mandarin with each other), Sudanese refugees (who

¹ The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of a Monash University Post Graduate Publication award for funding towards the writing of this article.

speak Arabic together) and a multiethnic group of so-called local students² (who use English almost exclusively at school) might seem to be a clear-cut case of language or ethnicity determining who one is friends with. Yet social life is not that simple at Ferndale, as we have already seen that on the basketball court the distinction between the Sudanese and local student groups falls away, while the Chinese international students maintain their own court. Knowing that many of the local students are actually of Chinese background (and speak Chinese languages at home) further complicates matters, while we shall see that the extent to which ethnicity remains relevant in local students' peer group formation also remains a hotly debated topic.

In exploring the role of ethnicity in this complex social environment, this article adds to our understanding of the ongoing relevance (or lack thereof) of their ethnic heritage in the lives of these teenagers. Drawing on interview data and ethnographic observations spanning a two year period (2004-05), it explores participants' often changing evaluations of whether and why it is easier to befriend people from one's own ethnic group, and how well these statements match their observed interaction patterns at school. Since few groups are made up exclusively of people from the same ethno-linguistic group, it further investigates how and why students re-draw ethnic boundaries in the Australian context to include those from different backgrounds while often excluding others who would traditionally be thought of as sharing their heritage. It concludes by exploring possible reasons for the relatively high levels of inter-ethnic social interaction at Ferndale Secondary College, and the steps other schools might take to foster a climate of tolerance and inclusion.

ETHNICITY AND FRIENDSHIP IN SCHOOLS

Teachers and students in Australian schools often express the sentiment that students from similar backgrounds tend to befriend each other and stick together. In some schools, this may result in a student body clearly divided into hostile ethnic camps (such as 'the wogs' 'the Asians' and 'the skips'), however more commonly it seems to be experienced as a vague impression that students from similar backgrounds are more likely to befriend each other because they can better understand each others' languages, cultures and experience of juggling the competing demands of the ethnic heritage and contemporary Australian youth culture (Martino and Pallotta-Chiarolli 1999, Miller 2003, Noble et al 1999).

Few Australian studies have given detailed attention to the salience of ethnicity for peer group formation, however, the limited evidence to date suggests the interplay is much more complicated than the characterisation given above would suggest. While friendship groups are often perceived as being ethnically homogenous, in reality most groups accept at least one or two members who are not of the 'correct' ethnicity but share the broad interests and attitudes of group members (Noble et al 1999, Tertilt 1996, Walker 1988). Conversely, students who do not share the appropriate interests and attitudes are likely to find themselves excluded from the group regardless of their background (Fordham 1996, Martino and Pallotta 1999, Walker 1988). Clearly then, ethnicity is not the only relevant social identity for peer group formation: sexual or gendered identities, sub-culture membership, and orientation towards academic achievement are often just as important, if not more so, and have been shown to interact with ethnicity in highly interesting and novel ways (Cf. Auer and Dirim 2003, Collins et al 2000, Hall 1995).

Considering the degree to which schools divide on ethnic lines is important not just because of what it can tell us about the meaning students ascribe to their ethnic backgrounds, but also because these divisions can have a significant impact on students' educational performance. A

² While the Victorian government defines all citizens, permanent residents and holders of temporary protection visas as local students, students and staff at Ferndale tended to use the term colloquially to refer to student who had lived in Australia for some time, thereby excluding the most recent migrants from this category.

number of studies of recent migrants demonstrate the importance of coethnic peer groups for helping students understand their school work and the workings of the school system more generally (Goldstein 2003, Miller 2003, Zhou and Bankston 1998). Ethnically based groups can also help migrant students build a peer culture that values achievement in school systems where the majority of students are rebellious or disengaged (Harklau 1994, Olsen 1997). Yet on the whole, stark divisions on ethnic lines are viewed as problematic. Not only do they limit the opportunities recent migrants have to practise the language of the host society in social interaction with native speakers, but a lack of interaction between groups tends to breed prejudice and conflict between groups and squanders the opportunity for students in multiethnic schools to gain insights into each others' cultures.

There is mounting evidence that suggests ethnic divisions are themselves symptomatic of these groups feeling neglected and disenfranchised within the school system. A number of studies note that ethnic divisions are most common in disadvantaged schools, where few succeed and students have to compete heavily for special academic, pastoral and extra-curricular programs. Conversely, schools with high levels of inter-ethnic mixing are generally those where all students have the opportunity to take part in a range of extra-curricular activities and the results demonstrate that academic success is attainable for students of all backgrounds who are prepared to work hard (Goode, Schneider and Blanc 1992, Verma, et al 1994). Barring a massive injection of funds (which is unlikely) it may seem that there is little disadvantaged schools can do to mitigate these ethnic tensions. However, towards the end of this article Ferndale is used as a case study to examine the small steps schools can take to help meet the needs of a diverse student body and promote an environment where students of all backgrounds feel that they are respected and valued members of the school community.

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

Ferndale Secondary College is a small but ethnically diverse Australian high school in one of Melbourne's traditional migrant reception suburbs. Classified as one of Victoria's most disadvantaged state schools, its student body has a low average socio-economic status (SES) and over 90 per cent of families use a language other than English (LOTE) at home. As Figure 1 shows, students come from a wide variety of ethnolinguistic backgrounds; with students reporting around 40 different home languages in any given year. However the majority of students come from Asian backgrounds, with Chinese, Vietnamese and Khmer speaking students accounting for over 70 per cent of the school population.

As a school of less than 300 students, Ferndale is conscious that its small enrolment (Secondary Colleges in Victoria typically have at least 700 students) makes it vulnerable to closure or amalgamation. The school has undertaken a number of measures in recent years to try to boost student enrolment and retention, however, by far the most important has been to market heavily the school to international students, particularly in China. Here it has achieved considerable success, with Chinese international students making up over 40 per cent of the VCE Public Examination cohort in 2004. As we see throughout this article, the presence of Chinese international students in such large numbers has a profound effect on the way ethnic loyalties and boundaries are perceived in the school, and consequently on the ways in which ethnicity becomes relevant to peer group formation.

This article draws on ethnographic observation and interviews conducted with 25 students in Years 10-12 in 2004 as part of a wider project exploring the relationship between language maintenance, friendship groups and identity affiliations among adolescents of migrant background (see Willoughby 2006). Twenty of the students were either born in Australia or have lived here for at least five years, four were international students from China who had been in Australia for between one and three years, and one was a Sudanese refugee who arrived in Australia a little under three years before the study commenced. Together, they represent a cross-

section of peer groups in the senior school and, had very varied views on the relevance of ethnicity to their social group formation at school.

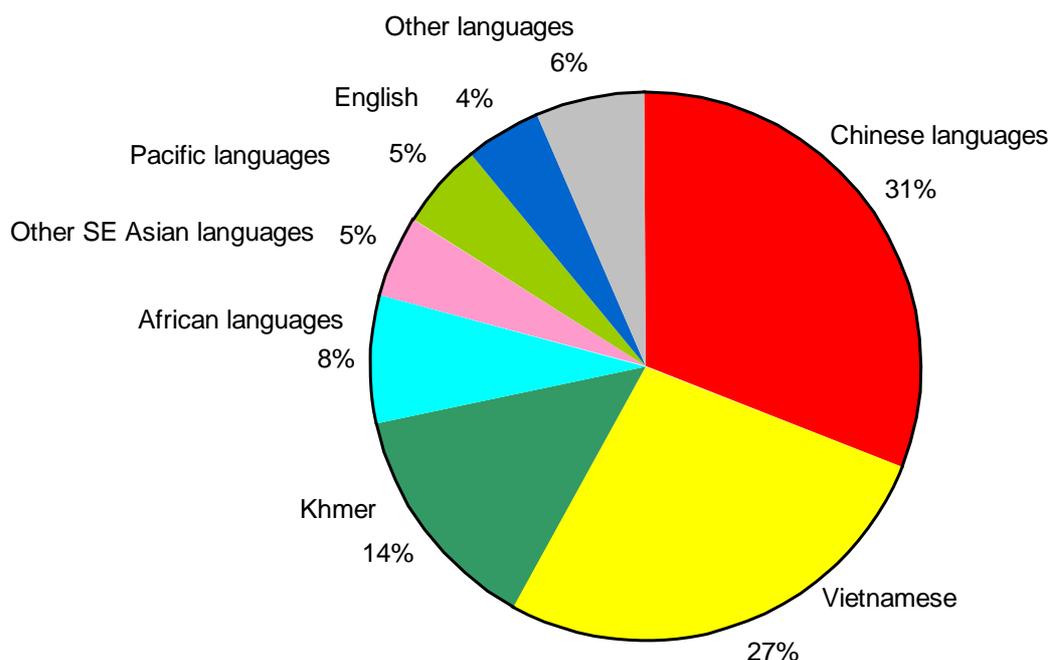


Figure 1. Student home languages

THE SCHOOL SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

The Big Divisions: What Separates Sudanese, Chinese International and Local Students?

There was a strong tendency for Sudanese and Chinese international students to stick together in first language groups³ while at school. Local students generally viewed these groups as arising because of the combined effect of members' difficulties using English and feelings that they had much more in common with each other than they did with students who had lived in Australia for some time. Some local students went as far as to say that Sudanese and Chinese international students did not speak enough English to be able to join local peer groups.

Author: Do you think that when the international students or just generally new people come to the school do you think that they tend to move into friendship groups or do you notice...?

Cathy: Not really with internationals seeing as they can't speak English as well. I dunno we don't mix with them much.

³ One should note that both Mandarin and Arabic are actually second languages for many members of these groups. Referring to either of these groups as co-ethnic is somewhat fraught in that both China and Sudan have a highly multi-ethnic population speaking a variety of different regional languages as mother tongues. However, exposure to the national language through education has given students from these countries a common language, and it seems that faced with the many ethnic differences between themselves and other Australians, students coming from these countries put aside their ethnic differences and form groups based on common national interests. How this process works in detail is unfortunately beyond the scope of this article.

Others view Sudanese and Chinese international students as sticking together in first language groups not because they can't speak English, but because they enjoy the opportunity to express themselves freely without the constraints imposed by their more limited knowledge of English:

Author: Do the [ethnic] groups that stick together seem to still use their languages?

All three: YEAH!

Abrihet: I never hear them speak English

Author: So how much do you think it's a thing that they're not really comfortable speaking English?

Abrihet: It's not that they're not happy I think they just communicate like that.

Mei-Yee: They're just more confident with their own language.

These two views assign different degrees of agency to speakers' decisions to form first language groups. Cathy implies that Chinese international students simply don't have the English skills to mix whereas Mei-Yee, Natalia and Abrihet appear to imply that Sudanese and Chinese international students have the English skills to join local groups if they wanted to, but feel more comfortable sticking together and using their ethnic language. Although Mei-Yee, Natalia and Abrihet do not discuss this explicitly, part of the reason new arrivals seem to feel more comfortable sticking together has to do with a feeling of 'being in the same boat'. As John succinctly put it Chinese international students befriend each other because "we [sic] situation is similar", with a similar situation here including a range of issues from language difficulties, to the experience of living away from family and friends and cultural and economic differences when compared to local students. Similarity of situation can also be taken to be a driving factor in promoting co-ethnic friendships among the Sudanese boys at the school, who generally received little or no schooling in Sudan or in refugee camps and thus face a number of unique challenges adjusting to formal education and life in Australia (cf. Miller et al 2005). Under these circumstances, it is easy to understand why these students feel drawn to each other, and also why the many small ethnolinguistic differences within the Chinese international and Sudanese peer groups tend to be swept aside in a common feeling of ethnic brotherhood.

The separation between local and Chinese international students is also partly an artefact of their different cultural and interactional norms, which, as Mark contends below, can make interaction between them difficult and open to misunderstanding:

Mark: Surprisingly I'd say [the internationals are] in their own group, well not actually surprisingly because ah here we've maintained our own culture if you like, it's sort of like ethics –not ethnic but *ethics* groups – we have different morals and different ways of communicating. Like here if we go out to get lunch we'll bring our lunch, which is sort of like wrapped up, whereas these guys [the international students] will fight like vultures to get into that microwave [in the VCE centre] to heat up their rice [laughs]. So they hang out in their own group and we hang back and we watch them and we don't want to offend them by jumping in and taking the microwave and we have to be careful because these are groups we don't exactly understand them so it's slightly like having xenophobia.

As a Vietnamese-Australian, Mark is alert to the fact that the sense of difference he, and others, feel from the international students derives not so much from a clash of cultural backgrounds, but from different degrees of cultural maintenance. The Chinese international students thus are not strange because they are Chinese, but because their behaviour is still visibly and stridently Chinese in areas where established students have begun to conform to Anglo-Australian norms. Thus Mark comes to the conclusion that what we have here are "not ethnic but *ethics* groups"

based on different norms of behaviour and orientation towards the host and heritage cultures. Similar conclusions emerge from research on the formation and articulation of Asian American pan-ethnic identities, with researchers finding that “second and third generation Asian Americans often consider themselves to have more culturally in common with other American-born Asians [from different backgrounds] than they do with foreign-born compatriots” (Espiritu 1992:167). Indeed, second and latter generation Asian-Americans often show embarrassment at the strange ways and lack of knowledge of North American society displayed by recent migrants and, as at Ferndale, can be reluctant to interact with them (cf. Horton 1992, Kibria 2002, Tuan 1998).

Smaller Divisions: The Relevance of Ethnicity in Local Students’ Peer Groups

Since Ferndale is an extremely diverse school, where students come from at least 50 different ethnic backgrounds, it is not surprising that none of the local student peer groups analysed as part of this study are ethnically homogenous. While around half of all participants are members of exclusively Asian peer groups, the fact that around 75 per cent of students at the school are of Asian background means it is entirely plausible that these groups have arisen by chance.

Participants expressed a variety of views on the salience of ethnicity to their peer group formation. In the following extract the most popular girls in Year 11 debate the degree to which sharing an Asian background contributes to Asian students befriending each other.

Author: What do you think would be some of the crowds or the ways people divide themselves up here [at Ferndale]?

Katrina: I think it kinda happens automatically, you just click with some people.

Nhung: Yeah you just click.

Katrina: I dunno there’s [trails off].

Nary: What? Well I think that what I see is that people um most of them are good friends with their own nationalities and that. So um even though some are mixed but mostly it’s one main nationality. And as well there’s like interests, coz there’s the sport groups and the art people group stuff. So it depends what they’re like.

Author: Do you think that the nationalities that there are any patterns that people from this background also hang round with people from that background?

Katrina: I think its just pretty much Asians hang around each other. I dunno, coz it’s not always the case, but usually you get the Asians hanging together.

Nhung: Yeah it happens more so in big schools you have you’re Asians together and you have your Euros and then uh I dunno [trails off].

Author: What sort of things are people finding in common that Asian people hang out together – is it a values thing?

Katrina: I think it’s the way you were brought up.

Nary: Yeah the culture is similar so we can just understand each other better I suppose with cultures and what you do.

Nhung: And it’s like it’s more like, you have “oh what are you doing Chinese New Year” or “how much of your pocket money did you get” and y’know you have things that there are more things that you can talk about.

While the girls initially see friendship groups in terms of ‘just clicking’ with some people, they quickly move to seeing background as just as important, if not more so, than common interests,

such as art of sport⁴. Although they are quite keen to hedge their comments, it is clear that they feel that similarities in cultures and upbringing make it easier for them to befriend and maintain strong friendships with other Asian students. Later in the interviews, it also became apparent that a key point of common ground for these students was the arguments they had with their parents about what was acceptable behaviour in Australia in areas such as socialising outside of school, having boyfriends and academic achievement. Thus Katrina remarked:

Katrina: I reckon with all Asian parents the lectures are the same [agreement from others] I can go to Nhung “oh yeah your parents probably said that that and that” and she’ll be like “yep”.

Nhung: Yep

Katrina, Nary and Nhung (and also Robert and Mei-Yee), clearly see Asian students as united by a common attempt to craft a standard of behaviour that acknowledges their parents’ more traditional values but ultimately embraces many of the rights, freedoms and notions of gender equality typical of mainstream Australian youth culture. Yet of course not all Asian students share the girls’ view on the best way to balance competing cultural elements, with Putrea, Lan and Van providing examples of participants who crafted their own Asian peer culture where chastity and working towards exceptional academic achievement were integral group values and members were not expected to socialise with each other outside of school, except in the context of family gatherings. In both of these cases, it is clear that a common orientation towards language and cultural maintenance, modernisation and hybridisation is at least as important in bringing group members together as their common Asian background. This point is brought home by Putrea in explaining why she was friends with a large group of Vietnamese friends who shared her traditional values (such as not dating and only socialising with her family outside of school), but had dropped out of touch with friends who share her Chinese and Cambodian background because in her eyes they had become too modern:

Putrea: I used to have friends who are Chinese, Khmer and stuff too, but then like she’s more modern and she goes out and she watch movies and she goes on holidays and stuff like that. And you can’t make friends if I and her are different. You wouldn’t have common stuff. So it’s not fun staying together.

Looking at peer groups in terms of their attitudes towards language and cultural maintenance, not only gives insight into the ways in which members see their backgrounds as still relevant to their daily lives and interpersonal relationships, but also allows us to consider whether those students who claim that ethnicity is irrelevant to their friendship group are actually clustering together in peer groups that embrace mainstream Australian norms. There is some evidence that this is occurring at Ferndale: six participants who emerged from the main study showing a lower than average interest in language and cultural maintenance all claimed ethnicity was irrelevant to their peer group formation but appeared to have formed peer groups at school that were strongly orientated towards Australian youth culture (Willoughby 2006). However, this finding must be interpreted with caution since five of the six were boys, raising the question of whether gender, and not orientation towards cultural maintenance, is the key factor in determining the relevance of ethnic background to peer group formation.

The tendency of boys to form more diverse peer groups at school than girls was outlined particularly forcefully by Abrihet, who remarked:

⁴ It is important to note here that there were no subjects or school activities which were associated with students of a particular ethnic background.

Abrihet: The guys mix more than the girls. Like you'll find a bunch of guys and there'll be one Viet, one Australian, one this one that. Whereas the girls like, our groups are the only that's got difference.

Abrihet's claim that her group is the only highly diverse female friendship group needs to be qualified, as there are a number of female best-friend pairs at Ferndale where members come from very different ethnic backgrounds, for example, Nina and her Afghani best friend Nouria or two girls of Bosnian and Vietnamese heritage in Abrihet's graduating class. It is rare, however, to find a large group of girls whose members come from very different ethnic backgrounds, whereas this kind of diversity does seem more common in boys' peer groups.

A possible explanation for this variation along gender lines is that boys tend to form larger peer groups than girls in the teenage years, making their groups less intimate and more tolerant of diversity of all sorts (Erwin 1998). Because boys' groups are commonly based around certain activities (such as playing basketball together), skill in the activity, and the ability to joke around and amuse others, are often the most important criteria for gaining group membership (Dolgin and Kim 1994). Girls, by contrast tend to select a small group of close friends who share their attitudes and experiences and spend much of their time together sharing secrets and offering support and advice on personal problems (Jones 1991). Studies suggest that at larger schools boys are able to form interest based groups that still divide loosely on ethnic lines, (cf. Martino and Pallotta Chiarolli 1999, Walker 1988). We see this to an extent in the division between the Chinese international and local student basketball cliques. However, for the most part it appears that the number of boys at Ferndale is small enough that those who share common interests must club together with other like-minded students regardless of their ethnic background.

Finally, it is important to note that as much as students might talk about having more in common with people from similar backgrounds, no-one seemed to have trouble relating to people with whom they lack this common ground. Richard, Mei-Yee, Abrihet, Nina and Nohemi give particularly clear examples of students who talked in the interviews about preferring co-ethnic friends, while at the same time having highly diverse friendship groups at school, but all students reported that they maintained friendships with at least one or two people (either at school or in the wider community) who shared their interests, but not their ethnic background. In this light Nina provides perhaps the best assessment of the ambiguous role of ethnicity in friendship group formation at Ferndale.

Nina: With [school friends from other backgrounds] it's something different coz I can't really say do you go to church, coz like they're normally Buddhist or something like that. But it doesn't change, y'know like I can still be friends with them, I can still talk and do things, it doesn't really change anything.

MINIMISING ETHNIC TENSION

We have seen that some peer groups do divide on broadly ethnic lines, however, a hallmark of the Ferndale school environment is the cordial relations between the different ethnic groups. While the local Vietnamese and Cambodian communities have a long-running feud, it almost never progresses beyond light teasing or "arguments about who invented which foods" (as Nhung put it) at school. Similarly, the immersing tensions between Christians and Muslims in Melbourne's horn of Africa communities are yet to manifest themselves in the Ferndale school environment. In closing this article, this section considers some of the likely reasons for this relatively harmonious school environment, and the steps other schools can take to help promote tolerance and inclusion.

When asked why there is little ethnic tension at school, a number of students focussed on the small school size and amiable relationships between students. Trung's comments here are representative:

Trung: It's a small school and, probably just we don't have any trouble makers. Because the relationship between each year is really good. Yeah so yeah. Coz like if you take a school like XXX [neighbouring state secondary] it's really big and [trails off].

Author: So people know each other well enough here that they don't go there.

Trung: Yeah.

The importance of small school size in fostering strong relationships between students has been well noted in the United States literature (cf. Cotton 1996, Eckert 2000, Gregory and Smith 1987a, 1987b). In particular, it has found that students tend to form groups based on categories (such as 'the stoners' 'the jocks' or 'the nerds') with little social interaction between members of different categories. Under these conditions, members of different categories often stereotype each other and develop hostile relationships, whereas in small schools the fact that students generally know each other quite well as individuals mitigates against stereotyping and often leads to highly permeable peer group boundaries. Being a small school also means teachers and students can get to know each other as individuals, and strong bonds between staff and students are a hallmark of Ferndale's school culture. This in turn creates an atmosphere where students feel valued and cared for, and do not feel they have to compete with each other for staff members' attention or for places in popular extracurricular activities.

Size also plays a very practical role in mitigating the importance of ethnicity in local students' friendship group formation, simply because no one ethnic group has the numbers to form an ethnically based peer group in opposition to the large Asian presence in the school. Thus Aaron sagely notes:

Aaron: No there can't be [racial groups] because it's all mostly Asian here... but if there was a different large group, like if there was a big European group here in this school definitely they would not mix and mingle – maybe a few of them would but you're always hang round in a group – y'know.

While relationships between students were generally cordial at school it is important to note that ethnic hostilities were not necessarily absent from the school environment. Rather, the school's low tolerance of bad behaviour meant that teasing or niggling that started at school was resolved in fights that took place off campus after classes were over.

Author: But does that stuff [ethnically based fights] happen at school too?

Robert: Nup.

Roger: Nup.

Taonga: No way, only outside of school.

Roger: Yeah outside.

Author: Why do you think it doesn't happen at school?

Roger: Because they'd all be kicked-

Taonga: Suspended.

Author: Yeah? So people who get along OK at school might fight outside of school?

Roger: Yeah they start it at school and then when they get outside, like more action, way more.

This extract highlights that inter-ethnic relations at Ferndale are not quite as rosy as the previous discussion might have led us to believe. However, it should be noted that such fights were actually quite rare and seemed to involve relatively innocuous so-called 'punch-ups' rather than knife fights or gang based violence. That students choose to conduct these ethnically based fights

off campus also shows that the school has achieved great success in communicating the idea that behaviour of this type is not tolerated at school, and that Ferndale students have enough respect for these rules that they do not openly flout them. In being a very strict school, but also a very caring school, Ferndale seems to have found a formula that encourages each student to feel valued, and to value and respect their peers and teachers, but does not tolerate bad behaviour. In freely expelling students who do not adhere to the school's accepted behaviour standards, Ferndale is able to preserve its relatively harmonious environment, while its small size means both that teachers can provide individual support and mentoring to students and that students have cause to get to know all members of their year level as individuals, not category members.

CONCLUSION

In exploring why there is relatively little ethnic tension at Ferndale this article highlights the fact that stark group divisions and feelings of disenfranchisement are problematic at any school, regardless of whether or not they're ethnically based, and provides some suggestions for minimising these difference. Ferndale's status as a small school with strong pastoral care and opportunities for all students to participate in extracurricular activities is found to be instrumental to its harmonious school environment. However, equally important is its strict discipline and zero tolerance of troublemakers. While not all schools benefit from Ferndale's small size, it is possible for larger schools to reorganise themselves into sub schools, house groups or even form groups where students have certain compulsory classes together in order to help foster something of the small school sense of community. Such reorganisation can also strengthen the school's pastoral care program and help create an environment where students feel valued and cared for by both their fellow students and their teachers. No school can expect that these sorts of measures eliminate all intergroup tensions, however, the more students and staff get to know each other as individuals, the greater the likelihood that they learn to respect all members of their school community and to adopt similarly tolerant attitudes when interacting in the general community.

REFERENCES

- Cotton, K. (1996) *School size, school climate, and student performance*. Portland, OR: Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory.
- Eckert, P. (2000) *Linguistic variation as social practice: The linguistic construction of identity in Belten High*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Espiritu, Y. L. (1992) *Asian American panethnicity: Bridging institutions and identities*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Fordham, S. (1996) *Blacked out: Dilemmas of race, identity, and success at Capital High*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Goldstein, T. (2003) *Teaching and learning in a multilingual school: Choices, risks, and dilemmas*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Goode, J., Schneider, J. A., & Blanc, S. (1992) Transcending boundaries and closing ranks: How schools shape interrelations. In L. Lamphere, (Ed.) *Structuring diversity: Ethnographic perspectives on the new immigration*. Chicago: University of Chicago press.
- Gregory, T., & Smith, G. (1987a) *High schools as communities: The small school reconsidered*. Bloomington, IN: Phi Delta Kappa Foundation.
- Gregory, T., & Smith, G. (1987b) Major Differences in the Social Climates of Two High Schools in the Same Town. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association. Washington.
- Hall, K. (1995) There's a time to act English and a time to act Indian: The politics of identity among British Sikh teenagers. In S. Stephens, (Ed.) *Children and the politics of culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Harklau, L. (1994) Tracking and linguistic minority students: Consequences of ability grouping for second language learners. *Linguistics and Education*, 6. 217-244.

- Horton, J. (1992) The politics of diversity in Monterey Park, California. In L. Lamphere, (Ed.) *Structuring diversity: Ethnographic perspectives on the new immigration*. Chicago: University of Chicago press.
- Kibria, N. (2002) *Becoming Asian American: Second-generation Chinese and Korean American identities*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Martino, W., & Pallotta-Chiarolli, M. (2003) *So what's a boy? Addressing issues of masculinity and schooling*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Miller, J. (2003) *Audible difference: ESL and social identity in schools*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Miller, J., Mitchell, J., & Brown, J. (2005). African refugees with interrupted schooling in the high school mainstream: Dilemmas for teachers. *Prospect Journal: An Australian Journal of TESOL*, 20(2), 19-33.
- Noble, G., Poynting, S., & Tabar, P. (1999). Youth, ethnicity and the mapping of identities: Strategic essentialism and strategic hybridity among male Arabic-speaking youth in South-western Sydney. *Communal/Plural*, 7(1), 29-44.
- Olsen, L. (1997). *Made in America: Immigrant students in our public schools*. New York: New Press.
- Tertilt, H. (1996) *Turkish Power Boys: Ethnographie einer Jugendbande*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp.
- Tuan, M. (1998) *Forever foreigners or honorary whites? The Asian ethnic experience today*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Verma, G., Zec, P., & Skinner, G. (1994) *The ethnic crucible: Harmony and hostility in multi-ethnic schools*. London: Falmer Press.
- Walker, J. C. (1988) *Louts and legends: Male youth culture in an inner-city school*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.
- Willoughby, L. (2006) "You have to speak it at least": Language and identity maintenance among Australian migrant teenagers. Unpublished PhD thesis, Monash University, Melbourne.
- Zhou, M., & Bankston, C. (1998) *Growing up American: How Vietnamese children adapt to life in the United States*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.