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The role of peer relationships in the socialization of children to preschool: A Korean example

Meyer, Carol Ann, Ph.D.
The Ohio State University, 1989

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THE ROLE OF PEER RELATIONSHIPS IN THE
SOCIALIZATION OF CHILDREN TO PRESCHOOL:
A KOREAN EXAMPLE

Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of the Ohio State University

by
Carol A. Meyer

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1989

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To my husband and best friend, Richard, and to our children, Derek and Elisa.
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FIELDS OF STUDY

Major field: Early Childhood Education
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The first steps that young children take into the preschool mark the beginning of a journey into the world of schooling. Like young explorers, children find themselves in unfamiliar terrain with unfamiliar roles and expectations. They must discover the meaning of "teacher" and "student" and acquire the procedural "know-how" to interact effectively in this new environment. In other words, they are beginning the process of socialization to the classroom that will affect their ability to participate in the years of schooling that lie ahead (Corsaro, 1985; Fernie, 1988; Klein, Kantor, & Fernie, 1988; Rogers & Doerre-Ross, 1986).

What are the resources that these young explorers draw upon to interpret the demands of their new surroundings? We know from studies of the elementary school classroom that children need both communicative and social competence for academic and social participation (Erickson, 1977; Florio-Ruane, 1987; Green, 1983; Green & Harker, 1982). Indeed, the ability to use language is closely interwoven with the socialization process (Cook-Gumperz, 1986; Ochs, 1979; Peters & Boggs, 1986); each enabling the other—"socialization through language" and "socialization to use language" (Ochs, 1986).
The early socialization of many young children, however, is based on a language other than English. Upon entry into schooling, they are faced with the tasks of learning to use a second language and, concurrently, acquire the sociocultural knowledge that serves as the foundation for establishing new relationships in and out of the classroom. Many encounter conflicting perceptions of communicative and social competence, a home-school "frame clash" (Green, 1983) that can have a negative impact on school participation. There is evidence of on-going failure by minority students who lack understanding of the complex role of being a student (Cazden, 1986; Genishi & Dyson, 1984; Gumperz, 1986; Kramsch, 1987; Philips, 1972; Shultz, Florio, & Erickson, 1982; Trueba, 1987; Willett, 1987).

Peers also influence the socialization of children to schooling, and a growing body of literature acknowledges the importance of peer interaction in the preschool classroom (Cazden, 1986; Cook-Gumperz, 1986; Corsaro, 1985; Elgas, Klein, Kantor & Fernie, 1988; Hatch, 1988; Kantor, 1988). This respect for peer interaction is a product of a body of ethnographic research that has found the classroom to be an active social system jointly created by all participants, teachers and children (Green, 1983; Green & Harker, 1982). The social system is a complex one in which teachers and children negotiate a participant structure of norms, rights, and obligations that impact on social relationships, participants' interpretations of on-going activity, and, ultimately, learning (Philips, 1972).

Corsaro's (1985) observations of preschool revealed a peer culture and a school culture within the social system of the
classroom. Corsaro’s peer culture was a dynamic created by peers, an evolving group identity among children based on common interests, values, and attitudes that is visible when children are in control of their own activity and interaction. School culture was found in the "academic-like" contexts of preschool, such as circle time. School culture has been further defined as a "common set of activities or routines, values, concerns, and attitudes constructed and communicated about and in a particular school setting by the classroom participants" (Fernie, Kantor, Klein, Meyer, & Elgas, 1988, p. 12).

The focus of Corsaro's work has been on the peer culture and the development of play and friendship within the preschool. The ethnographic research of Kantor, Klein, & Fernie (1988) continues a study of the peer culture and the school culture of the preschool. Their major focus is to examine the process of socialization-to-school and to learn how first-time participants in the classroom become students. From their perspective, socialization implies that "children must construct and interpret a student role, that is, a complex of appropriate expectations, knowledge, and actions to ensure their successful participation in classroom life (Fernie, Kantor, Klein, Meyer, & Elgas, 1988). Thus far, studies from their project have examined play styles and object use within the peer culture (Elgas, Klein, Kantor & Fernie, 1988) and group formation and participation within the school culture (Kantor, 1987; Williams, 1988).

This research effort has foregrounded the role of peers in the socialization of second language children to preschool. As a member
of the Kantor, Klein, & Fernie research team, I completed a study on a second language learner who was unsuccessful in his attempts to enter the play of mainstream peers and was regularly frustrated with his peers during group events. There were no peers who shared his native language or culture. His participation was dependent on adult "informants" who served to interpret events and to create play opportunities with peers (Meyer, 1987).

In contrast, when four Korean girls entered the same preschool, they looked like a group—a foursome who moved freely about, shared play routines, claimed territory and objects, and imposed their native language at will during all events. Unlike the lone language minority child, they did not pursue interaction with mainstream peers, but regularly played with each other. These peer relationships seemingly helped each of the four individuals negotiate the terrain of the classroom, but it was not immediately clear just how. Indeed, although peer interaction is readily acknowledged as a positive influence on social and cognitive behavior, there has been little understanding of how this contribution occurs (Attili, 1985; Cazden, 1986; Corsaro, 1986; Damon & Killen, 1982; Hartup, 1985; Rogers & Doerre, 1986).

The purpose of this study is to increase our knowledge of peer relationships through the study of the four Korean girls and their preschool experience. An ethnographic study of the four will inform us of how the peer relationships that formed among these second language learners contributed to their socialization as students.
Definition of terms

There are terms that display the theoretical perspectives which contributed to the development of this study. They will be introduced before presentation of the research problem.

Activities: They are innumerable acts within a social situation, such as a classroom, that are recognized as patterned activities. Sets of activities combine to form an event.

Event: A social situation under study through participant observation (Spradley, 1980, p.40).

Communicative competence: The knowledge of linguistic and related communicative conventions that speakers must have to create and sustain conversational cooperation (Gumperz, 1986, p.209).

Peer interaction: Meaningful encounters between individuals.

Peer relationships: Aggregations of interactions between individuals that persist over time and that involve distinctive expectations, affects, and configurations (Hinde, 1976, cited in Hartup, 1985, p.74).

Formulating the research problem

In keeping with the discovery mode of the ethnographic research perspective, the questions for this study were not determined prior to the data collection and analysis. They were identified through an initial cycle of sampling, analysis, and findings, referred to by Heap (1987) as a "protoanalysis." The protoanalysis is a form of pilot study based on existing data and analysis that brings into view possible cultural patterns and structural regularities. It is an opportunity (in Heap's words) "to interrogate the data to see what questions it can answer," and then reformulate, refine, and reconfirm as warranted for the on-going analysis.
The data collection and analysis procedures for the protoanalysis will be presented in Chapter III. The preliminary findings that led to the formulation of the main research questions are, however, introduced here. In general, the findings indicated that the four Korean preschool girls utilized both individual and peer-related strategies to interpret and integrate into the events of classroom life.

During events in the classroom that accommodated the peer culture, the foursome frequently played "house" and spoke in Korean. Although the Koreans did observe and play alongside other peers as individuals or in pairs, there were no attempts to enter into face-to-face interaction with other children.

The events of school culture, such as circle and small group, required communicative and social demands that differed from free play. Their initial behavior displayed a lack of small group "know-how," reflected by where they sat, when they talked, and how they used objects and materials. Each of the four girls used English, but to varying degrees of mastery. Their talk was punctuated with the use of nonverbal strategies and objects to signal their intent. As children new to the classroom, they were unfamiliar with the language of instruction. They display a lack of communicative competence within and across settings (Gumperz, 1986).

The four girls began to monitor and pattern each other's behavior to follow the routine demands of the school culture. Each of the four attended to and often copied the verbal and nonverbal communicative efforts of their Korean peers to communicate with the
These findings, based on limited data, indicated that the participation of the four Koreans was constrained during the small group events because of limited second language skills and the lack of ability to negotiate the participant structure. The peer relationships among the four were observable during events of peer culture and school culture, but appeared to serve different functions during the different events. An emerging pattern of the Koreans imitating peer behavior was of interest because of the selectivity in imitating each other and imitating behaviors related to small group participation. The initial analysis, however, was insufficient to show the actual function and outcome of imitation on individual and group participation.

To extend the findings of the protoanalysis, the following questions are proposed for this study:

1. How did peer relationships among the Korean girls contribute to their socialization to the school culture of preschool?
2. How were individual strategies for participation related to peer relationships among the group of four Koreans?
3. How did the peer relationships among the Korean girls compare and contrast with the peer interaction among Non-Koreans, and between Koreans and Non-Koreans?

The term peer relationship is used in preference to peer interaction because of the constancy of interaction among the four
Korean girls that was observable across events and over time. The interaction among the four Koreans resembled the definition of peer relationships originated by (Hinde, 1976, cited in Hartup, 1985, p. 74), in which interaction and relationships were not considered synonymous.

In this study, the peer relationships were grounded in ties that extended beyond the classroom. The four girls shared first language, family and community lifestyle, and racial identity that was unique from the rest of the class. Within the classroom, the peer relationships were constructed along patterned ways of social interaction that were reconstructed over time as the four girls accommodated the ties of friendship to the demands of the classroom.

Rationale

An analysis of the role of peer relationships among the four Korean girls in preschool will have significance for professionals in child development, early childhood education, and bilingual education. For professionals in child development, a study of the Korean peer relationships will contribute to our understanding of how and under what conditions relationships can facilitate social and cognitive growth in young children. The analysis will extend beyond previous study of face-to-face interaction and examine the benefits of peers monitoring and imitating peers in the social construction of knowledge.

This study is also a unique opportunity to examine peer relationships among young children over the period of one year. There
have been limited studies of young children’s relationships in a natural setting, so little is known of factors that support and sustain long-term relationships at this age. The findings will be specific to the Korean girls, but useful for generating hypotheses for additional research with other children.

For professionals in early childhood education, the study will contribute to our understanding of how peer relationships influence classroom participation among young learners. The findings may encourage educators to be supportive of peer relationships among second language learners and other minority children and to observe the role of peer relationships among other young learners.

For professionals in bilingual education, the findings will contribute to the existing void of research on second language learners in preschool. Although preschool education is the first school experience for many second language learners, there is little known of how these children learn to participate in the preschool. The experience of the Korean foursome will help generate hypotheses for continued study of the role of peer relationships and the acquisition of social and communicative competence among other young second language learners.

Although the major focus of this study is on peer relations, it also provides an opportunity to learn more about a segment of our culturally-diverse population--the Koreans. A growing number of researchers recommend that educators become aware of the influences of family and culture on classroom participation. It has been suggested that culturally-different children are more successful in classrooms
when teachers are cognizant of ethnic styles of communication and peer collaboration (Cazden, 1982; Cummins, 1981; Fillmore, 1985; Genishi & Dyson, 1984; Gumperz, 1981, 1986; Philips, 1983; Trueba, 1987).
CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

This study is based on an interactionist model of child development in which children construct their knowledge of the world through dynamic interaction with the environment. The interactionist model is grounded in Vygotsky’s theories of human development, and aspects of his theories that are relevant to socialization and peer relationships will be reviewed first.

A discussion will follow on research that reflects a growing interest in the study of everyday life in the classroom. Representative literature of studies on language and socialization, second language acquisition, and peer interaction will be included.

Vygotskian perspectives on development

The image of four young girls entering the world of preschool together as active explorers is congruent with Vygotsky’s theoretical perspective of cognitive development grounded in social interaction (Vygotsky, 1965). According to Vygotsky, social knowledge and interactive skills originate with others within the context of specific activities, and they evolve through on-going negotiation of meaning. Development occurs as an external or inter-psychological process before internalization and transformation occur (Corsaro, 1985; DePardo & Warshoner, 1988; Hartup 1985; Wertsch, 1985).
Wertsch (1985) in his interpretation of Vygotskian theory indicates that the successful negotiation of meaning within a social context is dependent on shared trust in the communicative abilities and in the intentions of each participant. In Corsaro's (1985) study of the preschool, he refers to this negotiated outcome as a "collective identity" (p. 66), which is based on shared knowledge through the peer interaction of the classroom. This interactionist perspective emphasizes the active rather than recipient nature of development, whereby children are accumulating the tools and resources for problem-solving to meet the demands of social contexts.

A key aspect of Vygotsky's theory is his concept of the zone of proximal development, which is the distance between actual development displayed in independent activity and the potential development that is determined under adult tutelage or through collaboration with more knowledgeable peers (Vygotsky, 1965; Wertsch, 1985). This construct suggests a process of development in which developmental functions that are not fully operative become so when a child is helped to the upper range of his or her potential. The child is motivated to perform through instruction that proceeds ahead of development or through collaboration with peers of varying capability (Wertsch, 1985). According to Vygotsky, learning with the support of more knowledgeable others can precede development.

Communicative abilities are necessary for negotiating meaningful interaction; indeed, Vygotsky referred to speech as the "mediator" between the child and the world (Vygotsky, 1965; p. 21). From a Vygotskian perspective, bilingualism would expand the range of social
experience and the cognitive potential by providing a child with more than one linguistic system to draw on as a resource. There is current effort in experimental research to examine the cognitive benefits of bilingualism (Hakuta, 1986; McLaughlin, 1984).

Language and discourse of face-to-face interaction are primary to the socialization process. However, Vygotsky recognized that children do acquire knowledge through "socially-facilitated problem-solving." Children learn to monitor the context and imitate the problem-solving behavior of peers (Hartup, 1985, p. 71). The role of imitation is seldom discussed, perhaps, as Vygotsky noted, it is assumed to be a "mechanical activity and that anyone can imitate almost anything if shown how" (1965, p. 103-104). Vygotsky emphasized that imitation, within the limits of a child's comprehension, allows a child to move into higher levels of development.

Language and socialization

Vygotsky's views of the relationship between language and social interaction are supported by recent research that confirms language cannot be separated from the socialization process. Language is in large part socially constructed and acquired through face-to-face interaction, through which socialization occurs (Cook-Gumperz, 1986; Corsaro & Streeck, 1986; Gumperz, 1982; Keenan, 1977; Ochs, 1979, 1986; Peter & Boggs, 1986). The close relationship between language use and understanding of social roles has led to the concept of language socialization, which implies that social and linguistic development are on a single continuum (Cook-Gumperz & Corsaro, 1986). According to Cook-Gumperz (1986), the child becomes a
hypothesis-forming and hypothesis-testing communicator while learning to interact in a situated context. There is a shared understanding of context, and the competent language-user is able to adapt language to the situation at hand (Ochs, 1979).

According to Keenan (1977), young children who are not yet competent language-users may rely on repetition as a means to learn context-appropriate communication. Although some children use repetition as a "device for participation in discourse," such as repeating to signal affirmation, others may use it as imitation, as a way "to perform novel communicative tasks" while learning to communicate (p. 128). Imitation is an efficient way for children to express intent or respond while developing communicative competence in new contexts. Keenan hypothesizes that children give up the use of repetition with the development of language skills (1977).

It was recommended in the studies reviewed above that language use be studied in meaningful contexts to obtain data that reflect the role of context in the communicative act. The term, context, as used in this study, refers to situational changes of "what people are doing, how they are doing it, and what perceptions they have of what they are doing" within an event (Green, 1983, p. 185). The ability to interpret the context is dependent on the interactants' understanding of contextualization cues, which are verbal and non-verbal signals of the appropriate participant structures for the immediate context (Corsaro, 1985; Erickson & Schultz, 1981; Green, 1983; Green & Wallat, 1981; Gumperz, 1981, 1982, 1986). This ability has been observed in preschool children, who are capable of using contextualization cues to
communicate meaning during fantasy play episodes, which also include
the use of play objects as cues (Cook-Gumperz & Corsaro, 1976, cited
in Wallat & Green, 1979). In one preschool, children knew they must
wear capes to gain successful entry into superhero play (Elgas, Klein,
Kantor & Fernie, 1988).

The classroom is a setting of multiple contexts that calls for
competent language users. The role of "student" is jointly created by
teachers and children in the classroom, and socialization implies the
willingness of students to perform that role (Brooks & Woolfolk, 1986;
Green & Harker, 1982; Mehan, 1982). There are, however, children who
are willing, but not able, to participate fully in the social life of
the classroom because of a variety of constraints. Children from
different cultural backgrounds may lack communicative and social
competence in the language of instruction. If they lack the "grammar"
or shared knowledge of communication with other participants, they may
fail to react to contextualization cues or to interpret the cues as
intended (Gumperz, 1982; 1986). Misunderstandings of a situation can
result from different perceptions and interpretations of nonverbal
communication, such as facial and gestural expression (Gumperz, 1982).

Classroom research on face-to-face interaction has revealed that
language ability alone is not important in the classroom, "...but
rather how it is displayed within the interactional environment of the
classroom and how it is evaluated and judged in relation to the school
system's assumptions" (Gumperz, 1986; p. 49). Children from all
cultural backgrounds need opportunities to learn contextualization
cues through social interaction. They must develop strategies to
attract the attention of others for conversational involvement and to maintain that involvement through linguistic and non-linguistic resources (Gumperz, 1981; Wells, 1986). Gumperz (1986), however, cautions against a "cultural difference" model to explain misunderstandings in the classroom, and advocates the study of societal factors that affect learner participation along with micro-level analysis of classroom interaction.

Second language acquisition

Researchers in second language acquisition also have increasing respect for the complexities of classroom participation and the role of social interaction. This brief review includes research on the acquisition of a second language in the classroom and omits studies that focus on individual acquisition of linguistic forms. The majority of the studies focus on children in the elementary school as there has been limited study on the second language acquisition of younger children in a group setting.

Like all young learners, the second language learners enter school with prior social knowledge and a style of learning and communication that affect school performance (Fillmore et al, 1985). Children must learn to enter into interaction, to negotiate meaning in the interaction, and to interpret the requirements for participation in the events of the classroom (Cathcart, 1986; Kramsch, 1987).

Young children often develop adequate communicative abilities based on ritualized strategies to manage play situations but give the appearance of language competence (Kramsch, 1987). In the discourse
analysis of second language learners, it was found that a large number of attention-getting devices were used to initiate conversations, and preschool/kindergarten learners developed formulaic language routines to maintain social interaction (Huang & Hatch, 1978; Hatch, 1978; McLaughlin, 1984). In play, children have control over the topics, which can focus on the concrete "here and now." Objects and action serve as resources to supplement communicative forms, and cooperative play partners facilitate talk by guessing communicative intentions (Ervin-Tripp, 1986).

Second language learners must also acquire communicative competence, the language of schooling or instruction that is necessary for the demands of seatwork and teacher-child interaction (Cathcart, 1986; Ervin-Tripp, 1986; Fillmore & Valadez, 1986; Hakuta, 1986). The acquisition of the language of instruction depends on a combination of individual strategies and environmental support for language learning (Fillmore et al, 1985). A study of teacher language with 3 and 4-year-olds revealed that teachers adjust their language according to context and age. In situations that called for decontextualized reference to objects or experience, teachers used more "yes and no" questions with the three year-olds and "who, what, where-type" questions with the four-year-olds (Cole, Dore, Hall, & Dowley, 1978, cited in Cathcart, 1986).

Young second language learners also adjust their language to context in the form of codeswitching, the ability to alternate languages or dialects to convey social meaning (Genishi, 1981). A study of 6-year-olds found the children able to assess and adapt their
linguistic code to the stronger language of the listener. The children responded to speakers in the language in which they were addressed, and they did not exclude monolingual speakers from conversations by switching language. The children engaged in situational codeswitching, where one code was used at a time. A switch in code occurred with a change in activity, topic, or speakers (Genishi, 1981). They did not use conversational codeswitching, which occurs when two languages are used within an activity to transmit a single message (Gumperz, 1982).

Codeswitching often occurs in "in-group" activities, and it reflects the social background of the bilingual participants. There is a tendency for the minority language to be used in informal circumstances and referred to as the "we-code," while the more formal majority code is referred to as the "they-code" (Gumperz, 1982, p.66). The ability to codeswitch contributes to the communicative competence of second language learners who must learn to "differentiate his or her ways of speaking so that they are appropriate for specific social situations" (Genishi, 1981, p. 134).

The complexity of second language learning was evident in a three-year research study that identified variables for English production and comprehension for school participation among Chinese and Hispanic students (Fillmore et al, 1985). The findings indicated that instructional settings and practices work differently for different students--a setting favorable for Hispanic children can inhibit the Chinese or the reverse could occur. It was found that use of native language did not inhibit the development of the second
language. The critical factor was the language use and instruction of the teacher.

The role of the teacher and other "target language" speakers becomes evident with Fillmore's (1985) description of the components and processes of language learning. The components consist of the learners, the target language speakers who provide access to the language, and the social setting. The processes include, first, the social process of learners attracting target speakers and interacting through meaningful verbal communication. Fillmore suggests that situations with frequent contact provide learners with an opportunity to observe the target language in use for a variety of purposes.

The second process is linguistic. The linguistic output of target language speakers is relevant to the immediate social context, and target language speakers can modify the form and structure of the language as needed for the language learners. It should be noted that target speakers do not know how listeners interpret the language and the accompanying contextualization cues. Listeners from another background may apply their own presuppositions to the situation. They may understand the linguistic forms, but misinterpret the cues, resulting in miscommunication (Gumperz, 1982).

The third process is cognitive and relates to individual mental operations that result in language acquisition. The cognitive process for second language learning is believed to relate to generalized intellectual functioning. Variation in learning can be due to individual differences in cognitive functioning and differences in the components of language learning, which provide the linguistic input.
Fillmore's work stresses the importance of the role of the social setting for second language learning, a precursor to learning the language of instruction (Fillmore & Valadez, 1986). The problem with the language of instruction is that it tends to be decontextualized; there is not a direct relationship between the words and the immediate situation, which makes it difficult for the second language learner to comprehend (McLaughlin, 1985; Fillmore, 1982; Hakuta, 1986). This has not been thoroughly investigated at the preschool level. Studies indicate social interaction is limited because nonspeakers are frequently ignored until they display communicative competence (Willet, 1987), and they are dependent on the cooperative attitude of the native speaker listeners (Ervin-Tripp, 1986).

In general, research indicates social, linguistic, and cognitive processes are involved in the second language learning of children. However, the learning process is complex and affected by other variables such as personality factors, instructional settings, teaching practices, and learner styles of communication and learning (Fillmore, 1985; Fillmore et al, 1985; Willett, 1987).

Peer interaction

The literature reviewed above noted the value of cooperative partners for the child learning a second language. When young children enter preschool, they also seek partners. They may pursue adults in the setting by staying close and showing affect as they would to their parents. Over time, the majority will enter into social interaction with peers, which is essential for the social and cognitive development of children (Attili, 1985; Corsaro, 1985;
Hartup, 1985; Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

Children's interest in peer interaction begins before they enter preschool. Studies from the field of developmental psychology indicate the first social relationships of children begin with adult-child interaction in the home, but these relationships differ from interaction with peers because of the hierarchical nature and the societal obligations that are inherent in adult-child interaction (Damon, 1983; Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Social relationships with peers begin during the first year and, unlike interaction with parents, they are voluntary (and serious) in nature.

Budwig, Strage, & Bamburg (1986) describe early forms of joint peer play. Mothers provide a support system to facilitate peer interaction where children can develop the shared understanding that is necessary for positive social interaction. This understanding is initially constructed through repetitive actions and sound play with peers, and the joint effort is further elaborated with the development of communicative skills. Children learn to negotiate peer interaction through discourse in spite of individual differences in background knowledge. Early involvement revolves around mutual interest in objects, but children also show interest in peers in contexts without play. There is increasing emotional involvement in interaction as young children are able to sustain social exchanges and become active participants in their social world (Geismar-Ryan, 1986; Hartup, 1983).

Psychological studies using interview and observation techniques have found there is an increase in social interaction as children progress through the preschool years. Attili (1985) states that
adults and established peer relationships provide security to children in preschool. Peer relationships form among children of the same sex and with those who begin school at the same time. The patterns of interaction among peers include behaviors that are not evident with adults, such as aggression and fighting over objects.

Hartup (1983) states that some 3-year-old preschool children do not seek peer interaction but spend time by themselves, watching others and/or seek interaction with the teacher. As children near the age of four, they seek relationships with peers who share similarities of gender, age, and race and who will provide long-term and short-term benefits. Preschool peers turn to each other for positive attention, approval, and affect (Hartup, 1983), and they are able to engage as partners in fantasy play (Damon, 1983).

Another aspect of peer interaction among young children is the imitation of peer models. Imitation has been discussed with regard to young language learners (Keenan, 1977), but observational studies (Abramovitch & Grusec, 1978) have found that imitation of both verbal and motor behavior is common among children, ages four to eleven. Imitation was defined as a peer model and observer performing the same act within a short interval of time (p. 159). There were up to 14.6 imitative acts per hour observed in a preschool class during free play. The behavior decreased with age, but the events imitated remained the same. It occurred most frequently among socially-dominant children who imitated each other. There is some question whether imitation in the classroom actually decreases in use, or whether it becomes more subtle in use with the sanctions used against "copying"
as children get older (Hartup, 1983, p.159).

Hartup's views on peer relationships (1976; 1983) were introduced in Chapter I. He believes that peer relationships provide, 1) a context for developing social competencies, 2) a resource for security, skills, and comfort, and 3) experience in developing relationships. He argues that social relationships, not mere social interaction, contribute optimally to cognitive development. School children have been found to be more responsive and attentive to established friendships in the classroom, and they "support social problem-solving and cognitive change...in ways that interactions between nonfriends do not" (p. 78). Hartup advocates the study of variation among peer relationships to better understand the effect on cognitive growth. He also cautions that peer relations may not always lead to developmental change, but only influence performance in specific contexts.

In Hartup's (1983) review of peer relationships and group formation, structured interviews revealed that children had little understanding of "groupness" until early adolescence despite their participation in groups. A group was formed when 1) social interaction occurred regularly, 2) values were shared over and above those maintained in society at large, 3) individual members had a sense of belonging, and 4) a structure existed to support the attitudes that members should have toward one another (p. 144).

Informal social groups often form during the childhood years on the basis of mutual interest, and group interaction is a source of gratification to individual members. When gratification diminishes,
allegiance to the group is reduced. The social structure is typically based on unequal power relations with a dominant leader who is able to facilitate the interests of the group. The leader determines the activities of the group and issues directives and sanctions to those in lower status positions (Hartup, 1983).

Peer groups form over time in the classroom, as students get to know each other through observation, interaction, and evaluation. In peer groups, in and out of school, there are social standards and rules of conduct that develop to meet the needs of the group and support the social structure of the group. These social norms shift as the nature of the groups change. The norms for peer groups within the school are often set and reinforced by adults. Even young children establish group norms, although they show less concern for consistent implementation (Hartup, 1983).

Corsaro's (1985) sociolinguistic study of children's friendships within the preschool has been a major contribution to the understanding of peer relations from the perspective of children. His study of the peer culture reveals that preschool children prefer activity with peers to solitary play, and they consistently sought entry into peer play. Friendships were established to facilitate social participation and to protect interactive space within the play environment. A form of currency, friendship was used to obtain or to deny access into ongoing or future play.

Peer relationships among the children in Corsaro's classroom were fleeting, and they were subject to conflict and interruption. Children created friendships on the basis of personal needs and
contextual demands that led to shared activity within the peer culture. They established a range of four to seven social contacts who could ensure entry into play, with no evident regard for the personal characteristics of the friends.

In contrast, Elgas, Klein, Kantor, & Fernie (1988) found a core group of boys within the peer culture of preschool who played together throughout the year as friends and created play activities based on mutual interests. Children who participated in the peer group were expected to know the appropriate behaviors for play that included ritualized use of objects and space. The core group of boys showed little interest in the school culture activities or in play interaction with the teacher.

Status and means of social control within the realm of imaginative play were also evident in Corsaro's study (1985). Children recognized the authority of a parent and the powerlessness of a baby in family role play. They implemented the power of the roles through the use of directive language by the status holders, while lesser roles called for deferential responses, requests for permission, and offering information. Although the children formed hierarchical relationships in role play, Corsaro did not find evidence of consistent hierarchies within the peer interaction of the preschool.

Hatch (1987) did find that peer interaction in the kindergarten included the negotiation of status relationships. He views status as a child's position within a hierarchy of group members, and social power as the ability to influence others to gain or maintain status.
The findings of Hatch's naturalistic study reveal that children are involved in a complex process of establishing norms and developing strategies to earn and maintain status in classroom interaction. "Self-promoting behaviors" were used to earn status by a) offering information to appear superior to others, b) identifying characteristics or possessions of family members that are favorable to the speaker, and c) associating with those more powerful, thereby improving their own social position. Peers responded to these self-promoting behaviors by 1) one-upmanship—matching or topping the promoter's information, 2) bandwagon response—identifying with the promoter or behavior being promoted, 3) challenging—discrediting the promoter, or 4) ignoring the ploy of promoter (Hatch, 1987, pp. 84-88). Hatch also reports that strategies varied by gender. Girls used more self-promotions, although both genders used one-upmanship in cross-gender interactions. Boys tended to challenge girls the most. Boys and girls both ignored the self-promotions of the same gender.

Corsaro (1985) also discussed the gender differences that were apparent within the peer culture. In general, adults accepted the peer culture activities of girls, which focused on themes of imaginative play that created little disruption in the classroom. Boys often engaged in play with themes of aggression and fear, enacting monsters and using guns that challenged adult expectations for the preschool. He noted that while young preschoolers played in mixed-gender groups, the older children divided into separate gender peer cultures.
The study of the peer culture reveals the complex process of children entering a social group and building a social system of shared routines based on their individual and joint interpretation of events (Corsaro, 1985; Elgas, 1988; Elgas, Klein, Kantor & Fernie, 1988). Early exploration of the school culture suggests the process of coming together as "students" is no less complex. Children must learn the contexts in which teachers will accommodate the peer culture, and the children must be willing to accommodate their own interests to the school culture (Fernie, 1988). Initial analyses of the school culture has shown that major tasks for preschoolers are to learn the social roles of "teacher" and "student," and to negotiate and construct the participant structure of group events (Elgas, 1988; Kantor, 1988; LaMonte, 1988; Meyer, 1987; Meyer, 1987; Williams, 1988).

Summary

The theory and research reviewed for this study offer support for the role of social interaction in the construction of knowledge. Beginning with Vygotsky, the role of face-to-face interaction and imitation are identified as a means to help children negotiate meaning in social contexts and to facilitate cognitive development. In this study, the data offer opportunity to explore the role of imitation in young children entering the culture of school.

The studies in this review confirm the role and influence of peer interaction in language development, second language learning, and classroom participation. It is evident, however, that our knowledge about the function of peer interaction in the preschool is
limited. This study of four Korean girls is an opportunity to compare their interaction with the relationships described by Hartup (1985) and the peer interaction found in the studies of Corsaro (1985) and Elgas (1988). It is an opportunity to see if the status and control issues evident in Hatch's (1988) kindergarten are present among the Koreans within the school culture.

The intent of this study is not to focus on language acquisition; however, the literature shows the close relationship between social and communicative competence. The use of language by the girls must be considered. An analysis of participation over the school year will allow us to observe the components and processes of language learning in action, providing insight on how the four Koreans become multilingual--communicating in the language of the classroom and in a second language, in addition to their native language (Fillmore, 1985). Important questions remain to be answered on how, what kind of, in what contexts, and under what conditions peer relationships contribute to the social knowledge of preschool children.
CHAPTER III

METHODODOLOGY

Introduction

This study draws from data collected for a major ethnographic research project to examine the socialization of children to preschool (Fernie, Kantor, Klein, Meyer, & Elgas, 1988). An ethnographic perspective was adopted for the project because of the ethnographers' interest in the knowledge that people must have or acquire to behave appropriately in a culture (Chilcott, 1987). The task of the ethnographer is to find methods that lead to the discovery of how participants learn to interpret and negotiate the cultural knowledge required in the setting—in this study, the preschool. Cultural knowledge, is defined as "the acquired knowledge people use to interpret experience and generate behavior" (Spradley, 1980, p. 6).

Ethnography is a systematic form of inquiry that studies a complete cycle of events over time. A set of criteria proposed by Spindler lists characteristics for planning data collection, and it also offers a theoretical perspective that illustrates the dynamic cycle of ethnographic inquiry (Spindler, 1982, cited in Evertson & Green, 1986, p. 189). (See Table 3.1.)
Table 3.1. Criteria for adequate ethnography
Guidelines

1. Observations are contextualized.

2. Hypotheses and questions emerge as the study proceeds in the setting selected for observation.

3. Observation takes place over a long period and is repetitive (1 year appears to be the minimum.)

4. The native view of reality is brought out by inferences from observation and by various forms of ethnographic inquiry.

5. A major part of the ethnographic task is to understand what sociocultural knowledge participants bring to and generate in the social setting being studied.

6. Instruments, codes, schedules, questionnaires, agenda for interviews, and so forth are generated in the field as a result of observations and ethnographic inquiry.

7. A transcultural perspective is present, though frequently as an unstated assumption.

8. The task is to make explicit what is implicit and tacit to informants and participants in the social setting being studied.

9. Inquiry and observation must disturb as little as possible.

10. The conversational management of the interview or eliciting interaction must be carried out so as to promote the unfolding of emic cultural information in its most heuristic, natural form.

11. Any form of technical device that will enable the ethnographer to collect more live data--immediate, natural, detailed behavior--will be used, such as camera, audiotapes, and videotapes.

These criteria will serve to guide the methodology proposed in this chapter. In addition, methods will be drawn from sociolinguistics, which has studied the everyday life of the classroom through a focus on classroom discourse and face-to-face interaction (see Cazden, 1986; Green, 1983 for reviews).
Introduction

The setting for this research was Martin Hall Preschool, which was located in an old-fashioned campus building at a large midwestern university. The preschool provided an early childhood education program for children ages 3 to 5, and it served as a location for pre-service training of early childhood educators and a research center for graduate students and faculty. The two teachers, Sarah and Diane, were members of the research team and collaborated in the data collection and analysis.

The preschool program

The preschool offered an early education program that promoted children's inquiry and autonomy through active learning. Imaginative and constructive play opportunities were available. The teachers served in a supportive role as conversational and play partners, while encouraging children to develop and act on their own ideas for social and cognitive interaction within the setting (Kantor, 1986).

The children attended the preschool on Monday-Thursday, 1:00-4:00, during fall, winter, and spring quarters. The daily sessions began with children arriving at the playground, followed by indoor play that included whole group events of circle and free play, as well as small group events. The two circle times were led by the head teacher, Sarah, who used the time for group conversation that focused on interests of the children and, as necessary, group problem-solving. The children sang songs and were encouraged to contribute their ideas
to add verses and change the words.

The schedule of events reflects the teacher-facilitated, child-centered orientation of the program through the provision of long play periods both indoors and outdoors. (See Figure 3.1). During indoor play, the children engaged in a variety of activities that were based on their own imaginative use of the materials, or they experimented with the ideas and materials that were introduced by the teachers.

1:00-1:45 Arrival and outdoor play
1:45-2:00 Transition-indoors
2:00-2:10 Circle I
2:10-2:30 Small group I
2:30-2:45 Snack
2:45-3:25 Free Play
3:25-3:30 Clean-up
3:30-3:40 Circle II
3:40-3:50 Small group II
3:50-4:00 Departure

Figure 3.1. Schedule of daily events

**Small group.** The children were divided into two small groups that met twice daily. The older children met with Sarah, and the younger children were introduced to a small group setting with Diane. There were set routines for Diane's small group event, which included activities of story, movement, art, and science activities. The activities were carried out in circle formation on the floor, which, according to the teacher, encouraged the negotiation of space and materials among individuals as they progressed toward a sense of group over the year. There was emphasis on social action rules by the teacher, whereby the children learned the rights and obligations of
participation as a group member and as an individual. Previous research on this group of children has shown these activities to be rule-governed with the expectations for participation jointly created by all participants (Williams, 1988).

The classroom

The main activity room was large and well-lighted, with large windows that contributed to a feeling of spaciousness. An observation deck along one wall overlooked the room, which was divided into the traditional activity areas of a preschool--book and computer corner, blocks, housekeeping, woodworking, easel area, and a sand table. Low shelves filled with puzzles, games and manipulatives bounded the table where the children met for snack. The tables were set up for snack early in the afternoon and transformed later for centers of art and science activities. A large open area in the room's center was carpeted and outlined with a huge circle to mark the group's gathering place for circle time. The walls of the main room were decorated with the children's works of art. (See Appendix A).

Small group site. A music room off to one side served as the location for one small group, and it was open to the children during free play. Storage cabinets, the phonograph, shelves with rhythm instruments, and a piano lined three walls. The center area was a space large enough to accommodate the circle formation of small group. The windows on one side looked out on a patio, and large windows across the room allowed the children to see into the main room.
The participants

The participants in the classroom included the children, teachers, undergraduate practicum students, and members of the research team. On a given day, there could be as many as nine adults in the room. The unusually high number of adults was the norm rather than intrusive since both the children and the adults began the school year together. A description of the participants will show there was variety in age, size, background, and in role in the classroom.

Classmates. There were nineteen children (3 to 5 years of age) from diverse socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds, which included twelve Americans, five East Asians, and two South Asians. Nine of the older children participated in Teacher Sarah's small group. They were:

Girls: Lin  Boys: Jonathan  Louis
Mary      Jeff     Neal
Nancy     Kareem  Roger

Lin, Nancy, Jeff, Kareem, and Louis were returning students. Jonathan, Jeff, Kareem, and Neal were members of a peer group that frequently played in the block area. Nancy, the oldest girl in the room, often worked alone or in the company of Mary, a newcomer to Martin Hall. Roger and Tina were new and associated with children from both groups.

Teacher Diane's small group included ten participants. They were:

Girls: Hee  Lacey  Jennifer  Kyong
Boys: J.J.  Omar  Min  Sook  Tim
                Tina
Jennifer and Lacey were the oldest girls. Hee, Kyong, Min, Sook, J.J. and Omar were all new to Martin Hall preschool, and they were also learning English as a second language. Tina associated more with Lacey as the year progressed, and Tim was active with the group of boys in the block area. There will be more elaborate introductions to Min, Kyong, Sook, and Hee in the description of the subjects.

Teaching staff. There were two teachers in the afternoon preschool, both of whom were members of the research team. They had participated in the planning of the project and agreed to the presence of participant observers within the small group events.

In addition to the teachers, there were three to five undergraduate practicum students in the classroom each day with new placements each quarter. The students were not associated with the research project. They assumed the usual responsibilities of interacting and assisting with the children and completing teaching assignments.

Participant observers. There was one full-time participant observer in the classroom daily throughout the year. In addition, I entered the setting as a participant observer twice a week, and two other members of the research team alternated weekly observations. The role of the participant observer and the response to that role by other participants will be discussed in data collection.

The subjects

The subjects for this study were four Korean girls, Min, Kyong, Sook, and Hee, in their first year at Martin Hall. They were daughters of Korean families with fathers pursuing graduate studies at
the university. They resided in a university housing community, Walnut village. Background information was collected on the four girls and their families, which will be discussed in chapter IV. A brief description of each girl based on videotaped data from the first week of school provides a visual image of her. The names used are pseudonyms chosen by a Korean informant for the study.

Min. Date of birth: 11-21-82. Min’s appearance was marked by long, flowing dark hair and a happy countenance. She smiled frequently with her large dark eyes and upturned mouth. Min was a talkative child who maintained close proximity when interacting with adults, using physical contact and nonverbal language to extend her limited verbal skills. Although Min played regularly with the other three, she was alert to ongoing events and roved about the room, pausing to watch others at play.

Kyong. Date of birth: 1-1-83. Kyong was also an active child continually involved in classroom activities. She was a slender, small-boned, and graceful with short dark hair that framed her face. Kyong was more serious than her peers, with an imperious quality to her frequently up-turned nose and chin when asserting her rights. Kyong displayed a task-oriented nature, whether working independently or in the company of others.

Hee. Date of birth: 6-26-83. Hee was the smallest in stature, but not the youngest. She still showed vestiges of toddlerhood in her rounded cheeks and abdomen. She had a shy, quiet smile and a barely audible voice. She moved about the room hesitantly, monitoring the play of others. Her Korean peers often left her behind when they ran
off to play. When Hee was approached by adults, she relied on eye contact, quiet smiles, and nonverbal language to communicate.

Sook. Date of birth: 7-11-83. Sook was the youngest, but was the same height as Min and Kyong. She was broad in shoulder and chin and stood tall and straight. She had shoulder length hair, tied back over her ears. Although her face was animated when she talked and played in Korean, her look was reserved in other classroom contexts. She did not venture about the room on her own, but stayed at the side of the other three, talking in Korean and engaging alongside in play. Sook returned to Korea during winter quarter, but re-entered the preschool setting in the spring.

Data collection

Introduction

The data used in this study were collected over the period of one school year. Videotapes were the primary data sources, with additional data in the form of fieldnotes, ethnographic interviews, teacher retrospective notes, and translations of spoken Korean. With the exception of the Korean translations, all of these data were collected before the protoanalysis was done.

Videotaped data

The classroom was equipped for the collection of videotaped data before the school year began. Twelve wall mounts for video cameras and 22 ceiling jacks for microphones were installed throughout the room to record in different areas of activity. At times, four
different cameras were operating simultaneously in different locations. One wall mount was in the music room, and a camera positioned there daily for small group events. The videotaped data from the first three weeks of school each quarter were available for this study. A total of 18 hours of videotaped data from small group and 12 hours of free play were used in the analysis.

Participant observation

Participant observation was used as a method to gather observational data in the preschool setting. By definition, it implies a dual role of participant and researcher. This method has proved to be a challenge in settings with children in the past. Adult observers have continued their normal adult-child interaction patterns that were hierarchic in nature. They have interpreted the behavior of children from an adult perspective without regard for the unique perspective of the world from a child’s view (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982; Corsaro, 1985; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983).

Corsaro’s form of participant observation in the nursery school suggested an "interactive-reactive" approach that would reduce obtrusiveness in the setting and allow the researcher to gather data from a child’s perspective. In this approach, the researcher must suspend interpretations of children’s behavior from an adult perspective. The researcher also avoids typical adult roles, such as initiating and guiding conversation or play in the classroom.

Participant observers entered the setting as learners and as play partners at the invitation of the children. Over time, the participant observers (including myself) could be located anywhere
within the setting—observing, playing, and taking abbreviated notes. A fieldnote entry in the fall illustrates the questions that were raised about my own role as observer from Lacey, Min, Hee, and in this case, Kyong (See episode 1).

Episode 1

Kyong (K) and Participant observer (PO) are playing side by side in the sand table.

K: Teacher...?  
PO: I'm not a teacher, K.  
K: You're not a teacher?  
PO: No.  
K: What are you then, a mommy?  
PO: Yess-s-s. I am a mommy.  
K: What are you doing here then?  
PO: Oh, I like to be here. I like to play. I like to play with children.  
K: Oh-h  
Well, you can be the mommy. I'll be big sister.  

Looking at me, while playing.  
Wide-eyed, gazes straight in my eyes.  
(Hesitating)  
Furrowed brows, quizzical look.  
I dig in the sand.  
Gives me a big smile, resumes digging.  
We continue digging and talk like mommy and daughter.

In this situation, Kyong displays surprise at my role, but accepts it and allocates the role of mommy. Mother and teacher play prominent roles in Kyong's life, so the adult "mother" status may have influenced the interaction. As a researcher, I did not anticipate the effect of my answer on the interaction. Kyong's acceptance of the observer as play partner was not unusual in the early months, and other children also approached participant observers with secrets to share and invitations to play.
There were children who expected a level of intensity and concentration from partners in fantasy play that made play interactions difficult to manage while observing. I found it difficult to play "store" or "good guy" and observe other children, an example of over-involvement by the participant observer (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). As a result, I chose locations for observations with care to avoid being drawn into long play scripts, and even turned down invitations to play.

There were instances in winter and spring when I was not pursued but barred from play, and objects were taken away from me. It is possible that my lack of adult status and initiative in children's play moved me to a lower level in the play hierarchy (Corsaro, 1985; Hatch, 1987).

The participant observers were treated as members of the class in the small group events. Teacher Diane distributed materials and turns to us as she did the children, and she offered praise and positive reinforcement for our participation. The children interacted with us during activities, sharing materials and space as necessary. The children referred to the participant observers in the setting for assistance that required the physical size, strength, and dexterity of an adult. They did not come to us for information, permission, or arbitration but went to the practicum students or the teachers for such assistance.

The role of the researcher was in progress simultaneously with the role of participant. The participant observers used hand-sized notebooks to record abbreviated notes in the setting that were later
transformed into detailed notes (Spradley, 1980). The notebooks were used to record descriptions of the setting and interactive episodes of the children. The interactive episode was defined as

"sequences of behavior which begin with the acknowledged presence of two or more interactants in an ecological area and the overt attempts to arrive at a shared meaning of ongoing or emerging activity. Episodes end with physical movement of interactants from the area which results in the termination of the activity" (Corsaro, 1985, p.24).

Interactive episodes were recorded in the classroom, with the assumption they would be used to supplement videotaped data. As research problems were identified, such as the study of peer group in blocks, the fieldnotes became more selective (Elgas, Klein, Kantor, & Fernie, 1988).

The expanded fieldnotes were written up in narrative form and stored on computer disks. Verbatim language was generally set in columns along the left side. Codes, similar to those used by Corsaro (1985), separated the fieldnotes from researcher notes. Personal notes (PN) indicated personal impressions, methodological notes (MN) related to procedural issues, and theoretical notes (TN) served to generate hypotheses for interpretation or study. The following is a portion of a fieldnote, which is narrative in form and includes a theoretical note.

Small group I. At one time they (the four girls) are all watching the teacher who is talking. Simultaneously, three are pushing their hair back with both hands, and they don't appear to be looking at each other.

TN. How do they pick up these cues? How much time do they spend together? Are these synchronized movements unconscious? (FN, Day 7, Fall)
The theoretical notes (TN) by the observer offered a direction for interpretation by questioning the amount of shared knowledge among the girls. How well did they know each other? Was this an example of inter-ethnic communication? Was this a familiar gesture? Were they responding to contextualization cues that existed within their own group? These kinds of questions and comments, made in the field, became a reservoir of ideas to draw upon in the discussion and planning of the on-going data collection and analysis.

**Ethnographic interviews**

A series of ethnographic interviews were conducted with the four families of the Korean girls and four additional Korean graduate students. The purpose of the interviews was to collect data on Korean family life and child-rearing in Korea and in this country. The interviews with the families of the four girls also included questions about the early years of each girl's life and descriptions about daily life in Walnut Village.

The interviews were held with each family in their home, and the mother and father were both present. In the families of Kyong, Sook, and Hee, the fathers served as primary respondents, and they translated questions and responses for their wives. It was not clear if this was done because traditionally husbands represent the family or because the wives lacked adequate communicative skills. Min's parents contributed equally to the first interview, and her mother invited me back for a second lengthy interview in which the father was not present.
The interview format consisted of open-ended and contrast questions recommended by Spradley (1979), such as "Tell me about childhood in Korea," "How is your child's life in the U.S. the same as/different from childhood in Korea?" Prior to the interviews, a literature search was conducted on Korean family life to be more knowledgeable in forming questions and extending discussion (Bettelheim & Takanishi, 1976; Jai-seuk, 1976; Kyong-Dong, 1986; Sang-un, 1983). A total of 15.5 hours of interview data were collected.

Teacher retrospective notes

The two teachers in the setting agreed to write up daily retrospective notes on their observations throughout the school year, including impressions they had about the children and/or the program. The retrospective notes were a source of validation, or triangulation, which will be discussed in data analysis.

Korean translations and interpretations

A Korean graduate student, May, served as an interviewee and also agreed to translate and interpret the utterances spoken in Korean. She was an instructor of early childhood education at a Korean university before coming to the United States for graduate studies in family relations. She was knowledgeable about parenting customs and the language and behavior of young Korean children in Korea and Walnut village. As a graduate student, she was also familiar with American views of early childhood.

A Korean graduate student in foreign language education, Jong, also translated the Korean utterances. The two of them observed independently the videotaped data and reviewed 35 episodes of Korean
utterances that were heard in free play and small group. The informants translated the language data and interpreted them from their own cultural perspective.

Summary

The primary data collected were videotapes from the first three weeks of fall, winter, and spring quarters. In addition, participant observation was conducted in the setting. The observations gave the researcher opportunity to participate and look at the events of preschool from a child's perspective. The written fieldnotes and teacher retrospective notes provided additional data to establish the validity of the interpretations of the videotapes. The translations and informant interpretations and the ethnographic interviews contributed to an understanding of Korean culture.

Data analysis

Introduction

The recursive nature of ethnographic analysis is revealed in the cyclic pattern of organizing the data, uncovering patterned behavior, formulating hypotheses, revisiting the data, verifying and/or generating further hypotheses. The analysis process, referred to as "progressive problem-solving" (Erickson, 1982), began with a study of the whole by looking at the preschool program, the participants, and their cultural backgrounds, and moving down through the parts, until the patterned behaviors of the individuals and the structural regularities of small group within the preschool became visible and
typical. Although the presentation of the analysis suggests this occurred in a linear-like process, much of the analysis was actually co-occurring.

The analysis took place in two stages. Stage I led to the findings of the protoanalysis, which formed the basis for the current study, Stage II. The description of the two stages will show the analysis also proceeded on two levels, a macro-level that included background information on the subjects and an overview of the setting, and a micro-level that included a selection of small group data from each quarter for transcription and interpretation.

**Stage I, protoanalysis**

**Level one.** This stage of analysis consisted of the analysis of the ethnographic interviews and a preview of videotapes for microanalysis. The objective of level one was to gather background knowledge on the community, family, and program to provide a cultural framework for the microanalysis of small group.

**Ethnographic interviews.** Over 15 hours of interview data were analyzed using domain analysis as a means to reveal cultural themes (Spradley, 1979), a process that will be further described in the analysis of videotaped data. The analysis process revealed 25 domains under three broad categories of information related to child care (6), education (9), and family life (10). The results were corroborated by other interviewees and the review of literature on Korean culture.

**Preview of videotaped data.** The first step in the management and analysis of the videotaped data was to develop a system to identify and organize the data. The tapes of small group events from
the first three weeks of school, fall, winter, and spring quarters, were reviewed. Reference cards were developed to record the attendance and seating, schedule, special activities, and pertinent information regarding the typicality of the event or quality of the tape. Based on the reference cards, 28 events were selected from 11 days of preschool for further analysis.

Level two. The transcription of videotaped data was necessary before analysis could continue, although the process of transcription itself is recognized as an analytical interactive process between data and researcher. Transcription is theory-driven, and formulated in a way that serves the conceptual and theoretical orientation of the researcher (Corsaro, 1985; Evertson & Green, 1986; Erickson, 1982; Ochs, 1979). This became evident as the transcriptions foregrounded the behavior of the four girls within the events of preschool.

The format for transcriptions must be readable, and contain linguistic and contextual information that will contribute to interpretation (Corsaro, 1985). The focus of the transcription in this study was on overall participation, with emphasis on the interactions among the four girls, and between the four and the other participants. The transcribed data were divided into columns, using the left side for verbal language and the right side for a description of nonverbal and contextual information. Additional comments of the transcriber were bracketed in the left column. The transcription system evolved with practice, and a third column was sometimes used to note activity on the periphery of potential interest.
The transcriptions recorded the language as heard including mispronunciations and sound play. Punctuation marks were used if the exclamations, questions, imperatives and end of sentences were clearly marked in delivery. The following symbols were also used in transcription:

- () inaudible to the researcher
- .. short pause
- .... segments of talk that were not transcribed

**UPPER CASE** Translation from spoken Korean

**Lower case** Spoken English

The following episode is an example that includes spoken English and Korean:

**Episode 2.**

**Transcription format**

Art activity, VT
Hee (H), Kyong (K), and Sook (S) are making glitter collages.
H: ..dat dere (). Points to bowl of glitter.
..dat dere.. Teacher passes H the glitter.
K-S:THAT BOY TOOK OURS..
YOU TAKE THAT FROM HIM. S gets up, looks at teacher.
S-T:I want twinkles, I want twinkles.
Points to bowl, which teacher takes, passes to S.

The example is typical of the transcriptions as it shows the short utterances, accompanied with gestures common to Hee and Sook. It also displays the transcription of Korean and English.

Thirteen events or 3.8 hours of small group events, were transcribed for the protoanalysis. The time-consuming process involved observing, starting, and stopping the videotapes for transcription by hand. The Korean girls used limited verbal
expression and relied heavily on nonverbal behavior so it was necessary to transcribe directly from videotapes. The length of time for transcription varied according to the quality of the videotape and the interaction being recorded; the transcriptions for the first 3.8 hours took 39 hours. The transcriptions focused on the Korean girls, and an additional ten events (3 hours of classtime) of transcription were completed on the three non-Korean girls in small group.

Domain analysis. Once the transcriptions were completed, they were analyzed using elements of Spradley’s Developmental Research Process (1980) to identify and to organize emerging patterns of social interaction among the girls in the small group events. The process began with domain analysis, which is a way to identify categories of meaning with a culture. Culture was defined as "an organization of things, the meaning given by people to objects, places, and activities" (Spradley, 1980, p.86).

To begin the domain analysis, transcriptions were read to identify semantic relationships that linked the name of a cultural domain ("cover term") with smaller categories within the domain ("included term") (Spradley, p.89). When semantic relationships were identified, these relationships formed the questions for continued reading based on the semantic relationships, such as strict inclusion (Is this a kind of?), means-end (Is this a way to?), rationale (Is this a reason to?). The following data from fall, winter, and spring were read and analyzed in search of semantic relationships:

1. Transcriptions, VT, small group, four Korean girls  
2. Transcriptions, VT, small group, three non-Korean girls  
3. Fieldnotes, all events, four Korean girls  
4. Teacher retrospective notes, all events, four Korean girls
5. Selected transcriptions, VT, free play and circle events.

The domains listed below are examples that became evident in the small group behavior of the Korean girls during stage I analysis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Included Terms</th>
<th>Semantic Relationship</th>
<th>Cover Term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Offer information</td>
<td>is a way to</td>
<td>initiate interaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bid for attention</td>
<td></td>
<td>with teacher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make a request</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give a compliment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ask a question</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refer to a peer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repeating &quot;ideas&quot;</td>
<td>is an example of</td>
<td>modeling the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imitating actions</td>
<td></td>
<td>behavior of peers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repeating information</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repeating requests</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The examples cited above reveal how domain analysis directs the continuing analysis and leads to the identification of cultural themes, a recurring principle that serves to link subsystems of cultural meaning (Spradley, 1980). The first example, the means-end relationship of a "way to initiate interaction with teacher," expanded into a list displaying a variety of ways the four girls individually accessed the teacher. The second analysis indicated they monitored and imitated each other’s behavior. Further analysis revealed the strategies to initiate interaction with the teacher were frequently imitations of peer behavior. This analysis identified imitation and its relationship to participation as a theme for continuing analysis.

Additional viewings of the videotapes revealed that imitation was a patterned behavior that the four girls constructed to varying degrees of use. The analysis shifted to include imitation, and it was necessary to define the meaning of imitation and the interactive episode of imitation. For this study, I defined imitation as the
repetition or close reenactment of a behavior closely following a peer's initiation of that behavior. An episode of imitation began with the initiation of a behavior by a peer that is imitated by one or more peers and terminated when the imitation ceased.

The appearance of multiple imitations among the Korean peers generated the hypothesis that peer relationships constructed within the peer culture were more than a source of security within the school culture. The peer relationships were a resource for knowing how to interact in classroom events through the availability of peer models. The decision was made to use the episode of imitation as a model for type-case analysis. In the type-case analysis, the model is applied to new contexts over time to assess the validity of the model as a patterned event (Erickson & Shultz, 1981; Green & Harker, 1982). In the case of imitation, a model of the four girls imitating each other's behavior to interact with the teacher during different activities of small group was evident in the limited data base of the protoanalysis. But it needed to be verified in a systematic way within the small group contexts of fall, winter, and spring. The model of peers imitating peers was also applied to the transcriptions of the non-Koreans.

**Triangulation.** The validity of the findings in stage I analysis were tested through triangulation, which contributes to theory generation and has been defined as "checking inferences from one set of data sources by collecting data from others" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983, p.198). The exposure of the analysis to various data sources is a means to identify confirming or disconfirming evidence
that may affect the meaning inferred from the findings. Triangulation can be achieved by verifying the analysis through different sources of data or during different phases of fieldwork.

There were multiple sources of data to triangulate the analysis of the protoanalysis, but the triangulation was incomplete because of the lack of consistent and adequate analysis for inference. Stage II of the analysis included a revisitation to the data and a new cycle of analysis.

**Stage II analysis**

The focus was primarily on the participation of the girls within small group events during the second stage of analysis. The analysis began with a return to the data base to increase the number of videotapes that would be used in the continuing analysis. Sixty-four small group events, ranging over 32 days and totaling 18 hours were selected for review. (See Table 3.2).

**Table 3.2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Fall</th>
<th>Winter</th>
<th>Spring</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#</td>
<td>Hrs.</td>
<td>#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small group I</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4 1/2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small group II</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7 1/2</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of days reviewed in the fall was higher than winter and spring to allow for the initial adjustment of participants to the setting. The preview of the small group events that was started during the protoanalysis continued until there were reference cards
for 62 events over the year.

The cards were reviewed to establish the activities within a typical day. During this review, patterns of seating and speaking Korean emerged, and a chart was maintained for each quarter to track these behaviors on a daily basis. In addition, the appearance of imitating episodes was also noted. The charts on the 62 events showed the four girls had patterned ways of seating as a foursome, and they used Korean and imitating on a daily basis. Hypotheses were generated about the stability of the patterns over time, which will be discussed in Chapter IV. One child was absent during winter quarter, and the behaviors of the three looked different in the ongoing analysis. This indicated the need for analysis that not only considered the action as a group of four, but also monitored individual behaviors during each quarter.

The winter data were revisited to see what patterns, if any, appeared in the new configuration of the group. The seating chart was expanded to look at adult contacts as the tapes revealed new interest in adult partners. It was also decided to re-examine the seating data to discover the social interaction among the four and how the absence of Sook affected their group dynamics in the winter and spring. The charting identified seating, spoken Korean, and imitating as ways to track the relationships among the girls and their interaction in the school culture. A sociogram was used to track the seating interactions among the four.

**Translation.** May and Yong, the translators, were asked to translate audible episodes from free play and small group. The
translations were completed independently by each of the two translators. I reviewed the tapes with them to provide background information and to operate the video monitor. May and Yong cautioned that the spoken Korean of the children was difficult to translate because of the brief and incomplete utterances of children’s talk. The Korean language is also difficult to translate literally into English.

Once the utterances were translated, they were analyzed to see how and when spoken Korean was used within the small group events. The translations were classified into categories of language functions (Halliday, 1973) and contexts of use within the classroom.

Additional transcriptions. Four days were selected from the first two weeks of each quarter for transcription and microanalysis. The transcription process followed the format used in the protoanalysis. Seven hours of small group time were transcribed, which took 60-65 hours. Selected events from small group and free play that displayed interaction among the four were also transcribed, but the time for transcription was not documented.

Domain analysis. The domain analysis that began in the protoanalysis was continued. The analysis showed the absence of Sook coincided with changes in interaction and participation among the Korean peers during winter quarter. These shifts in interaction indicated that the domain analysis had to be more specific and trace both the interactions and the individuals involved in the interactions to observe changes in the peer relationships and the effect on individual participation.
Type-case model. The type-case model to track the use of imitation was applied throughout the year. The data were analyzed for the use of imitation within all the contexts of small group I and II. The imitators and use of imitation were recorded on a worksheet, similar to the paradigm worksheet of Spradley (1980).

The primary use of imitation was to initiate interaction with the teacher. These uses related to the role of student and were further analyzed to discover the effect of imitation on the number of interactions with the teacher. The type-case model was applied to the behavior of each girl to determine who and how often imitation was used in the role of student.

Revisiting domain analyses. Findings from the type-case analysis led to a re-examination of the domains. The number of initiations that the children made to the teacher on their own was sifted from the data to compare with the new data on imitating peers. This comparison made it possible to determine the percent of overall initiates to the teacher that were based on imitation.

Contrast relevance. The process of analysis was repeated with the three non-Korean girls in small group to compare their behavior with the four girls. The analysis charted the seating patterns, conversational patterns, and use of imitation among the three girls. The use of the type-case model on imitation was applied to the same twelve days of analysis from fall, winter, and spring. Their use of independent verbal/nonverbal strategies to initiate interaction with the teacher was also compared with the four Korean girls.
**Triangulation.** The written sources of data, fieldnotes and teacher retrospective notes served to support the validity of inferences drawn from the data. The written sources were reviewed for comments that confirmed or disconfirmed the direction of the analysis.

"Indefinite triangulation" was implemented, which consists of a reaction to the analysis from other persons in the setting. The Korean informant, May, was one source of corroboration who reviewed the data from her perspective as an early childhood educator, as a Korean, and as someone familiar with life in Walnut Village. Diane, the small group teacher, also triangulated the data by reading the findings and providing written comments that indicated agreement with the findings.

**Summary**

The methodology for this study was based on an ethnographic perspective adapted to the preschool setting. The primary data source was videotaped data collected over one school year. In addition, the role of participant observer provided the researcher with the opportunity to observe the four Korean girls in the setting. Background information about the community and families of the girls was collected through ethnographic interviews. Multiple written sources of data supplemented the videotapes and also served the needs of triangulation. In addition, further triangulation was accomplished with May and with Diane, who were familiar with Korean children and the classroom setting.
CHAPTER IV
FINDINGS

Introduction

The lifeworld of the classroom is a complex one, a whole of parts that are continually constructed and re-constructed in response to changes in the setting and the participants. For this reason, the findings of this study will focus on the role of peer relationships within the event of small group but will be located within the broader frame of the classroom setting.

The findings are offered in five parts to show the dynamic nature of the Korean peer relationships within the social system of the Martin Hall preschool and the influence of those relationships on participation over time. The five parts are:

First month: Entering the setting/Constructing relationships
Fall: Relying on relationships
Winter: Realigning relationships
Spring: Renewing and extending relationships
Summary: Changing relationships.

First month: Entering the preschool setting

The first part of the findings offer an overview of Martin Hall and its participants. It is a "brush-stroke" attempt to introduce the world of schooling as the children found it and their initial behavior
in it. These findings were drawn from fieldnotes from the first month and corroborated with videotaped data and the teachers' retrospective notes.

The fieldnotes did not cover all ongoing activities, and they reflect the view from the eyes of the participant observers. There were 14 fieldnote entries each on the activities of Kyong and Min during the first month and four to five (respectively) fewer entries on the participation of Sook and Hee. Nonetheless, these findings help trace the construction of their relationships and their participation patterns in events other than small group.

The findings will begin with a description of the entry of the non-Korean children into the setting and then backstep to present information about the four Korean girls and their families. There will be a description of the entry of the Korean girls, the construction of their peer relationships, and their participation in other school culture events. Knowledge of their lifeworld in the larger classroom and in the home will provide a framework for the microanalysis that follows on the small group.

Entering school

The opening day of school at Martin Hall was filled with anticipation as teachers, student teachers, and members of the research team waited for the children to arrive. The teachers arranged materials and counted nametags while participant observers looked around the setting and made their initial fieldnote entries, which included the following:

The classroom had a fresh-scrubbed smell, appeared ready for the first day of school. Bulletin boards were freshly-painted and
bare. The painting easel was clean, fresh paper, smocks neatly hung—all toys arranged neatly in their special areas. (Fieldnotes [FN], Day 1).

The fieldnotes above indicated the setting was ready for the participants on the first day of October; but the newly-forming population was displaying a gambit of emotions from ease to apprehension. Several of the parents accompanied their children into the setting; some snapped pictures and others facilitated entry by "talking" their child into trying out activities. The children fanned out into the play areas, some interacting immediately with the materials, while others coped with feelings. Jonathan hid behind his slicker in a cubbie, another boy moved about, repeating, "I'm always Roger, I'm always Roger." The teachers and participant observers performed their duties, but later noted uncertainties about their roles and reactions as researchers within the classroom.

The second-year preschool children moved readily into the areas and tested out the materials. A participant observer noted the difference in entry behavior between returning children and the newcomers. She wrote:

I am immediately struck by the differences between the "veterans" and the "newcomers." The veterans are attempting to re-establish old friendships...they set themselves apart from the new children. Their use of space in the room is very different. They display knowledge of "what goes on here--I know this place!" They are purposeful... show no interest in the new children...all the children are essentially ignoring each other. There are no attempts to play together. Everyone seems to be moving in their own orbit—or in Sarah or Diane's orbit [teachers] (FN, Day 1)

Additional fieldnotes and teachers' notes confirmed that newcomers did cluster about the teachers, Sarah and Diane, and other
adults throughout the events of the first days. In the meantime, a group of newcomer boys began to associate regularly in the block area, collaborating on construction projects and imaginative scripts. The boys played together as "firemen" on day one. One fireman made room for expanding construction, telling the participant observer (me), "you're in the way," and pointed me to another available spot. This early association grew into a group of five boys who remained an active part of the peer culture throughout the year (Elgas, Klein, Kantor & Fernie, 1987; Elgas, 1988).

The majority of the non-Korean girls did not establish firm ongoing relationships during the first month. They were observed playing with adult and peer partners on the playground and indoors. They came together at areas of common interest like the sand and activity tables, but moved in and out of all activities on their own.

In contrast, the four Korean girls began to construct their peer relationships within the classroom during the first week. Because the four lived in the same neighborhood and arrived at school together, the teachers and observers made assumptions about the shared social experience and relationship of the Korean girls outside the classroom. Ethnographic interviews were conducted with the parents to gather information about their world beyond the classroom.

Growing up Korean in Walnut Village.

The girls lived in Walnut Village, university housing for graduate student families; however, the parents identified their lifestyle as "Korean," not international or American. The social world of the children consisted of the immediate family, church,
neighbors, playmates, and the maternal friendships—all Korean. Among the four girls, Kyong, Sook, and Hee lived close together and saw each other daily. According to Kyong's father, the Koreans played together, and his daughter played "sometimes" with a kindergarten-age American child in the neighborhood. The majority of the neighbors on Min's street were Korean, so she too played only with Koreans. Min saw Hee occasionally at Korean social events, and she saw Sook and Kyong in church every week.

According to the interview responses, the transition to preschool was potentially more dramatic for Korean families than Americans since Korean children are never left in the care of sitters or friends. The mother's role in Korea is intense and protective. She is watchful but indulgent of young children's behavior until ages three or four and does not emphasize turn-taking and other social skills with peers that many American children have learned prior to preschool. The primary goal of the mother is to raise children who know how to behave appropriately in a patriarchal family.

The behavior of the children during the interviews added support to these findings. Sook greeted me with a Korean bow and a formal, "How are you?" which I had never observed in preschool. She remained by her mother's side during the interview. In contrast, Min and Hee used various means to divert the adult conversation—climbing the bannister, crawling under the table, squealing, and running about—and were successful in doing so. Min's mother laughingly recounted mischievous deeds of her daughter on previous social occasions.
The daily life of the Walnut Village Koreans reflected their native culture. Korean customs of food, home care, and language were maintained, and much of the family clothing came from Korea. The social rule of removing shoes before entering the home was an expectation for family members and visitors in three homes.

Regarding American influences, the fathers reported they saw more of the children here than in Korea, and they were more involved in parental decisions. They also acknowledged that their children enjoyed American-made toys, videos, and television.

The parents were asked to talk about the differences that exist between Korean-raised and Korean-raised-in-America children. The families described childhood in Korea as a time of intense pressure, comparable to childhood in Japan. Hee's father commented that the competition in Korean schools leaves little time for the fun that children enjoy in this country. Children are expected to compete and perform well in school for the sake of the family. The fathers emphasized support for the education of their daughters, but they acknowledged the difficult challenges their daughters would encounter within the patriarchal society of Korea. Sook's father was concerned with his daughter's growing independence, which he believed to be a negative characteristic of American children. He identified her willingness and ability to care for her younger brother as a positive characteristic worthy of "blowing the trumpet."

Kyong's parents noted the greater emphasis on social skills among young children in this country, and the father expressed approval of Kyong's preschool social experience and developing
independence. The father also believed the preschool program to be responsible for Kyong's developing creative talent in the languages of English and Korean.

Min's mother and father both voiced the need for Min to develop self-confidence and become well-educated because life in Korea is difficult for women. Min's mother explained that she, unlike many traditional wives, had a career of her own in Korea, and she wanted Min to have educational opportunities that would prepare her for a career of her own choice.

Summary. The interview data revealed that the Korean girls did share a common background in the Korea-like world of Walnut Village. They had little contact with Americans, and the parents were attempting to socialize them for life in Korea by maintaining a lifestyle of Korean customs and language. The four girls were accustomed to close maternal supervision that did not promote social skills at this age. They were not experienced in social interaction with children from different cultural backgrounds. The parents all wanted their daughters to have the educational experience at Martin Hall, but acknowledged that the development of autonomy in the preschool conflicted with traditional Korean values for women.

Constructing a peer group

The preceding data inform us that the four Koreans who entered Martin Hall Preschool were acquainted, and 3 out of 4 were playmates. In this section, findings from the first month show the participation of the four girls individually and as a group during the peer culture events of outdoor play and free play.
Min and Kyong moved about independently their first day of school, trying out activities and observing the other participants. Sook and Hee were observed as inseparable the first days and "barely interacted with anyone else, adult or child" (Teacher’s note, 10/3). On Day 3, the first day with full attendance, the four girls began the construction of a peer group. They were observed participating together in several events throughout the day, and they were observed as a group on a daily basis thereafter.

Their behavior as a group became highly visible for its consistent and exclusive nature. Family role play was a recurrent theme that occurred on five of the first eight days of school. The role play episodes were in Korean. Translations revealed that all episodes followed the general format that is presented in the transcription below from day four. The rights and roles of the participants in the "family" were clearly visible. The teacher entered play and brought in additional participants. "Mommy" attempted to control the play of the others, and, finally, the four girls ignored the intruders.

Episode 3  
Day 4, Fall  
Family role-play, housekeeping area  

Kyong (K), Sook (S), and Hee (H) have been playing in the housekeeping corner. K takes a purse away from S and keeps H from toys. Teacher D (T) stops by, telling K she will be back. (Jenny (J) and Lin (L) will return with her.)

K moves to the cupboards where she plays with dishes and food cartons. S sits at the table. H also sits down as K sets the table with dishes.
K-H: THIS IS TEACHER’S, DON’T TOUCH.

S-H: THAT’S TEACHER’S TOO!

K-T: You are the mother.
T-K: and who are you?
K-T: Sister.
H: ...don’t want to be baby.
T-S: What’s Sook?
K-T: OLDER SISTER

K-T: (low voice) YOU ARE JUST A NEIGHBOR WOMAN!! (of low status)
K-H: DON’T
S,H-K: ..WANT ICE CREAM.
K-S,H: MOMMY WILL GIVE YOU ICE CREAM.
T-K: Who’s going to be Mommy when I leave?
K-T: Me

K-S: DON’T LEAVE UNTIL MOTHER COMES.

K-S: ELDER SISTER CAN GO OUTSIDE WITH SISTER.
K-H: THAT’S MOMMY’S!....()
K-S: THIS IS MOMMY'S.

Takes the phone that S was using. K, S, H play at the counter, back to T and J. L enters, stands near the doll's chair, watching teacher. K moves to push her away from the chair.

S, H-K: WE ARE DONE, WE ARE DONE.

K ignores them, flashes an annoyed look at T, J, L. The 3 Koreans play at the cupboards, backs to T and classmates, who eventually leave.

In this example, Kyong implements her view of social roles, which are accepted by Sook and Hee. She allocates roles and objects within the setting, serves as the "gatekeeper" who controls the entry of others, and switches languages for the different players. The teacher's status challenges her role, and she displays annoyance with a verbal retaliation (in Korean) to the teacher.

The Korean informants transcribed the episode and agreed that Kyong played a traditional Korean mother who closely supervises her children. They agreed that such roles are not negotiable in Korean culture. The oldest child in a group is always respected and allowed to determine the course of play. They inferred Kyong's insult to the teacher resulted from the interruption of play and her loss of status to the teacher. The teacher also allowed intruders in to play. Min was not in this episode, but observed on other days in high status roles, but less powerful roles like "father." According to informants, fathers are not active in household activities.

There were mixed reactions by the four girls to the teacher's participation in the group's play, yet during the first month there
were eight fieldnote references to Min and Kyong attempting to draw teachers into one-on-one play. It was only group play that remained closed to outsiders. On two occasions of participant observation, I was awarded the status of "baby" when observing in housekeeping. My attempts to open cupboards or use objects were thwarted by Kyong and Min yelling, "No, you're baby!" There was no evidence of other adults or children engaging in extended family role play in housekeeping with the Korean girls.

The hierarchy of Korean family role play was consistent. Kyong was "mommy," with powers of control and status. Sook took the role of "elder sister", and Hee was the "baby." If Min were present, she negotiated her role with Kyong, accepting "father" or "other woman." These roles neither challenged Kyong's status nor empowered Min.

Kyong's variation of roles in the episode above of assigning "good guy" and "brother" instead of women's roles was atypical for Korean role play and reflected the language of the classroom. "Good guy" was a term heard frequently in the boys' play. Kyong and the other three girls displayed a lack of ease with girl-boy interaction. In four instances of boys' peaceful initiation ("Where are you going?" "What's your name?"), the girls did not respond and/or turned their back on the boys. This rejection did not deter the interest of Kareem, who repeatedly made attempts to interact with Hee and drove her to tears on two occasions. Undaunted, 4-year-old Kareem made this observation to the teacher about Hee:

> It's okay if Hee doesn't talk, because if she cries you'll know she's sad, and if she laughs, you'll know she's happy--and she's got great teeth! (TN, 10/28)
Hee was not open to interaction, and three of the girls were openly aggressive towards boys. Kyong denied Jeff's request to play, admonished a surprised Roger, "Don't hit me," and informed Tim, "I don't like you, Tim." Sook kidnapped Omar's "baby" rabbit from his play, and Hee purposefully rammed a block construction with the doll carriage when the boys asked her to leave. Half the instances of rejection were originated by Kyong. There were only two incidents recorded of the girls being chased or threatened by the boys.

The Koreans as a group also showed little interest in face-to-face interaction with the other girls in the classroom. Kyong continued to dominate Sook and Hee in other activities where rights to space or objects were negotiated by participants. Min made no visible attempts to challenge Kyong, rather, she entered and left the Korean group play freely. She played with Hee or Sook, but the findings contain no evidence of interest in being "mommy" or imposing status.

On the other hand, Kyong used the allocation of the status roles of "mommy" and "elder sister" to barter for play and friendship with non-Koreans. Lin, a Taiwanese in her second year of preschool, joined the Koreans in play outdoors as an "elder sister." When Nancy, the oldest member of the class, offered to push the girls on a swing, Kyong deferentially responded, "You can be the mommy," and informed others of Nancy's new role. Kyong addressed her as "Mommy," but Nancy did not enter into role play. Kyong also offered the role of "Mommy" to a participant observer at the sand table, and took on role of "elder sister" for herself.
The fieldnotes indicate the four girls did not always play together in the first month of school. They participated individually in free play activities with an adult partner--student teacher, participant observer, or teacher--or they entered a group of adults and non-Korean peers. In addition, there were four entries of the Korean girls playing alone and eight entries of them inviting teachers as play partners. Min and Kyong used verbal and nonverbal communicative forms to interact with adults, while Hee and Sook verbalized little and used play objects to facilitate interaction. Min, Kyong, and Hee wandered about as "on-lookers" on more than one occasion, pausing to watch the activities of others.

**Entering the school culture.**

The four girls encountered school culture activities during free play and circle time. The Koreans were observed regularly at activity tables that were a blend of school culture and peer culture--set up by the teachers as part of the curriculum to encourage creative and sensory experience. In the example below, the four girls move to the table set up for a painting experience in which they are to use different objects as tools to paint.

**Episode 4**  
**Free play, VT**  
**Participants: Roger (R), Lacey (L), Min (M), Kyong (K), Sook (S), Hee (H)**

A table is covered with brown paper and topped with individual sheets of manila paper in front of each chair. Trays of paint in varied colors and containers of sponges and small assorted objects are in the center of the table. R, L, and the four girls put on paint smocks, come to the table, and paint, using the objects as tools. Min dips her hand into the paint and makes a hand print. All four Korean girls begin to dip their hands, squishing the paint, and printing on the paper with hands and fingers. They roll the paint up over their wrists, squealing and chattering in Korean as they ooze their hands in
The four girls experience the painting activity as intended by the teachers, but, on this and other occasions, they also construct their own version of the task at hand. The girls frequented the tables individually or as a group.

At circle time, the girls were attentive to seating arrangements, and they interrupted group proceedings on more than one occasion with debate (in Korean) over seating partners. Initially they sat as a group, but the four were observed increasingly in the laps of adults by the end of the month.

Min and Kyong contributed to circle time with ideas for songs and conversation, but the fieldnotes say little about Sook and Hee. In the following example, Min uses verbal and nonverbal strategies to share her "idea" with the teacher. The episode displays Min's interest in communicating with the teacher, but less interest in participation in the activity.

**Episode 5**
**Circle (FN, Day 6)**
**Participants:** Min (M), Teacher (T), Participant observer (PO)

M is sitting in the lap of the PO at circle. They are engaged in singing activity. The T asks the children for song ideas.

M-T: I have idea (quietly). T doesn’t attend. Ideas given for song, "Monkeys... on the bed."

M-T: Teacher (loud).

M-T: Teacher, Teacher (louder) T is calling on others. I have idea. Dada on the bed.

T-M: Yes...Daddy?
PN: This verse has been sung. M leans back on the PO, observes as the class sings a different song.

Min showed persistence with verbal and non-verbal efforts to deliver her "idea" to the teacher, but shows no concern that her suggestion is not implemented. Once she obtained the teacher's attention and delivered the idea, she relaxed and watched others continue the activity.

The four girls began to attend to contextualization cues that marked the end of circle. The teacher taught a transition game, asking the children to crouch down on their hands and knees as "little rocks" until she tapped them for dismissal. The girls assumed it to be a daily routine. They anticipated the end of circle time and, as a group, slipped into rock formation four times with the other children following suit before the teacher could announce her plans. On one occasion, the teacher rose to teach a new game, but changed plans as the four girls had already transformed into rocks (FN, 10/9). At that point, they had just one interpretation of transition activities.

Summary

The fieldnotes of the first month revealed that a group of boys who played in blocks and the four Korean girls constructed enduring peer relationships. The girls experienced a Korean-oriented lifestyle in their homes, and continued to use the Korean language in their social interactions with each other in the classroom. They came together in play as a group with a stable hierarchy. Kyong held the highest status of "mommy," and dominated the behavior of Sook and Hee
within the peer culture. Min entered into the Korean group play, but showed little interest for the roles or status.

There was minimal face-to-face interaction with non-Koreans, but four patterns of interaction began to emerge the first month. First, Kyong, Sook, and Hee displayed unwillingness to interact with boys and initiated behavior to ward off potential interaction. Second, Kyong used status or the role of "mommy" as a way to manipulate interactions with adults or non-Korean girls. The third pattern was the exclusive nature of their family role play, and, fourth, their pursuit of adult play partners when not interacting as a group.

The girls displayed interest in the school culture through their participation in the activity tables during free play. During circle, a structural pattern of preferred seating began to emerge--together or in the laps of adults. The Koreans' perception of the participant structure in circle was displayed in their continued use of "rocks" as a transition marker.

There was evidence of individual attempts to join circle talk despite limited verbal skills. In general, the participation of Kyong and Min was foregrounded through their contributions in circle and their interaction with adults. The fieldnotes contained fewer entries describing the participation of Sook and Hee, who engaged in less social interaction outside their group.
Introduction

The analysis of Fall reveals that a group setting was a new experience for the four girls. They had to learn where to sit, who to attend, what to do, and how to do it. The findings in this section will describe the structural features of small group events and the activities and contexts within those events. They will display the initial reaction of the Korean girls to the rights, responsibilities, and expectations within the events and their response to those expectations as a group and as individuals.

Activities in small groups I & II

As described in chapter III, there were two small group events daily. These events were analyzed initially for the protoanalysis to discover the nature of the small group events—-not the plan or the expectations, but what actually occurred within the event. The analysis revealed patterns of interaction in which the four girls primarily interacted with each other. Their strategies for interaction with the teacher were limited.

The data were further analyzed in relationship to the Koreans, non-Koreans, teachers, and other adults in small group. The findings in the protoanalysis served to guide the second stage of analysis and findings, which began with expanding the number of events for analysis.

A review of 62 small group events over the year revealed that these school culture events consisted of activities that were teacher-
led and junctures that marked the transition between activities. Both activities and junctures will be referred to as contexts (defined in chapter II) because of the changing expectations for participation within each. The children had to negotiate the participant structures of doing an activity as well as what to do before and after the activity.

In an earlier study on small group process (Williams, 1988), this same small group (I) was analyzed and found to include an opening, middle/activity, and closing phase. The study revealed that each phase contained specific participation guidelines for the teacher and the children, and social action rules for behavior that were both explicit and implicit (p. 39). Williams' work displays the complexity and magnitude of rules underlying the behavior of participants in the formation of a small group. (See Appendix B, Participation guidelines for small group I.) The overview of participation guidelines provides additional perspective for the current study, which focused on explicit behavior that was observed in the teacher and children as they moved through the contexts of the event.

The contexts within small groups I and II were consistent; the format varied in 3 out of 25 events fall quarter. The contexts of small group I are listed below along with a description of teacher and children's behaviors commonly observed during each context. These behaviors were evident in an analysis of 4 days of videotaped data and corroborated with selective viewing of additional fall quarter tapes. (See Table 4.1).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contexts</th>
<th>Teacher’s behavior</th>
<th>Children’s behavior</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Circle formation</td>
<td>Check materials</td>
<td>Enter the room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Talk with arrivals</td>
<td>Take a seat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Take a seat</td>
<td>Look at personal objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Assist children</td>
<td>Slide on work area paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>with finding seats</td>
<td>Bid for adult attention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wait for other participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Teacher-child talk</td>
<td>Makes opening comments</td>
<td>Listen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Questions for &quot;ideas&quot;</td>
<td>Bid to talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maintains group focus</td>
<td>Offer information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Responds to speakers</td>
<td>Negotiate space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Introduction to activity</td>
<td>Describes or demonstrates activity</td>
<td>Listen, observe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Move forward to see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Distribution of materials</td>
<td>Gets materials from counter</td>
<td>Move mid-circle to materials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sets materials</td>
<td>Take materials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mid-circle or in front of individuals</td>
<td>Begin activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Do the activity</td>
<td>Checks distribution of materials</td>
<td>Begin the activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Facilitates sharing &amp; seating; Responds to queries; Maintain focus on task</td>
<td>Assert rights to materials &amp; space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Focus attention on individual efforts</td>
<td>Bid for adult attention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interact with other participants</td>
<td>Show products</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Observe peers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Interact with other participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Wind-up</td>
<td>Reminder to finish</td>
<td>Finish product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Offer to write/label products</td>
<td>Work more intensely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Label &amp; praise efforts</td>
<td>Bring for labeling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Encourage wind-up</td>
<td>Bid for praise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wander, wait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) Clean-up/line-up</td>
<td>Direct clean-up</td>
<td>Put away materials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Call attention/clean-up</td>
<td>Wander around room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Redirect wanderers</td>
<td>Engage in talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Finish labeling</td>
<td>Look at others’ work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Discourage opening door</td>
<td>Roll up brown paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Call to door</td>
<td>Gather at door</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Characteristic of this event is the negotiation of concrete materials during the activity. There were also behaviors that involved waiting for, getting, making, sharing, and comparing the use of materials. Small group ended with clean-up that some children resisted by milling around the room or lining up for departure until redirected to the task. The Table provides a view of what the participants did on a regular basis.

The teacher established rules that were made explicit during fall quarter, such as a requirement to stay in the music room until dismissed. Additional social rules for the participant structure were negotiated by the group over the year to manage significant issues (from the teacher’s and children’s perspective) such as sharing the use of materials and noise control.

The planned activities in small group II varied from small group I in structure and contextualization. In small group I, children engaged in a contextualized art or sensory activity, using hands-on materials. In small group II, children were expected to share decontextualized ideas through movement and literature. (See Table 4.2).
### Table 4.2
**Contexts of Small Group II**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contexts</th>
<th>Teacher’s behavior</th>
<th>Children’s behavior</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Circle formation</td>
<td>Enters</td>
<td>Enter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Talks with arrivals</td>
<td>Choose a seat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gets record ready</td>
<td>Look at personal objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Assist with seating</td>
<td>Wait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Talk with teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Teacher-talk</td>
<td>Talk about &quot;ideas&quot;</td>
<td>Listen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Introduce movement activity</td>
<td>Respond/offer ideas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Start the phonograph</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Movement</td>
<td>Repeat words from record</td>
<td>Imitate teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Demonstrate ideas</td>
<td>Invent motions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asks for ideas</td>
<td>Listen to record</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Focus on individual ideas</td>
<td>Sing along</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Give reinforcement</td>
<td>Follow record</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sing along with record</td>
<td>instructions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Follow record instructions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Encourage participation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Regroup</td>
<td>Talks about movement</td>
<td>Find seating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Assist with re-seating</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Story</td>
<td>Introduce author</td>
<td>Watch/listen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adjust seating to see</td>
<td>Move closer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Read story</td>
<td>Respond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Focus attention</td>
<td>Observe others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Question listeners</td>
<td>Lie down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Discuss story</td>
<td>Look out window</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Wind-up</td>
<td>Closes book</td>
<td>Respond/questions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Questions listeners</td>
<td>Offer opinions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Closing comments</td>
<td>Look out window</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Announces clean-up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) Clean-up/line-up</td>
<td>Put away carpet square</td>
<td>Put away carpet square</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Call to door</td>
<td>Stand near door</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were two contexts in Small group II for group conversation and a story to promote verbal expression. There were fewer contexts
that required waiting than in the first group, and the waiting period was shorter. There was more floor space in the second group, and the use of space was negotiated as children moved about to see the story.

A new participant structure.

A look at the participation of the Korean girls on the first day of small group events indicated they were entering new territory. The episodes show that the four initially attended to each other rather than the teacher. They imitated a peer’s interpretation of what to do in small group, rather than look to the teacher or non-Korean peers. They did not display knowledge of the behavior expected in the first two contexts of small group II. The episodes also displayed imitating behavior among the girls, which will be discussed in this chapter.

Episode 6
Day 3, VT
Small group II
Participants: Kyong (K), Min (M), Sook (S), Hee (H), Teacher (T), Lacey (L).

The children enter small group, pick up carpet squares for seating, and find a place to sit. The teacher enters, reminds everyone to get a square. Two children seat themselves next to adults, beginning the circle. H and M enter together.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H puts her square down mid-circle.</td>
<td>M places hers alongside.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S enters, goes to carpet squares.</td>
<td>T moves behind H, puts her hands under H’s shoulders as if to move her.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T stands, gets a carpet square.</td>
<td>S stands next to H and M, pauses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T: Let’s everyone get a little carpet square, so we can find a place.</td>
<td>K comes, puts square next to three Koreans.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
T-H: (softly) H, H, H...
Could you sit back?
You could scoot over there or over here..

T-H: (whisper) Can you sit back?
You could scoot over there or over here.

T has moved behind H, pats her back.
T sits, taps the floor behind H.
T extends arm over H's shoulder, points to back of circle, points beside her.
H stands, picks up mat, walks across to back wall.

T-M, S, K: Can you find a square for you?
M, S, K remain mid-circle.

M-T: I'm gonna sit there.
M moves to sit at T's left.

T-S: (pointing at H) Why don't you sit there?
T looks at H.

T moves to sit at T's left.

T-H: You can come closer, H. you're gonna go farther, OK.
T stands, moves near H, who pushes farther back.
K moves forward on knees to L, mouth words (inaudible), nods, and wrinkles her nose with a negative expression.
K shakes head at Omar.

T begins talk with group.

T is talking to group about rhythm instruments.

In the above episode, the four Korean girls clustered inside the forming circle unlike the others. They didn't react to cues of where others were sitting or where the teacher was pointing. Min moved to sit near the teacher; Hee and Sook sat outside of circle, and Kyong remained within. Kyong also initiated interaction during teacher-led group talk. Lacey remonstrated with a command to stop.

The next segment illustrates the participation of the Koreans during an activity to introduce the rhythm instruments. Again, three of the Koreans interpret the situation from their own perspective. Although the rest of the group attends to the teacher, the girls ignore the group and do not become involved in the school culture.
Episode 7
Day 3, VT
Location: Small group II
Participants: Kyong (K), Sook (S), Hee (H), Teacher (T).

As the teacher sets down two containers of rhythm instruments within the circle, H is the first to move forward and reach for instruments. Others follow behind, and three non-Koreans watch.

1) H moves forward, takes a red rhythm stick. She returns to her seat in the back corner, lifts up her carpet square and beats it with the stick. Her back is to the teacher and the group.
2) S picks up a stick, moves alongside of H, begins beating on her carpet square.
3) K picks up a stick, a mat and moves next to S. She begins to beat in synchrony with the other two.
4) The three sit with backs to the group until the Teacher pauses, then calls out changes in rhythm and volume.
5) They turn and watch, repeat some group rhythms on the mats.
6) H moves up, takes jingle bells from the container, returns to sit, strikes them with the stick.
7) K moves forward, takes bells, returns, hits the bells with her stick.
8) S moves in behind K, takes bells.
9) H, followed by K, move forward for more bells from the pail.
10) H readjusts her carpet to face the T.
11) S returns to sit by H; K moves next to S, all three facing T.
12) The three go back and forth from carpet square to container, trading instruments while the other participants attend the teacher.
13) H, then K join in larger group's shaking "idea." S watches.

In this episode, Hee did not wait for the teacher's cues on the use of the instruments. Sook and Kyong followed her lead in getting the sticks, sat apart from the group, and beat without attention to the other participants. Min remained near the teacher and followed her cues for the rhythm activity. When the teacher increased the volume and tempo of the rhythm activity, the three girls adjusted their seating and joined the group activity.

The Korean informant explained this behavior from a Korean perspective. The girls did not engage in a rhythm activity, but a
carpet-cleaning role play. The Korean mothers in Walnut village beat their doormats (carpet squares) with a short stick or broom as a daily ritual. The girls were drawn together in carpet play on the basis of this shared knowledge until the teacher attracted their attention.

The two episodes displayed the Koreans' interpretation of how to behave in the two small groups. They also revealed differences in the participant structures of the Koreans' role play and the small group events. These differences are evident in Table 4.3 below, which illustrates the strategies used in family role play during free play and the small group events. The comparison is based on five observations of role play in housekeeping and daily observations of small group during the first eight days of school.

Table 4.3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategy</th>
<th>Small group</th>
<th>Role play</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Turn-taking</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bid for teacher attention</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Follow teacher instructions</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Share materials and objects</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Extend/respond to teacher talk</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Wait at activity junctures</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Comply with social rules/larger group</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Clean up</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Respect peer status</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Remain in setting</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Participate within given space</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A major difference in the participation indicated above is the amount of teacher-child interaction. During the small groups, the
teacher was an ever-present guide who facilitated the negotiation and enforcement of social rules like the use of materials for the good of all participants. Individual participation in the activities was arbitrary, but encouraged by the teacher. Children could choose not to participate, but they were expected to remain in the room.

Compared to the collaborative spirit encouraged by the teacher in the small group events, the free play of the Korean girls was more arbitrary and authoritarian in nature. A hierarchy was evident in the family role play, which showed Kyong in control with Sook and Hee (in that order) in lesser positions. Kyong determined the use of space and materials when she was in the housekeeping area with Sook and Hee, as illustrated in the Day 4 housekeeping episode. Min did not overtly challenge Kyong’s control. She accepted the respectable roles of father or neighbor, moving freely in and out of the play scene.

The hierarchy initially turned upside down when the girls entered the school culture. The episodes describing seating and use of rhythm sticks on Day 3 show "baby" Hee leading Sook and Kyong in participation; however, Min acts with more independence. The following Figure 4.1 displays the shift in hierarchy from family role play to small group events on Day 3. (See Figure 4.1). In the column on the left, Kyong is the dominant player in role play with Sook and Hee in lesser positions. Hee assumes the dominant role on the first day of regular small group activity followed by Sook and Kyong. Min acts with more independence; she does not attempt to lead or follow her three peers.
The hierarchy evident in small group on Day 3 was not permanent. Additional data showed the Korean hierarchy of the peer culture also emerged within the school culture. The temporary change on Day 3 indicated status was responsive to context, and Kyong did not maintain status and control over Sook and Hee in the new context. Interview data revealed that Hee's older brother attended Martin Hall, and Hee had visited the program. She may have implemented a perception of participation learned from her brother or the visits.

The analysis of the initial entry into the school culture was followed by a review of the fall small group events (25) to identify any consistent structural and/or interactional patterns among the four Koreans. The analysis revealed that sitting together, talking together, and imitating each other within the small group events were three characteristic features of their interaction. The decision was
made to trace these patterns over the year to discover how the interaction, and especially the imitating, related to participation.

Sitting together

The choice of where to sit during small group events was up to the individual. Children were assisted by the teacher with seat selection, either because they were indecisive or the spot chosen was already crowded or taken. Seating sometimes changed during an activity, but these findings show the first seating formation of the event.

The Korean girls sat in various formations together; in fact, there were no days in the 18 events with the four in attendance when they all sat separately. The first Korean to be observed sitting apart from the others was Min on Day 8, but it was not clear if that occurred by choice.

The girls' preference for each other was displayed through repeated verbal and non-verbal strategies to determine seating. Translations of their talk revealed Sook, Min, and Kyong inviting partners. The videotaped data showed them sharing their carpet square, tapping available space, and/or nudging together to bar entry to the uninvited.

The dyad and group of four were predominant seating formations. The girls sat in two dyads in 6 (33%) events, and as a foursome on 6 (33%) occasions. There was at least one dyad in 4 (22%) events. The figure below is a means to visualize the "fit" of the predominant seating patterns of the four within the group. It displays the
various conformations of the girls within small group and the three seating combinations most common to them.

Figure 4.2. Fall: Three predominant seating patterns in small group.

There were no observed differences in seating formations between small group events I & II. Patterns of social interaction among the four girls were evident in their consistent choice of seating partners. Min and Hee sat together in 68% of the events, including eight occasions (32%) as a dyad. Kyong and Sook were together in 56% of the events, and six occasions (24%) as a dyad. Sook and Hee were together in combinations with others in 12 (48%) of the events and formed a dyad on three (12%) occasions. All possible seating combinations were observed among the four with one exception--Kyong and Min never sat as a dyad. Kyong sat apart from Korean peers during eight events (32%), and Min sat apart during six events (24%). The patterns of interaction observed in choice of seating partners are represented in Figure 4.3.
To sum up the analysis on fall seating patterns, the four Koreans showed preference for each other as seating partners. There were displays of pleasure and affect with their partners, and the seating enabled them to communicate in Korean. Min/Hee and Kyong/Sook were frequent seating dyads, and they also sat as a group of four. There were no overt attempts to sit with non-Korean children. It was assumed that seating patterns would change as the four girls constructed new relationships within the larger group.

**Talking together**

Although the language of children was not recorded individually, Korean was audible in 19 (76%) of the 25 events. Korean was used more
in Small group I than II, within six contexts. The noise level was
down when the girls entered group, so much of the Korean was heard
during the initial context of circle formation. The translations
revealed situational codeswitching in brief exchanges in Korean
related to carpet squares and seating partners among the four before
they attended to small group activity. They consistently used Korean
among themselves, and alternated with English to non-Korean speakers
as necessary. The girls also included borrowed English terms within
their exchanges, such as "baby" and "ice cream."

There were four occasions when the use of Korean combined with
divergent behaviors that halted on-going activities. In those
episodes, the girls broke the ranks of circle and engaged in playful
routines such as hugging "like mommy and daddy," (their words) or
playing with personal belongings. The Korean girls ignored the rest
of the group during their boisterous play, and the other children
paused to watch them. This kind of divergence by the foursome was
noted by the teacher.

Small group II. ....the Korean girls seem to be one
group...often speaking in Korean...and the rest of the group
seems to be another group. I need to work to facilitate our
"groupness" and ease away from the "split." (10/17, Teacher
notes/D)

The translation of additional episodes revealed a consistent use
of first language in ways similar to usage in free play. The findings
indicated that 14 (74%) of 19 audible exchanges in Korean were related
to issues regarding play and control. It was used to regulate the
behavior among them and showed evidence of the same hierarchy
displayed in family role play. The following episode was typical of
Kyong's dominance over Sook in free play and small group.

Episode 8
Day 6, VT
Small group I, art activity

The children are engaged in an art activity. Kyong observes that Sook has paused in her coloring, watching others. Kyong offers a terse comment in Korean: "DON'T YOU DO ANYMORE?!

According to the Korean informant, the statement was a command for Sook to get back on task. The episode is representative of the Korean exchanges because of Kyong’s involvement in 11 (79%) of the 19 exchanges and her dominance over Sook. Min, Sook, and Hee (in that order) used Korean to a lesser extent.

The use of Korean was a characteristic of the peer relationships among the four and served the needs of their interpersonal communication. At this point in the analysis, it was hypothesized that the use of Korean would wane as the girls entered into the activities of the school culture. There would be less focus on themselves and personal issues as the four became socialized to the larger group.

Imitating each other

According to the protoanalysis, the four girls frequently imitated peer strategies for participation in small group events. This finding was first discovered through the domain analysis of ways to initiate interaction with the teacher. The initiations to teacher were often a repetition or near-repetition of another peer's strategies within a short interval of time. The initial behaviors and the imitations were both observed to be successful in that the teacher
did respond in a positive or neutral manner to their initiations.

A type-case model traced the use of imitation and discovered 41 episodes of imitation in the five days analyzed for the protoanalysis. The Koreans depended on themselves for referents, imitating the behavior of non-Koreans only six (1%) times. More than half the imitating behaviors were related to teacher-child interaction and the accomplishment of small group activities. Sixteen percent involved behaviors that diverged into playfulness or affect.

In the second stage of analysis, a review of 25 small group events from fall quarter found 63 episodes of imitation in the videotaped data. The type-case model was reapplied to four days of small group data to probe the relationship between imitation, the peer relationships among the four girls, and their participation in small group. There were 25 episodes of imitation on those four days.

Examples of imitation. The first example of imitating behavior was visible on the third day of school when the four girls entered small group (Episode 6). Hee put down her carpet square within the circle. She was joined by the others who followed her cues instead of the actions of other participants in the room. Also on Day 3, rhythm instruments were introduced, and Sook and Kyong again follow Hee's lead on what rhythm instrument to get, how and where to use them (Episode 7). Sook and Kyong tried out Hee’s idea for carpet play, while Min attended to the teacher.

The first episode showed three girls following the lead of Hee, and they accomplished the expectation of the first context of small group--getting seated, although not in the formation expected way for
small group. The example below shows the four girls imitating strategies to gain access to the teacher. This kind of imitation was most common and represented 48% of the imitation behavior fall quarter. In this episode, Sook successfully initiated contact with the teacher. Her behavior is monitored and then adopted as a strategy by her peers.

Episode 8
Day 8, VT
Small Group I, art activity
Participants: Min (M), Kyong (K), Sook (S), Hee (H), Teacher (T).

1) The children are making sculptures out of styrofoam.
2) S and H pause in their work, looking toward Teacher, who is seated a few places away.
3) S holds up her sculpture toward T, brings it down when there is no response.
4) S rises, carries the sculpture to T.
5) M and H pause, watching the T.
6) S holds the sculpture close to T’s face, who takes the work.
7) She writes S’s name on it, returns it.
8) K has moved in front of T, extending her work to her.
9) The T asks K if she wants her name on it.
10) K: Yeh.
11) K and S return to their seats.
12) M rises goes to the teacher: (loudly) my name... (as she holds out the sculpture).
13) The T labels the sculpture, then turns to ask H if she wants her name written on the work.
14) H doesn’t look or respond.

Sook’s first bid to the teacher was not successful, so she moved to stand facing the teacher. When the teacher responded to Sook, Kyong and Min used a similar approach to engage her. This episode was typical of the kinds of imitation among the four girls during fall quarter for the following reasons:
1. Selection of model. The girls imitated each other. They imitated non-Korean peers in only two of 25 episodes.

2. Success of imitated behavior. The imitated strategies to access the teacher were all successful; the teacher responded to their initiatives.

3. Participation. Hee used the strategy of imitation the least. She initiated interaction with the teacher through imitation just one time in the fall.

4. Location. The episode above occurred in small group I, where 76% of the imitating episodes occurred.

Sook initiated the imitated behavior in the episode above; however, she served as a peer model on just two occasions. The behaviors of Min and Hee led to imitation most often, and Sook was the most frequent user of imitation.

Peer models. It was difficult to infer which child was monitored and imitated in a series of imitations. The decision was made to regard the child immediately preceding an imitation as the model. Although children who originated a behavior should be credited for their initiative, it wasn’t always possible to judge which actor was actually being monitored.

The findings show the Koreans all used imitating strategies to varying degrees. Min and Sook were each imitated seven times out of 25 episodes, but Sook herself imitated in 12 (48%) of the episodes, while Min imitated 4 (16%) times. There was no evidence of a hierarchical pattern or group dynamic in imitation of peers consistent with the patterns displayed in role play or seating patterns.
Function. The analysis revealed that imitation took place within small group primarily during the context of doing the activity, and the girls used it to initiate interaction with the teacher, get the teacher’s attention, show, offer information, and make requests. The following interaction displays a request monitored and transferred to a different situation.

Episode 10  
Day 16, VT  
Small group I, art activity  
Participants: Kyong (K), Student teacher (ST), Hee (H), Teacher (T).

The group is sitting on the floor, engaged in a drawing. K has been sharing markers with the ST next to her.

**Transcription** | **Description**
---|---
K-ST: My name, My name. | K opens her drawing book and holds it out to the ST. ST takes the book from K. Across the circle, H sits with her book closed, watching K. She picks up a box of markers, selects one, and leans over T, holding out her book.
H-T: My name, My name. | T takes the book, writes on it. H watches, takes the book back and resumes watching others.

The episode shows that Hee monitored an effective interaction between Kyong and the student teacher, and she applied it to her own situation. Hee repeated the words and the gestures of Kyong and was successful. According to the videotape and fieldnotes, Hee did not participate in the drawing activity, so the act of requesting her name was the only form of participation in this activity.

The girls also imitated each others’ ways of informing the teacher. In the following example, brief utterances extended with
gestures are copied, and three children, rather than one, inform the teacher about their participation in "spinning," a game used in transition from circle to small group. Children are expected to stand center circle, cover their eyes, and spin around during the course of the game.

Episode II
Day 16, VT
Small group I, circle formation
Participants: Teacher (T), David (D), Sook (S), Kyong (K), Hee (H).

The children make the transition from circle in the main room to small group through a spinning game. T is sitting on the floor in the small group room, talking to D about "ideas" as others enter. H is seated silently next to her.

Transcription

S-T: ()...Do dis...do dis.

S-T: Diane...

T-S: You did that?

K-T: We did that...
    I do that, I do that.

Description

K and S enter together.
S is holding one hand lightly over her eyes, pauses near the T.
K sits down next to D.
S moves closer, stopping to the T's eye level, as she crosses one arm over her eyes. She reaches out with the other arm as if to touch T.
S makes a half-spin with her body, arm across her eyes.
S nods, moves to sit down.
Immediately, K rises, followed by H.
Both put hands to forehead and spin around.
T watches, responds with a nod, turns to talk to D.
K and H sit back down.

The shared knowledge of circle activities enabled Sook to communicate with the teacher. Despite the limited English of the message, the teacher responded. Kyong and Hee took the opportunity to
use the same strategy and established contact. It isn’t known whether Hee or the other two really "did that"; however, all three initiated successful interaction with the teacher.

In another example of doing an art activity, Kyong struggles to express her request to the teacher, and once she succeeds, Sook and Min reap from her efforts.

Episode 12
10/23, FN
Small group I, art activity
Participants: Teacher (T), Kyong (K), Sook (S), Min (M)

The children have been given black construction paper to draw anything they want with white chalk. K holds out her clean, unmarked paper to T.

K: Ahh-h, bird
T: Bird?
K: Pumpkin.
T: Pumpkin...(questioning look) you’re gonna draw it? Reaches toward paper, hand pauses mid-air.
K: No--o, bird..pumpkin..
T: You want me to write it? Looks intense, semi-frown at T.
K: No-o-o, uh..Mickey mouse. T’s face is puzzled.

T: Do you want me to draw Mickey mouse?
K: Yes, yes! Smiles, pushes paper toward T, who takes it.
T: ..don’t know.. Outlines a "Mickey" head. K reaches out, turns over the paper.
K: Minny mouse. T smiles at her, draws Minnie. K smiles, looking at pictures.
S: Mmmm-m mouse. Holds her paper out to T, who accepts it, and sketches.
M: Mickey mouse. T draw another mouse.

Sook and Min are the observers and pick up key words to communicate their message. The episode is representative of imitation
where a complete repetition was not necessary. The teacher was able
to read their verbal and nonverbal cues and grants their request.

**Effect of imitation.** The repeated viewings of the imitation on
videotapes indicated that children used imitation primarily to enter
teacher-child interaction. The focus of analysis shifted to explore
the effect of imitating behaviors on overall participation by looking
at independent strategies used by each girl to interact with the
teacher. How, if at all, did imitating each other’s behaviors
contribute to an image of active participation?

The transcriptions of the four fall days were analyzed for
initiatives that the children made on their own or independently to
the teacher for the teacher’s response. (If the teacher gave no sign
of response, positive or negative, it was considered an unsuccessful
initiation.) The following analysis took place:

1. The number of successful independent verbal and nonverbal
   initiations to the teacher were identified, along with the
   number of imitations.

2. The sum of independent initiations and imitations was
determined for the total number of efforts to interact
   with the teacher.

3. The number of imitations was divided by the sum of
   independent initiatives and imitations to discover the
   percentage of individual initiatives for interaction based
   on imitation.

The results presented below reveal the imitated initiatives
increased the amount of interaction with the teacher. The imitations
provided additional opportunities to actively negotiate the demands of
the context with the teacher, and they accounted for 25 to 64% of the
initiations to the teacher. The method was most effective for Sook
who was more successful at initiating contact through imitation than
on her own. Three additional independent initiatives by Sook failed.

Table 4.4
Fall: Initiating interaction with the teacher.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Imitations</th>
<th>Percenta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verbal</td>
<td>Nonverbal</td>
<td>Verbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Min</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyong</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sook</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hee</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Percent of initiatives based on imitation.

The added participation through imitation contributed to their
overall impact as a group participating within the setting. The
figures were combined to look at their participation as a foursome,
and it was found that 39% of their total initiations to the teacher
were imitated.

Summary. The analysis of imitation for fall quarter showed that
the four girls constructed a group relationship that served as a
resource for participation. The girls imitated behavior of peer
models in ways that increased their own interaction with the teacher
within small group. It was hypothesized that imitating would decrease
over the year as the four girls constructed their own interpretation
of how to participate.

On their own

Each girl also implemented individual strategies to integrate into the classroom. They displayed varying second language capabilities, using regulatory and instrumental language (Halliday, 1973) as they settled into the routines of small group. Additional findings from the videotapes and fieldnotes will summarize these efforts to integrate into small group.

Min. The data show that Min was the most independent in her participation. She sat with the other Koreans, but, beginning with Day 3, she focused on the event with few instances of speaking Korean or imitating peers. She and Kyong had the highest number of independent efforts to access the teacher, and Min was the first of the four recorded initiating interaction with a non-Korean within small group. She was observed repeatedly in the "on-looker" mode, pausing in small group and free play to observe others. She accomplished English utterances with gesture, body movement, high volume, and enthusiasm, and she engaged in instrumental language during the activity. Beginning Day 3, she repeated formulaic speech of the classroom, "Five more minutes," "Clean-up time." The example below is typical of Min's movement about the room, exploring, learning the rules and repeating the language of the classroom.

Episode 13
10/28,Min, FN
Min enters the block area alone, goes to the climber, pauses. She traces her finger over the sign, "two people please," and she says out loud, "only two people." She climbs to the top.
Kyong. Kyong used the highest number of independent verbal and nonverbal strategies to participate within small group. She monitored the behavior of her Korean peers closely and imitated their behavior. She exerted control over Sook and Hee as the dominant player in their interactions, but she did not initiate interaction with Min. Kyong held status in family role play and incorporated that status into other classroom contexts, including small group events.

It was evident that Kyong did not know the participation structures of small group, regarding where to sit, what to do, how to do it, and whom to attend to. She imitated Hee, rather than attend to the teacher on Day 3. On Day 5, she doesn’t sit in an appropriate place for small group.

Episode 14
Kyong
Day 5, VT
Small group. Teacher (T), Kyong (K), Lacey (L)
T, L, and a student teacher are arranging carpet squares in a circle. K enters, accepts a square from the T and puts it on the floor directly in front of T’s place, instead of in line with the forming circle.

By the second week, Kyong entered into group activity and attended to the teacher. She asserted herself and participated in teacher-led discussions. Her second language usage displayed good comprehension and utterances that were understandable. Kyong was able to use imaginative and instrumental language in decontextualized situations, and she continued to monitor Korean peers and imitated their strategies to access the teacher. She did not interact with the non-Korean girls, and she was wary and aggressive toward the boys.
Sook. Sook was seldom seen alone. She was in the company of Kyong, Hee, or Min during free play and small group. She communicated primarily in Korean and was involved in the highest number of audible Korean exchanges. Sook’s attempts to communicate with the teacher in English were few and, in three out of seven efforts, unsuccessful. She did not participate in teacher-led discussions, and her primary interactions with the teacher involved instrumental language. She imitated peer initiatives more than the other girls, and, in turn, served as a model for her frequent partner, Kyong. Sook did not interact with the non-Korean children.

Hee. Hee’s participation in both free play and small group was passive and quiet. During family role play, she was designated "baby," a role without privileges. Kyong dominated her play. On her own, she wandered about watching other children or interacting with an adult.

Hee was an active participant on the first day of small group, and Sook and Kyong imitated her strategies. She did not follow the participant structures of the small group, and, thereafter, the other three were less attentive to Hee. She generally sat with Min in small group, speaking little. She made few attempts to interact with the teacher on her own or through the use of imitation strategies. She frequently watched others instead of engaging in art or movement activities. The teacher noted Hee’s increasing passivity in late November, "...the most noticeable thing about Hee is how she has faded. She almost never speaks and has lost status with the Korean girls" (TN, 11/20). She accepted the attention of student teachers
when they began to sit near Hee to encourage participation, but she
did not pursue it on her own.

Contrasting with non-Korean girls

An analysis of the participation of the non-Korean girls, Lacey, Tina, and Jennifer, revealed patterns that differed from the Koreans in terms of seating, the use of imitation, and interpersonal communication. The non-Koreans displayed no patterned seating in the 25 events of small group. On the four days of microanalysis, there were six instances of imitation compared to the 25 episodes evident among the Koreans.

Since the Korean girls used their first language to engage in talk about themselves, it was decided to look at the amount of personal talk among the non-Koreans. The findings show that the non-Koreans did not talk with each other during small group. Their initiatives to interact with the teacher were compared with the Koreans, and there was little difference, except for Tina who did not actively initiate interaction at that time. (See Table 4.5).

Table 4.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fall: Initiations to interact with the teacher</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Koreans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* absent 2 days.
Jennifer and Lacey initiated interaction with the teacher in ways different from the Koreans. They drew on verbal resources to offer information, to initiate seating, and to extend teacher talk. They used longer utterances with less dependence on non-verbal cues. They engaged in interactional language, to maintain interaction, (Halliday, 1973) and made fewer bids to the teacher for immediate attention.

The Koreans did not initiate interaction with the non-Koreans, nor did the non-Koreans engage them. Lacey did show affect and share materials on two occasions, but this did not lead to repeated social interaction. The non-Koreans attended to the teacher and to the activities within small group.

Summary

The four girls constructed peer relationships based on patterned behavior during fall quarter. The peer relationships provided a source of seating and conversational partners for small group. They served as a resource to begin to access the school culture, specifically, to initiate interaction with the teacher.

The Korean peers monitored and imitated each other’s successful strategies to access the teacher. The girls supplemented their independent strategies with imitation, which increased the amount of involvement with the teacher substantially, especially for Sook. The construction of established relationships and the imitation behavior were not evident among the non-Korean participants.
Winter: Realigning relationships

Introduction

Winter was marked by the interruption of the patterns of participation constructed among the four girls during fall quarter. Their activities in the peer culture changed upon Sook’s return to Korea for the quarter. There were fewer family role play episodes, and the three Koreans spent more time at the activity tables.

The findings for small group participation during winter quarter are based on 18 events, and days 1, 3, 5, and 8 were transcribed for analysis. The days followed the same routine as fall quarter, except student teachers took over teaching responsibilities on two occasions. These atypical occasions were left in the analysis as there were no notable changes in student behavior on those days. The findings showed that the patterns of seating, speaking Korean, and imitating shifted during winter quarter.

New patterns

As winter quarter began, there was a notable increase in second language communication in the classroom by Min and Kyong. Their verbal initiations to the teacher were four to five times the number initiated during fall quarter. Kyong’s language included fewer instrumental functions. She used well-phrased compliments, such as, “I like your name,” as she increased the use of interactional language, especially with adults.

Min’s second language verbal skills were more pragmatic. She employed a variety of two to three word formulaic routines in
instrumental language to meet her needs. The findings on Day 5 included three informative statements, six requests, and seven bids for attention, based on repeated use of three verbs, "have," "want," and "look."

Hee's verbal strategies showed no change. The videotaped data revealed two verbal initiatives to the teacher in small group during the fall and one initiative in winter by Hee.

A pattern of interacting with adults also emerged among the three girls. There were solicitations of social interaction through talk and affect. Additional findings on the changing language use and adult-child interaction will be discussed as related to seating and participation.

Changing seats

Min and Hee sat together in 12 of 18 (76%) of the events, an increase from fall quarter. Min did not confine her attention to Hee, but also invited adults to sit at her side. The findings showed Min carried on interaction with the adult, and, on one occasion, with Lacey while Hee looked on. These predominant seating formations are displayed in Figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4. Winter: Seating patterns in small group.
Kyong was left without her partner, Sook. The data showed Kyong formed a dyad with an adult in 10 of 18 (56%) events, and after Day 6, the three girls formed a triad on four occasions. The behavior of the threesome did not include the vigor and affect of fall quarter's foursome; a teacher's note referred to the "forelorn" quality about the three girls as winter began. There was conflict on three occasions between Kyong and Min in small group while Hee remained quiet and displayed little emotion. The figure below displays the interactional patterns between Kyong and the other girls with a dotted line as there was no sign of invitation or enthusiasm for interaction as a threesome. The interaction was unidirectional with Kyong approaching the other two for a place to sit. Adults (A) replaced the absent Sook in seating interaction. (See Figure 4.5).

Figure 4.5. Winter: Peer interaction observed in seating.
Both Kyong and Min now invited adults, teacher, student teachers, or participant observers, to sit and interact with them during small group. Student teachers took places next to Hee in an effort to encourage more active participation. Adults were found seated next to the three girls in 14 of 18 (78%) events.

To summarize, Hee and Min sat together, but they were both observed in social interaction with adults next to them. Min invited a non-Korean, Lacey, to be near her on one occasion. Kyong replaced the absent Sook with adult partners, or sat with Min and Hee. The seating patterns changed from exclusive Korean peer interaction to include adult-child interaction.

Changing language

As stated earlier, there was a dramatic increase in the verbal initiations by Kyong and Min. There was also a decrease in the use of their first language. In the 18 events, Korean was audible on only two (1%) occasions, and Kyong and Min were in conflict with each other both times. The episode below is an example of their interaction, and it displays Kyong without the peer conversational partner that was available to her in fall.

Episode 15
Day 7, VT, winter
Small group I
Participants: Min (M), Hee (H), Kyong (K)

The three girls are seated next to each other, drawing with markers.

(Translation)

M-K: [RIDICULE IN KOREAN]* They continue coloring for four minutes.
K: I NEED THIS ONE (marker).
M-K: [INSULT EXCLUDING KYONG
K-M: YOU ARE BAD, YOU ARE BAD. Min draws, does not respond.

* Informants indicated there was no literal translation, but the meanings implied ridicule and insult.

The two girls traded insults, and Min excludes Kyong from interaction. There was no evidence of Kyong in her dominant role during the winter. The three girls no longer functioned as a subgroup that engaged in private talk and action within small group events. They attended to the teacher and the activities of the school culture. As predicted at the end of fall, Min and Kyong used spoken Korean less as their second language skills improved, and they became further involved in classroom activities. A fieldnote entry from free play shows the participation of the three in winter:

PN. ....J.J. and Hee generally play alone or are watching the action of larger groups....Hee actually is doing more, placing herself in busy play areas, but is seldom in direct interaction with peers. Min and Kyong speak good English now. They are seldom heard talking in Korean, and they interact less with Hee.

It was not clear how the change in peer relationships and the use of spoken Korean would affect Hee’s overall participation. Hee said little in English or Korean.

Imitating others

A review of the 18 small group events analyzed winter quarter revealed 15 episodes of imitation, and ten occurred on the four days used for microanalysis. Although the number was small, the data reflected a pattern of usage similar to fall with the exception of the models.
Kyong used the most imitation in winter quarter. She imitated the strategies of others in six out of 10 (60%) episodes. Min and Hee together imitated two times each. The three girls no longer relied on models from within their group, but imitated behaviors of non-Koreans in 7 out of 10 (70%) of the times. Min was modeled on three occasions.

Kyong imitated verbal language to interact with the teacher, such as compliments and requests. Min and Hee imitated playful activity during the transition into small group events. Seven of the imitating episodes took place during the context of doing the activity and one during teacher-led talk.

Effects of Imitation. The next stage of the analysis was to look at the impact of imitating peers on interaction with the classroom teacher. Following the same procedures used in fall, the independent strategies and imitations for interaction with the teacher were examined.

The first noticeable difference in this process was the impressive increase in Kyong's and Min's independent verbal strategies. This increase and less dependence on the strategies of others led to reduction in the percent of initiatives based on imitating for the two. Hee showed a decrease in the number of independent strategies and imitations by Hee. (See Table 4.6).
The table indicates that imitation was sometimes a viable strategy for Kyong. She was using her own skills and drawing on the resources of others through imitation to participate. Min acted independently and relied on her own communicative skills. Hee used few initiatives either imitated or her own, corroborating the quiet, passive description of earlier findings.

The figures were combined to see the group effect of the imitating behavior on participation. Only 10% of the initiatives for the three girls were based on imitation, compared to 39% for the four girls fall quarter.

**Summary.** The analysis showed that imitation was less a factor in participation winter quarter. It was hypothesized in the fall that imitation would decrease as the girls increased their ability to access the teacher. In fact, the results were uneven. Min used imitation less, and she displayed a wider range of verbal strategies. Kyong developed verbal strategies and increased the range of models for imitation. Hee did not demonstrate improvement in verbal or

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Imitations</th>
<th>Percent $^a$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verbal Nonverbal</td>
<td>Verbal Nonverbal</td>
<td>Imitations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Min</td>
<td>38 2</td>
<td>1 0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyong</td>
<td>28 1</td>
<td>6 0</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sook (absent)</td>
<td>1 2</td>
<td>0 1</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^a$ Percent of initiatives based on imitation.
On their own

The three girls did not present the look of solidarity that was evident in the fall. They were each involved in a broader range of social interaction that included adults, and they exhibited less interest in what their Korean peers were doing. The findings below describe what they were doing on their own.

Min. Min continued her allegiance to Hee in seating, but increased her social contacts with adults and non-Korean peers. She invited them to be near her, made physical contact, and she engaged in verbal, nonverbal, and affective interaction. Min's communicative skills allowed her to express views and needs through short utterances, using instrumental and interactional language, but she was less articulate in decontextualized discussions about artwork or stories. Min's 41 successful initiations to the teacher verify the effectiveness of her verbal strategies. She did not use audible Korean within the contexts of small group, except in two conflicts with Kyong.

Min paused frequently in her activities to monitor the behavior of other participants; however, there was no significant use of imitation. The example below illustrates her knowledge of participant structure during the context of clean-up (Episode 16).
Episode 16
1/12, VT
Small group, clean-up
Participants: Teacher (T), Min (M)

At the end of small group, M puts away her carpet square. M tugs at T's carpet square while she is on it.

M-T: Diane...yours...
T-M: Just a minute. M pauses, stands waiting.
When T gets up, M puts away her carpet square and two others. M also puts away two clipboards. M finds a manila envelope left on the floor, gives it to the T.

Min met the expectation of putting away her own square. In addition, she continued to clean-up other items, which was not an explicit expectation.

Kyong. The findings show that Kyong, like Min, made strides in her use of communicative skills within small group. She increased the number of independent initiations to the teacher; however, she continued to monitor and imitate peers. Her range of models now included non-Korean girls and Min.

Kyong’s position in the play hierarchy was altered with Sook’s absence. She lost a seating partner, and she lost status and control over her absent partner, Sook. The relationship between Min and Kyong was not well-established for interaction, and she showed no interest in Hee, as illustrated in the following episode.

Episode 17
1/14, Teacher’s notes
Outdoor free play
Participants: Kyong (K), Min (M), Lin (L), Hee (H), Teacher (T)

K, M, L, H, and I were playing on the climber. There was a discussion of who would be the mommy (me), big sisters (K and L), daddy (M). I asked who H could be. K said, "nobody"...I asked H who she’d like to be. H dooked down in a resigned way, and said, "the baby." H then entered the play.
Kjong continued to dominate by allocating roles in free play, but the episode suggests she did not consider Hee as a play partner, which was supported by their lack of interaction. There were no episodes recorded of role play in spoken Korean in the housekeeping area.

Adults took Sook’s place in small group seating, but Kyong’s social interaction with peers was greatly reduced. She was observed sitting down near Hee and Min, but without the accompanying social interaction or enthusiasm of fall’s seating patterns.

Kyong’s interaction with the teacher began to resemble the non-Koreans. She drew the teacher’s attention with compliments and elaborated responses to teacher-led conversations. She engaged in speculative talk about artwork and literature, further developing her imaginative and heuristic language.

Hee. Like Kyong, Hee engaged in less peer interaction as a result of Sook’s absence. She frequently sat with Min, but their social interaction diminished with Min’s new contacts. Hee accepted initiatives from student teachers who sat next to her, following their lead in getting materials and doing the activities. Hee was observed in long pauses or sitting out an activity.

She was not heard speaking Korean, and there were few verbal initiatives in English. When Hee used non-verbal initiatives with the teacher, four out of six attempts were unsuccessful. She did not imitate the strategies of peers (Korean or non-Korean) to access the teacher.
Contrasting with non-Koreans

There were noticeable changes in the relationships among the non-Koreans. Like the Koreans, they were pursuing peer interaction through seating. Lacey and Tina sat together on three of the four days of analysis, and they invited adults to sit near them. Lacey accepted a bid to sit near Min, but there was no evidence of non-Koreans inviting the Korean girls as seating partners.

There was little talk among the non-Korean peers; they pursued verbal interaction with the adults, especially the teacher. Lacey drew the teacher's attention with inventive scripts based on shared cultural knowledge about "care-bears" and birthdays. Tina made 45 initiations to the teacher, and Jennifer and Lacey made 19 and 14, respectively. The following table compares the initiatives to the teacher by the Koreans and non-Koreans on days 1, 3, 5, and 8, spring quarter. (See Table 4.7).

Table 4.7

Winter: Initiations to interact with the teacher.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Koreans</th>
<th>#/Episodes</th>
<th>Non-Koreans</th>
<th>#/Episodes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Min</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Tina</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyong</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Jennifer</td>
<td>19*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hee</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lacey</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* absent 1 day

Jennifer and Lacey engaged adults seated next to them in conversation and may not have been motivated to interact with the teacher. Tina sat alongside the teacher on three days, which
facilitated talk. There were four instances of imitation, but they did not involve interaction with the teacher.

**Summary**

There was a realignment of relationships among the three Koreans during the winter. Kyong aligned herself with adults in Sook’s absence. Min continued interaction with Hee and extended her interactions to include adults and non-Korean. Min and Kyong increased their independent initiatives to engage the teacher. Kyong increased the number of imitations from fall, and included non-Koreans as her models.

The change in peer relationships dramatically reduced the level of Hee’s participation. Her social interaction with peers was limited to Min, and she did little to become a more active participant in the activities of small group.

The peer relationships among the four girls did not serve as a resource for participation to the extent that they had in fall quarter. Kyong and Min began integrating into the school culture without their peer group, but it appeared that Hee’s opportunity for peer interaction had been curtailed.

The non-Koreans began to display preference for seating partners among themselves, along with adult company. They, like Kyong and Min, actively initiated interaction with the teacher through independent strategies, but they did not engage in imitation.
Spring: Renewing and extending peer relationships

Introduction

Kyong comes into the classroom calling out, "Sook is back, Sook is back." The four Korean girls enter the room together. In a few minutes, they are all playing at the sand table...the girls talk in Korean...with a few words of English mixed in...(FN, day 1, spring)

Kyong’s announcement of Sook’s return to preschool marked the beginning of a reconstruction of peer relationships among the four girls. The girls resumed their peer group behaviors of sitting and talking together in Korean, but changes occurred in the dynamics of the four that reflected their experience in the classroom during the previous months. An overview of the Korean peer relationships within the larger classroom are presented before further findings on small group events.

The behaviors of the Korean girls in the classroom at large were not always evident in the small group because of differences in participation structures. The fieldnotes from free play identified two characteristics of the peer relationships evident in their peer culture, but not in the school culture.

First, the group of four girls became an alliance of Asians. Lin, the Taiwanese child, and Iris, a Chinese student teacher, were the two non-Koreans who were allowed access into their play. Iris was especially favored and pursued daily by the four girls. The four girls resisted nine attempts by participant observers, student teachers, and children to play with them or to share the housekeeping
area.

In addition, family role play in spoken Korean re-emerged as the favorite theme of play. Unlike the narrow kitchen scripts of fall, the girls elaborated the themes to include "getting mail," "going Krogering," and "studying" (spoken in English), which added options in participation. Neutral roles were created (cashier), and the children of lower status had more to do.

When Kyong was elsewhere, Sook or Min played the role of mother. In one episode that was translated, Mommy Sook was out of the area while her daughter, Min, stayed home to study. When boys raided the kitchen, Min remained at the table and screamed for Mommy Sook to come back and attend to the babies (dolls). Mommy Sook came running back as the boys ran off. The episode showed the role of "mommy" was negotiable. Min had no compunctions about having less status than the younger Sook; Min was interested in "studying." The obligation of mommy protecting the babies remained a fixed part of the role, and Sook was expected to return and save the dolls.

When Lin and Iris entered the play, the girls continued play in Korean, and switched to English only when engaged in direct interaction with the other two girls. Lin and Iris had access to play, but were excluded from much of the on-going negotiation of script because the four continued to speak Korean.

Summary. The findings indicate the peer relationships were re-constructed as an established play group within the peer culture. The four girls took part in other activities, but when they gathered for role play, there was a well-defined participant structure of players
(Asians), kind of play (family roles), and language (primarily Korean).

The exclusive nature of the play was not possible in the school culture. The findings to be presented on small group participation during spring quarter are based on 17 events, out of which days 1, 3, 5, and 8 have been transcribed for analysis. There were two that did not follow routine within the analysis, but they did not have any apparent impact on overall group participation. The art activity was omitted on the first day of the quarter when the context of teacher-led conversation extended into a group problem-solving situation. Day 3 did not include a movement activity because the group started late, and the teacher chose to read. The only objection to these changes was voiced by Kyong, who was angry about the lack of an art activity and refused to comply with other aspects of the routine. The atypical days provided an opportunity to observe the Koreans in a group problem-solving situation and to see the reaction to change in routine.

The four girls resumed their peer relationships in the spring, but their group behavior was reconstructed along new patterns of behavior. They behaved less like the subgroup of fall, and they displayed knowledge of and support for the participant structures of small group. The integration into group membership is first evident in seating.

Sitting together

The dyadic seating formation reappeared. Unlike fall, if one dyad formed, the other two girls also sat together. There were two
dyads formed in 7 of 17 (41%) of the events, with Sook and Hee rotating as partners for Kyong and Min. Figure 4.6 shows the two dyads and the other predominant seating patterns for spring quarter.

Figure 4.6
Spring: Seating patterns in small group.

The triad appeared in 5 of 17 (29%) of the events, which left one girl apart. Kyong sat alone the most; however, an adult sat next to her on 2 of the 7 occasions. A new seating arrangement appeared in the second week of the quarter, when the four girls were observed sitting separately in three events for the first time.

Adults were seated next to the girls who sat apart from peers in 5 of the 17 (29%) instances in which it occurred. However, they spent 60-95% of their time sitting with a partner from their peer group. The girls all sat together in just one event.

The group dynamics in seating altered. They did not continue the active pursuit of adults as seating partners. Sook sat more frequently with Min than Kyong, and Hee divided her seating between Kyong and Min. Kyong and Min did not sit as a dyad. Figure 4.7 shows
the seating interaction pattern for spring.

The figure shows that Sook has reclaimed her place as a seating partner. There is regular interaction between Kyong and Hee, but there is no interaction between Kyong and Min.

Talking together

The four girls began to speak Korean in the classroom again. It was audible in 13 of 16 small group events (81%), an increase of one when compared to the first 16 events of fall. It was heard during the context of doing an activity within small group I, and during the context of circle formation in small group II.

The spoken Korean did not interfere with the participant structures of the school culture. The Korean exchanges were typically short utterances of one or two turns. Eight out of the 14
translations revealed use of personal language regarding friendship and seating, and four related to the use of materials through regulatory and interactional language. Min and Kyong switched languages according to listeners with ease. In the example below, Min satisfies her needs by codeswitching to negotiate materials with Kyong and then the teacher.

Episode 18
Day 9, spring, VT
Art activity, small group I
Participants: Min (M), Kyong (K), Sook (S), Teacher Bob (B)

The children are making glue and glitter pictures. Containers of glitter are set around the work area.

(English, lower case; Korean, upper case)
M: I need that. Rises, walks around circle to K, points at a dish of glitter.
   I NEED THAT. She stoops, takes the glitter, returns to her work. Uses it.
   DO YOU USE THAT.. Rises, returns the glitter.
   LONG TIME? Returns to her seat.
M-K: HERE! S reaches for glitter near K. K stops her arm, looks toward M.
K-S: M WILL GIVE ONE FOR YOU. M returns, reaches for another dish.
M: CAN I USE THIS ONE? (speaking politely)
K-M: NO, NO!
M-B: I need this one. Looking at B, pointing at dish near K.

This episode is representative because it shows the negotiation of materials in Korean, and the guarded relationship between Kyong and Min. In this case, Kyong assumes control over the use of materials. Min switches to English and asserts her right to group art supplies to the teacher.
In another incident, Hee, who seldom initiated talk in either language, attended to the teacher's book reading and verified the spoken English. She turned to Sook, speaking in Korean:

"TEACHER SAY, 'creep, creep?' TEACHER SAY, 'never, never?' TEACHER SAY, 'never, never,' RIGHT? RIGHT? (4/8, VT)"

This was the only example of Hee speaking Korean to verify English, but it is of interest because Hee was attending and processing as a student, even though she was not usually a verbally expressive participant. She was resourceful in checking out her interpretation of the teacher's language with Sook (whose response was not audible).

Sook and Min spoke the most Korean. The data showed that Min was the most active communicator of the four, drawing on both English and Korean as communicative resources.

To summarize, the four girls again used Korean in the classroom, led by Min and Sook, who were not interacting regularly as seating partners. Their first language functioned to negotiate personal and classroom issues. It was a communicative tool among the four, but it was used in fewer contexts and did not interrupt on-going activities, as it sometimes did in fall.

Imitating others

The pattern of imitating peers that was discovered in the fall re-emerged in the spring. A review of 16 group events during the first nine days of school revealed 42 episodes of imitation, an increase of 12 from the same time period in the fall.
The analysis of eight small group events revealed 34 episodes of imitation, and 30 (88%) occurred during small group I. Most of the imitation took place during the contexts of teacher-child talk and doing-the-activity. The children imitated ways to initiate interaction with the teacher in 18 (53%) of the imitated behaviors.

Peer models. The four Korean girls turned to each other for models in 27 of 34 (79%) episodes. Among the Koreans, Kyong was modeled 41% of the time, followed by Min (21%), Sook (12%), and Hee (6%). Kyong and Hee also imitated play ideas of non-Koreans, most of which diverged from small group routine.

Use of imitation. In contrast with previous quarters, Hee used the strategy of imitation the most. She imitated the strategies of others in 13 out of 34 (38%) episodes. Kyong and Sook were second, each imitating 8 (24%) times. Min continued to use the strategy the least, with 5 (15%) episodes.

The results indicated that Hee's imitation of her peers (primarily Kyong) had changed the look of her participation dramatically. She repeated three-word utterances, speaking clearly and directly to the teacher. In episode 19, Hee imitates interaction twice.

Episode 19
Day 3, spring
Science Activity
Participants: T (teacher), Hee (H), Kyong (K).

T is passing out materials to do a "float/sink" activity with the small group.

T-K: How would you like a bowl...
K-T: Can I have a paper?...
T: ..sure, everybody...
H-T: Can I have a paper?
T: Sure, Hee, you can have a paper. Teacher gives them paper.
Teacher starts setting out bowls of water.

K: I need the water.
T: OK...hang on...
H-T: I need the water.
T: Its hard to wait, isn't it
...hang on..
T sets water bowl down for Hee.

Hee’s new interest in imitation was bound to have an impact on her overall level of interaction in the classroom. The next step in the analysis was to look at the percent of initiations to the teacher that were based on imitation. The findings showed that 64% of Hee’s initiations to the teacher were based on imitation. Sook had the same number of imitations, but used more independent strategies of her own, which brought her percentage down to 32%. Kyong and Sook used the strategy to a lesser degree. The table below summarized the successful independent strategies and imitations to the teacher, and displays the percent based on imitation.

Table 4.8
Spring: Initiating interaction with the teacher.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Imitations</th>
<th>Percent a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verbal</td>
<td>Nonverbal</td>
<td>Verbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Min</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyong</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sook</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hee</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Percent of initiatives based on imitation.
The table above shows that Min and Kyong had successful strategies to access the teacher, and the imitated behaviors complemented their behavior. Min and Kyong were seldom unsuccessful in their independent initiatives to the teacher, whereas the total independent initiatives of Hee and Sook were unsuccessful 20 and 29% of the time, respectively.

The study shows that Hee was moved to interact with a teacher nearly twice as much if a peer model preceded her. Although the numbers were low, imitation enabled successful interactions with the teacher. Hee also used imitation in other forms of participation to a greater degree than the others. There were an additional five episodes of imitation to engage in peer play and peer talk.

The findings for the four girls were combined to look at the group effect on initiatives to the teacher. Imitation accounted for 25% of the initiatives made by the Korean girls.

In summary, the strategy of imitating the behavior of peers continued to be a viable way to access the teacher. The four girls served as models for each other, although Kyong, Min, and Hee did monitor and imitate the behavior of non-Koreans.

Kyong, Sook, and Hee imitated their peers about the same number of times, but the impact was greater on the participation of the latter two. Their independent efforts to initiate interaction with the teacher were fewer and less successful. Social interaction with the teacher was greatly increased through imitating their peers.

The function of imitation varied among the four girls. Min and Kyong were already active participants in the setting, and imitating
complemented their efforts. Sook and Hee made fewer and less successful independent initiatives, so the imitation of peers enabled them to participate successfully beyond what they did on their own.

Members of small group

The four girls' construction of peer relationships was evident in their continuing choice of each other as partners, their brief exchanges in Korean, and close monitoring and adopting of each other's behaviors. In addition, there were signs that the girls were integrating into the school culture as individual members of small group. Findings will be presented for each girl to show that although the foursome maintained strong ties to each other, they were developing a commitment to the social system within small group.

Min. Min maintained her relationship with the other Koreans in small group through seating and the occasional use of Korean. She initiated social interaction with all the participants in group through school culture activities or within contexts that included opportunities to show and talk.

Min's interpretation of the participation structures of small group could be seen on the four days of videotaped data. She used the group's hand signal to quiet things down during a noisy activity. On two days, she helped the teacher with extra clean-up. She brought books to share from home, and she treated all group members to treats sent in by her mother. Min acted in appropriate ways throughout all the contexts of the two events.

Kyong. Sook's return did not lead to a renewal of the relationship Kyong and Sook experienced in fall. Kyong continued to
exert some control over Sook and Hee through allocating goods and turns, but she issued fewer directives to them as she shifted her attention to the activities of small group. Like Min, she behaved appropriately across the contexts. Kyong was alert to the conversational opportunities and group talk in small group I and II. She joined in group discussion, negotiated stories and songs, helped with group problem-solving, and resisted change in the routine.

Sook. When Sook returned to the classroom, she resumed sitting and talking with her Korean peers. She appeared to move in concert with her partners to sit down, wait, get materials, and so on. Sook made efforts to maintain physical or verbal contact with the teacher through calling her name and touching, which was reminiscent of the adult-child behavior observed among the other three in the winter. (See Episode 20.)

Episode 20
4/13, VT
Small group I
Participants: Teacher (T), Sook (S)

S is seated next to T as children enter the room. S sits up, turns her head away from T, pointing at her braid on her neck.

T-S: Oh-h, you've got a beautiful braid with two special balls on your rubber bands. O0oo.

S-T: Diamonds.

T-S: Oh, diamonds..

S-T: Diane Lifts up her skirt with one hand, points to her leg with the other.

T-S: Oh-h, you've got (), and you've got new tights. Tapping S's knee.

Umm-m. T comments on the clothes of other children.

S-T: Look. S leans forward, taps T's arm.

T-S: ...and you've got new shoes. S points at her shoes. Other children draw T's attention to their shoes.
The example shows that Sook's verbal communication was limited. She relied on short formulaic utterances and non-verbal behaviors to get the teacher's attention.

Sook did not initiate interaction with non-Koreans. She did attend to the group and made efforts to communicate through persistence and imitation. This was evident on Day 5, when she maintained involvement in group talk by interjecting her opinion nine times. She showed no awareness of conversational cues, but used repetitions of "I want car," "I want rainbow," "Us rainbows," during the discussion of a group name.

Hee. Hee continued to sit with Korean peers during spring quarter. As they entered into more group participation, Hee remained on her own or responded to adult bids for interaction. She did show more initiative to join group activity through imitation than in previous quarters. Like Sook, Hee became animated during the group discussion to choose a name. She voiced her views and joined her Korean peers in a coalition vote for "rainbows."

Hee imitated talk in 5 of 13 imitations. They were three-word utterances such as, "I need water," "I'm a girl," "I like Tina," which were delivered with more assertion than her usual quiet style. She also imitated the playful, divergent behaviors of both Koreans and non-Koreans that took place within the contexts of small group events.

Summary. The four girls displayed a range of participation with different orientations as individuals. Kyong's participation showed her interest in interaction with the teacher to accomplish school tasks. Min was involved in an ever-widening range of social
interaction and helped maintain small group structure. Sook made efforts to participate as a group member and with the teacher despite her limited verbal skills. Peer interaction remained focused on her Korean peers. Hee participated to a greater degree in small group, using imitation as a means to interact with all of her peers and the teacher.

Contrasting with non-Koreans

The three non-Korean girls also had well-defined seating patterns spring quarter. Lacey and Tina sat together on a daily basis, occasionally joined by Jennifer. This peer interaction during circle formation suggested a peer relationship was being established between Lacey and Tina. Lacey was also observed sitting next to the Koreans and interacting with them, but there were no overt efforts for non-Koreans and Koreans to be sit together.

There was little evidence of interpersonal talk that could be compared to the use of Korean. The girls shared brief exchanges during the opening contexts, but the rest of their talk took place within all the contexts of small group and openly included everyone. A major exception to brevity occurred on the first day of the spring, when a peer dispute over Lacey’s bean doll was converted into a group problem-solving session by the teacher.

The one observed instance of imitation among the non-Koreans occurred when Tina imitated a verbal response of Lacey on day one. Tina also initiated the most interactions with the teacher in the analysis of three days of small group events. She made 32 successful initiations, followed by Lacey (15), and Jennifer (9). Table 4.9
compares the initiatives of the Koreans and non-Koreans.

Table 4.9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spring: Initiations to interact with the teacher.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Koreans #/Episodes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyong 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Min 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sook 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hee 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results show the Koreans and the non-Koreans, with the exception of Hee, had about the same rate of success initiating successful interaction with the teacher on their own. There was no difference between the first language learners and the second language learners.

Summary

A reconstruction of the peer relationships among the four Koreans was evident spring quarter. Although patterns in seating and first language use continued, they were adapted to the participation requirements of small group. The four girls interacted with adults and children near them, and they did not engage in Korean conversations that interrupted the group's talk. The four were also observed sitting separately on three days.

The dynamics among the four shifted. Sook divided her time between Min and Kyong, and Hee did the same. Kyong and Min continued not to seek interaction with each other.
The strategy of imitating peers continued to function as a resource, especially for Sook and Hee. Min and Kyong showed the competence to initiate successful interaction with the teacher on their own; however, the use of imitation to gain access to the teacher greatly increased Sook and Hee’s level of participation.

The behavior of the three non-Korean girls was contrasted with the Koreans. A seating dyad emerged as a relationship was constructed between Lacey and Tina, showing similarity to Korean behavior in the fall.

The number of independent strategies to initiate interaction with the teacher was compared between Koreans and non-Koreans and found to be comparable between the two groups (excluding Hee). There were no significant differences in the number of verbal initiations to the teacher between the first and second language learners. It also indicated that peer relationships among the four did not deter their individual motivation to seek interaction with the teacher.
**Introduction**

The findings of the research show that the peer relationships among the four Korean girls continued over the school year. However, there were shifts in the form and function of the relationships. The major findings on seating, first language, and imitation will be represented to give a comprehensive view of peer relationships as a resource over time.

**Coming together**

The four girls did not play together as a group prior to entering Martin Hall preschool, but they were acquainted with each other and shared a common lifestyle as members of the Korean community. Three of the girls, Kyong, Sook, and Hee, however, had interacted as playmates, and a play hierarchy was evident within the peer culture on the first day of school. Min joined the three girls in the events of peer culture and school culture, and the four girls soon gave evidence of a social construction of relationships among them through patterned behaviors in social interaction.

The focus of this study is on the peer relationships in the school culture. However, the changing behavior of the girls within the peer culture of free play will add perspective to the discussion. The four girls played together frequently over the year. They participated in the broad range of free play activities, but they continued to come together for imaginative play based on family roles. The four girls carried out the role plays in Korean, and they denied
access to adults and non-Koreans. The two exceptions were Taiwanese, a student teacher and an older girl. They could join the play of the four girls, but were excluded from much of the interaction because of the four's persistent use of Korean.

Seating patterns

The girls sat in various configurations throughout the year, but the predominant pattern was sitting in two dyads. During Sook's absence winter quarter, Kyong formed a second dyad by inviting adults to sit with her. There was no evidence of all four sitting separately from each other until spring quarter.

It was not the configuration of the seating, but the interaction and participation of the individuals that gave significance to seating over time. The four girls primarily interacted with each other in the fall. In winter, Kyong, Min, and Hee interacted less with each other and entered into interaction with the adults--similar to the adult-child interaction of the non-Koreans in the fall. The three Koreans engaged in limited interaction among themselves during the small group events of winter.

Patterned seating among the girls continued in the spring, but the range of social interaction for Kyong and Min included Korean peers, non-Korean peers, and adults. Sook sought interaction with adults seated near her, as Min and Kyong had done winter quarter. Hee seldom initiated interaction with her seating partners. It was noted that her most frequent seating partner, Kyong, was also her principal model for imitation during spring quarter.
Seating partners did change over the year, and the following dyads were the most frequent during fall, winter, and spring:

Fall: Kyong and Sook, Min and Hee
Winter: Kyong and Adults, Min and Hee
Spring: Kyong and Hee, Min and Sook

The interactions among the four included multiple combinations with Sook sitting with Kyong, Min, or Hee as partner. There was still no evidence of Kyong and Min seeking interaction with each other. (See Figure 4.8.)

![Diagram](Figure 4.8)

Overview: Peer interaction in seating patterns.

Kyong did seat herself near Min and Hee during winter quarter, but those interactions led to conflict. She did accept Hee as a seating partner during spring quarter. Hee approached whichever girl lacked a partner, which was more often Kyong.

There were no attempts to form seating dyads with non-Koreans, and the non-Koreans did not pursue the four girls as partners either. Min did occasionally initiate talk and sharing with Lacey, beginning
in winter.

Talking in Korean

The four girls spoke Korean to each other on a daily basis in the fall. They spoke across all contexts, and the Korean frequently overlapped the teacher's talk. A 4-day analysis showed Sook to be a primary sender and receiver of Korean. Additional analysis during the first 10 days indicated Kyong actually initiated the most Korean, using regulatory language to control the interactions of Sook and Hee.

Sook was absent winter quarter, and so was the daily use of Korean. Kyong and Min traded insults, and the soft-spoken Hee was not heard or observed in conversation. If there was peer conversation in Korean, it occurred at times and in ways that did not overlap the ongoing talk of small group.

Korean was audible again in the spring upon Sook's return to the classroom. She was again involved in the majority of Korean exchanges as sender or receiver. Sook engaged in social interaction with Kyong and Min. She also associated with Hee, but there were no audible interactions between them on the days of analysis. The data showed that Min and Kyong were talkative in their first language and also in their second language.

Korean was used on a daily basis, but the exchanges were brief and confined to the contexts of circle formation and doing the activity. By spring, the four girls attended to the activities of the group rather than engaging in private talk. The translations revealed the Korean served a range of functions, a change from the heavy use of regulatory language by Min and Kyong in 7 of 19 (37%) translations in
Peer imitation

Occurrence. The patterns of interaction identified in seating and first language made visible the peer relationships among the four Korean girls. Further analysis revealed the peer relationships also functioned as resources to imitate for participation in the classroom. The girls monitored and imitated each other's behaviors in the events of small group. This pattern did not diminish over time, but was observed during the first nine days of each quarter as indicated in Table 4.10:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Fall:</th>
<th>Winter:</th>
<th>Spring:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Events</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imitation was more evident in small group I in both fall (76%) and spring (88%), the two quarters with most use. Analysis of four days per quarter showed that in the fall it was used first within seven contexts of a small group event, but contained within two contexts, teacher-child talk and doing an activity, in the spring.

Function. The analysis of four days per quarter revealed that imitation was used primarily to initiate interaction with the teacher, to do the activities of small group, and to engage in playfulness with peers. The episodes of playfulness were initiated among the Koreans and non-Koreans and included bits of imaginative play and games.
Table 4.11 shows the function of imitation over the year. The numbers indicate a shift in the number of imitations from the function, do activities, to engage in play during winter and spring. There was increasing attention by the girls to playful activities that could be incorporated within the contexts of small group, such as showing affect and animal sound play.

Table 4.11
Uses of Imitation in Small Group Events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quarter</th>
<th>Total Episodes</th>
<th>Initiate interaction No.</th>
<th>Initiate interaction %</th>
<th>Do activities No.</th>
<th>Do activities %</th>
<th>Engage/play No.</th>
<th>Engage/play %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fall</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winter</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Peer models. The four girls imitated each other during fall quarter. Beginning winter, the data showed the four girls were also observing and imitating their non-Korean peers. In the spring, non-Koreans were the models in 6 (18%) episodes of imitation. Min and Kyong were used as models most frequently, followed by Sook and Hee over the year. Sook and Hee, the primary users of imitation, often imitated their seating partner. Table 4.12 displays the peer models used over the quarter.
Table 4.12
Peer Models for Imitation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quarter</th>
<th>Used by:</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Kyong</th>
<th>Sook</th>
<th>Hee</th>
<th>Non-k</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fall</td>
<td>Min</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kyong</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sook</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hee</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winter</td>
<td>Min</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kyong</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sook (absent)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hee</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring</td>
<td>Min</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kyong</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sook</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hee</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 17 18 11 7 16 69

a Values rounded off to nearest percent

b 4 days per quarter

The table above displays shifts in imitating behavior over the year. The most dramatic change is seen in Hee's use of imitation, which more than tripled in number from fall to spring. Hee's seating partner, Kyong, was her principal model. Kyong was also principal model for Sook, fall and spring. Kyong also used peer models, but, beginning in the winter, she imitated non-Koreans more than Koreans. Min uses imitation the least, and Sook, her seating partner, was her primary peer model in the spring.
Effect on interaction. The findings indicate that when the four girls were together in small group, interacting through seating and language, they also engaged in imitation. The strategy was used most to initiate interaction with the teacher, and it was a successful strategy to engage her. The effect of imitation on the total number of initiations to the teacher was revealed by comparing the number of independent initiatives and imitations. Over the year, a substantial percentage of the initiatives by all four girls were based on imitation. (See Figure 4.9.)

* Sook is absent  
( ) = number of imitations

Figure 4.9. Percent of initiated interaction to teacher, based on imitation, overview.
Figure 4.9 is based on the four days of analysis from each quarter, and shows that the percentage of successful initiations to the teacher based on imitation ranged from 13 to 64%. The percentage of Min and Kyong was high in the fall, but decreased over the year as more of their initiations were made by independent effort. Imitation remained a significant part of their participation strategy and accounted for 10 to 20% of initiations in the spring.

Sook relied on imitation for 64% of her initiations in the fall. Upon her return in spring, Sook used imitation the same number of times, but an increase in independent effort reduced the percentage to 32%. Sook's independent efforts were less successful than those of the other three girls. Her voice was often low and hesitant, lost within the noise of more assertive children. In spring, six (29%) of her total independent initiatives were unsuccessful.

Hee was a passive participant during fall and winter, who used few independent initiatives or imitations. Hee became an active participant in the spring, when imitations surpassed her independent efforts and accounted for 64% of her initiations to the teacher. It should be noted that she became an active imitator the same quarter she began to sit with Kyong, who was an active participant on her own and through imitation.

Imitation did not function winter quarter as it did in fall and spring. It was noted that the peer relationships and the patterned ways of interacting among the four were interrupted by SooK’s winter absence.
On their own

Min. Min was an active participant in small group throughout the year. She interacted with her Korean peers, but was attentive to the teacher and other group members. The data show qualitative change in her participation from fall to spring in terms of communicative competence and peer interaction. As communicative skills improved, she was not only an active talker in the contextualized activities of group I, but also contributed to the decontextualized activities of group II. She used situational codeswitching, adapting the appropriate language for her audience. Min initiated interaction with more non-Koreans as the year progressed, and the social contacts included girls and boys.

Kyong. Kyong displayed more interest in the cognitive activities of the small group events than social interaction with the other participants. As her language skills developed, she regularly engaged in imaginative or heuristic language—probing and predicting during story-time, recounting or questioning events. She also used situational codeswitching with the activities of small group and play, accommodating her language to the listeners. Kyong observed and imitated the behaviors of non-Koreans beginning in winter quarter, but initiated less social interaction with them than Min. She also used Min as a peer model, but interacted with her the least within their peer group.

Sook. Sook's absence winter quarter changed the patterns of behavior that had characterized the peer relationships of the four girls. Her use of spoken Korean and her relationships with the other
three girls placed Sook in a linchpin position. The peer relationships were reconstructed with variations during spring quarter. With Sook's presence, the four girls maintained the Korean dialogue, the debate over seating, and there was an increase in the overall use of imitation.

Sook herself was more attentive to the teacher and group events in the spring. She maneuvered to have physical contact with the teacher, and she contributed to teacher-led conversations despite English limitations. Sook's communicative efforts were limited to short utterances combined with nonverbal language. She did not initiate contact with non-Koreans.

Hee. Hee's quiet demeanor divulged little of her feelings. She spent much of group time working silently or watching others throughout the year. She responded to others, but rarely expressed herself until spring. As presented earlier, Hee began to enter into interaction in small group through imitation, which transformed her into an active participant. The imitation displayed Hee's ability to monitor and interact within the participant structures of small group. She entered into interaction with both Koreans and non-Koreans, adults and children.

Contrast with non-Koreans

The analysis compared the participation of Jennifer, Lacey, and Tina, the three non-Korean small group participants with the four girls. In Winter, Lacey and Tina developed a consistent seating patterns like the Koreans. They did not engage in the amount of interpersonal talk that was heard among the Koreans, and imitation was
not a common means to initiate interaction with the teacher, do activities, or engage peers. Jennifer, Lacey, and Tina used their own independent initiatives to interact with the teacher, which were similar in number from the efforts of Min, Kyong, and Sook.

These findings indicated that both first and second language users constructed ways to initiate interaction, and the efforts were not solely related to language skills. The comparison of Korean and non-Korean initiatives to the teacher also indicated the use of Korean in the classroom did not deter the participation of Min and Kyong in small group events.

In conclusion, it was predicted that patterns of sitting together, speaking Korean, and imitating peers would be used less as the four integrated into the student role of small group. The patterns continued, however, and the girls maintained their peer relationships and became active members of small group. In the next Chapter, the construction of peer relationships and their effect on participation as a student will be discussed.
CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION

Introduction

The analysis of the four young girls as explorers show that when they entered the new world of schooling, they banded together. They constructed peer relationships that served as a resource for their participation within the complex society of preschool. The peer relationships continued throughout the year, but were reformulated as shifts occurred within their peer group and contexts of the classroom.

The study of the four Korean girls is unique because of the extensive ethnographic data that were available for analysis on peer relationships within the preschool. These data contribute to our knowledge about the construction of peer relationships within peer culture and school culture, and the role of peer relationships in socializing children to small group participation. This chapter will begin with a discussion of the construction of peer relationships and the research questions in light of previous research, followed by the conclusions and implications for education and future research.

Construction of peer relationships within peer culture

As active participants in the social world, Min, Kyong, Sook, and Hee constructed peer relationships based on shared characteristics
of age, gender, cultural background, and school experience, which have been identified in previous studies of relationships (Attili, 1985; Hartup, 1983). Their interaction was facilitated by influences from the adult social world. Kyong, Sook, and Hee experienced social interaction as neighborhood playmates (based on parental approval), and the families of all four shared Korean lifestyles in the community of Walnut Village.

The four girls had the opportunity in the preschool to construct relationships of their own volition within the social world of the classroom. Again, the findings agreed with the literature that indicated young children seek relationships with peers who are a source of companionship and social knowledge (Attili, 1985; Hartup, 1983, Mueller, 1989), and who mutually interpret appropriate behavior and help resolve conflicts and maintain relationships (Cooper & Cooper, 1984).

The patterns of behavior that appeared within the contexts of play and peer culture among the four were in agreement with the description of established peer relationships, which are signaled by consistency over time and "distinctive expectations, affects, and configurations" (Hinde, 1976, cited in Hartup, 1985, p.74). The four girls also conformed initially to characteristics of an informal social group. As such, they displayed a sense of belonging to their own group through regular social interaction, a shared value system, including first language, and a dominant leader, Kyong (Hartup, 1983).

These definitions were useful in the analysis process, but they did not take into account the complexity, continuity, and changes that
were evident in the social construction of the relationships over the year. For instance, Min did not have a consistent role in play, nor did she show concern for status, yet she was a group participant. The absence of social interaction between Min and Kyong was a contradiction to the definition of participation in a social group, which included regular social interaction.

The influence of the dominant leader also diminished over time, yet the peer relationships continued. Kyong initially served as the leader of the social hierarchy who dictated roles and privileges and facilitated their play. The unequal power relations were evident in family role play where in the fall only Kyong ever played the role of "mommy" in the fall. She allocated roles to the other participants, who accepted her directives with deferential responses, which was similar to findings on role play in Corsaro's study (1985).

The hierarchy of play continued into other contexts of the peer culture. It was present in activities of the school culture, where Kyong attempted to control the rights of Sook and Hee to privileges and objects whenever the three were together. Her behavior supported the view of the informant who reported that status among the four reflected Korean cultural norms of respect for age, or size among young children.

Kyong was less visible as the dominant figure in the spring as she became more involved in other free play activities. Min and Sook produced elaborated scripts on their own that were more egalitarian in format. However, they continued to exclude non-Koreans from full participation in role play through use of Korean and a Korean
interpretation of roles.

Hatch (1987) identified status relationships in the classroom that differed from the Korean situation. The children in his kindergarten study were regularly involved in negotiating status, but Kyong's status was not challenged. The status issue was most apparent in fall when Sook, followed by Hee, willingly followed Kyong's directives. It became less evident during Sook's absence in the winter, and reappeared to a lesser degree in the spring. Sook interacted more with Min which left a void in the hierarchy.

The peer relationships among the Koreans showed greater attachment than the tenuous friendships described in Corsaro's study (1985). The children he described did not display the patterns of consistent acceptance or exclusion of peers and/or defined hierarchies.

The relationships among the Korean girls were similar to the peer group of boys who were part of the same preschool class (Elgas, 1988; Elgas, Klein, Kantor & Fernie, 1988). The boys also came together during the first week and constructed lasting relationships that were exclusive with patterned ways of behaving within the peer culture. They, like the four girls, did not invite or welcome teacher participation in their free play. While the girls claimed the housekeeping area for much of their play, the boys staked out territory in the blocks. There were differences that appear to be gender-related. The girls were willing participants in the activities of the school culture, such as the activity tables, and they preferred family role play as a play theme. The boys typically favored super-
hero play and showed no interest in the activity tables set up by the teachers (Elgas, Klein, Kantor & Fernie, 1988; Corsaro, 1985).

It was concluded after a review of the findings on the peer culture that the peer relationships among the four girls were best described as a micro-social system with patterned ways of interaction, negotiated and constructed through face-to-face interaction. Membership in the group of four was rule-governed, based on ties of gender, first language, race, shared knowledge, and affect. Outsiders were excluded until winter when other Asians were given limited access to play. Participant structures guided the behavior of group members, and the structures were visible in the group hierarchy, theme and location of play, and allocation of roles.

The model of the micro-social system, borrowed from research on classroom interaction (Green, 1981; 1983), is appropriate to describe these peer relationships because it acknowledged the changing nature of relationships and behavior. There were changes in contexts within the peer relationships of the four girls over the year. Sook's absence in the winter affected patterns of play and speaking Korean. There was less time spent in hierarchical role play and Lin, an Asian peer, was given access to play. Aspects of the peer relationships from fall were visible upon Sook's return spring quarter; however, the participant structures were reconstructed. Play partners changed with Sook as Min's partner, and Lin continued as an additional player. The girls engaged in less role play and participated in more activities set out by the teachers. There was relatively little conflict among the four girls over the year, which suggested they were in agreement
with the requirements for participation within their foursome. The expectation for individuals to participate within the group of four was flexible, and the girls could leave their play and join in other activities at will.

Constructing peer relationships within small group

The four girls entered the small group events of the school culture and encountered a setting with contexts that differed from free play. They had to form and test hypotheses for interaction in the new contexts and develop the communicative and social competence for small group participation. (See Appendix B for social action rules, Williams, 1988). Previous research on classroom life has focused on the study of face-to-face interaction to reveal the roles of the student and teacher. However, there is little knowledge of what children do when they lack the prerequisite social and communicative competence for interaction with the teacher. The study of the four Korean girls revealed that peer relationships served as a resource to support their participation in small group while in the process of constructing the role of a participating small group member. The peer relationships and participation in small group events will be addressed through discussion of the research questions.

1. How did the peer relationships among the Korean girls contribute to their socialization to the school culture event of small group activity?

The peer relationships served as a resource for the girls
beginning on the first day. When Sook and Kyong entered the small group room, they looked to Hee and imitated the contextualization cues that she set up for participation. The three girls sat outside of the group formation and engaged in a cleaning role play with a stick and carpet square, rather than attend to the teacher's idea for rhythm play. Like other participants in a new setting, they relied on their social background knowledge to determine their behavior (Gumperz, 1982). The shared knowledge among the three led them to a different interpretation of the small group activity until the teacher attracted their attention to the group. Min, however, did not yet have an established relationship with the other Koreans. She chose to orient herself to the teacher at the beginning of group time, which is more common for 3-year-olds beginning preschool (Hartup, 1983).

After Day one, the girls attended to the teacher and began to display growing comprehension of contextualization cues through following rules and routine. The four girls made efforts to enter into social interaction with the teacher, but were limited by communicative skills and the lack of strategies to attract attention, which are important for conversational involvement (Gumperz, 1982). They occasionally sat out and monitored activities, which is key to learning the shifts in participation structures across contexts and developing the competence to participate (Erickson & Shultz, 1977, 1981; Green, 1983; Gumperz, 1982; Kantor, 1988; Mandell, 1986).

The four girls continued to interact among themselves, following the participant structures created within the peer culture and constructing new ones to facilitate their peer relationships within
the small group event. The teacher noted that the four girls often seemed like a separate group, and indeed they were. The analysis revealed the construction of three participant structures, sitting together, talking in Korean, and imitating peers, to support their group. These structures were evident throughout the year although reformulated over time in response to changes in individual participation in small group activities and with Sook's absence winter quarter. The three participant structures served different functions with small group and over time. They will be addressed separately.

Sitting together. The four girls established a pattern of sitting with each other on the first day of school. The seating configuration varied, but it was not arbitrary. There was physical and verbal negotiation over seating arrangements by the four. Patterns of social interaction and status were reflected in seating. Sitting closely with a play partner allowed them to share, talk, and show affect, behaviors common to peer relationships at this age (Hartup, 1983). The function of seating changed over the year. In winter, Min and Hee continued as seating partners, but there was less social interaction between them as Min made social overtures to others. Kyong sat alongside of the two, but interacted with adults. Sitting together from a site of social interaction to routine behavior. Upon Sook's return, seating space was again negotiated, and popularity shifts within the group were made visible.

Talking Korean. The findings indicated that the four girls spoke Korean with each other during fall and spring quarters. Their use of Korean was used without regard to context and often overlapped
The teacher's attempts to guide small group members into group conversation. The girls accommodated their participant structure of speaking Korean to the small group over time by whispering and confining the use of Korean to fewer contexts. The four displayed situational codeswitching within small group. They spoke Korean together, but changed language when requested by the teacher. They were aware of linguistic differences and spoke only English to other class members.

The Korean girls' use of their first language in peer interaction and collaboration has been supported as a means for optimal participation that allows the use of the first language as a cognitive resource (Commins, 1989). The translations revealed the four girls spoke Korean for problem-solving among themselves. Much of the Korean was inaudible, so we cannot preclude the possibility that it was also used in cognitive tasks during group activities.

The girls spoke Korean and also communicated in English. Min, Kyong, and Sook made verbal initiations to the teacher comparable in number to the English-speaking girls. Their second language utterances increased in number and complexity over the year and progressed to use in both contextualized art activities and decontextualized group discussions.

Imitating peers. The construction of imitation was also a participant structure unique to the peer relationships. The imitations were of special interest because there has been little observation of the use of imitation in a specific context and its effect on behavior and development in a natural setting. In small
group, the four girls monitored and imitated each others' behaviors primarily to initiate interaction with the teacher. Their peer relationships served as a collective pool of communicative and social knowledge that the girls drew upon through peer models. There were fewer imitations during winter quarter and Sook's absence by the Min, Kyong, and Hee, but it came into use again in spring. The increase in the number of imitations was influenced by Sook, who both used imitation and served as a peer model, and by Hee who began to use imitation regularly for the first time.

In Keenan's study (1977), young language learners used imitation to accomplish tasks that were beyond their level of competence. This was similar to the function of imitation in the participation of Hee and Sook. Imitation facilitated their participation while they developed knowledge of contextualization cues and communicative competence to act on their own. They looked to Min and Kyong as peer models, who were able to interpret the context and implement appropriate strategies to initiate interaction with the teacher. The role of the peer models is an example of Vygotsky's theory of the zone of proximal distance (1965). In this case, the models, Kyong and Min, served as knowledgeable peers who facilitated problem-solving by demonstrating the behavior for imitation by Sook and Hee, which moved them toward greater competence and participation.

Sook and Hee had limited success in initiating interaction with the teacher independently. In fact, Sook used more imitation than independent initiatives with the teacher in the fall, and the same was true for Hee in the spring. Their total number of interactions with
the teacher increased substantially when imitations were added to independent initiatives.

Kyong and Min, however, soon displayed knowledge of the contextualization cues and initiated successful interaction independently with the teacher and used imitation. Rather than facilitate learning, imitation extended their participation. They used it to assert their rights to the teacher's attentions and the use of materials.

These two functions of imitation, 1) to facilitate learning, and 2) to extend participation, relate to two studies of imitation. In Keenan's study of language learning (1977), children imitated while in the process of acquiring communicative skills, similar to the situation of Sook and Hee. In the Abramovitch and Grusec's study of imitation (1978), socially dominant children were found to imitate other socially dominant children in the classroom, but the study did not address the functions or outcomes of the imitations. Kyong and Min were socially dominant within their peer group, but they were not the only ones to imitate others or be imitated. Imitation was a viable means used by all four to enter interaction in the classroom, and its use showed signs of increase, rather than decline.

Three participant structures. The three participant structures, sitting together, speaking Korean, and imitating peers were elements of the separate micro-social system of Min, Kyong, Sook, and Hee that was constructed within the small group and supported their entry into small group participation. The first two structures, sitting together and talking Korean, focused on shared needs for security and group
solidarity and enabled social interaction with peers before the non-Koreans, who did not display regular social interaction with peers and sought adults as partners during small group.

The third participant structure, imitating peers, enabled participation in the small group, regardless of individual ability to interpret the context. It was the use of imitation along with other patterns of initiatives shown in participation that revealed the children's view of participation in small group events.

Children's perspective of small group events

Upon entering small group, the children encountered another setting within the preschool with distinct demands for participation and a new role figure, the teacher, guiding the activities. This discovery occurred over time, as the focus of attention among them moved from their own group of four to small group activities. The teacher was in charge, and the four increasingly accorded her more attention. Min, Kyong, Sook, and (to a lesser extent) Hee began to seek interaction with the teacher through innumerable independent initiatives and/or imitations.

From the children's perspective, the teacher was a powerful person within small group who controlled three valued resources of goods, services, and personal attention. Min, Kyong, Sook, and to a lesser extent, Hee, sought interaction with her to negotiate for those resources. The negotiations were cumulative, beginning with requests for goods (art supplies) and services (opening, writing) in the fall. Winter and into spring, Min, Kyong, and Hee continued their interest in concrete materials, but increasingly sought attention in the form
of affect or reinforcement for their work.

Small group was also a place to play with other children. This perspective developed slowly over fall and winter, and there was minimal social interaction among any of the small group members except for the group of four girls. Playful interaction flourished in spring as children, including Min, Kyong, and Hee, initiated or responded to interaction with other peers.

**Summary.** The peer relationships among the four Koreans contributed to the socialization to small group by serving as a resource to facilitate participation. The girls constructed three participant structures within their own peer relationships that supported their transition into small group participation. The participant structure of imitating each other allowed the four girls to participate while in the process of learning the participation structures of contexts within small group.

The analysis process revealed the children’s perspective of small group. They viewed the teacher as the most important person to whom they should orient their attention. The teacher controlled the resources of goods, services, and personal attention that were valued by the children. The children engaged in the negotiation for these resources over the year. They also discovered group was a place to play with peers, and social interaction with peers flourished in the spring.
2. How were individual strategies for participation related to peer relations among the four?

The individual strategies for participation within small group were interrelated with the peer relationships among Min, Kyong, Sook, and Hee. Each of the four held two roles, a member of the peer group and a participant in small group. Sook’s absence during winter quarter displayed the effect of one individual on the group. It became apparent that Sook’s presence among the four had led to the construction of the participant structures that created the peer relationships as they existed within the classroom. Her absence led to new ways of participation by the other three girls within their peer relationships and small group.

As outlined in the first question, early participation in small group was based on behaviors drawn from the participant structures of the peer relationships. They provided support to small group participation through patterns of sitting together, speaking Korean, and imitating peers. It was up to the individual to interpret these structures, however, and use them as a member of the peer group or as a means to integrate into the small group activities. Beginning with Min, there will be a discussion of each girl’s participation.

Min. Min was an active participant within small group and within the group of four girls. In small group, she was oriented to group participation from the first day on. Min was alert and responsive to contextualization cues of group contexts and followed the routine with ease. She was most active in the contextualized aspects of the routine that involved making products and clean-up.
Her social competence was modeled by Korean peers, but Min herself seldom used imitation. She attended to the teacher and freely initiated attempts to interact as a student despite her limited repertoire of words. In the first weeks, she used a combination of verbal and nonverbal means to attract the teacher's attention. This behavior conformed to Fillmore's (1985) discussion of the importance of the social process in learning a second language.

Min was also oriented toward other group members and was the first to initiate interaction with non-Koreans. Beginning in winter, she issued invitations and shared her belongings with non-Koreans, access strategies that have been observed among other three-year-olds (Corsaro, 1979). Sook's absence as an occasional seating and conversational partner during winter quarter may have provided impetus to increase her range of social interaction.

Min drew on the peer relationships for the supportive benefits of familiarity, security, and shared knowledge. She spoke Korean regularly with her peers, but the development of her English skills indicated that the use of Korean did not detract from learning a second language, which is in agreement with past findings on the use of two languages (Fillmore et al, 1985).

Kyong. Kyong's participation in small group activities was initially combined with her role within the peer relationships. She displayed initiative in the accomplishment of school tasks and interaction with the teacher, and, at the same time, she exerted control over the participation of Sook and Hee.
Kyong spoke Korean daily with Sook and Hee, but her verbal efforts at initiating interaction with the teacher were comparable to the most active non-Korean participants. As expectations shifted within contexts and over time, Kyong demonstrated the use of an "extended communicative repertoire" (Green & Harker, 1982, p. 194). Kyong joined in small group discussions, but she was not dependent on contextualized language for communication.

Kyong turned to the peer relationships for companionship and the status accorded by her play partners, Sook and, later in the year, Hee. Sook's absence left her without both, as Sook had been her seating partner, and peer model in the fall. Her reaction to Sook's absence was to attach to adults, a behavior that is common when children first enter a group setting (Hinde, 1983). At the same time, she extended her imitating behavior to include non-Korean children as models.

Kyong displayed effective initiatives for interaction with the teacher and extended her participation by imitating peers. She did not imitate her interactional partners, Sook and Hee, in the spring, but monitored and imitated the behaviors of girls who displayed more social competence, Min and non-Koreans.

Sook. Sook's participation in fall and winter was closely tied to the peer relationships among the four. There were few initiatives to join the on-going events on her own in the fall. Sook's interactions with the other three girls led to the construction of the participant structures of seating, speaking first language, and imitating. Her need to verbalize (limited to Korean) and her desire
for play partners led her to initiate interaction with the other Koreans, and they were receptive. She also wanted to participate in group activities and followed the lead of her more socially competent partners for interaction with the teacher. It is safe to venture that without Sook the participant structures and the micro-social system of the four would not have been created. Min and Kyong had skills to participate on their own initiative. Hee participated in the group of four, but she did not display the forceful initiative of Sook or have the status to influence the behavior of Min and Kyong. Sook had the ability to attract and persuade all three to interact with her.

When Sook returned in the spring, she made independent efforts to interact with the teacher, but many were unsuccessful. She also made attempts on her own to interpret the participant structures for small group, but did not interpret correctly the cues for interaction. She relied once again on her peers, engaged in interaction through imitation. Sook’s return in the spring led to a renewal and reconstruction of peer relations. The reformulation of the peer relationships included the rotation in seating partners, which now included Min. She remained oriented to her Korean peers, who continued to support her participation in the classroom.

Hee. Hee was a quiet participant in the classroom who made few attempts to enter into social interaction during fall and winter. She stayed close to her Korean peers, but seldom spoke to anyone in her first or second language. She did not actively negotiate for the attention of the teacher on her own or through imitation until spring. Hee engaged regularly parallel play and monitored others, frequent
activities among 2 to 4-year-olds (Hartup, 1983; Mandell, 1986).

Hee served as a play partner for Sook or Min within the peer relationships in the fall. Sook's absence in the winter meant loss of a play partner for Hee. She had fewer opportunities for peer interaction as Min broadened her interactions with others. There was a marked change in Hee's participation in the spring. Hee began to use her Korean peers as a resource for imitation to engage the teacher. She imitated short phrases and imperatives to involve the teacher in talk, a second language learning technique observed in other young children (Huang & Hatch, 1978). She was also observed with Min and Lacey in early forms of peer play involving sound play and repetition (Budwig, Strage & Bamberg, 1986).

Hee's limited interaction within the Korean peer group and the larger small group events indicated the lack of social interaction skills to be an active negotiator in either the peer culture or the school culture. The powerlessness of her "baby" role may also have discouraged her initiative for social interaction, that role was of less relevance in the spring with the demise of role play.

Summary. Participation in small group and the peer relationships among the four Koreans were closely interconnected. Each girl had characteristic ways of participation which were influenced by the peer relationships among the four. Sook's interaction with Min, Kyong, and Hee had the greatest impact, which led to the construction of the participant structures evident in the peer relationships among the four. Min and Kyong served important roles as peer models for Sook and Hee. Hee's role was one of play
partner for Sook, Min, or Hee.

The description of the girls highlights individual differences that are apparent within a small group of four who share similar sociocultural backgrounds. Cultural behaviors are not clearly reflected in the participation of the four Korean girls within the school culture, contrary to Willet's observations of Brazilian and Korean children (1987). However, it is possible that status within the peer group did inhibit small group participation.

There were differences in orientation to participation in the classroom. Min and Kyong, who had the broadest repertoires of communicative and social resources entered immediately into small group participation. Sook and Hee, the girls with fewer resources were less inclined to enter into interaction on their own and used the resource of imitation as a way to participate. The existence of peer relationships alone did not guarantee participation. The combination of resources and the construction of peer relationships did facilitate the participation of all four girls.

3. How did the peer relations among the Korean girls compare and contrast with the peer relations among non-Koreans? between Koreans and non-Koreans?

Peer relations among non-Koreans. The three non-Korean girls who entered small group did not display the same kinds of interaction evident among the four girls. There were no special seating patterns, no personal talk, and few instances of imitation during fall quarter. They followed the pattern of initiating contact with adults (Hinde,
1983) and establishing peer contacts over the year. In the spring, Lacey and Tina demonstrated a growing relationship through their sharing of objects and seating dyad (Corsaro, 1986), patterns that had been evident among the Koreans since fall.

There was no evidence of using peers as a resource for participation. All three girls demonstrated the ability to negotiate the participant structures of small group. They used a variety of attention-getting devices to engage the teacher in conversation. They were capable of using the language and discourse that is necessary for the construction of social knowledge (Corsaro, 1985).

It should be noted, however, that the use of peer relationships was not always related to need, but was used as a strategy to extend or supplement participation. There were not available data on the newly-forming relationship of Lacey and Tina to see if they began to use each other as a resource on a regular basis.

Peer relations between Koreans and non-Koreans. The four girls did not establish any lasting relationships with non-Korean girls. The data show that social interaction among the peers who lacked shared knowledge and with whom there were obvious barriers such as language developed slowly within the small group and progressed through phases. The non-Koreans went through a phase of social interaction with adults before moving on to other non-Koreans, and then to Koreans. The Koreans interacted with each other in the fall and moved on to adults in the winter quarter. Interactive episodes with non-Koreans appeared in the spring.
As discussed in question #2, the early contacts included a shared experience of sound play, repetition, and non-verbal action (Budwig, Strage & Bamberg, 1986; Corsaro, 1979; Gumperz, 1981). This early form of peer play, witnessed first between Lacey and Min, progressed to further episodes of shared activity that led to friendship (Corsaro, 1986); however, Lacey’s primary focus was on her relationship with Tina.

To summarize, all of the girls in small group went through a phase of interaction with adults before seeking interaction with new peers. As a result, there were only occasional contacts between Koreans and non-Koreans through the year with an increasing amount of interaction in spring. The non-Koreans were also observed establishing relationships among themselves at that time.

Methodological issues

The research process followed the guidelines for ethnography that were presented in chapter 3. The role of participant observer proved to be a challenge with regard to relationships with the children while making observations. Once the children recognized the participant observer as a potential play partner, it was difficult to avoid involvement in play that would not limit observation elsewhere. Children expected full concentration from partners in fantasy play, and it was not easy to terminate play.

Another methodological issue concerns gender and potential obtrusion on the data. Although the children did not treat me as a teacher, it is possible that some approached me not as a player, but as a woman and mother-figure. This did not occur with the subjects,
who had little time for adults but with lone children who appeared to just sit with me or offer affect.

There were two potential limitations to the data. First, the lack of knowledge of the Korean language and culture made me dependent on interviews, literature, and the informants in the analysis process. I had to rely on the interpretations of others with regard to the children's language and behavior. This was especially problematic with the children's language which the informants found difficult to translate.

The lack of opportunity to make targeted observations of the subjects once the analysis was in process was another limitation. There were issues that arose and could not be addressed even though I had observed the four girls over the year and had an ample amount of other data resources.

Conclusions and implications

This study of small group participation of four Korean girls contributes to previous ethnographic studies on the preschool (Elgas, Klein, Kantor & Fernie, 1988; Fernie, Kantor, Klein, Meyer, & Elgas, 1988; Meyer, 1987; LaMonte, 1987; Williams, 1988) It complements the work done on small group formation (Williams, 1988) and extends the inquiry from peer relationships among boys in the peer culture (Elgas, Klein, Kantor, & Fernie, 1988) to peer relationships among girls in the school culture. The major conclusions on the construction and role of peer relationships among the four Korean girls are presented below.
1) Peer relationships were constructed with participant structures appropriate for the context in which they were used. The participant structures served as a resource to support entry into a new setting until context-appropriate structures were formed.

2) Peer relationships were composed of individuals, each playing a distinct role within the relationship. The absence of one individual altered the participation of all the participants.

3) The social construction of the group of four girls confirmed that young children do construct peer relationships that are long-lasting with participant structures to guide the behavior within those relationships.

4) Peer relationships may be lasting and resilient to change; however, the participant structures are not fixed, but vulnerable to changes in context and membership.

5) The role of peer relationships is dependent on the contexts and the requirements for participation.

6) Peer relationships served as a resource for participation within a new group context through the construction of participant structures, such as imitating peers.

7) The imitation of peer models was a viable strategy to facilitate learning to initiate interaction and enable girls who lacked communicative and social competence to participate in classroom activities.

The conclusions above reiterate what has been displayed in the data. The four Korean girls displayed complex relationships that served a variety of functions across contexts and over time.
These findings provide rare insight into children's relationships because of the longitudinal nature of the study and the opportunity to study the effect of change through a natural course of events (Sook's absence and her return) on the peer relationships and participation of the girls. The study also offered a view of peer relationships from a functional, rather than social perspective. The peer relationships among the four included the normal benefits of peer interaction, but also facilitated the entry and participation in a new setting. This perspective of relationships among 3-year-olds suggests the need to appreciate more fully the interactional capabilities of young children.

Implications for early childhood research and education

The study of the peer relationships among the four girls indicates that children are capable of constructing relationships that facilitate learning and problem-solving at an early age. This finding suggests that young children may be more socially competent than many would expect. More research is needed to discover the circumstances in which enduring peer relationships are established. In an age where more and more young children are spending their days in the company of peers, it would be beneficial for child care professionals to learn the conditions that support positive peer relationships.

The relationships in this study also showed vulnerability to change. The absence of one peer affected the social interaction of those left behind without peer partners. Again, research is needed to help child care professionals learn more about roles and relationships that may exist at an early age within peer relationships and the
impact of change.

The use of imitation as a resource for participation was unique to the Korean girls. While it is recognized that imitation is not unusual among second language learners, there has been no study of imitation used in the selective, goal-oriented way that was evident in this setting. Continued study will reveal if imitation of social interaction is a viable strategy in the classroom and if established peer relationships are necessary to facilitate the imitation.

The participation of the Korean girls indicates that second language learners can be group participants before they have mastered communicative and rules of a new setting. Play opportunities may not adequately meet the needs for learning to communicate and participate in a second language. Young children need a balance of free play and semi-structured activities that will encourage group membership and provide opportunity to learn to read contextualization cues and interpret the participant structures of the school culture. Such a program also requires a teacher like Diane, who reinforces all attempts to participate in the group activities.

The experience of the four Korean girls implies that it is not necessary for educators to pressure young second language learners into English-speaking situations to learn the language. The four girls used Korean daily and their verbal interactions with English-speaking peers were limited, yet they learned to communicate in small group. The use of their first language enabled them to construct ways of participating in the classroom that ultimately led to their ability to communicate in English and to participate as students.
APPENDIX A

MARTIN HALL PRESCHOOL
Observation Deck

Woodworking

Table Area

Kitchen

Bathroom

Math related games

Story Corner

Dramatic Play

Climber

Arrival and Departure Area
- Lockers

Block Area

Computer

Music Room

Scale: 1" = 8'
Main body of classroom measures 55' 8" x 21' 9"

MARTIN HALL PRESCHOOL
APPENDIX B

PARTICIPATION GUIDELINES FOR SMALL GROUP I
(Williams, 1988)
Group members meet with the same group every time in the same place. Group does not proceed until all members enter the group space. Group members arrive to group individually from a transition activity. Group members must be seated before group time begins. Group members may request another member to move to accommodate seating preferences. Group sits in a circle. Group members need to be seated in such a way as to allow clear visibility for all group members. All members of small group have red tags. Other small group is identified by a blue tag. The other group also meets at the same time and with the same members. Group proceedings must not disturb the other group. Content of group's activity change. Small group has similarities to larger, whole class circle. Materials owned by the preschool become property of individual small groups at the sanctioned times. Teacher will build topic from student comments. Teacher will build on nonverbal contextualization cues and create topic. Some activities are scheduled only at scheduled times. Entire group collaborates on some tasks. An individual's idea that is distracting to the group is not acceptable. Using words to solve conflicts is acceptable. Teacher is the keeper of resources.

Group members may choose the place where they sit. Individual places are available for each group member. It is acceptable to bring personal possessions into small group. The group needs to accommodate to individual members. Teacher values students ideas. Once a student has claimed a material, it is his/hers as long as he/she wants. Students' individual ideas for activities are expected. The group needs to care about each member's feelings. Teacher values accommodating for another's needs.

**Figure 1:** Rules for Social Action (Participation Guidelines) Across Quarters in the Opening Phase Categorized by Group and Individual Characteristics. (Williams, 1988)
Group members are responsible to clean up where they play
If group members do not choose a clean up task one is assigned
When most members of the group are finished, only a few minutes
more are allowed other members
Those finishing first begin to clean up
Group members leave the group together
All students are responsible to keep others' property safe
Teacher's help is available on request
Ideas that are not sanctioned in group may be sanctioned
another time
Group members are responsible for knowing expected classroom
procedures
Ideas that are not sanctioned in one way may be sanctioned with
a revision
Some materials must be shared by the group
Entire group collaborates on some tasks
Group members have some choice in group room decoration
Teacher's assistance is on a "first come, first served" basis
Group meets in a bounded time frame
Some effort is made to coordinate the time frame of both
small groups
The other group meets in a bounded time frame also
Group members are responsible to clean up where they play in
other group
Group usually follows a somewhat predictable pattern

Participation
Guidelines
The decision for the fate of each student's product rests with
the student
All products produced by the student are the property of the student
All students are responsible for keeping their property safe
Choice is available to students within an activity
A student's name may be written on product for identification
The group needs to accommodate to individual members
Group members are responsible to help fellow group members
when necessary
Student individual ideas for activities are expected
Teacher will change the "first come, first served" priority for
her assistance when student distress is evident
Words of student's choice can be written by teacher on student product
Teacher wants to hear students express their ideas
Group time is not brought to a close until all members are to a
finishing point
The group needs to care about each member's feelings
Teacher has choices within an activity
The responsibility of some group tasks are determined by turn
taking lists
Group members must respect members turns on lists
Teacher can put forth ideas
Teacher values student ideas

Figure 2: Rules for Social Action (Participation Guidelines)
Across Quarters in the Middle/Activity Phase Categorized by
Group and Individual Characteristics. (Williams, 1988)
Figure 3: Rules for Social Action (Participation Guidelines) Across Quakers in the Closing Phase Categorized by Group and Individual Characteristics. (Williams, 1988)
LIST OF REFERENCES


University, Columbus, Ohio.


