

ARTICLE No.5

**PERFORMED ETHNOGRAPHY FOR REPRESENTING OTHER PEOPLE'S CHILDREN IN CRITICAL EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH**

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**Abstract**

This paper discusses both the possibilities and risks of working with 'performed ethnography' for disseminating critical research about the educational experiences of 'Other people's children' (Delpit 1995). While performed ethnography presents exciting possibilities for representing schooling dilemmas facing Other people's children, there is always a risk that playwrights, directors, readers and performers will create stereotypical characterizations that reproduce the practices of colonialism and racism the research means to challenge. Analysing an early performance of my first ethnographic play *Hong Kong, Canada* (Goldstein in press), I look at the ways the performance reproduced discriminatory representations and discourses of Other people and their dilemmas. I then describe the ways I have tried to work against such representations and discourses in subsequent work with the play. I conclude by arguing that ethnographic playwrights must work critically with directors, readers, performers, and spectators when they disseminate performed ethnographic research and by discussing three ways I have followed up performances and readings of *Hong Kong, Canada* with my pre-service teacher education students.

**Biography**

Tara Goldstein is an Associate Professor at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto where she works in both the preservice teacher education and graduate education programs. Her research interests include the education of immigrant adolescents, schooling in multilingual communities, playwriting as critical ethnography, and applied theatre research.

## PERFORMED ETHNOGRAPHY FOR REPRESENTING OTHER PEOPLE'S CHILDREN IN CRITICAL EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

### Introduction: Experimenting with performed ethnography

Five years ago, I began conducting a critical ethnographic study about the ways immigrant students from Hong Kong used both Cantonese and English in a Canadian high school where English was the language of instruction. The study revealed that while the use of Cantonese was associated with academic and social success, it also created a variety of dilemmas for teachers and students in the school (see note 1 below).

For the teachers at Northside Secondary School (a pseudonym) who worried about helping their students become more proficient in English, one set of dilemmas revolved around how to best encourage their students to speak and practice English. For many teachers, this dilemma meant engaging with the question of whether or not to implement an English-only policy in the classroom. Other dilemmas included deciding how, if at all, to modify teaching and assessment practices to accommodate the large number of students who did not use English as their primary language. For Cantonese-speaking students, dilemmas included deciding whether to speak English or Cantonese at school and whether or not to 'cross' (Rampton 1995) linguistic, cultural and racial boundaries when developing school friendships. For students who did not speak Cantonese, there were challenges around how to most productively negotiate linguistic, cultural and racial differences in group work and collaborative student projects. These linguistic and academic dilemmas were complex and required skillful negotiation. I believed that educators working in multilingual, multiracial schools could learn a lot from engaging with these dilemmas and began to think about different ways of writing up and disseminating the research findings for an audience of school teachers and administrators.

Disseminating research about the schooling dilemmas of what anti-racist educator Lisa Delpit (1995) has called 'Other people's children' is also a complex task that requires skillful negotiation. Contemporary educational ethnographers and researchers have inherited a legacy of racism and colonialism that makes our research suspect. For example, Indigenous researcher Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1997) writes that knowledge about Indigenous peoples has been collected, classified, and represented in various ways back to the West. In turn, this knowledge represented back, through the eyes of the West, to those who have been colonized. Edward Said (1994) has referred to this process as the creation of a Western discourse about the Other which is supported by institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles. The danger of this discourse is that it has created and perpetuated ideas about Other people that have been used to justify oppressive policies and practices that have 'intruded into every aspect' of their lives (Tuhiwai Smith 1999:3).

I am a White, Canadian-born critical ethnographer whose task was to write about the schooling dilemmas of immigrant adolescents from Hong Kong. In disseminating my critical ethnographic research, I needed to find a way of representing the experiences of Other people's children that did not lead to the reproduction of the practices of colonialism and racism I meant to challenge. As a critical educational ethnographer who is also a teacher educator, I also wanted my ethnographic findings and analyses to speak to schoolteachers and administrators rather than at them (Ellesworth 1994). Meaningful school change requires their participation (Glesne 1998) and I wanted to represent the subjects of my research in a way that not only facilitated their truths but also mattered to the people who were going to be asked to listen to and act upon these truths.

In thinking through these challenges of ethnographic representation, I engaged with the recent literary turn in postmodern anthropology (e.g., Behar 1993, 1995; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Marcus and Fischer 1986), and began to experiment with ethnographic playwriting and performed ethnography. The project of turning ethnographic data and texts into scripts and dramas that are read and performed before audiences has been taken up by a number of writers and researchers in the disciplines of sociology and anthropology and in the fields of performance studies, theatre studies and arts-based inquiry in education (Denzin 1997). My own ethnographic playwriting work has been informed by the work of playwrights Anna Deveare Smith (1993;1994); Eve Ensler (1998); Dorinne Kondo (1995); and Jim Mienzacowski (1994;1995a; 1995b;1996;1997). The name of my first ethnographic play is *Hong Kong, Canada* (Goldstein in press).

## Hong Kong, Canada

Set in Pierre Elliot Trudeau Secondary School in Toronto, Canada, *Hong Kong, Canada* tells the story of Wendy Chan, the assistant editor of the student newspaper as she struggles with the fallout of having published a controversial issue of the school paper. Wendy is a recent immigrant from Hong Kong in a school where more than one third of the student population speak Cantonese as their primary language. The other Hong Kong-born student who works on the newspaper is Sam, the advertising manager. Joshua Greenberg, the White Jewish editor of the newspaper, is Wendy's love interest. They have become very close even though Joshua knows his family would not approve if they knew he was dating a woman who was not Jewish.

At the beginning of the play, Joshua, Wendy and Sam face two challenges: they must reduce the newspaper's debt and get more students to read the paper. Joshua searches for a controversial issue to write up. He finds one after his friend Sarah complains about how Carol Shen and some of the other students from Hong Kong sang in Cantonese at the school's talent night:

*Sarah: Hey, were you at the Talent Night on Friday? I didn't see you there.*

*Joshua: No, I couldn't make it. My cousins from Montreal were in for the weekend and my mother wanted me home for dinner. How was it? I heard it was pretty good.*

*Sarah: Yeah. Some of it was good. Like, the teachers' band, 'P.E.T. School Boys', they were good. And the dance numbers by the Jazz Dance class were great. But, there were so many people who sang songs in Chinese and you couldn't understand a word of them. And all the people who do understand Chinese - most of our school - went crazy. Clapping, whistling. But, like, if you didn't understand any of the words, it was boring. It made me mad.*

*Joshua: What made you mad?*

*Sarah: All those songs in Chinese. This isn't Hong Kong. This is Canada. In Canada, people should sing in English. You know what I mean? And I'm not the only one who was mad. Some of the girls from Iran were mad too. Nobody performed in Persian. So how come so many people performed in Chinese?*

*Joshua: Getting excited Yeah, Sarah, I know what you mean. It's like all those Chinese signs in Chinese Shopping Malls. That topic came up on Jim Wolfe's program on CRAB. Should people be allowed to build Chinese shopping malls? Does it matter that people who don't speak or read Chinese can't find what they're looking for? Should people who are not Chinese be concerned?*

*Sarah: Exactly. Looking at her watch Well, I better get back to class.*

*Joshua: Really excited Sarah, why don't you write an article for the paper about this? Like, a piece for the 'In My Opinion' column.*

(Excerpt from scene 5)

When Wendy also agrees to contribute to a newspaper that creates controversy around the uses of languages other than English in school, she and Sam fight about the negative impact her writing might have on Cantonese-speakers at the school.

A few nights later, Wendy and Sam are laying-out the newspaper for publication (Joshua is not helping as he is attending a family Bat Mitzvah), Sam informs Wendy that he has sold ten ads to customers who want to advertise tutoring services in Chinese. Wendy is uncertain about publishing the Chinese ads, but finally decides to do so. When Joshua finds out about the publication of the ads he is very angry. He and Wendy fight about the choices each has made that evening - Joshua's choice not to invite Wendy to the Bat Mitzvah and Wendy's choice to publish the ads in Chinese. The publication of the Chinese ads provokes Sarah into starting a petition for an English-only policy at school. In response, the principal asks the English teacher Ms. Diamond to hold a school hearing on the issue. This provides the students with an opportunity to raise dilemmas of linguistic exclusion, assimilation, and discrimination. The hearing and the play ends with Ms.

Diamond telling the students that she will give the principal a report on the hearing so that they can make a decision about a school language policy. The conflict deliberately remains unresolved to facilitate discussion of the issues underlying the conflict among performers and spectators.

As will be discussed below, I found that *Hong Kong, Canada* presented a number of exciting possibilities for representing schooling dilemmas facing Other people's children. However, I also found that there was a risk that the cast and I could create stereotypical characterizations that worked against the critical intent of the production. In this paper, I outline the way this happened by reflecting upon an early performance of my play *Hong Kong, Canada*. I then describe the ways I have tried to work against the production of stereotypical representations and discriminatory discourses in subsequent work with the play. I conclude the article by arguing that ethnographic playwrights must work critically with directors, readers, performers, and spectators when they disseminate performed ethnographic research, and by discussing three ways I have followed up performances and readings of *Hong Kong, Canada* with my pre-service teacher education students.

### **The possibilities of performed ethnography**

As I have written elsewhere (Goldstein 2000), there are a number of reasons why ethnographic playwriting and performed ethnography has the potential to facilitate rather than appropriate the telling of Other people's truths. First, they provide opportunities to Other actors whom, in performing an ethnographic play, can enact and enlarge the identities of the characters that have been created by the ethnographic playwright. Asian- American anthropologist/playwright Dorinne Kondo has written, 'The live aspect of theater is critical. Live performance not only constitutes a site where our identities can be enacted, it also opens up entire realms of cultural possibility, enlarging our senses of ourselves' (1995:50). For the premiere production of *Hong Kong, Canada* at the University of Toronto (July 20 and July 22, 2000), director Tammy Chan and I cast three young Asian actors to play the roles of Wendy, Sam, and Carol. Jessica Wong (Wendy) and Bridget Mak (Carol) are Chinese-Canadian while John Kim (Sam) is Korean-Canadian. When asked why he auditioned for the role of Sam, John told me that when he read the script for the first time he realized that it involved 'acting with a message'. Such work felt rewarding to him as an actor and a Christian. John also said that he could personally relate to Sam's experience of being an immigrant who had experienced a lot of discrimination in his life. When asked what issue stood out for him when he first read the play, John said it was the stereotype that all Chinese people speak Chinese instead of English and that they are inconsiderate of people who don't speak Chinese: 'I know that they are not inconsiderate. They speak Cantonese because it's part of their culture. I go to a school with a lot of Chinese speakers and I hear some complaining from non-Chinese speakers. They crack jokes. They don't intend to be hostile, but the jokes are hurtful. They encourage desensitization'. In the play Sam talks back to the complaints and John said he admired his confidence: 'Sam stands up for what he believes in and this is important for me as I formulate my own identity.' John's own experience with the language issues raised in the play as well as his admiration of Sam's confidence brought an intensity and depth to his portrayal of the character that facilitated my representation of Sam's truths.

When ethnographers share data in the form of a play, the subjects of their research and Other people can view a performance of the ethnographic work and ratify or critique its analysis. In turn, ethnographers can keep re-writing and performing in response to Other people's responses. This provides their work with 'internal' (Lincoln 1997) or 'face' (Lather 1986) validity. Such validity also works towards the facilitation rather than the appropriation of Other people's truths. To illustrate, one important piece of advice that has come from readers and audiences was to make the character of Sarah (the character who begins the petition for an English-only language policy at school) more vulnerable so that she would not be represented as a self-interested, 'bitchy' Jew. Luba Danov, the young actor we cast for Sarah's role in the premiere production of the play, was chosen precisely for the vulnerability she brought to her reading. As a recent immigrant from Russia and Israel who had learned English as a second language, Luba, told me that she had a personal understanding of the language dilemmas students like Wendy, Carol and Sam faced. At school, she mostly hung out with other students from Russia and spoke Russian with them in the same way that Sam and Carol spoke Cantonese with their friends. However, she was also able to personally relate to Sarah's feelings and point of view because she knew what it was like to feel left out. She thought of herself as a 'loner' at school and told me that she found it hard to make friends. Able to identify with Sarah's feelings of exclusion, yet, also able to see the world from Wendy, Carol and Sam's point of view, Luba was able to play Sarah in a way that revealed the vulnerability of the young woman who had held Sarah's views in the research study.

Importantly, performed ethnography, like other forms of arts-based research, offers opportunities for both comment and speechlessness (Diamond and Mullen 1999). It allows ethnographers to include what was not said as well as what was said into their ethnographic texts. This was particularly important to disseminating my ethnographic work about schooling issues facing immigrant youth from

Hong Kong as the students needed to work through issues of silence as well as speech. (see note 2 below). To briefly illustrate how speechlessness was represented in *Hong Kong, Canada*, I deliberately wrote last scene so that Carol Shen did not speak at the school hearing. While Carol was not audible in the scene, she was present and the stage directions had her responding non-verbally to the points the other characters made. Carol's silence spoke on stage in a way it could not in a traditional ethnographic text.

Finally, performed ethnography has the power to reach large audiences and encourage public reflexive insight into the experiences of schooling in multilingual/multiracial communities. As ethnographic playwright Jim Mienackowski (1997) writes, when we are 'very lucky', the audiences and performers of performed ethnography leave the room or the auditorium 'changed in some way'. There have been times when my teacher education students have told me that performing or viewing *Hong Kong, Canada* has helped them question or re-think their own professional practices. In these moments, I know that the play has been 'persuasive' and has facilitated questioning of social reality (Lincoln 1993:36). To provide one brief illustration, I enclose the following reflection piece written by a pre-service teacher education student who played Joshua Greenberg in a rehearsed reading of the play.

*It is evident to me that Josh has never really thought about the use of language in school before, probably because he has never had to. Being White and male, one takes things for granted  
Josh has probably never had to worry about being able to understand the teacher or other kids at school. Also, he has probably never had to worry about fitting in with the other people in his community because of the language he speaks  
I used to feel a little defensive if someone brought up White privilege or all the advantages I have as a White male  
It just didn't make sense to me that in this day and age, we should make 'concessions' for other people based on the advantages that White males have  
I think these are the issues that Joshua is dealing with in the play and so I found it fairly easy to relate to him. Of course, I know better, now but Josh is the process of learning.*

The student playing Joshua talks about his character having the privilege of not having to worry about being able to understand the teacher or other kids at school. He also links the idea of linguistic privilege to White privilege, which was a notion we had discussed in our course (see McIntosh 1999/1988 for a sample of the some of the ideas we worked with). This tells me that the conflicts and characterizations in the play can provoke (at least some) students to hear and acknowledge linguistic privilege, especially if some work around privilege has already taken place. Many of my students, like Joshua and the student who wrote the piece above, are monolingual English speakers who are not aware of the linguistic privilege that they possess. The acknowledgement of this privilege is an indication that my work has, indeed, been provocative.

### **The risks of performed ethnography**

While performed ethnography holds exciting possibilities for critically representing the schooling dilemmas facing Other people's children, it also runs the risk of reproducing discriminatory representations and discourses both on and off stage. Not all the early performances of *Hong Kong, Canada* led to productive reflexive insight into the experiences of schooling in multilingual/multiracial communities. One early performance undertaken by a small group of pre-service teachers studying drama education worked against the critical intent of the play when the actors created a stereotypical representation of North American Jews. The drama students' assignment was to present several scenes of the play to the rest of their classmates and then lead a discussion of what might be learned from working with the play in the drama classroom. Because of limited time allotted to the presentation, the group had decided to choose to perform only four scenes from the play. They took turns directing and performing in each one of these scenes.

The four scenes the drama students chose to present were those that carried the most dramatic conflict between the White Jewish English-speaking students and the Hong Kongese Cantonese-speaking students. These were the scenes that the drama students felt were the most exciting to perform and direct. Before the students began to work with the script, I had offered to attend rehearsals in the role of an ethnographic advisor. I had also provided the students with the opportunity to consult with one of the Hong Kongese research assistants who had worked on the research project.

The research assistant, Tammy Chan, had completed an MA in Drama and had considerable acting and directing experience. She was also working on a performance of the play with another group of pre-service education students most of who were not studying drama education. The drama students decided that they preferred to work without any assistance from Chan or I and began working on the project on their own.

To heighten the conflict and excitement in the play, the drama students playing the role of Joshua Greenberg represented the character as confident and cocky. Conversely, the student in the other group, working under the direction of Tammy Chan, played Joshua as confused and uncertain. The impact of these two different interpretations on the audience was powerful. Many of the spectators watching Tammy Chan's performance talked about Joshua as a naïve young man whose own upbringing had not prepared him to understand the complexities of bilingual life in a multilingual school (which is the way I had imagined him as a playwright). In contrast, a number of the spectators watching the drama students' performance felt that the character of Joshua had been represented as self-serving and inconsiderate of others. They also felt that such a representation played into existing stereotypes about North American Jews and was anti-Semitic.

It was not only the drama students' performances of Joshua as confident and cocky that contributed to the audience's perception that the play was anti-Semitic. The fact that they had only chosen to perform the scenes in which there was conflict between the English-speaking Jewish characters and the Cantonese-speaking Hong Kongese characters was also important. A significant scene that the drama students chose not to perform was the following scene between Joshua and his Nana Naomi. In this scene, which takes place at the Bat-Mitzvah Joshua was attending on the night of the lay-out session, Nana Naomi presents a Jewish point of view that is different than the Jewish point of views that have already been presented by Joshua and Sarah.

*Nana: How's the newspaper work going? You were telling me something about a language controversy at your school?*

*Joshua: Excitedly Yes. The kids from Hong Kong? They usually speak Cantonese with each other. Not only outside school, Nana, inside school too. Even though lots of them know how to speak English. And lots of people who don't speak Cantonese feel left out. They don't understand what's going on. And they think that since we are living Canada, everyone should speak English.*

*Nana: Reminiscent You know, when I was growing up, Yiddish was Montreal's third language.*

*Joshua: Surprised Yiddish?*

*Nana: Yes, Yiddish. You'd hear it everywhere. There was even a daily Yiddish newspaper in Montreal. Yiddish Theatre, too. I remember we saw a Yiddish play at His Majesty's Theatre when I was a teenager. But in school, we'd always use English. We were embarrassed to use Yiddish. It was a language from the 'old country.' We didn't want the teachers to think we weren't real Canadians who couldn't speak English. Admiringly It's amazing to me that the students in your school are not embarrassed to speak Cantonese.*

*Joshua: Confused Nana, you admire people who speak Cantonese in an English school?*

*Nana: With conviction I think it's admirable not to be embarrassed about speaking your first language in school. You don't have to give up your own language to learn English. You know, I remember my mother telling me that in the 1920's, when her older cousins were going to school, the downtown Jews tried to get the government to create a tax-supported public Jewish school system. Do you know who fought them the most?*

*Joshua: The government who didn't want to spend the money?*

*Nana: No. By 1930, the Quebec government was actually prepared to give the community their separate school system.*

*Joshua: Wow. The non-Jews who didn't want a Jewish school system?*

*Nana: No. Not the non-Jews.*

Joshua: Then, who?

Nana: *The uptown Jews, the more established ones. One uptown Rabbi said that the Yiddishists, the people who wanted a separate school system, were 'the worst enemies of their country'. The uptown Jews thought that a Jewish school system would bring back old country ignorance and superstition. Yiddish and the old country embarrassed them and they didn't want to call attention to themselves. They were afraid of being persecuted for being different as they had been in the past. They wanted to fit in, to be thought of as real Canadians. But, tell me, Joshua, who decided real Canadians speak English? You know, if a separate Jewish school system had been developed, your father would have spoken and read Yiddish. You and your sister would have learned Yiddish. The language wouldn't have been lost.*

Lights fade

(Excerpt from scene 11).

What I learned from the drama students' work is that choices around characterization and decisions about which scenes to perform and which to omit when there are time constraints that preclude performing an entire critical ethnographic text can significantly challenge the critical intent of the text. What I have also learned is that performance choices that are driven by a desire to heighten rather than interrogate conflict may particularly work against critical intent. However, it is not only the choices made around characterization and what scenes to perform that may reproduce stereotypical, discriminatory and destructive ideas of Other people in performed ethnography. The words the playwright gives to her fictional, but ethnographically informed characters are also important.

Several months after the drama students' performance, a full production of *Hong Kong, Canada* premiered at the Robert Gill Theatre, University of Toronto. It was produced as part of the summer co-curricular teacher development program offered by the faculty of education at the university and, as mentioned earlier, was directed by Tammy Chan. For this performance we tried to cast actors who came from the same ethnic and racial backgrounds as the characters to provide opportunities for the actors to, in Dorinne Kondo's words, 'enlarge' the identities of the characters that I had created (Kondo 1995). While we were not successful in finding a Jewish Joshua or Sarah, we were successful in casting a Jewish Nana Naomi. When she began to work with the script, actor Candi Zell felt uncomfortable with some of the lines that I had written for Nana Naomi in scene 11. She felt that they contributed to an anti-Semitic portrayal of Jews. She asked if she could re-write the lines that made her uncomfortable and add some new ones. A comparison of the original lines and those that Candi Zell re-wrote follows. The re-written lines answer Joshua's question about who resisted giving the Montreal Jews their own separate school system in the 1920s.

### **Goldstein's original lines**

*The uptown Jews, the wealthy ones. One uptown Rabbi said that the Yiddishists, the people who wanted a separate school system, were 'the worst enemies of their country'. He thought that a Jewish school system would bring back old country ignorance and superstition. Yiddish and the old country embarrassed him and he didn't want to call attention to themselves. He wanted to fit in, to be thought of as a real Canadian. But, tell me, Joshua, who decided real Canadians speak English? The uptown Jews, the more established ones. One uptown Rabbi said that the Yiddishists, the people who wanted a separate school system, were 'the worst enemies of their country'. The uptown Jews thought that a Jewish school system would bring back old country ignorance and superstition. Yiddish and the old country embarrassed them and they didn't want to call attention to They were afraid of being persecuted for being different as they had been in the past. They wanted to fit in, to be thought of as real Canadians. But, tell me, Joshua, who decided real Canadians speak English?*

### **Zell's re-written lines**

Zell made several important changes in Nana Naomi's answer to Joshua. First, she changed the adjective describing the uptown Jews from 'wealthy' to 'more established'. Historically speaking, the Jews referred to in these lines were both wealthy and more established. However, the use of the words 'more established' resisted reproducing the stereotype that all Jews are wealthy and self-interested which was what was making Zell uncomfortable. Zell also attributed the idea that a Jewish school system would bring back old country ignorance and superstition to a number of people, not just the uptown rabbi. This gave the idea more power and characterized it as a discourse of the Jewish

establishment rather than just the thinking of one individual Jew. Finally, perhaps most importantly, Zell provided an explanation of why such a discourse might be popular among the more established Jews: 'They were afraid of being persecuted for being different as they had been in the past'. Such an explanation helped humanize the rabbi and uptown Jews and complicated the spectators' responses to their conservative views. All in all, Zell's changes made Nana Naomi's speech more nuanced. In doing so, she helped me work against the creation of stereotypical representations in my critical ethnographic text

### **Conclusion: Working against discriminatory representations and discourses**

In this reflection piece of my early work with *Hong Kong, Canada*, I have argued that choices around characterization and decisions about which scenes to perform and which to omit when performing critical ethnography can significantly challenge the critical intent of the text. I have also argued that performance choices that are driven by a desire to heighten rather than interrogate conflict may also work against critical intentions. Finally, I have argued the actual words given to ethnographically informed characters may reproduce stereotypical, discriminatory and destructive representations of Other people. When writing and producing their plays, critical ethnographic playwrights must work in collaboration with Other directors, writers and actors, like Tammy Chan and Candi Zell, to review their work for problematic representations of ethnographic characters. Being a member of a particular racial or ethnic group does not guarantee protection against the construction of such representations. My own White Jewish background and considerable involvement in the field of anti-racist education did not prevent me from writing words that, when performed on stage, contributed to the reproduction of anti-Semitism. Of course, no ethnographic text can ever be entirely free from discriminatory representations or interpretations. Writers, directors, actors, and spectators all live in a world that is still struggling to challenge legacies of colonialism, racism and other forms of discrimination. What critical ethnographic playwrights can do, however, is commit themselves to conscious, on-going critical review and reflection of their work. It is in the spirit of fulfilling this commitment, that I have written this paper.

Returning to a desire I mentioned at the beginning of this paper, the desire to have my ethnographic findings and analyses matter to teachers who work in multilingual and multiracial schools, I would like to conclude by discussing three ways I have followed up performances and readings of *Hong Kong, Canada* with my pre-service teacher education students. In doing so, I look at three possible roles for critical ethnographers in the post production phase of their performed research.

The first role is that of a discussion leader. Immediately after a performance of *Hong Kong, Canada* I like to hear about people's emotional responses to the play. Such responses provide me with information as to which lines, which monologues and which dialogues were particularly meaningful to the performers and audience. I have been able to begin important discussions about what it means to work with students who do not speak English as their primary language by asking my students the following questions: What provoked a strong emotional response for you? What made you angry? What made you sad? What made you feel bad? What was satisfying? What was not? What confirmed something you believed about students, teachers and/or schools? How did that feel? What challenged something you believed about students, teachers and/or schools? How did that feel?

Having asked my students to reflect upon which parts of the play were particularly powerful, I then ask them to list the issues and dilemmas that faced each of the characters in the emotionally provocative moments that have just been discussed. Taking up the role of an analyst, I lead the students in a discussion that compares the lists students have created. The discussion provides a rich analysis of the issues and dilemmas facing different students and teachers at multilingual schools like Pierre Elliot Trudeau.

A third way I follow-up a performance or reading of *Hong Kong, Canada* is by asking my students to write another ending to the play which, in its current form, concludes in an open-ended way. No solution to the dilemmas of implementing an English-only policy is provided for the audience. It is up to them to think about the ways principals, teachers and students might provide leadership around the difficult task of negotiating across linguistic difference. In asking my students to write another ending to the play, I take on the role of co-writer. When we read aloud or perform the students' endings one after another and discuss the similarities and differences between them, our work as co-writers allows us to imagine and write what 'could be' as well as 'what is' (Fine 1994). By asking my students to first write their way into what 'could be', it is my hope that they will also be able to find a way to teach their way



into what 'could be'.

While this follow-up work with *Hong Kong, Canada* has been productive, I know that there are many more ways to work with the play. My drama education colleagues who are experienced in the field of process drama tell me that there are many interesting ways to dramatically explore the issues of race and language raised in the play. I look forward to working with these colleagues and to building up a repertoire of dramatic pedagogies that can extend the critical learnings of my performed ethnographies.

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