Constructing Membership Identity through Language and Social Interaction: The Case of African American Children at Faith Missionary Baptist Church

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In this article, the author explores how African American children in a Black church Sunday school community in northern California developed positive membership identity. Focal participants were Sunday school children ages 9 to 12 and their Sunday school teachers. Drawn from a two-year ethnographic study, data showed that adults prepared children for membership through an inter- active framework of instruction, which also formed the base for communicative competence in the setting. The author describes this framework and offers new insight into conditions that give rise to African American student success. [African American children, church, identity, communi- cative competence]

Conversations about the education of African American children center heavily on issues of language and culture and mostly as these relate to academic performance and class- room ways of being.[1] A recurring theme in this dialogue has been the extent to which cultural and linguistic aspects of schooling (such as expectations for classroom commu- nication and behavior) align with African American cultural preferences and practices and the extent to which these familiarities influence school success for African American children (Boykin et al. 2005; Tyler et al. 2006).[2] Communicative behavior from a socio- linguistic perspective involves the use of socially appropriate expressions in both verbal and nonverbal forms that have particular meaning within a given context (Schiffrin et al. 2003). Much of what we know about African American children's communicative behavior in educational environments stems from a rich body of research documenting cultural and linguistic discontinuities among students' home and community and school experiences (Cazden 2001; Delpit 1995; Dyson 1993; Foster 1992; Gay 2000; Hale 2001; Heath 1983; Lee 2005, 2006; Levinson et al. 2000; Michaels 1981; Shieffelin and Ochs 1986; and Vernon-Feagans 1996). Several of these studies suggest that when engaging in some school activities, African American students often draw on prior knowledge acquired from participating in Black church settings (Dyson 1993, 2003; Heath 1983; C. D. Lee 2006; and Vernon-Feagans 1996).

A major focus in this literature has been the processes by which African American children construct oral and written stories. Some studies have reported, for example, that when creating stories in varied structural forms, African American children as early as preschool and elementary school invoke thematic messages (i.e., content) and stylistic features (i.e., performance) common to those found in Black preaching forms (Heath 1983; Vernon-Feagans 1996).[3]

Research has also demonstrated that beyond story-making, African American children draw on social and linguistic features of the Black church to reshape forms of classroom discourse and text, including song, movement, and role-play, into varieties that reflect familiar sounds and scenes from the Black church (Dyson 2003; C. D. Lee 2006). Moreover, African American students frequently initiate churchlike interactions and use religious talk (such as referencing biblical figures and events and using religious markers) in the classroom context to establish common social ground with peers (Dyson 1993). Others have made similar observations of African American students at the high school

(C. D. Lee 2006) and postsecondary (Foster 1995) levels arguing that not only do students' typical modes of communication reflect Black church rhetorical and performative features but also that these modes "enabled students to better remember and retrieve information" (Foster 2001:283) and "created discursive spaces with which the students could identify . . . [and] in which they understood how to navigate" (C. D. Lee 2006:317). Taken together, this body of literature suggests that in some form or fashion African American students are likely to draw on involvement in church activity to interact and use language across varied social and instructional contexts. The following study contributes to this current knowledge base by focusing on teaching and learning situations specifically as they happen within the context of the Black church, paying particular attention to the nature of these situations and the ways children participate in them.

The Black Church

That the Black church figures prominently in the social and linguistic realms of African American children's education comes as no surprise.[4] By all accounts, the Black church, since its inception, has long been a central source of social, political, and educational advancement for African Americans (Anderson 1988; Billingsley 1999; Lincoln 1999) and, arguably, the core institution in the African American community (Billingsley 1999; Chatters et al. 2002; Fulop and Raboteau 1997; Harrison 2005; Lincoln and Mamiya 1996; Swain 2008; Wilmore 1984). Moreover, in the contemporary lives of African American youth especially, many scholars credit the Black church for cultivating qualities of resilience, self-empowerment, and community activism (Cook 2000; Haight 1998; 2002; Johnson, Larson, and Li 2000; Johnson, Larson, Li, and Jang 2000; Swain 2008), fostering high aspirations for achievement (Billingsley and Caldwell 1991), and promoting strong oral and written literacy skill development (Kelly 2001; Moss 1994). By and large, studies of Black churches and congregations have significantly increased (Wortham 2009) and researchers are starting to pay fair attention to the various ways participation in church activities and faith-based contexts influence the social, cultural, and linguistic experiences of African American youth (Haight 2002; Mattis and Jagers 2001; Peele-Eady 2005).

While it is clear that church participation has some effect on African American children's experiences across varied contexts (including schools and classrooms), we still know very little about the contours of children's church activities or more specifically, how language and interaction function within them. Exploring these activities within the context of the Black church offers both teachers of African American children and others who work with them, new insight into the funds of knowledge (González et al. 2005) these students might acquire in similar educative settings, both in and outside of school. Such exploration also provides opportunities for teachers, scholars, and researchers alike to explore how this knowledge might inform the academic performances of African American learners.

The purpose of this article is to examine African American children's participation in church activities and explore how language and interaction functioned in socializing the children to membership in the community. In the next sections, I draw attention to three components of membership training that were salient in this setting—that is scholarship, stewardship, and fellowship—and I describe some illustrative activities embedded within them. Following this description, I discuss the implications these findings have for rethinking and reshaping traditional schooling environments into spaces that not only promote communicative competence for African American children but also offer them a range of opportunities to be successful learners as well.

Design and Methodology

Data for this study are drawn from a two-year ethnographic study of African American children's language socialization in a Black church Sunday school community in northern California (see Peele-Eady 2005). Although I focused on gathering data from the Sunday school classroom, I also observed and documented activities across the church context, which in addition to the Sunday school lessons, included the morning sermons, King James Bible study meetings, and certain sessions of Vacation Bible School. In addition to writing field notes of observations, I also audiotaped Sunday school lessons and interviewed select members of the church community, children, Sunday school teachers, and the pastor. Artifacts, including Sunday school booklets, church bulletins, internal church reports, and other printed documents, supplemented the data sources. I transcribed the audiotaped recordings and marked the transcripts using conventions adapted from Goodwin (1990).[5]

My researcher position was that of a cultural insider and participant-observer (Bogdan and Biklen 2007). Similar to the majority of the members at Faith Missionary Baptist Church (FMBC),[6] I too am African American and grew up in the southern region of the United States. That I attended a similar Black Baptist church as a child and found many of the routines and practices at FMBC familiar, added to, but did not necessarily solidify, my insider status.[7] In addition to my presence as observer in the Sunday school classes, my participation in regular congregational activities and presence at some social events contributed to the rapport I established with the church members.

Methodological Framework

The ethnography of communication provided the methodological and conceptual framework for this study (Hymes 1972; Saville-Troike 2003). Broadly defined, ethnography of communication is the study of norms that govern standards of communicative behavior in a given social context (Duff and Hornberger 2008; Heller 2003; Trask and Stockwell 2007). The analytical focus of this framework is the interplay between language and culture in relation to such norms. Therefore, the ethnography of communication approach allowed for a systematic exploration of communicative behavior "as it constitutes one of the systems of culture, as it functions within the holistic context of culture, and as it relates to patterns in other component systems" (Saville-Troike 1989:1). Specifically, I aimed to understand holistically, how children became part of the church, what they needed to know to be successful in this context, and too, the processes through which they acquired knowledge as members of the church community. To understand the communicative function of language in the children's socialization to membership, I focused on the meanings adult members attached to certain ways of speaking and interacting as well as the range of social expectations that framed these practices (Hymes 1972; Saville-Troike 1989, 2003). I was particularly interested in how these meanings were conveyed to the children. Notwithstanding the difficulties in empirically identifying boundaries surrounding interactions, repertoires, and communities (Heller 2003), employing the ethnography of communication methodology was useful in understanding what communicative displays members considered acceptable and unacceptable across varying situations.

Data Analysis

My analyses of data centered on communicative contexts and the activities that occurred within them. Drawing on Saville-Troike's explanation, *communicative context* refers to the physical and circumstantial space where communication occurs (1989).[8] In

this case, the communicative context was where and when activities took place such as during Sunday school, during the morning worship service, or outside of the church during social activities and other planned outings. While children participated in many activities across multiple contexts within the church, I focused on the ones where children were centrally located, namely the designated Sunday school classroom and the morning worship services, which took place in a separate part of the church that members called the sanctuary and where children routinely engaged in church action cooperatively with adults.[9]

Embedded within these two contexts were the activities through which socialization processes took place. By activity, I mean any organized and bound unit of action like reciting scripture, singing in the choir, or engaging in other performances that members considered routine. I paid particular attention to changes within each activity, marking the beginning and end of each, noting when participants, role-relationships, or the purpose changed, and most importantly, observing what roles children occupied (and did not occupy) across the various contexts. I also noted the kinds of interactions that differentiated one activity from another and coded data for situations when adults appeared to provide children with specific or implied instruction about how to be a member of the church and model ways to represent this knowledge appropriately. That is, times when children demonstrated membership identity.

Membership and Identity

Though conceptualizations of identity differ across disciplines (Hatch and Schultz 2004; Schunk 2008), most scholars agree that what constitutes identity is complexly defined. Etienne Wenger characterizes identity as dynamic, temporal, and context-specific and "defined with respect to the interaction of multiple convergent and divergent trajectories" or pathways of continuous motion (1998:154). As approached here, identity is an integral aspect of competence where competence refers to the knowledge and ability that children have to communicate in ways that correspond with adult expectations and the social and linguistic norms of the community (Cook-Gumperz and Kyratzis 2003). Conversely, communicative competence as an analytical framework presents complex challenges. These challenges underscore the difficulties attached to abstracting the realities of language use into recognizable constructs (Y-A. Lee 2006) and naming what language behavior evidences competence (Duff 2008). This is particularly straining when "expert models of communicative competence [in language socialization processes] may be fleeting, inaccessible, or absent from language learners' lives" (Duff 2008:vi–vii). Notwithstanding these challenges however, the concept of communicative competence was useful in this analysis because it places emphasis on the situated ways children use communicative resources to participate in activities and display membership identity across the context. The intersection of what children learn and how they come to represent this knowledge in the church context constitutes what I am calling membership identity. It happens in both individual and collective ways and includes both verbal and nonverbal performances in which children are essential actors. And it is as Lemke characterizes, a "constellation of attitudes, beliefs, and values that has a recognizable coherence by the criteria of [this] community" (2002:72).

In this way, membership identity is shaped through involvement in the membership community and the successful performance of membership roles and responsibilities. Thus, membership identity is an identity of knowing how to be a member and how to do memberlike things. Further, this process of coming to know is as much an individual course of action as it is a collective one. By that I mean how children come to view themselves as church members relates in large part to how other members (mainly adults,

but not excluding other children) view and position children as members through a wide range of dictates for how to engage the church context.

The process of acquiring membership identity forms the macrocontext through which children learned to adhere to church life and to communicate appropriately and legitimately with other members of the community. Accordingly, by virtue of acquiring membership, adults viewed children as having gained a sense of oneness or common identity with the membership body—a point resonated in the church's motto—*We are many members, but one body*.[10]

Language Socialization

Where competence refers to knowledge and ability, language socialization refers to the processes through which children acquire the knowledge and skills they need to participate and communicate competently in a community setting. Embedded within language routines are messages about how to participate in ways that reflect that community's principal values and behaviors. Schieffelin and Ochs make the point that "children and other novices in society acquire tacit knowledge of principles of social order and systems of belief (ethnotheories) through exposure to and participation in language-mediated interaction" (1986:2). Garrett and Baquedano-López (2002) characterize these values and behaviors as constituting a kind of understated background knowledge that ultimately steers and structures all social activity. In this way, children acquire background knowledge through language-mediated interactions with other members (adults as well as other children) who have already acquired this knowledge. Consequently, children are socialized through language as well as to language (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986; Ochs and Schieffelin 2008). Guided by this view of language socialization, I am concerned here with the messages children received about how to conduct themselves as church members and how children's knowledge of language and social routines manifested in ways that modeled the community's expectations for the membership body.

The Setting and Participants

At the time of this study, FMBC was in its 53rd year of service to a congregation of several hundred members from diverse social, political, educational, and economic backgrounds. The primary participants in this study were the "Junior Group" Sunday school students (ages 9–12), their Sunday school teachers, and the pastor of the church. All the children who attended the Sunday school were African American; and on average, approximately 15 children attended each class that I observed. Of the 15 who came over time, a core group of seven students attended more regularly and often there were more girls than boys. Although they generally attended church as part of some family unit (i.e., with blood relatives as well as fictive kin and members of intimate social networks), children also came to church with their extended social networks of neighbors and friends.

The Sunday school teachers. Two women, Sister Price and Sister Larkins, both African American and of southern background, were teachers of the "junior group" Sunday school class. Sister Price, who was in her late fifties at the time of this study and whose family originated from the south, had been an active member of FMBC for 21 years and a Sunday school teacher there for 15 years. Similarly, Sister Larkins, in her late sixties at the time of the study, was a native of Louisiana and mother of five. She began teaching Sunday school in the early 1990s and had been a faithful member of FMBC for 15 years. Although they

worked as coteachers of the junior group, on the days when I observed them, Sister Larkins typically acted as the lead teacher while Sister Price assumed the role of assistant.

Pastor. The pastor of the church, also African American and affectionately known by the members of FMBC, as simply "Pastor," was a tall man in his mid-seventies at the time of this study. Like many of the members of FMBC, he was a native of Mississippi who journeyed from childhood to adulthood within the embraces of the Black church. When asked about what led him to become a preacher, Pastor expressed that he had always known he was "called to preach." Having been the pastor of FMBC for 28 consecutive years, he considerably influenced the content and execution of the Sunday school lessons and Bible study across the context. Hence, he was the master teacher.

Socialization to Membership

My analysis showed that children at FMBC were socialized to membership through an interactive framework of scholarship (explicit instruction), stewardship (guided-practice), and fellowship (copractice alongside adults). *Scholarship* refers to the explicit ways children acquired religious knowledge on the doctrine as well as the broader official and unofficial rules and obligations governing church and denominational membership. Thus, children received instruction on rules that were important to FMBC as well as to the wider Baptist community. *Stewardship,* characterized by what members were expected to do with the knowledge they acquired, refers to the ways children exercised membership roles and responsibility in church activities. Adult assistance was key in stewardship, and much of it happened through guided practice. That is, adults scaffolded children's participation in activities, thus guiding and directing learning toward some specific end (Rogoff 1990; Vygotsky et al. 1978). Lastly, *fellowship* refers to children copracticing and cooperating with adult members during the wider congregational activities. These were the times when children did not receive explicit instruction or guided direction but were instead expected to act like members on their own accord and exhibit appropriate conduct. These interactive and varied forms of instruction conjointly provided the necessary base for communicative competence in this setting.

Although introduced as separate categories for the purpose of explanation, the components are not mutually exclusive; rather they interrelate in preparing children for membership roles and responsibilities and overlap in nurturing the development of membership identity. While functioning in tandem with each other, each component has a slightly different focus and is characterized by certain styles of interaction and language use among the church members across the different contexts. Worth reiterating here is the point that no one component functioned as the sole means by which children were prepared for membership—all three components were necessary and functioned together in forming the trajectory for membership development within the church context.

To illustrate how the three components functioned conjointly, I discuss three core activities: the Sunday school lesson, the Fourth Sunday March, and the giving of "Tithes and Offerings." These activities illustrate the multiple learning experiences that were available to children across the church context and exemplify the ways members positioned children to acquire the knowledge and skills they needed to qualify as competent and legitimate members of the community.

Scholarship

Through scholarship, teachers directly and explicitly instructed children on a wide range of religious subjects. These included biblical figures, biblical events, and scriptural

teachings as well as the local doctrine of FMBC and presupposed obligations that were officially and unofficially expected of all FMBC members. The functions of the scholarship component were threefold. Specifically, adults aimed for children to (1) comprehend biblical text (i.e., the Bible as well as other printed Bible-based material); (2) develop appropriate attitudes toward teachings and service in the church; and (3) understand the rules and regulations attached to membership.

The Sunday school lesson marked the main activity in accomplishing the goals of the scholarship component because it typified the epistemic foci of the whole church community. Lessons were organized thematically as part of a structured course of study in which adults and children studied the same material and presumably with the same levels of authority over the knowledge. Lesson topics centered on broad evangelistic themes such as "Tell Others about Jesus," "Jesus Was Tempted," and "Jesus Called Twelve Disciples." Lessons also focused on other topics that dealt with everyday life experiences such as "Having Hope in Hard Times."

In addition to a prominent focus on specific content, the Sunday school lesson also embodied a deliberate focus on practical conventions for rendering oral and printed expressions. Consider the following excerpt, in which the Sunday school teacher prepares to teach within the theme, "Showing Love for Others:"

> SL- Sister Larkins (teacher)
> C- Class (the collective group of students)
> L- Larry (student)
> 1 Sister Larkins: Which lesson are we in today?
> 2 Class: Lesson **2**.
> *(following along in the distally produced Sunday school booklet and answering aloud in unison)*
> 3 SL: And what's the **date** of today?
> *(The class begins to mumble today's date)*
> 4 SL: Everybody. WHAT?
> 5 C: THE ELEVENTH
> 6 C: MARCH ELEVENTH
> *(SL now appearing satisfied with the students' responses about the date)*
> 7 SL: Larry, tell me one way you can show love for others?
> 8 L: Um:::
> *(appearing unsure)*
> 9 SL: Want me to skip you?
> *(Larry nods his head to indicate yes. SL points to another student, and students begin to answer at random.)*
> 10 C: Helping them out.
> 11 C: Being their friend.
> 12 SL: Emm::hmm::=a true friend. Today's lesson comes from the book of Thessalonians 3:12. Let's read our Golden Text.
> 13 C: The Lor::d made you to increase and abound in love one toward another.
> 14 *(Students reading aloud)*

This episode illustrates the ways Sister Larkins prepared the children to enter into discussion about showing love. Beyond this however, this episode also shows how Sister Larkins used the lesson to reinforce readiness skills for reading comprehension, to model appropriate modes of oral expression, and to encourage the children to draw on an everyday life experience to make learning meaningful. Sister Larkins prepared the children for the lesson by first guiding them through a survey of the material they will cover. Then through a brief question and answer sequence, the children identify the focal lesson of study (line 2), the date (lines 5 and 6), the theme (line 7), and the biblical reference from which the lesson stems (line 12). Sister Larkins also asks the children to cite examples of ways to "show love for others" (starting at line 7). Through this exchange, Larkins conveys the message that these themes are important. An added exposure for the children is that identifying themes, sorting information, and connecting ideas are all aspects of reading

comprehension (C. D. Lee 2006; Moss 1994) and as such, have practical application in other educational environments. Moreover, Sister Larkins's teaching approach reflects the Initiation-Response-Evaluation (I-R-E) interactional sequence, which is frequently used in schools (Cazden 2001; Wilkinson and Silliman 2000) and draws on elements of African American English that may promote literacy development for these students (Foster 2001).

The above interaction also exemplifies the kind of warrants that were typical in this context for certain verbal and nonverbal displays. For instance, when she says, "everybody" with increased volume and emphasis (line 4), Sister Larkins conveys the message that elevated volume is part of what constitutes the appropriate verbal display when participating in this kind of direct instruction. She also encourages the children to answer and read aloud in unison.

Beyond modeling and probing for the appropriate verbal display, encouraging students to connect lesson content to some personal experience was routinely salient in the Sunday school lesson. When Sister Larkins asks Larry to "tell me one way you can show love for others?" (line 7), she conveys the expectation that connecting the central ideas of the lesson to their own personal thoughts and experiences—real, imagined, or otherwise experienced—(lines 10 and 11) has noteworthy value. And children have the right to respond (and, in this case, it is the right to pass, line 9) according to their own needs and intents.

Still grounded in religious content, Sunday school lessons were at times palpably academic in focus. The following example illustrates this point. Sister Larkins and the children had just finished discussing the Thessalonians, a group of people who were persecuted because of their faith:

SL- Sister Larkins (teacher)
W- William (student)
J- Jerry (student)
1 Sister Larkins: Can anyone give me an example of when they were ***persecuted?***
2 William: Like Jesus?
3 SL: Uh:: criticized, mistreated=or being treated mean or-
4 W: I ***said*** being treated like Jesus
5 SL: Being treated like Jesus? =~Yes, he was. ~Jesus was definitely persecuted.
6 SL: You gone give me an example? =An example, of when you were persecuted, mistreated?
(Addressing William, who sits with his hands raised)
7 W: Well- I was mistreated um by::: *(pausing)*
8 SL: Because you believe in::: *(pausing)* ***Jesus?*** *(saying it with emphasis)*
9 W: There's this boy at school- Roger. He's always picking on me. Uh, one day he got on my nerves, and I socked him one. And then I said, don't ***criticize*** me ***any***more
10 SL: We're talking 'bout being criticized for Jesus's sake. For Jesus's sake.
11 W: One time when we were talking=And because I mentioned something he doesn't like-
12 SL: //Bout Jesus?~Did you mention something about ***Jesus?***
13 W: Something he didn't like about it. Because he pushed me and he said, you can't join my boys' group. And then I walked away, I was going to go back to hit him, but then I said, naw:::, maybe not.
14 SL: So what you're saying is Roger gave you a push. and he didn't want you to join whatever group he belong to? He didn't like what you was saying about Jesus Christ?
15 W: One thing-
16 SL: =You remember what it was? Was it about Jesus?
17 J: When did this happen
18 W: 'Bout a month ago (1) when you were ***born?***
(Addressing Jerry with a smirk)
19 SL: Okay. uh, turn around Jerry. Mind your business.=Turn around. Sit right Sweetheart.

In this excerpt Sister Larkins aims to teach the concept of persecution and being persecuted for one's faith or beliefs especially, because this was the experience of the Thessalonians. Using word-association strategy, she links the word *persecution* to other words with

similar meanings, like *criticized* and *mistreated* (line 3) to help the children grasp the definition. Drawing on occasions from his everyday school experience, one student, William, demonstrates his grasp of the concept and understanding of the lesson the class had just covered by using the words *mistreated* and *criticized* to frame a narrative about what appears to be two altercations with a schoolmate named Roger (lines 7, 9, 11, and 13). Using a variety of stylistic devices—including inflections, paraphrases, and repeated questions—Sister Larkins continually reiterates the focus of persecution as it is meant in this context (i.e., being persecuted for Jesus's sake) in each of her speaking turns (lines 10, 12, 14, and 16), while William carries on with his story about Roger.

There are perhaps several angles from which one could interpret this episode. On initial glance for example, it might appear that Sister Larkins and William are ill aligned in terms of intention and focus. Sister Larkins might appear to lose ground in making the point about being persecuted "for Jesus's sake"; and it might seem too, that William's narrative is way off cuff in relation to the lesson. Viewed another way however, and acknowledging the several ways she could have gone about it pedagogically, this exchange also shows how Sister Larkins held to her agenda of teaching the meaning of the word persecution while allowing William the opportunity to tell his story. Of key focus in this exchange is how Sister Larkins tries to narrow William's focus and does so without diminishing (or demoralizing) William's learner position.

For instance, when she asks students to give an example of when they were persecuted (line 1), Sister Larkins poses the question broadly, thus suggesting that students think about a time when they were personally persecuted. Interestingly, it is William, and not Sister Larkins, who links the word *persecution* to his own experience with persecution and back to the persecution that the Thessalonians experienced (line 2); and it is this connection that reflects William's understanding of both the vocabulary and the concept of the lesson. At line 3, Sister Larkins confirms the meaning of *persecution* by uttering, "criticized, mistreated or being treated mean" in response to William's query. At line 4, William reiterates (this time with emphasis), "I said being treated like Jesus," which establishes an implied focus of being persecuted for Jesus's sake. Sister Larkins and William reconnect at line 5 when she confirms, "Yes, he was. Jesus was definitely persecuted." Although, before she confirms that Jesus was persecuted, Sister Larkins also checks with William to make sure she understands his supposition. She clarifies for example, "Being treated like Jesus?" (line 5) and then returns to her initial request for "an example of when [the students] were persecuted" (line 6 and line 1).

Sister Larkins uses her next series of turns to try and steer William's tale to one about being persecuted "for Jesus's sake" specifically (lines 8, 10, 12, and 14). While relentless in her efforts to direct William to the anticipated response, Sister Larkins shares equal speaking turns with William; and in doing so, affords him space to tell his story. One could argue here that while Sister Larkins did not prevent William from rendering his narrative, she did try to avert his potential for going off subject. She continued to question William about Jesus specifically, providing him with a number of discursive cues (namely, repeated repetition and interjection) throughout the exchange to steer him back to the initial focus.

Sister Larkins did accomplish her goal of teaching the meaning of the word persecution—for which William's use of the synonym, mistreated, at line 7, is evidence; even though William does not reference Jesus after line 4. As a result of Jerry's interruption (line 17) however, William did not confirm the connection between his persecution and the persecution the Thessalonians experienced, but it is implied. He tells a story of what seems to be two separate altercations with Roger—the first, when "he got on my nerves and I socked him one" (line 9) and the second, the "one time when we were talking" (line 11)—that required him to reflect on the consequences of hitting Roger. It is also interesting how Sister Larkins seemed to frown more on Jerry's interruption of William than she did

on William's stray from the topic. In this way, Sister Larkins validated William's identity as a learner by allowing him to share the floor—a privilege many African American students (and African American male students in particular) rarely have in traditional classroom settings (Foster and Peele 1999; Polite and Davis 1999). Essentially, Sister Larkins redirects William's account without making light of his contribution to the lesson or dampening his spirit as a learner. This balance of control between teacher and student demonstrates the overall value adults have for the children and highlights the similar respect children have for the adults. Worth noting also is that William was one child whom Sunday school teachers described as having what it takes "to be a preacher someday" and, thus, as the comparison implies, a learner of great potential.

The Sunday school lesson exemplifies scholarship and the kinds of activities that provide children with direct and explicit instruction on religious, social, and academic subjects. As demonstrated in the two examples offered here, Sunday school teachers routinely drew on several pedagogical strategies common to traditional classroom settings—question and answer sequence, repetition, call and response, and narrative to name a few—to facilitate children's acquisition of religious knowledge. The patterns of communication in both episodes are consistent in that there is a clear and deliberate focus on the religious content, messages about appropriate verbal and nonverbal conduct, and a noticeable embrace of students' personal experiences in making the lesson material meaningful. In this way, scholarship not only provided the structure for children to acquire knowledge of religious and doctrinal material, it also extended their opportunity to master long-term knowledge and skill for later practical application.

Stewardship

Where the scholarship component emphasized direct and explicit instruction meant to shape the children's ways of thinking, stewardship emphasized practices intended to shape membership ways of acting. Stewardship varied across situations and thus encompassed all the activities in which children were engaged and received overt help from adults. Stewardship activities ranged from more pronounced and organized performances like singing in the youth choir or serving as an usher during the worship services, to more understated instances where adults worked with children individually to accomplish a variety of tasks. Because of this variation, stewardship afforded children opportunities to perform membership identity, in which identity as a member was realized through collective and individual involvement in membership activities. In other words, it is through the doing that children were ascribed identities as members and then in turn came to identify themselves as such. This is what Wenger refers to when he described identity as the "interplay of participation and reification" (1999:153). Hence, the children's involvement functioned to legitimize their positioning as members, solidify their status of belonging, and affirm their capacity to contribute to the community. To illustrate this link, I describe the Fourth Sunday March.

The Fourth Sunday March, which involved a parade and marked showcase of learning on every fourth Sunday of the month, represented one of the many occasions when adults set aside time to focus on the children as participating church members. Especially unique about the march is that it marked the one time of every month when all of the Sunday school classes, adults as well as children, assembled together to discuss lesson content. Three rules of order governed the march: (1) adults and children marched into the sanctuary; (2) groups sat in designated pew areas—young children in the front rows, juniors behind them, then the intermediates, and so on with the adults; and (3) representatives from each class delivered a public summary or reflective statement about the lessons studied during that month. Except for the beginner-primary class who spoke collectively

as a group (and was comprised of children ages two through eight), each Sunday school class of adults and children had one representative (sometimes two) speak on behalf of the group and highlight major themes from the past month's lessons. This part of the activity functioned as a culmination of reflections on these themes.

   The following illustrates how the Fourth Sunday March typically unfolded. In this episode, Reverend Geman Jr. (the presiding reverend and also Pastor's biological son) is standing at the podium in the pulpit singing the chorus of the song, "Battle Hymn of the Republic,"[11] initially without musical accompaniment until someone begins to play the piano:

   R- Reverend Geman Jr. (reverend)
   C- Congregation (comprised of children and adults)
   1 *R: Glo::ry= Glory=Hallelu:::jah::: Glo::ry=Glory=* **HALL***elu*:::jah. Glo::ry=Glory, Halle***LU***:::JAH- His:: truth is marching on:::*
   2 *(The beginner/primary class marches into the sanctuary first. They stand in the front two rows of the center aisle.)*
   3 R: Do I see arms swinging this morning?
   (The Sunday school classes continue to sing and march into the sanctuary.)
   4 R: Everybody, it's **SUNDAY school!**
   (The congregation sings louder and with more vivacity.)
   5 *C: Glo::ry=Glory= Hallelu:::jah. Glo::ry=Glory=Hallelu. :::jah, Glo::ry, Glory, Hallelu:::jah? His truth is marching on:::*
   6 R: **//AMEN. BEAUTIFUL.**
   7 *(The Sunday school class is standing in the pews.)*
   8 R: Let's sing What a friend we have in Jesus. **A**:::men?
   9 *(Standing in front of the microphone, Reverend Geman can be heard above the other people in the sanctuary. As he sings, he extends his right arm and swings it from side to side, harmonizing his movement with the tempo of the song. He smiles and chuckles as the marching, swinging, and singing continue among the Sunday school participants. At the end of the song, Reverend Geman lowers his voice.)*
   10 R: **A**men, *you may be seated. Okay, you're in the hands of our Assistant Superintendent.
   11 *(The assistant superintendent begins to ask each Sunday school class to give a "highlight" of their lesson.)*

The above passage shows Reverend Geman Jr. leading the Fourth Sunday March into the sanctuary. In doing so, he demonstrated specific verbal and nonverbal ways to participate in the activity—essentially with movement, "arms swinging," (line 3) and with a certain vivacity as illustrated in his proclamation, "Everybody, it's Sunday school!" (line 4). Reverend Geman Jr. not only tells the participants what behaviors to perform, he also models the appropriate ways to display them.

   This first part of the Fourth Sunday March is an illustration of how the reverend used gestural and verbal display to incite certain attitudes and emotions among the participants. This is marked by his use of the pronoun *everybody*, which conveys a general message of inclusion as well as one of obedience; and through his demonstration, the reverend modeled the nonverbal displays that should accompany the occasion. The second part of the march features the presentation segment, which is when participants had the opportunity to reflect orally on the lesson. On this day, presentations began with the beginner–primary group (ages 2–8):

   S- Student Member
   C- Congregation (adults and children)
   ST- Sunday School Teacher
   A- Adult Member
   1 *(Beginner–primary students gather at the front of the church and form a line facing the crowd)* Sunday school teacher: Okay, let's tell 'em, **what's the subject of our lesson?**
   2 S: God::will::help-us::
   3 ST: //God will help us. There was a very special man in our lesson this morning, and who was **he?**

4 S: **Nehemi**ah. *(Sounds like, Ne-uh-my)*
5 ST: Nehemiah. What was Nehemiah's job?
6 S: A prophet.
7 ST: He was a prophet. What does a prophet **do**?
8 S: Get a message from God.
9 *(Some say "message" some say "message from God")*
10 ST: He brings the message from God. Okay. Um, what did Nehemiah tell the people that they had to do?
11 S: Pray.
12 ST: Pray=Do we pray?
13 S: Yes.
14 ST: One of the things we do when we pray is we ask God to help us with our *what?*
15 S: Good ways.
16 ST: Which way is first? We ask him to help us with our *bad* ways first, so we can learn to use our
17 S: **GOOD** ways.
18 ST: Our *good* ways. Thank you.
19 Amen *(applause)*.

Following this presentation from the beginner-primary group, a representative from the junior group stood and said:

20 S: My thought comes from lesson 12. God will help us. Turn to the Lord in prayer when you are tempted to do wrong. He will help you say no.
21 C: Amen *(applause)*.

Following the presentation by the junior group, a representative from the adolescent group stood, saying:

22 S: What I got out of today's lesson is that no matter what kind of troubles you have in your life, as long as you put God first, he will help you through it.
23 C: Amen *(applause)*.

Following the youth groups' presentations, representatives from the adult Sunday school classes offered statements:

24 A: My thought comes from today's lesson, "The Courage to Continue." It's important when we are laboring for the Lord to put on our whole armor that we may be able to stand against the whiles of the enemy. And, we can continue to work with one hand, and have our sword in the other hand.
25 C: Amen *(applause)*.

Another adult spoke:

26 A: We must always pray. Whatever the attack. I don't care *how* little how *big*, we should *always* go to God in prayer first, and I guarantee you, we can come out all right.
27 C: Amen *(applause)*.

Other adults shared:

28 A: In the lesson on putting Christ first . . . the verse says, ~but seek first the kingdom of his righteousness and all things will come unto you. Well that's *true*, but we have a tendency of doing everything, *but* putting God first. We learn as Christians to put God first. And you won't have no trouble in our life 'cause He always take care of them. We must learn to follow his commandments because He have set the rules in the Bible. If you read 'em and stay in his Word, you can always know to put Christ first.
29 C: Amen *(applause)*.

The Fourth Sunday March represents one of the many opportunities children had to demonstrate knowledge individually and collectively with other members and in ways that were both meaningful and entertaining. Children clearly relied on the adults as well as each other to participate in the march. In this way, stewardship provided both children and adults with opportunities to act as social and linguistic resources for each other. In comparing the responses between children and adults, a noticeable difference is that as groups increase in age, the teacher is less central. This suggests that as children matriculate through membership training, they require less assistance in shaping and orally present-ing reflections on the lesson.

For instance, the teacher guided the beginner–primary-aged children through their delivery by asking a series of questions (again utilizing an I-R-E sequence) in ways that led the children's answers and organized a brief listing of the main lesson points. In this case, "Nehemiah" (line 4) was "a prophet" (line 6) who commanded people to "pray" (line 11).

The children's responses were choral in form. Through the direction of the Sunday school teachers and through watching the older children and the adults, children come to know the correct forms of participation in this context as they age. The teacher's use of inclusive pronouns like *our* and *we* (connoting all members, including children) reifies the identity of being member to children (lines 12, 14, 16 and 18). For instance, asking "Do we pray?" (line 12) reiterates the point that members pray and in turn suggests that as members, children also pray. The teacher uses the lesson as a platform to reiterate expectations for behavior by reminding children of their "good ways" (lines 17 and 18) and children are set on a path of knowing what "good" members (and good Christians) are expected to do.

Not only did the Fourth Sunday March present opportunities for children to showcase their learning, it also exemplified the verbal and nonverbal messages children received from more capable peers and adults about performing and thinking about membership appropriately. When children participated in ways that were appropriate for the activity, adults showed approval early on through applause and the use of familiar, formulaic expressions—"Amen!" and "Beautiful." In this fashion, children at FMBC come to exhibit self-assurance as well as the social and linguistic wherewithal to speak and perform in front of a large group. Incidentally, these are the kinds of skills and uninhibited showcasing that many schoolteachers find impressive about African American youth. Beyond modeling the basic conventions of public speaking, language and interaction in the march positioned children as being already equipped with the oratory talent and academic intellect they needed to knowledgeably reflect on content material. Question-and-answer sequences gave structure to the presentations, prompting children to note important points and providing contextual clues for what to include in their statements. Further, that the youngest group of children began the sequence is important because they were provided with opportunities to then hear reflections on the same kind of learning, in increasingly sophisticated ways, through presentations from the older children and adults. Still, all levels of thought and depth were equally valued and appreciated through the use of words like *Amen* and *beautiful.* Support like this situates the church space as a safe and supportive learning environment where African American children can perform in front of audiences and be celebrated for doing so.

While the nature of instruction in the Fourth Sunday March was still explicit, the focus in activities like it was on performance and a very public affirmation of learning. By viewing children as already equipped with this knowledge, adults positioned children as capable (and contributing) partners in the community. Here is where fellowship emerged as a central component in children's socialization to membership identity. I describe this component in the next section.

Fellowship

In fellowship, watching and listening to adults and participating alongside them in regular congregation-centered activities informed children's identities as full-fledged members, mature and developed enough to be with members, doing what members do. These activities included, but were not limited to participating in the morning service activities. Unlike scholarship and stewardship, which focused on specific content or ways of practice, the fellowship component operated more broadly, providing children with opportunities to engage independently in collective situations according to their own individual will and level of maturity. Therefore, no single event initiated fellowship—it was always happening by virtue of children and adults being together in the same space, participating together in the same ways and with the same rights and privileges. Evidenced by speaking, reading, and relating at the appropriate times, fellowship presented children with opportunities to act on knowledge without deliberate intervention from

adults. In this way, children were afforded the authority and acceptance to act cooperatively with adults as knowledgeable comembers and the trustworthiness to act in ways that reflected full membership capabilities. While children certainly learned from watching each other, they accomplished much of the work in fellowship by observing and emulating adults with little intervention or assistance from them. That children were extended these kinds of opportunities is key since African American students rarely have chances to work in positions of equal footing with adults in traditional school settings.

A major assumption undergirding the fellowship component is that children learn what they need to know and how to act by being among adults and emulating their behavior. In this way, children were positioned as having sufficient skill to not require help from adults at all points during membership development. Thus, instruction through fellowship was implicit rather than explicit, occurring through interaction and observation and with limited or no adult intervention. Yet by watching children when they participated as full members of the congregation, adults were able to assess children's proficiency in performance as well as the appropriate enactment of membership roles. Essentially, the ways in which adults organized their perceptions of children as incisively equipped and capable of doing well as members, informed a basic system of beliefs that children also desired to do well (and with the same conviction as adults). The activity that members called "Tithes and Offerings" illustrates this point.

The phrase, "Tithes and Offering" refers to a two-part activity. Paying tithes refers to giving a standard ten percent of one's income as a required biblical ordinance, and offerings means to contribute to the church's "good will" or missionary funds. Although children were not employed in the conventional sense, adults expected them to make (and want to make) financial contributions to the church because doing so, or perhaps simply recognizing the importance of these acts, was a quality of membership. Some children tithed ten percent (or some portion) of whatever monies they had on hand on a given Sunday and then put any remaining extra into the collection plate for the benevolent offering. While adults expected children to be successful tithers from the outset, to support them in this effort, adults provided the necessary resources to ensure a successful learning outcome. Consider the following example:

> It's Youth Sunday. Forty-four youth sit in the choir stand today. The children's choir has just finished performing, and it's time for the *Offering.* Pastor turns toward the children, who are seated in the pews located behind the pulpit, reaches into his pocket for spare change (i.e., coins), and asks, "Who don't have money?" As children eagerly raise their hands, signaling, "Me! Me! Me!" Pastor effortlessly roams throughout the choir stand, giving coins to each child who waits anxiously with extended palms. As he gives the children money, Pastor warns, "It better not go in the drink machine." The children wait anxiously to place their coins into the collection plate. Then Pastor turns to the men and says, "Got money?" The men laugh, as do other members in the congregation.

This episode illustrates how Pastor provided children with the resource (in this case, money) to participate successfully in the "Tithes and Offerings" activity as well as a specific guideline for the appropriate use of that resource: "It better not go in the drink machine," he said. Pastor regularly gave children loose change for "Tithes and Offerings." His query, "Who don't have money?" which he routinely asked on Youth Sundays, signaled the time for children to participate in the tithes and offerings activity. It is clear that the query serves the children and not the adults in this case because the men laugh when Pastor turns to them saying, "Got money?" Roaming among the children while jingling the coins in his pockets heightened children's anticipation for participating in the activity as evidenced by their stream of "me, me, me!" utterances. And although giving tithes and offerings is a regular occurrence, Pastor also reiterated how children were expected to use

the money. So while providing children with the resources they needed to be successful was important, of equal importance were the explicit directions (and the community's expectations) for how to use those resources.

Through the display of giving money, along with caveats for what to do with it, and at the designated time for the giving of tithes and offerings during the service, Pastor let the children know they were expected to tithe like all members. This suggests, too, that adults in turn assumed that when they had it to give, children would give (and want to give) to the offering voluntarily. Whether or not all children had any "extra" money to give or actually put the money they received from Pastor into the collection plate was not always clear; important to note about this activity though, is the membership responsibility attached to it.

Congregational activities like the giving of tithes and offerings affirmed children as having significant and valued responsibility in the church community. While adults provided children with the resources they needed, making the spiritually mature choice to participate in these kinds of activities was presented as each child's individual responsibility. The evidence suggests that as long as children were engaged in activities with other qualified members (which essentially, they were at all times), adults expected children would eventually do what good members do, in the same way, and for the same reasons (cf. Rogoff 1990). At work here is the plausible assumption that by allowing children to act out membership roles as comembers in a congregational situation, they would in turn act themselves into membership identity and membership ways of thinking and believing (cf. Cook and Flay 1978).

Discussion and Conclusion

In highlighting the situations and activities that framed children's participation in the context of Faith Missionary Baptist Church, I aimed to focus attention on the conditions that gave rise to membership identity in this context. I examined key activities in which children participated and tried to show how these activities functioned in authenticating children's positioning as capable and competent members of the church community. Some activities focused on explicit instruction; other activities focused on adults working with children in guided practice; and others centered on the congregation, where children and adults participated as comembers of equal footing. These activities, which materialized within three components of membership and as an interactive, interrelated base, revealed the educative intentions that framed children's interactions in this setting. In particular, scholarship, as shown in the Sunday school lesson, marked times when children received direct and explicit instruction on content. In contrast, stewardship as shown in the Fourth Sunday March example, provided children with opportunities to display and perform membership knowledge with scaffolded support from adults. And fellowship, as exemplified in "Tithes and Offerings," afforded children with opportunities to think and speak like members, act on desires and abilities that adults believed children were fully equipped with as part of the membership body, and in consequence, establish common identities with the membership community. In essence, by providing children with direct instruction in some activities, limited assistance in others, and meaningful opportunities to learn and work alongside them, adults positioned children as socially and linguistically competent members in the community. In short, this structure of activities provided children with a wide range of social and linguistic offerings.

This study therefore raises important questions about how African American children negotiate tensions raised by competing perceptions of what it means be a productive learner or authentic member of a given instructional community and most important, how to translate knowledge from one context to the next. It does so by examining children's

interactions in a key context of socialization within the African American community. Analysis of these activities revealed the nature of membership identity for children as a reflection of how adults viewed children's membership within this environment and the ways in which adults then situated children in communicative practices. In other words, what constituted membership training (and subsequently identity) for the children in this study stemmed from a basic ideological view of the children as fully capable and qualified contributors to the community. Moreover, socializing the children to membership involved a strategic and deliberate effort to provide children with multiple opportunities (and the supportive resources they needed) to practice and perform membership roles across a wide range of social and linguistic situations. Activities were purposefully structured to afford children clearly marked opportunities to take on membership roles with high expectations for success and where failure to succeed, at whatever the task, was not an option.

The interconnection of scholarship, stewardship, and fellowship nurtured the children's engagement in the instructional context and validated their capacity to achieve success and be central actors in this process. Irvine and Foster made a similar observation in their examination of the critical elements for academic achievement among African Americans educated in the Catholic school context. They argued that regardless of the specific curriculum or pedagogical approach, "African American children profit when curriculum is taught by individuals who are mission-oriented and believe that African Americans must (not simply can) learn and achieve" (1996:175). In other words, African American children do well academically when the individuals who teach them have genuine interest and investment in their outlooks. From this angle, the scholarship, stewardship, and fellowship components embodied a strategically focused structure of activities meant to deliberately cultivate positive experiences for children in exercising membership roles and responsibilities.

Moreover, to the extent that expectations for proficiency of development and skill were not met in the moment, adults often expressed the belief that children would eventually take up what was provided to them through church participation. As Sister Larkins explained:

> If they can get [these church-rooted] values and keep those values in their heart and live those values out . . . that's going to make all the difference in what kind of young person they are now and what kind of young person they're gonna be. 'Cause if you have Jesus in your heart and you let him use you . . . you know we've talked about the Holy Spirit living inside, if he does, you're not gonna get too far out there. And if you do, you're gonna come on back to Christ and back to the Holy Spirit. 'Cause if you really love Jesus and you wanna be a good person and apply his Word when you get out in the world, after say you're a teenager or you're 25 or whatever, and you get out a little bit far, something inside is gonna tell you- all this good stuff is gonna come back to you. I really believe that. I don't believe that nobody stays out there too long . . . I think if they get those good, standard, Christly, principles and godly principles that they're taught them, they'll use it now, and they'll use it when they get older.

Sister Larkins's words reflect a genuine investment in young people's long-term development and a fundamental belief that what all members learn in church is on the whole a good thing. Undergirding her statement about "getting values" and "keeping those values in the heart" is an element of belief that children can and do learn what they need to know to be good members, and beyond this, they will apply this knowledge deeply and act on it in lasting and meaningful ways.

The communicative practices described in this study call for holistic instruction in the education of African American children—one constituting a blended and balanced use of both explicit and implicit approaches as well as varied and consequential opportunities to demonstrate competence with full membership responsibility and authority to act in ways

that members do. This study suggests that traditional school settings stand to foster positive membership identity among African American learners when members of these contexts—

> Provide African American children with the space they need to feel connected and supported;
> Tell them the appropriate attitudes to have toward instruction and demonstrate what sensitivity and high regard towards learning look like across various contexts;
> Afford African American children both independent and collective opportunities to showcase learning;
> Provide them with multiple opportunities to engage in teaching and learning practices and afford them safe mental and psychological spaces to *act on* the knowledge they acquire;
> Afford African American children opportunities to participate in the full range of learning opportunities (not only direct instruction and guided practice, but also opportunities to participate as partners with adults and other children (i.e., comembers) in the learning community);
> Reassure them that they are contributing members of the whole teaching and learning community, not just their classroom; and
> View and treat African American children as qualified, capable, and valued members of the teaching and learning community.

Assuredly these recommendations would be of benefit to all children and those who are educationally underserved especially. That said, research has long demonstrated that African American children in particular have traditionally had limited opportunities to express competence as learners in the classroom context (Gilmore 1985; Lee 2005). Moreover, the cultural experiences of African American learners (such as those acquired through participation in the Black church context) are routinely marked as resource-deficient rather than resource-rich (Lee 2005).

As an institution, the Black church provides a central space for identity formation and as such, a viable educative site for ethnographic exploration and description of teaching and learning practices in the African American community. Thus, by offering a systematic analysis of language use and social interaction among adults and children within the Black church context, this work provides a much-needed view of the ways adults use language and varying styles of interaction with the children to nurture their sense of value and of belonging as well as their social and linguistic competence. This work also contributes to the broad range of information we need to understand the kinds of literacy practices that African American children engage in when participating in settings outside of school.

To suggest that all African American children have the same experiences is of course an unfounded overgeneralization and I do not intend to put forth such a claim. However, it is the case that many community-based contexts in which African American children participate (clubs, afterschool programs, etc.), offer the kinds of social and linguistic experiences that are common to the Black church (Peele-Eady et al. 2007). Also, many African American children are familiar with Black church scenes whether they regularly attend church or, although not churchgoers themselves, have Black churchgoers as primary social, cultural, and language models. Because such understandings connect to a larger discursive context and there is direct relation between knowledge and its location (Lave and Wenger 1991), the need to further consider the Black church, its historical significance in the African American community, and the ways it might influence the meanings that African American children ascribe to their identities as learners in traditional school settings, is of critical import. More exploration into children's participation in

the Black church context can reveal insight into the kinds of knowledge and expertise that African American children might bring to educational environments and consequently help reshape the ways we view and legitimize classroom participation for African American learners.

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Notes

1. Although it is AAA style to lowercase the descriptor *black,* I use the terms *African American* and *Black* interchangeably in this article to refer to people of African ancestry in the United States.

2. Irrespective of geographical location, what constitutes a community is both complex and difficult to define (Moje 2000). Recognizing this complexity, I acknowledge diversity among Black people and variation of their experiences. As such, I use the descriptor *African American community* broadly to reflect diverse yet shared historical, social, cultural, and linguistic experiences and traditions of African American people in the United States.

3. See Mitchell 1970 for a detailed description of Black preaching forms.

4. While contemporary debates among scholars differ in perspectives about the Black church, the institutional significance of the Black church has been well recognized in the literature (Frazier 1964; Lincoln and Mamiya 1996; Mays and Nicholson 1969; Nelsen et al. 1971). For the purpose of this discussion, I draw on Rubin and colleagues' 1994 operational definition of a Black church as one with a Black pastoral leadership and majority Black congregation. While the site for this study was a Black Baptist church, other churches and denominations will likely offer children different experiences.

5. See Appendix 1.

6. Pseudonyms replace the names of all people and places to preserve anonymity.

7. Elsewhere, I discuss the challenges of conducting this research as both a cultural insider to routine church practices and an outsider to this particular membership body. See Jones and colleagues (in press) and Peele-Eady (2005) for this discussion. Michele Foster (1994) also noted similar challenges in her methodological notes on two studies of African American teachers.

8. Saville-Troike (1989:26) characterizes the communicative context as the "communicative situation." In some places, I use context and situation interchangeably to represent this relationship.

9. I focus on those official activities in the Sunday school and morning worship service contexts. Although not dealt with here, many other activities contributed to the shaping of children's identities as members. Some of these activities required children to learn from each other as well as from adults.

10. This scripture comes from the book of St. Matthew, chapter 16, verse 18.

11. Written by Julia W. Howe 1861.

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Appendix 1

Transcript Conventions (adapted from Goodwin 1990)—
Increased volume of talk: **BOLD CAPITALS**
Low volume: Asterisk (*)
Sudden cut-off: Dash (-)
Elongation: Colons (:::)
Emphasis: bold italics
Intonation: a period indicates falling contour (.); a question mark indicates a rising
    contour (?)
Rapid speech: Tildes (~)
Silence: (Numbers in parentheses)
Latching: (=)
Overlap slashes: (//)
Researcher comments: (*Italics*)