

Teachers' Literate Habitus

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the
Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

by

Antoinette Louise Gennrich

February 2015

Copyright Notice

The copyright of this thesis vests in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, in accordance with the University's Intellectual Property Policy.

No portion of the text may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, including analogue and digital media, without prior written permission from the University. Extracts of or quotations from this thesis may, however, be made in terms of Sections 12 and 13 of the South African Copyright Act No.98 of 1978 (as amended), for non-commercial or educational purposes. Full acknowledgement must be made to the author and the University.

An electronic version of this thesis is available on the Library webpage (www.wits.ac.za/library) under "Research Resources".

For permission requests, please contact the University Legal Office or the University Research Office (www.wits.ac.za).

Teachers' Literate Habitus

Key Research Questions

1. What is the literate habitus of a group of teacher-students who are South African Foundation Phase teachers working in township and rural schools in their first year of a B.Ed. at Wits?
2. Does the way that the teacher-students *talk* about, *write* about and *do* literacy change over the course of their four years at Wits?
3. How does literate habitus connect to the teacher-students' espoused and observed literacy teaching practices?

Abstract

This case study explores the literate habitus of a group of 22 Foundation Phase (Grades 1-3) teachers from Limpopo Province. They were qualified, mature, practising teachers from rural areas in South Africa who left their homes, families and teaching posts to upgrade their qualifications by completing a four-year Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) degree at an urban university, the University of the Witwatersrand, in Johannesburg. This intervention was unique in that it removed practising teachers from familiar fields and placed them in others for an extended period of time.

In post-Apartheid South Africa there have been many teacher-training interventions which have attempted to improve classroom practice and learner performance in literacy. Despite this, South African learners continue to perform badly on national and international systemic evaluations. Classroom practice in many schools, particularly in rural areas, remains unchanged. The primary question that guides this study is that perhaps the literate habitus of teachers, which is ingrained, preconscious and embedded, produces dispositions and values that affect the way they experience, know, value and use literacy and that this is reproduced in their learners. This study attempts to understand the literate habitus of a particular group of teacher-students and to consider whether it was possible for this to shift or change over the four years of their studies. It examines how, if shifts in literate habitus did occur, what contributed to these and how these shifts affected the participants' professional teaching practices.

The case study was located within the understanding that literacy and literacy practices are always socially situated. Bourdieu's (1977; 1984; 1988; 1990; 1991) key concepts of habitus, capital and field were used to examine the literate habitus of the research participants. The assumption underpinning this study was that how the participants spoke and wrote about literacy and how they enacted literacy reflected their literate habitus. Using reflective journals, focus groups and reports from those who observed the participants teaching, it traced the teacher-students' journeys across four years to examine the effects on literate habitus of their being in new fields.

The study's findings confirmed the importance of fields in structuring habitus. The findings of this study suggested that a change in field was necessary for effecting a change in the literate habitus of the participants, because change denaturalised what had been accepted as a norm in literacy and literacy teaching. This change also revealed alternative ways of valuing and enacting literacy. The agency necessary to take the opportunities offered by new fields and thus to become aware of the possibilities inherent in new practices, was related to the participants' perception of the amount of symbolic capital they would accrue in the process. This perception was controlled by their habitus in a circular relationship.

This study argues that it was difficult to shift a deeply-entrenched literate habitus but that it was not impossible. The findings suggested that there were a number of

factors that enabled change in the participants' literate habitus. Firstly, it required attentiveness to the discontinuities between their embedded practices and new possibilities in the practices to which they were exposed in new fields. Meta-awareness enabled change and this was facilitated by reflection and the interrogation of both old and new literacy practices. Secondly, there needed to be a desire to change and this required time and opportunities for repeated enactments so that new ways of practicing literacy became embedded. The extent to which the participants recognised their own agency in opening up possibilities for change was essential. The findings of this study suggested that social capital was also important in bringing about change. The support from peers and the relationship with a mentor, such as a supervising teacher on teaching experience, played an essential role in bringing about change. This social capital came from how the participants were positioned in the field and this gave them the necessary power, agency and voice to transform their literate habitus.

The significance of this study is located in the implications it has for future teacher-training interventions. This study has shown that experienced literacy teachers navigate a complex journey in changing their literate habitus. The study also revealed that there is no easy route to helping teachers whose literate habitus is firmly-established to learn new professional and personal literacy practices. Recommendations for further research include examining the sustainability of the shifts in literate habitus that had been enabled by this four-year intervention.

Keywords: *Foundation Phase; teachers' literate habitus; field, capital, literacy practices; rural; teacher-education; teacher-change; embodiment; Bourdieu.*

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Applied English Language Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, in Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.

Name of candidate

Signature of candidate

____ day of _____ 20

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of
my parents:

Neville Geoffrey Weber

and

Diana Margaret Marsberg Weber

Publications and presentations emanating from this research

Gennrich, T., & Janks, H. (2013). Teachers' literate identities. In K. Hall, T. Cremin, B. Comber & L. Moll (Eds.), *International handbook of research on children's literacy, learning and culture* (pp.456-468). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Gennrich T., & Wilson, H. (2009). *Journeying across cultural and educational contexts: Preliminary reflections on Limpopo Teachers' experiences of an English in Education course*. Presentation at RASA Conference, Johannesburg.

Gennrich, T., & Janks, H. (2011). *Teachers' literate habitus*. Presentation at RASA Conference, Cape Town.

Gennrich, T. (2013). *What was the lesson? Rural teachers' literate habitus*. Presentation at RASA Conference, Johannesburg.

Acknowledgements

After a long journey, reaching one's destination brings feelings of fulfilment, respite and also gratitude to those who have helped along the way.

I wish to express my sincere appreciation and thanks to the following:

Professor Hilary Janks whose supervision, guidance, mentoring and support have made this study possible. She pushed and stretched me in ways that were often uncomfortable, but this experience would have been less enriching had she not done so.

Dr Marcelle Harran, my editor and friend who encouraged me throughout the journey and was there at the end to edit this document. There is no one I would trust more with this task.

I would also like to thank:

The University of the Witwatersrand School of Education for funding.

My colleagues for letting me bounce ideas off them; for supporting me; for encouraging me.

My friends for their prayers, inspiration, insights and interest. Special mention must be made of Dr Jacqui Dornbrack, whose thorough critique and warm encouragement were invaluable.

My family for their love, support, sacrifice and belief in me. Special mention must be made of my husband, Matt and my sons, Dominic and Luke, without whose encouragement this research would not have been possible.

My research participants for their willingness to share their journals and thoughts with me. I have learnt so much from them – what a privilege it has been to work with these teacher-students.

God, for the gifts of understanding and insight; for faithfully supplying all my needs.

Table of Contents

Copyright Notice	ii
Abstract	iv
Declaration	vi
Publications and presentations emanating from this research	viii
Acknowledgements	ix
Table of Contents	x
Abbreviations	xvii
Chapter One: Introduction	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Background to the study	1
1.3 Rationale and context	3
1.4 Literacy	4
1.5 A brief introduction to habitus, field and capital	5
1.6 Research questions	6
1.7 Defining literate habitus	6
1.8 The South African education context	7
1.8.1 Missionary education	8
1.8.2 Apartheid and Bantu Education	8
1.8.3 Teacher training during Apartheid	9
1.8.4 Teacher Quality	10
1.8.5 Curriculum change	11
1.8.6 Changing language policies	12
1.8.7 Literacy interventions	13
1.9 Limpopo Province	13
1.9.1 Social problems and the effects on schooling in Limpopo	15
1.10 Structure of the dissertation	16
Chapter Two: Theory and Literature Review	18
2.1 Introduction	18
2.2 Literacy	18
2.2.1 Learning literacy	18
2.2.2 The link between literacy practices and pedagogy	19
2.2.3 The Four Resources Model of Literacy	21
2.3 Pierre Bourdieu	22
2.4 Bourdieu's theory of practice	23

2.5 Habitus	24
2.5.1 Defining Habitus	24
2.5.2 How is habitus formed?	26
2.5.3 Embodied Habitus	27
2.5.4 Feelings and habitus	28
2.6 Fields	30
2.7 Capital	36
2.7.1 Symbolic capital	36
2.7.2 Economic capital	37
2.7.3 Cultural capital	37
2.7.4 Social capital	38
2.7.5 The relationship between capital and doxa	39
2.8 Summary: The relationship between habitus, capital and field	42
2.9 Can habitus change?	43
2.9.1 What enables change?	43
2.9.2 What constrains change?	47
2.9.3 Habitus and agency	50
2.10 Conclusion	53
Chapter Three: Methodology	55
3.1 Introduction	55
3.2 Research paradigm	55
3.3 Research site	56
3.4 Time frame	56
3.5 Ethics	56
3.6 Research design	57
3.6.1 Ethnographic elements of the study	57
3.6.2 Case study elements of the study	59
3.7 Selection of participants	60
3.8 Sampling	61
3.9 Data collection	61
3.9.1 Biographical questionnaires	62
3.9.2 Reflective journals	64
3.9.2.1 English Reflective journals (2009)	65
3.9.2.2 Teaching experience (TE)	67
3.9.2.2.1 The role of the supervising teacher on Teaching Experience TE	67

3.9.2.2.2 Reflective journals on TE (2009-2012)	69
3.9.2.2.3 Observation forms from TE	69
3.9.2.3 Library Science journals 2011	69
3.9.3 Focus groups	70
3.9.4 Research reports and exit discussions	72
3.10 Data analysis	73
3.11 The reflexive researcher	80
3.12 Trustworthiness	81
3.13 Conclusion	83
Chapter Four: Literate Habitus in Limpopo	84
4.1 Introduction	84
4.2 The structure of habitus	85
4.3 Social / Using	86
4.3.1 Homes with limited access to printed texts	86
4.3.2 Homes where reading is encouraged	88
4.4 Constraints / Using	91
4.4.1 Newspapers	92
4.4.2 Libraries	93
4.5 Agency/ Using	97
4.5.1 Improvisation in order to write	97
4.5.2 Improvisation in order to read	98
4.5.3 Multimodal texts	100
4.6.1 The chief and his kraal	101
4.6.2 Traditional schools	103
4.7 Constraints/Valuing	106
4.7.1 Lack of job opportunities	106
4.7.2 The importance of physical and domestic labour	109
4.8 Agency/ Valuing	110
4.8.1 The importance of storytelling	110
4.9 Social /Feeling	114
4.9.1 Reading is a burden	114
4.10 Constraints/ Feelings	115
4.10.1 Negative emotions	115
4.11 Agency/ Feeling	118
4.11.1 Positive emotions	118

4.11.2 Literacy heroes	120
4.11.3 Capital – mediating literacy for others	121
4.12 Social/Learning	123
4.12.1 Attitudes to ABET classes	123
4.13 Constraints/Learning	126
4.13.1 Learning English	126
4.13.2 Learning to read and write	128
4.14 Agency/ Learning	131
4.14.1 Linguistic capital	131
4.14.2 The value of learning literacy in home language	132
4.15 Conclusion	135
Chapter Five: Literate Habitus at Wits	137
5.1 Introduction	137
5.2 The theatre as a metaphor for ‘field’	137
5.2.1 A new field: <i>“It is a shame to know and experience the theatre at my age”</i>	139
5.2.2 Accepting or resisting: <i>“I have learned a lot about things I thought are impossible”</i>	140
5.2.3 Fear and other feelings: <i>“When I first enter the place I was so frightened”</i>	140
5.2.4 Relating the unfamiliar to the familiar: <i>“It’s the same as bioscope”</i>	142
5.2.5 Trying on the discourse: <i>“The theatre is a proscenium”</i>	142
5.2.6 Thinking in new ways: <i>“To my surprise it was a young lady and I appreciated that”</i>	143
5.2.7 Reflecting and anticipating: <i>“I hope to take my family one day”</i>	143
5.3 Shifting literate habitus: Personal and Academic literacy	144
5.3.1 The novelty of the field	144
5.3.1.1 Reflective writing: English journals	145
5.3.1.2 Doing new literacy practices generates new possibilities	149
5.3.2 Overcoming fear and other emotions	151
5.3.2.1 Digital literacy	151
5.3.3 English – a struggle for capital in new fields	154
5.3.3.1 Writing in journals to improve English	157
5.3.4 Academic literacy	159
5.3.4.1 Academic reading	159
5.3.4.2 Academic writing	160

5.3.5 Personal literacies	163
5.3.5.1 Reading	163
5.3.5.2 Writing	166
5.3.5.2.1 Shiluva	166
5.3.5.2.2 Elela	169
5.4 Reflective writing about the teaching of literacy	173
5.4.1 Shiluva: <i>“I don’t like writing”</i> (EI)	174
5.4.1.1 Structured writing	174
5.4.1.2 Trying on the discourse	176
5.4.1.3 Reflective ability and thinking in new way	177
5.4.1.4 Anticipating change	182
5.4.2 Motle: <i>“The lesson was good”</i>	183
5.4.2.1 Structured writing	184
5.4.2.2 Trying on the discourse	184
5.4.2.3 Reflective ability and thinking in a new way	185
5.4.2.4 Discipline, respect and responsibility	189
5.4.2.5 Resisting change	191
5.4.3 Elela: <i>“I saw what we are learning theoretically being practically done”</i> .	191
5.4.3.1 Structured writing	191
5.4.3.2 Trying on the discourse	195
5.4.3.3 Reflective ability and thinking in a new way	195
5.4.3.4 Agency and positioning	197
5.4.3.5 Overcoming fear and other emotions	199
5.5 Conclusion	203
Chapter Six: Two Analytic Narratives	205
6.1 Introduction	205
6.2 Kganya – <i>“For the sake of the innocent young lives, who are eager to learn, I will do my best”</i>	205
6.2.1 Developing personal literate habitus	207
6.2.2 Developing identity as a professional teacher of literacy	210
6.2.3 Going back to Limpopo on TE	213
6.2.4 The teaching of reading and writing	214
6.2.5 Relating to the supervising teacher	216
6.2.6 Relating to the learners	218
6.2.7 Going home	221

6.3 Ntsako – “ <i>My family were all teachers</i> ”	224
6.3.1 Developing personal literate habitus	225
6.3.2 Developing identity as a professional teacher of literacy	229
6.3.3 Going back to Limpopo on TE	230
6.3.4 Relating to the supervising teachers	231
6.3.4.1 A negative experience	231
6.3.4.2 Positive experiences	236
6.3.5 Relating to learners	238
6.3.6 Going home	240
6.4 Conclusion	242
Chapter Seven: Conclusion	245
7.1 Introduction	245
7.2 Drawing together the findings and answering questions	245
7.2.1 The first research question: Literate habitus of the participants	245
7.2.2 The second research question: Changing literate habitus	248
7.3 Suggestions for further research	250
7.4 Recommendations	252
7.4.1 Teacher training	252
7.4.2 Teacher mentors	252
7.4.3 Teacher reflection	252
7.4.4 Teacher-education interventions	253
7.5 Conclusion	253
APPENDIX A: THUMBNAILED OF THE PARTICIPANTS	255
APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT	280
APPENDIX C: BIOGRAPHICAL QUESTIONNAIRE	282
APPENDIX D: CONSENT TO USE TE OBSERVATION FORMS	283
APPENDIX E: CONSENT TO USE LIBRARY SCIENCE JOURNALS	284
APPENDIX F: MODULES OF THE ENGLISH COURSE	285
APPENDIX G: THREE INITIAL JOURNAL TOPICS	286
APPENDIX H: LIST OF PROMPTS FOR ENGLISH REFLECTIVE JOURNALS	287
APPENDIX I: TOPIC GUIDE FOR FOCUS GROUPS 2010	289
APPENDIX J: TE JOURNAL INSTRUCTIONS	290
APPENDIX K: QUESTIONS FOR EXIT INTERVIEW OR JOURNAL	291
APPENDIX L: EXAMPLAR OF SUMMARIES OF DATA	292

APPENDIX M: EXEMPLAR OF HABITUS TABLES	297
APPENDIX N: EXEMPLAR OF THE FOUR RESOURCES TABLES	304
APPENDIX O: MY BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR	306
Reference list	311

List of Figures and Tables

Figure 2.1: The socio-historical and geographical contexts.....	31
Figure 2.2: Relative influence of key socio-historical fields.....	32
Table 3.1: Codes for data sources.....	61
Table 3.2: Research participants.....	62
Table 3.3: Focus groups.....	71
Table 3.4: Analysis of data and appendices.....	73
Table 3.5: Habitus tables.....	77
Table 3.6: Blommaert's (2008a) analytic tools.....	78
Table 4.1: Framework for discussing literate habitus.....	85
Table 5.1: Number of entries and words in English Reflective journals.....	146
Table 5.2: Shiluva's and Elela's English Reflective journals.....	166
Table 5.3: Motle's TE journals.....	184
Table 5.4: Motle's assessment of lessons.....	187
Table 6.1: Word count of Ntsako's May 2010 TE journal entries.....	233
Table 6.2: Ntsako's cultural capital.....	234

Abbreviations

ABET	Adult Basic Education and Training
ACE	Advanced Certificate in Education
ANA	Annual National Assessments
B.Ed.	Bachelor of Education
CAPS	Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements
DBSA	Development Bank of South Africa
DET	Department of Education and Training
DoE	Department of Education
EFA	Education for All
FAL	First Additional Language
HOD	Head of Department
IAL	Indigenous African Languages
LIEP	Language in Education Policy
LOLT	Language of Learning and Teaching
NCS	National Curriculum Statement
NGO	Non-governmental Organisations
OBE	Outcomes Based Education
PIRLS	Progress in International Reading Literacy Study
RNCS	Revised National Curriculum Statement
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SGB	School Governing Body
TE	Teaching Experience
THRASS	Teaching, Handwriting, Reading and Spelling Skills
Wits	University of the Witwatersrand
WSoE	Wits School of Education

Chapter One: Introduction

“I had reached the end of what seemed like a long journey, but it was actually the very beginning of a much longer and more trying journey that would test me in ways that I could not then have imagined” (Mandela, 1994:56).

1.1 Introduction

This is a case study of a long-term intervention with qualified teachers, who I argue, could be seen as typical of many Foundation Phase (Grades 1-3, the first three years of schooling) teachers in rural and township schools in South Africa. The study describes and analyses the literate habitus of a group of qualified, mature practising teachers from rural areas in South Africa who left their homes, families and teaching posts in order to upgrade their qualifications by completing a four-year Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) degree at an urban university, the University of the Witwatersrand. This chapter begins with a brief description of the background to the research, the participants and the reasons for embarking on the research. It also defines literacy as it is used in this research and briefly introduces Bourdieu’s key “thinking tools” (Grenfell, 2008) habitus, capital and field. Focussing in particular on the notion of ‘field’ and how this has affected the acquisition of literacy capital, the chapter looks at the social, political and economic aspects of the geographic locations of South Africa, and, more specifically, Limpopo Province. These influences have structured the literate habitus of the participants and they are presented here with that in mind.

1.2 Background to the study

In February 2009, a group of 200 Foundation Phase teachers from Limpopo Province¹ in South Africa arrived at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) in Johannesburg. This was a diverse group made up of mostly women, between the ages of 25 and 45, with a sprinkling of male teachers. Some of them came from larger towns such as Polokwane, others hailed from villages in the remote rural areas of Limpopo Province. They were sent by their provincial government because they were regarded as being the best Foundation Phase teachers and deserving of a bursary to study for a four-year ²B.Ed. degree. They were given this bursary in an attempt to improve the teaching of literacy in the Foundation Phase in Limpopo (Rampedi, 2009, February 1). What made this intervention different from others

¹ Limpopo is the most northern province in South Africa and is discussed in more detail in Section 1.9.

² Some participants took four and a half years to complete their degree

which had taken place post-1994 was that it was long-term, removing teachers from Limpopo and its associated fields and placing them at Wits University thus exposing them to different fields.

These teachers came with experience and high hopes. They also each brought with them a literate habitus.

I was employed by the university specifically to teach a compulsory course, *English in Education*, to these teachers and this provided me with a unique opportunity to try and understand their literate habitus in relation to their espoused practices as teachers of literacy. This lecturing opportunity came at a time when I had been puzzling over the fact that numerous teacher training workshops and skills interventions in South Africa seemed to have had little or no effect on the levels of literacy in schools. Many pedagogical interventions with teachers had improved neither classroom practice nor learner performance (Taylor, Fleisch & Schindler, 2008). In discussion with colleagues, the question arose that perhaps the literate habitus of teachers, which is ingrained, preconscious and embedded, produces dispositions and values that affect the way the teachers experience, know, value and use literacy and this is reproduced in their learners ³ (Janks, 2010). This suggested a need to understand the literate habitus of individual teachers as well as what it would take to shift habitus in order to change professional practice.

This group of teachers was made up of many different individuals each of whom enacted, valued and taught literacy differently. There were similarities in the literate habitus⁴ of the participants but this was not a homogenous group. As a result, there were examples of heterogeneity as individual participants reflected interesting variations and ruptures that revealed diverse literate habitus and different ways of reacting to the four-year intervention.

The research participants came from particular communities which value and “do” literacy in particular ways and this contributed to each participant’s teaching practice make-up. Each teacher-student ⁵ had also taught in a specific school environment

³ ‘Learner’ in this thesis refers to a child at school.

⁴ I use the word “habitus” for both the singular and plural form in this thesis.

⁵ It has been difficult to know what to call these participants, as, at the time of the research, they were not pre-service teachers studying for a B.Ed. degree as they were qualified, experienced Foundation Phase teachers. I could not refer to them as in-service teachers, as they were not teaching at the time of their

where there are distinct beliefs about literacy and the teaching of literacy. These ways of valuing literacy and being literate are sometimes quite different to the ways literacy is valued and taught in other fields; and what is valued locally is often not easily transferable translocally (Blommaert, 2008a). Therefore, this research investigates the dispositions and practices that constitute these teacher-students as literate subjects recognising that literate habitus is only a *part* of the structure of an individual's habitus. It examines how this set of lasting and transposable dispositions to being literate affect perceptions of literacy in new social worlds encountered by the participants and whether or not this brings about new ways of becoming literate. It is not possible to understand each participant's habitus fully because it was so deeply-embedded and unconscious. Therefore, this study examines these teacher-students' *espoused* practices; their own understanding of the shifts in their literate identities and their practices as literacy teachers. It also considers these teacher-students' embodied sense of what literacy is, with the assumption that literate embodiment affects the way teachers teach literacy.

1.3 Rationale and context

Literacy standards have been a concern in South Africa for many years. On systemic standardised tests such as the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (Howie, Venter, Van Staden, Zimmerman, Long, Scherman & Archer, 2007; Howie, Van Staden, Tshele, Dowse & Zimmerman, 2012), South Africa had the lowest mean performance scores in comparison with 39 other participating countries (Howie, et al., 2012). As in many countries around the world, young South Africans need help in becoming literate in ways that will empower them sufficiently for the fields they will encounter in their futures. To realise this aim, society often relies on teachers to make a difference. As a result of the criticism of literacy levels in South Africa schools tend to focus on "fixing" the problem and, in particular, on "fixing" (Green, Parker, Deacon & Hall, 1994) problematic teachers. This research attempts to go beyond this simplistic notion and rather contribute to an understanding of how and why many teachers seem to be struggling to teach literacy effectively.

studies. I settled on teacher-students which, I believe, reflects both identities, while foregrounding their identities as teachers. Reed (2010) uses the terms "learner-teachers" and "teacher-learners" in her study to distinguish between pre-service teachers and teachers who participate in interventions, upgrading their qualifications. However, I chose to use "students" as "learners" in this study, refers to children at school.

1.4 Literacy

Literacy is seen as being important for social, cultural and economic reasons. The Education for All (EFA) Global Monitoring Report, for example, claims that without literacy, people are “handicapped for life” (2005:30). Literacy is linked with many positive attributes such as self-esteem, empowerment, knowledge and self-reliance. In contrast, illiteracy is associated with unemployment and poverty. It is true that literacy is the basis of education and without it, one cannot begin to cope with other school subjects. However, there are those who express reservations about the claims made for school literacy, arguing that there is no guaranteed causal link between schooled literacy education and economic and social success (Carrington & Luke, 1997; Collins & Blott, 2003; Graff, 1978; 1987; Prinsloo & Breier, 1996).

This study is located within a socio-cultural view of literacy, recognising that literacy is more than a set of discrete skills, what Street calls the “autonomous model” (1984). Literacy is also a set of social practices, constructed by the context in which it is used, the “ideological model” (Street, 1984). There is also more than one way of being literate (Gee, 1996; Prinsloo & Breier, 1996; Street, 1984; 1996). Literacy includes the values, attitudes and social relationships underpinning particular literacy events. Heath (1983:50) defines a literacy event as “any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of the participants’ interactions and their interpretive processes.” This definition is important as it enabled me to focus on observable events (I have included both reading and writing) in the teacher-students’ discussions about their literacy.

Teaching literacy should be more than the teaching of discrete skills. It should focus on the development of critical, analytic skills as well as understanding what texts are for and how they function, particularly, in relation to social contexts. It requires that people are able to bring their own meanings to texts and to link written texts with speaking and listening. This is what Freebody and Luke (1990; 2003) refer to as the *Four Resources Model*. This model is important in this study as an analytical tool for examining how the espoused literacy practices of the research participants relate to each of these roles.

It is the social construction of the participants as “literate persons” in relation to changing fields and their participation in many different discourses of those fields

that is examined in this study. In order to fully understand this, Bourdieu's notions of *habitus*, *field* and *symbolic capital* are key. Therefore, I now briefly introduce these concepts and discuss how they have been used in this study.

1.5 A brief introduction to habitus, field and capital

Individuals are each made up of a set of dispositions which Bourdieu (1977; 1984; 1990; 1991; 1994; 2000; 2004; 2007) calls *habitus*. This habitus encapsulates individuals' ways of acting, feeling, thinking, being and believing (Gee, 1990). This is key to my study as the participants brought with them "embodied" ways of being in the world. This habitus encapsulates how they carry within them their personal histories which impact the circumstances in which they find themselves (Maton, 2008).

As well as considering the ingrained habitus, we need to consider *where* the habitus was formed, which introduces the notion of 'field'. I argue in this thesis, that literate habitus is linked to *place* as different environments affect how literacy is enacted and valued in a variety of ways. Some environments are filled with printed texts that need to be made sense of in day-to-day situations; in other environments, printed texts are less dominant and other types of literacy are needed to succeed. In some communities, members value literacy highly, while in others, less so. In some communities, it is difficult to gain economic or educational advantage without literacy; in others, employment opportunities depend more on physical strength and ability. Various fields are made up of different *domains*, or distinctive spaces, which have particular types of literacy practices and which "can be identified with a way of being, and in many cases, as a set of cultural beliefs, or a world view" (Pahl & Rowsell, 2005:13). The teacher-students in this study grew up in and worked in the rural areas of Limpopo, and it is the effect of this context which is important to consider.

The *field* is an enriched construction of context and includes the political, social, economic, physical and geographic. A key argument in this thesis is that field is essential to understanding literate habitus as fields contribute to and condition individual habitus. It is the connection between field and habitus which is significant in this study as it is the field that produces agents who in turn reproduce the field (Uhlmann, 2008). For Bourdieu, fields are dynamic social arenas where agents negotiate their activities and positions according to how they perceive their roles in

the objective reality of a particular field (Prosise, Miller & Mills, 1996 in Albright, 2008). This negotiation is a competition for symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1977). Because different fields influence people differently, individuals will find that the ways they enact literacy; how they value literacy and how they position themselves in relation to literacy may be accepted or rejected in *other* fields. This is an important consideration in this study because the contexts in which the participants grew up and the communities in which they find themselves working, are fields which have structured their literate habitus and these might not have prepared the participants for the fields in which they might find themselves enacting their literate habitus in the future.

Is it possible that literate habitus can shift? What does it take to change literate habitus? As teachers of literacy, does the habitus one has enable one to make available the necessary capital (Bourdieu, 1986; 1991) to function successfully in different fields? These are questions that this study raises and attempts to address.

1.6 Research questions

This research attempts to answer the following questions:

1. What is the literate habitus of a group of teacher-students who are South African Foundation Phase teachers working in township and rural schools in their first year of a B.Ed. at Wits?
2. Does the way that the teacher-students *talk* about, *write* about and *do* literacy change over the course of their four years at Wits?
3. How does literate habitus connect to the teacher-students' espoused and observed literacy teaching practices?

1.7 Defining literate habitus

Literate habitus is the focus of this study, and so it is necessary to clarify the concept as it used in this research. Bourdieu's concept of habitus is used to understand the dispositions the research participants have to literacy. However, Bourdieu does not write about literacy in particular. I am adapting his writing about habitus and applying it, as others have done (Albright & Luke, 2008; Collins & Blot, 2003; Handsfield, 2006; Janks, 2010) to discussing literacy in particular.

I work with the assumption that literate habitus can be inferred from the things one does with literacy, how one feels and how one thinks about literacy. It can be seen and heard in the words one writes, speaks or reads. Sometimes how one enacts literacy and how one values literacy affords one capital. At other times though, the literacy capital one has may be viewed as inadequate in the fields one finds oneself in, depending on the dominant view of literacy held in that particular field. Bringing one's literate habitus into new fields can result in tension and it is this tension that leads to adaptation, innovation or rebellion (Burawoy, 2010).

When one considers the New Literacy Studies (NLS) theorists' claims for multiple literacies (Gee, 1996; Heath, 1983; Prinsloo & Breier, 1996; Street, 1984; 1996) through a Bourdieusian gaze, issues are raised that are important in this research. Dominant forms of literacy are often given distinction (Bourdieu, 1984) based on the dominant group's way of valuing literacy. Thus, literacy is not neutral, it is linked to power and one needs to question how dominant forms of literacy become powerful (Baynham & Prinsloo, 2001; Cope & Kalantzis, 1993; Janks, 2010; Street, 1996). Power, for Bourdieu, is culturally and symbolically created, recognised and reproduced through the interaction between agency and structure (Bourdieu, 1977). One lacks agency if one does not have access to dominant literacy practices that are valued by the way the field one operates in is structured. The constraints of the field may structure one's literate habitus so that one remains disempowered and voiceless.

Since I am arguing that field is critical to understanding habitus, it is logical to present the fields from which the teacher-students came. I start by discussing the macro-field of education in South Africa focusing on the historical influences which have affected the fields of schooling, teacher-training and curricula. I then move on to discuss the more specific field of Limpopo and the social and economic conditions in that field, which affect how literacy is practiced and valued.

1.8 The South African education context

Education is a field that has long been linked to race, language and social class in South Africa (Christie, 1991). It has been a "site of struggles in which individuals seek to maintain or alter the distribution of the forms of capital specific to it" (Thompson, 1991:14). Education has been used to control, constrain and conserve

the acquisition of various forms of cultural capital in South Africa. As literacy is socially situated, it is part of the social, cultural and political contexts in which it is practised (Street, 1984; 1996), and, in South Africa, it has been affected by a long history of imposed missionary and Apartheid schooling.

1.8.1 Missionary education

Missionaries were the first to systematically provide education for black people⁶ in South Africa (Bloch, 2009). The effects of missionary schooling in South Africa are still felt today in a number of ways. There are three aspects of this influence which are important for this study. Missionaries were the first to write down the Indigenous African languages (IALs⁷), mistaking *dialects* for *different* languages (Hartshorne, 1992; Makalela, 2009) and imposing a written, “legitimate language” (Bourdieu, 1991:45). The missionaries were motivated to committing the IALs to written form in order to produce religious texts, the bible and hymnbooks, which played an important role in converting black Africans to Christianity (Carnoy, Chisholm & Chilisa, 2012). A third important influence of the missionaries in the light of this study is the divisions created in communities between those who embraced Christianity and Western schooling and those who rejected it (Motala & Pampallis, 2005; Warde, 2004).

Missionary education became recognised as a threat by the Apartheid government (1948-1994) who sought to control access to education and the acquisition of capital that came with it (Von Holdt, 2012). The Bantu Education Act in 1953 (Hartshorne, 1992), which was implemented from 1955, was an explicit attempt to limit the acquisition of social power and social mobility for blacks in South Africa (Gains, 2010; Hartshorne, 1992).

1.8.2 Apartheid and Bantu Education

The participants in this study are products of the Bantu Education system, having matriculated⁸ between 1984 and 1999. Separate schooling for the different racial groups had been ensured by the Bantu Education Act of 1953. The conditions in

⁶ The Apartheid system’s use of race as an instrument of categorisation to organise its policy of discrimination has resulted in difficulty in using racial terms in the current context. It is precisely this racial classification which has contributed to the habitus of the research participants. With this caution in mind, I refer to the participants as “black” South Africans.

⁷ The term “Indigenous African Languages (IALs) in this study, refers to local languages. In particular, Sepedi, Xitsonga and Tshivenda, which are spoken in Limpopo Province.

⁸ Matric is the final year of schooling (Grade 12) in South Africa.

black schools, particularly in rural areas, were often inadequate, for example, defective buildings, high pupil-teacher ratios and underqualified, demoralised and disillusioned teachers (Bloch, 2009; Hyslop, 1999). As the playing field in education was not level, there was little choice for black people, and Bantu Education made it almost impossible for them to compete for cultural capital with white people.

One of the ways in which Apartheid became entrenched was through an authoritarian approach to education. Learning was fact-based, non-interpretive and focused on indoctrination (Gardiner, 2008; Prinsloo, 2002). There was little space for individual “voice” and teaching practices relied on drilling and rote learning (Muller, 1989). Single correct answers, correct spelling and standard writing were important and the transmission mode of pedagogy was predominantly used (Chick, 1996; Muller, 1989; Prinsloo, 2002; Walker, 1989 in Hoadley, 2012). Authoritarian teachers, who were compliant and unquestioning servants of the State, imparted knowledge to their learners.

1.8.3 Teacher training during Apartheid

The oppressive Apartheid system had a direct influence on teachers and the teaching profession. Becoming a teacher was one of the few career choices available to black people at this time as it was relatively affordable and accessible. The research participants indicate that, for many of them, teaching was the only option for tertiary study. Black tertiary institutions were established in the homelands when entrance to white universities was restricted. There were 105 teacher training colleges in the former homeland areas⁹ (Sayed, 2002), 14 of which were situated in Limpopo (Rampedi, 2011). These were “little more than glorified high schools” (Gardiner, 2008:21). These colleges were racially and ethnically divided and varied in their course structure and in the quality of teacher preparation (Kwenda & Robinson, 2010). This was the teacher training that the participants in this study received. These colleges were closed in 2002 and merged with universities in an attempt to professionalise teachers. Currently, all teachers in South Africa study for a four-year degree.

⁹ In 1970, the Bantu Authorities Act was passed which allowed for the establishment of “independent homelands” over which the Apartheid government retained control. Limpopo Province, established after the end of Apartheid in 1994 is made up of three former homelands: Gazankulu, Lebowa and Venda.

Apartheid teacher training fostered a culture of compliance, passivity, limited responsibility and self-reliance (Morrow, 1989; De Clerq, 2013). So although teachers adopted an authoritarian stance in the classroom, they were trained to unquestioningly teach what the State sanctioned. Fundamental Pedagogics was the educational philosophy underpinning teacher training at this time and promoted “an authoritarian attitude towards the young and discouraged questioning or critical analysis” (Gardiner, 2008:21). The aim was to produce a docile, unquestioning black community while promoting the dominance of white rule (Von Holdt, 2012). This teacher education affected not only classroom pedagogy but produced teachers with specific embodied ways of teaching which is discussed in the next section.

1.8.4 Teacher Quality

The quality of teachers produced by Apartheid teacher training colleges is important to consider as the research participants studied in these colleges. Many teachers’ practices are deeply-embedded as behaviour becomes regulated by history and social context (Bourdieu, 1994). Although the “rules” that governed and constrained particular ways of being, thinking about and “doing” teaching during Apartheid have ended, teachers continue, like an “orchestra” without a “conductor” (Bourdieu, 1977:72) to teach in deeply-entrenched ways. This study examines the extent to which it is possible to change these ways of teaching and, if so what enables change.

Teaching quality is the most important determinant of successful student outcomes (Barber & Mourshed, 2009). Defining teacher “quality” is difficult, but Spaul (2013) sets out some criteria, for example, “A quality teacher is someone who possesses the following four attributes (in no particular order): some requisite level of professionalism (values); the inclination to teach (attitudes and desires); the ability to teach (knowledge, skills and pedagogy), and, therefore, the competence to teach (imparting and instilling the knowledge, skills and values pupils should be acquiring at school)” (p.24). This study examines how each of these aspects forms a part of these teacher-students’ literate habitus.

Post-Apartheid studies have found that in terms of professionalism and inclination to teach, there is a pervasive lack of accountability amongst teachers as many teachers work in conditions where there is inferior school governance (Mouton & Strydom,

2013). This leads to poor time management and high absenteeism (Bloch, 2009; Mouton, Louw & Strydom, 2013; Taylor, 2013).

In terms of knowledge and skills, teachers cannot teach what they do not know and value. Because of poor Apartheid-era teacher training and subsequent unproductive in-service teacher training initiatives, many teachers do not have sufficient knowledge in a number of areas (Spaull, 2013). Teachers, particularly in rural schools in South Africa, have problems with planning, control over the pace of lessons, content and pedagogic knowledge (Bloch, 2009; Mouton, et al, 2013; Taylor, 2013; Taylor & Moyane, 2004; Spaull, 2013). Not only do many teachers not have suitable qualifications but they are also not qualified to teach at the phase for which they are employed (Reeves, Heugh, Prinsloo, Macdonald, Netshitangani, Alidou, Diedericks & Herbst, 2008). Because there are Foundation Phase teachers who are not trained to teach at that phase, it means that there are some who do not have sufficient understanding of how to teach children to read and write (Long & Zimmerman, 2008).

Compounding these challenges has been the struggle to transform South African education from a racially-exclusive to a united system (Mouton, et al., 2013; Taylor, et al., 2008). This has resulted in conditions of flux, part of which has been a constantly changing curriculum.

1.8.5 Curriculum change

There have been three major curriculum shifts in the last twenty years in South Africa (DoE, 1998; 2002a; 2002b; 2011). While the specific curricula details are not discussed in this study, it is necessary to focus on the effects these changes have had on how teachers feel about teaching. The shifts in curricula entailed moving from a restricted, prescriptive curriculum to an Outcomes Based Curriculum. This curriculum has since been changed back to a tightly-prescriptive, text book based curriculum. These changes have left teachers feeling disoriented and confused (Bertram, 2008; Bloch, 2009; Hoadley, 2010; Taylor & Vinjevold, 1999). Outcomes Based Education (OBE) required teachers to move from the authoritarianism and rote learning practices which characterised Bantu Education to a more “learner-centred practice”. This was not easy for teachers (Hoadley, 2010). Their lack of understanding of what it meant to be a facilitator of learning and the challenges of

different means of assessment resulted in negativity and resistance from teachers to the new curricula (Conco, 2005; Mouton et al., 2013). The OBE curriculum was in place when the research participants came to study at Wits.

In addition to the curriculum changes, there were also changes to language policies which have had a direct bearing on classroom practices.

1.8.6 Changing language policies

To provide for the promotion of multilingualism, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) declared 11 South African languages as official. The Language in Education Policy (LIEP) (DoE, 1997) was designed to help learners acquire at least two official languages. It promoted the principle of additive bilingual education, advocating that learners become competent in one additional language while maintaining and developing their home language¹⁰. To do this, learners were to be taught in their home language for the first three years of school (Foundation Phase). When Curriculum 2005 was revised (DoE, 2002b), it was recommended that the First Additional Language (FAL) should be introduced at Grade 1 and be used alongside the home language for as long as possible. This was the policy in place when the research participants left Limpopo to come to Wits in 2009.

The reality in practice in most schools in South Africa, when the research participants were teaching in Limpopo, was that Home Language (Sepedi or Xitsonga) was the medium of instruction in Grades 1-3 and in Grade 4, there was a sudden transition to the FAL, usually English (Heugh, 1999; 2006). However, importantly for this study, Reeves et al. (2008) found that in Limpopo there were discrepancies in how the policy was being implemented, mainly because English is so seldom heard or used in many rural areas (p.xxi) and few teachers in rural Limpopo speak English fluently. Teachers also misunderstood the language policy so there was a delayed introduction to English as FAL in Grade 3 and as the Language of Learning and Teaching (LOLT) in Grade 4 in Limpopo (Reeves et al., 2008: xvi).

¹⁰ The term 'home language' will be used throughout this thesis to refer to the language the participants indicate is the primary language they speak and teach in, except where the participants themselves use the term 'mother tongue' or when it is used in the LIEP.

1.8.7 Literacy interventions

Having these major curriculum and language policy changes has meant that teachers had to be continually re-trained. Much time and money has been spent on this. For example, in 2009, the year the research participants came to Wits, the South African government invested 17 per cent of the total budget into education. The overall budget for 2013/14 for the Department of Basic Education was R17AF, 592 billion (South African Government, n.d.). However, teacher-training interventions were often fragmented and disappointing (Taylor, 2007), and even more so in rural areas. Some workshops, run by publishers, instead of focussing on teaching practice focused on promoting text books and materials with little transfer of new ideas into classroom practice (Gardiner, 2008). Besides government funded initiatives, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and donor organisations have worked on literacy interventions such as *Breakthrough to Literacy* programme run by the Molteno Project (Molteno Institute for Language and Literacy, n.d.) and the READ programme (READ Educational Trust, n.d.) which works with Foundation Phase teachers. These have been specifically identified, as these were interventions that some of the research participants discussed having participated in.

This section has focused on the highly-complex and oppressive history of education in South Africa and its impact on the learning and teaching of literacy. For this study, the education overview needs to be narrowed to focus on the micro-field of Limpopo Province, focusing specifically on the rural areas from which the research participants came. It is important to consider the social, historical and political aspects that contributed to the social worlds that the research participants inhabited within the geographical space of Limpopo Province.

1.9 Limpopo Province

The research participants come from various areas located in rural Limpopo, the fifth largest province in South Africa. There are contested understandings of the terms “urban” and “rural” generally (Gardiner, 2008), but even more so in the South African context. This is because of the Apartheid policy of claiming the urban (cities and towns) for whites and relegating the black population to townships on the edges of towns and cities or to so-called “homelands” based on tribal and ethnic divides. My research operates within the Social Constructivist perspective (Masinire, 2013) which understands that the practices, behaviours and meanings towards aspects such as

literacy in rural areas are influenced by social and cultural meanings inherent in those communities.

Just as definitions of “rural” are contested, cultural definitions are also contested and reflect the time and place in which they are situated (Kramsch, 1993). Within the Bourdieusian framework of this study, “culture” is viewed as multiple, structured and reproduced (Bourdieu, 1977). This research recognises that culture is not a static concept and that individuals view their cultures differently while engaging with cultural norms and values in a variety of ways. Culture is also connected to ideologies and so instead of imposing meanings from the outside, this research recognises the strengths and value in rural areas and the cultural perspectives represented there, while recognising the influence of the global and how it impacts on the rural. With this view in mind, I present some facts about Limpopo Province.

Limpopo Province has a population of approximately 5.4 million people (10.4 per cent of South Africa’s total population) with 90 per cent living in rural areas¹¹. The South African languages spoken there are Sepedi, spoken by 54.8 per cent of the population, Xitsonga, spoken by 22.4 per cent and Tshivenda¹², spoken by 15.9 per cent. There are also English and Afrikaans home language speakers in Limpopo. A high percentage of the Limpopo population is described as illiterate (49 per cent) with 17.3 per cent having had no formal education (Mabasa, 2002). The province also has one of the highest levels of poverty in South Africa with 78.9 per cent living below the national poverty line. The unemployment rate is 39.5 per cent with people often depending on social grants to survive (South African Institute of Race Relations, 2013) as 94 per cent of those living in Limpopo earn below R6400 per year (Statistics South Africa, 2011). As is clear from these statistics, there is much poverty in Limpopo, and this often leads to social problems.

Traditional leadership plays an important role in Limpopo as in other rural areas of South Africa. In terms of section 212 (2) (a) and 9 (b) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No.108 of 1996), the Limpopo Provincial Legislature passed legislation (Provincial Gazette number 10 of 1995) to provide for the establishment of the House of Traditional Leaders (Sefala, 2007). The

¹¹ These figures are from the South African census of 2011, the census taken during the participants’ time at Wits.

¹² None of the participants in this study are home language speakers of Tshivenda.

institutional capital of traditional leadership, has a long history in rural areas of Limpopo. Traditional leaders and their indunas or headmen play an important function in terms of customary law. They also contribute to social organisation and administration. Rural communities value these leaders for the functions they play in preserving cultural traditions, customs and values (Sefala, 2007). The following section outlines some of the social problems in Limpopo Province and the effect these have on literacy.

1.9.1 Social problems and the effects on schooling in Limpopo

The scale of poverty in Limpopo, as in other rural areas of South Africa, is enormous and pervasive. In homes where basic needs are not being met, finding money for school fees and uniforms is difficult (Motala & Pampallis, 2005; Fleisch, 2008). The government funds schooling in South Africa, and certain schools are declared “no fee schools” on criteria based on the economic level of the community around the school (Reeves et al., 2008). Despite this, there are schooling costs involved which make it difficult for parents to cope (Fleisch, 2008). For example, School Governing Bodies¹³ (SGBs) of public schools charge school fees and raise funds to supplement government funding.

In addition, many children do not get enough to eat and this affects not only their physical wellbeing but their ability to concentrate and to learn effectively (Bloch, 2009). A government funded National School Nutrition Programme caters for learners in the poorest 60 per cent of schools, supplying them with one free meal a day, but this is not reliably supplied in Limpopo (John, 2013, Dec 7).

There are currently 12.43 million learners in schools (South African Institute of Race Relations, 2013) in Limpopo but school conditions are problematic as there is a lack of access to adequate resources such as clean drinking water, electricity, flush toilets and sewerage disposal systems (*Education Roadmap*, 2008; Fleisch, 2008). In some areas of Limpopo, children are still being taught under trees in all weather conditions (Govender, 2012, May 27). Where there are classrooms, they are mostly over-crowded, ill-equipped and have poor or inappropriate classroom materials

¹³ School Governing Bodies are statutory bodies made up of elected representatives of parents, educators, non-teaching staff and learners (from Grade 8 upwards).

(Motala, Dieltenes, Carrim, Kgobe, Moyo & Rembe, 2007; Soudien, 2006). There are few schools with classroom or school libraries and computer centres (Hosken, 2012).

As limited material resources affect pedagogy, it is important to have print-rich classrooms and school environments to develop literacy in learners (Cambourne, 2000; Hoffman, Sailors, Duffy & Beretvas, 2004). However, learners in many rural areas of Limpopo are taught without textbooks as delivery of these to schools in the province is problematic (Tlhabi, 2012, May 20). Because of the lack of books, there is also limited reading of books and extended writing (Reeves et al., 2008). Reading is taught using choral reading aloud from the chalk board or from photocopied worksheets (Taylor & Moyane, 2004). Instruction takes the form of the teacher reading and the learners copying the teacher (Reeves et al., 2008; Fleisch, 2012; Hendricks, 2006). Teachers tend to focus on names of letters, decoding isolated words and sounds, and paying little attention to meaning making (MacDonald, 1990; Pretorius, 2002; Reeves et al., 2008).

There is also a high rate of absenteeism and drop-outs amongst Limpopo learners sometimes owing to a lack of parental and learner interest in education; the need to help with cultivation of crops and the care of livestock; care of siblings and housework (Rural Education Survey, 2003, in Motala & Pampallis, 2005). Learners and teachers also have to travel long distances to school (Motala & Pampallis, 2005).

This section has examined the social conditions in Limpopo Province and the impact these have had on literacy education. This is the context that the teacher-students worked in before coming to study at Wits University. In conditions like this, learners often have to be highly-motivated to become educated and teachers have to be highly-motivated to teach.

1.10 Structure of the dissertation

The first chapter has offered an introduction and orientation to the study. It described the background and context to this research and also defined the key terms and concepts used in this thesis. Bourdieu's theoretical concepts of habitus, field and capital were introduced. These are expanded on in Chapter Two.

In Chapter Three, I discuss the research paradigm within which this research is located; the methods chosen and the reasons for choosing these. I also discuss how the data was collected and analysed as well as describe the participants and research site.

Chapter Four examines the different literate habitus that each of the 22 participants brought with them from Limpopo Province. Thereafter, I provide a general overview of the influence of family, education and communities on how literacy is used, valued, felt about and learnt. I indicate similarities across the participants but also foreground individual differences.

Chapter Five examines how a move in geographic field, in this case moving from living and teaching in Limpopo to studying at Wits University, impacted on literate habitus. Using a visit to the theatre as a metaphor, I examine what conditions contributed to shifts in habitus and what brought about resistance to change. The focus of the chapter narrows with a closer examination of the reading and writing practices of three participants across four years at Wits.

Chapter Six presents two analytical narratives, namely, the literate habitus stories of Kganya and Ntsako, detailing their journeys across four years. I examine critical incidents described in their writing and speaking about literacy, in an attempt to understand if and how literate habitus can change.

Chapter Seven presents the conclusion to this study, drawing out the main findings of the research. In particular, I examine the implications for future teacher training interventions. I also provide suggestions for further enquiry arising from this study.

Chapter Two: Theory and Literature Review

“In the struggle, Robben Island was known as ‘the University’. This was not only because of what we learned from books... [but] because of what we learned from each other” (Mandela, 1994:454).

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss a number of significant bodies of work in relation to the major concepts which guide this research. Firstly, literacy is defined and discussed. The focus is primarily on the link between literacy practices and pedagogy. Then the chapter turns to discussing the choice of Bourdieu’s core concepts as a theoretical framework for this study. His theories are then related to specifically to literate habitus; the extent to which it can change and what conditions create possibilities for shifts in habitus.

2.2 Literacy

This study is located within a socio-cultural view of literacy and the work of the New Literacy Studies. This view distinguishes between literacy as an autonomous model and literacy as an ideological model (Street, 1984). A perspective on literacy that constructs it as a set of neutral, technical skills is typical of the autonomous model. The ideological perspective conceptualises literacy as including values, attitudes, social relationships and power (Street, 1984; 2001). This study operates within the understanding that literacy is culturally and contextually shaped and influenced. Literacy is not valued in the same way in different families, schools and communities and there are many different ways of being literate.

2.2.1 Learning literacy

Individuals, including teachers, are socialised into certain literacy practices. Primary Discourses are the foundational Discourses learnt, usually from families. Secondary Discourses are learnt through social institutions and one needs to be apprenticed into these by others who have already mastered them (Gee, 1989). Gee argues that “primary Discourses” and “secondary Discourses” socialise individuals into particular ways of “saying (writing)-doing-being-valuing-believing” (1990:142). Gee refers to this as *Discourse* with a capital ‘D’. He distinguishes this from *discourse* with a little ‘d’ which is used for “connected stretches of language that make sense, like

conversations, stories, reports, arguments, essays” (1990:142). The primary Discourse is the foundation of identity and new, secondary Discourses are layered onto this base. Janks (2010) argues that the hyphens in Gee’s definition of Discourse are important because they connect the elements, “To see literacy as a social practice is to recognise that speaking and writing cannot be separated from embodied action (doing), ways of thinking, understandings of truth (believing), and ethics (valuing)” (Janks, 2010:58). As there is an interconnectedness between how one uses literacy and one’s Discourse (Gee, 1990), literacy acts as an “identity kit” identifying individuals as members of particular “social network[s]” (Gee, 1998:53). The parallels between Gee’s *Discourses* and Bourdieu’s *habitus* have been pointed out by Albright (2008), Collins (1993), Curry (2008) and Janks (2010). What is of particular relevance for this study is Gee’s contention these “big-D Discourses” are not fixed and there exists the possibility of change (1996).

The ways in which literacy is practiced and valued is established and maintained through classroom practices. This study examines the extent to which one’s literacy history affects how one teaches literacy, and this link is often deeply-embedded in teaching practices.

2.2.2 The link between literacy practices and pedagogy

There is a link between how teachers teach literacy and their own, ingrained practices and beliefs about literacy (Gennrich & Janks, 2013). This relationship is important for this study as it examines teachers’ literate habitus and how this connects to their practices as teachers of literacy. In addition, some studies claim that it is difficult for teachers to give their learners what they themselves do not have as readers and writers (Applegate & Applegate, 2004). However, others argue that it is not impossible to develop pedagogic strategies to motivate and encourage learners to read and write in ways which one does not necessarily enjoy doing oneself (Brooks, 2007). It is how teachers *value* literacy that influences their *teaching* of literacy. It is the ability to *inspire* learners to read and write that is essential (Cremin, Bearne, Mottram & Goodwin, 2008). Another important factor in developing successful literacy teachers is to build up their meta-cognitive awareness of literacy practices (Bisplinghoff, 2002; Ciuffetelli-Parker, 2010).

There have been some studies in South Africa which have examined the link between teachers' experiences with literacy and the effect this has on their own teaching. Gains (2010) found that Grade 1 teachers' own experiences with literacy and conceptualisations of literacy affected their pedagogy. Those whose literacy had been limited by the conditions of the fields in which they grew up, found it difficult to see possibilities in the reading and writing of extended texts. My study builds on Gains' (2010) work to consider whether possibilities could be recognised when teachers move from environments in which they are comfortable into new ones. It also considers the conditions that are necessary to enable this.

Studies in Africa show that teachers do not read much beyond newspapers and religious texts or self-help texts (Babalola, 2002; Commeyras & Inyega, 2007; Commeyras & Mazile, 2009; Wilson, 2012). These studies suggest that there are teachers of literacy in schools in the rural and township areas of South Africa and Africa whose literacy practices are limited to the consumption and production of a small selection of text genres. As a result, teachers' efforts to transform their own, personal reading practices do not necessarily impact their teaching of reading practices (Wilson, 2012). They often do not seem to see the value in their out-of-school literacy practices as being useful in their classrooms.

Chapter One (Section 1.8) explores how Colonial and Apartheid education produced docile, unquestioning citizens. Prinsloo's (2002) analysis of matric examination papers and the language curricula in Natal from 1960-1994 reveals that learners from different language groups were positioned in diverse ways. The school curricula positioned isiZulu students as tribal subjects as opposed to English students, who were positioned as global subjects, and Afrikaans students who were constructed in relation to their national identity. Having been positioned as passive, obedient tribal subjects (Prinsloo, 2002), it can be assumed that critically interrogating texts would not be part of the usual literacy practices teachers brought to their classrooms. Teachers rather valued literacy for providing information, advice and encouragement (Commeyras & Mazile, 2009). If this is the teacher's literate habitus, it is likely that this would inform how literacy is taught.

In addition, passive acceptance of facts without critically examining them, rote learning, memorisation and teacher-focused knowledge transmission are all

strategies that characterised Bantu education. These learning strategies tend to lead to *surface* rather than *deep* learning (Biggs, 1999; Entwistle, 1988; Ramsden, 1992). Moving to an analytical examination of information, searching for an understanding of the meanings of texts, making links to existing ideas and cognitive structures requires a new way of thinking about and enacting literacy. Learning to write using different genres or progressing from writing about the familiar in a familiar form to writing about the unfamiliar using unfamiliar forms (Craig, 1996; 2001) is all part of learning the new rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1991) in the semiotic domains (Gee, 2002; 2008) usually encountered at university. The issues raised in these studies are important to consider in this research because it examines what the participants say about how their teaching of literacy. It also explores the development of their literate habitus across four years at Wits University and examines the impact this has had on the teaching of literacy.

The Four Resources Model (Freebody, 1992; Freebody & Luke, 1990; 2003; Luke & Freebody, 1999) emphasises the importance of integrating different ways of practising and teaching literacy. This model is used in this study to analyse what the participants say about the ways in which they enact literacy, were taught literacy and teach literacy themselves.

2.2.3 The Four Resources Model of Literacy

The Four Resources Model (Freebody, 1992; Freebody & Luke, 1990; 2003; Luke & Freebody, 1999) situates literacy as socially-constructed while integrating the cognitive aspects of being literate. The original model (Freebody & Luke, 1990) included the following four roles for readers: reader as code-breaker, reader as text-participant, reader as text-user and reader as text-analyst. The code-breaker role involves “cracking the code” with the emphasis on decoding and encoding. This requires an understanding of the relationship between letters, phonemes and sounds. Emphasis in using this role is placed on the importance of accurate spelling, grammar and punctuation. These skills are an essential starting point to literacy but this role needs to work hand-in-hand with other roles as focussing only on “autonomous skills” (Street, 1984) is limiting.

The text-participant role concentrates on inferring the meanings inherent in texts, or needed to produce texts. The ability to reflect and respond and make links to other

ideas and real life concerns and issues is part of this role, as is being able to make meaning in relation to one's own life and situation. Understanding the purposes of different text types (genres), both in the classroom and outside of the classroom is part of the text-user role. Teachers need to think about and help their learners to understand how different texts work and how the design of these texts differs according to purpose and audience. The text-analyst role moves learners into reading and writing using critical literacy practices. This role also involves understanding that texts are not neutral and examining the writers' positionings.

However, engaging in only one, or some of these approaches does not empower one to use texts effectively as each role should be part of a repertoire of capabilities (Freebody & Luke, 1990). The model has "taken on a life of its own" (Serafini, 2012:151) and a quick Google search reveals many versions. Luke and Freebody (1997; 1999) expanded the model to clarify that the four roles were not predetermined ways of reading into which literate subjects needed to fit. Rather, they emphasise that these roles should be viewed as "a set of resources or *social practices* that readers draw upon to make sense of their worlds" (Luke & Freebody, 1999:151). This relates to how different ways of reading (and writing) reflect literate habitus and emphasises a variety of ways of being literate, which should work simultaneously, to give embodied cultural capital across fields.

It is with these theories of literacy in mind that Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital and field were selected as a primary theoretical framework for this study. Bourdieu (1971; 1991) wrote about the relationship between pedagogy and linguistic habitus. I am adapting these arguments to discuss literate habitus. He claims that "all teaching practices implicitly furnish a model of the 'right' mode of intellectual activity" (Bourdieu, 1971:201). I argue that the ways in which literacy is assessed, practiced and valued in communities is established and maintained through classroom practices. It is the interplay between field, capital and habitus that is important in considering literate habitus.

2.3 Pierre Bourdieu

Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field and capital are compass points guiding this research journey. Although Bourdieu does not use 'habitus' in relation to literacy directly, he writes on areas which are relevant to this study, namely, language,

education and culture. His theories provide ways of thinking about how one's disposition to literacy; understanding of what it means to be literate and literacy practices are established from childhood. The application of Bourdieu's theories to literacy raises important questions about how attitudes to literacy and literacy practices are reproduced by teachers in others. Most importantly for this research, are the questions raised about the extent to which habitus could shift and the conditions that enable this.

Bourdieu was concerned about how systems of domination are imposed without individuals' awareness of this (Swartz, 1997). In bringing Bourdieu's concepts to bear on literacy, it is important not only to consider the "conventional triad" (Wacquant, 2014:8) of habitus, capital and field but also doxa, symbolic power and reflexivity "which can ...be derived from the more fundamental *duet of social space and symbolic power*" (Wacquant, 2014:8, italics in the original). The interconnectedness of these concepts and how they make up the "structure and conditions of the social contexts" (Grenfell, 2008:2), particularly the contexts in which literacy is practiced, is important for this study because it examines the effect of changing social contexts on habitus. Within the scope of this thesis, I have focused on my understanding of these Bourdieusian concepts as they related to this research and argue for their usefulness in helping us to understand some of the reasons South African teachers of literacy continue to teach in deeply-entrenched ways. Literacy practices and teaching practices are focused on throughout this study so it is essential to consider Bourdieu's work as a theory of practice.

2.4 Bourdieu's theory of practice

A general theory of practice informs Bourdieu's work (Thompson, 1991). Understanding that social life is more than the application of a set of rules (Bourdieu, 1977; 1990), Bourdieu states that all of his thinking began from the question, "how can behaviour be regulated without being the product of obedience to rules?" (1994:65 in Maton, 2008:50). Practices are often governed by regulatory influences in various fields and these produce a "logic of practice" which builds up embodied, internalised dispositions over time. These dispositions then engender further practices consistent with the logic of the field. There is always room for some strategising on the part of individuals but this is usually done to ensure maximum

capital gain, and so practices tend to conform to those of the group (Bourdieu, 1977; 1990).

In this study, *practice* is understood to be what the participants do with literacy and how they teach literacy. Recent developments in literacy studies have focused more explicitly on practice (Green, 2013). There have been three uses of literacy practice focused on in research, for example, “small-scale ‘micro practices’”; “literacy practice as what has been done with written texts,” and “any social practice which is textually mediated” (Ivanic, 2009:100 in Green, 2013:28). All three of these are examined, to some extent in this study, as they relate to a specific group of teachers’ literacy practices.

Habitus is an “organizing principle” (Bourdieu, 1977:18) of thoughts, perceptions and actions and practices (Bourdieu, 1977). Because habitus is an important guiding concept for this research journey, thoughts, perceptions, actions and practices in relation to *literacy* are examined in this study. Habitus can also be “revelatory and mystifying, instantly recognisable and difficult to define, straightforward and slippery” (Maton, 2008:49). With this challenge in mind, I explore the concept of habitus to clarify the concept as I have used it in this study.

2.5 Habitus

Bourdieu’s concept of habitus is fundamental to this study. He uses an Aristotelian term; originally *hexis* meaning “state” (Nash, 1999; Thompson, 1991; Wacquant, 2006), adapts it to his purposes, and develops the concept throughout his writings. In addition, habitus does not operate in isolation, it is intricately weaved with his other concepts, and, therefore, is challenging to compartmentalise for discussion.

2.5.1 Defining Habitus

Bourdieu defines habitus as “an infinite capacity for generating products - thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions” (1990:55). These products can be literacy practices which involve “values, attitudes, beliefs, feelings and social relationships” (Purcell-Gates, Jacobson & Degener, 2004: 32).

Habitus is structured by layers of dispositions (Bourdieu, 1977). An individual’s collection of dispositions often creates a bias towards behaving in certain ways which become “internalized as a second nature” (Bourdieu, 1990:56). These

dispositions also affect how an individual “perceives and appreciates” (Bourdieu, 1990:54) all experiences. Those who come from the same “material conditions of life” (Bourdieu, 1977:63) and who have been exposed to the same “pedagogic action” (Bourdieu, 1977:64) have a similar set of dispositions and interests which incline them to “recognise and pursue the same goods” (1977:64). I argue in this thesis that a disposition to literacy is part of the structure of habitus and that this results in a “tendency” or “inclination” (Bourdieu, 1977:214) to be literate in particular ways which is similar to those who come from a similar familial and educational backgrounds.

Habitus contributes to the values we have, the principles we live by and our practices in various domains. We learn habitus, but it is unconscious, even pre-conscious, and we do it so well that it appears instinctive. However, it can be recognised in our acting (the deeds we do), the feelings we have, our thoughts and ways of being (Gee, 1996; Maton, 2008) and by implication, in our acts of writing and reading (literacy) and our ways of teaching literacy.

This set of dispositions is “generative”, “durable” and “transposable” (Bourdieu, 1990:53). It is *generative* because it can produce many different practices and perceptions; it is *durable* because it is inclined to create ways of doing, perceiving, working and appreciating that sit comfortably with the habitus, what Bourdieu refers to as an “affinity of habitus” (2007:22). Habitus is *transposable* because these practices and perceptions tend to persist even when we find ourselves in fields, different to the original fields in which our habitus was structured (Thompson, 1991). Part of this set of dispositions is a disposition that teachers (and others) have towards literacy, affecting how they respond to situations or contexts linked to literacy (Carrington & Luke, 1997; Heller, 2008; Zacher, 2008).

Just as there is individual habitus which makes possible the sociological study of individuals, there is also gendered habitus, class habitus, ethnic habitus and other collective or institutional habitus (Moore, 2008; Wacquant, 2014). This is important for my study because it looks at a *group* of Foundation Phase teachers. This phase can be considered to be a field of practice that is enacted differently in different social spaces (fields). Different fields often reproduce a collective habitus. Social spaces have a collective habitus and it is the interactions, relations and experiences

that have happened within them which create habitus (Bourdieu, 2004)¹⁴. This is because everyone in a field is governed by principles of action which produce internal homogeneity as individuals develop an instinctive “feel for the game” (Bourdieu, 1990:66). Those in a field are linked by “*collusio* in the *illusio*” (Bourdieu, 2007:7) as individuals come to believe collectively in what game is worthwhile ‘investing’ and what constitutes the rules of that game (Bourdieu, 1990). Because habitus is “socially constituted” (1990:291), it subtly determines our practices ensuring they are correct, constant and reliable in relation to others in the field (Bourdieu, 1990). Our expectations and understandings of practices within the field are based on collective experiences as well as our individual habitus (Nash, 1999). Fields contribute to the formation of habitus in complex and intricate ways as is expanded on in the next section.

2.5.2 How is habitus formed?

Habitus is a “structured and structuring structure” (Bourdieu, 1994:170). It is *structured* in the way that past and present circumstances are brought together in an ordered rather than random way. It is *structuring* in that it helps to shape our present and future practices and it is a layered *structure* made up of a set of dispositions. Habitus results from choices we have made in life (embodied history) but it also affects the decisions we will make in the future. Our histories are brought into our present circumstances and we make decisions about how to act (our practice) based on this.

The habitus is multi-layered, as the deepest layer starts with early family life (Bourdieu, 1996; Burawoy, 2010) and continues to be structured by life experiences. Families, schools and universities are all institutions which function as fields. These fields form the habitus, often informally, and help to reproduce and maintain social order:

The family always tends to function as a *field*, with its physical, economic and, above all, symbolic power relations (linked, for example, to the volume and structure of the capital possessed by each member) [and] its struggles for conservation and transformation of these power relations (Bourdieu, 1996:22).

¹⁴ Field is discussed further in Section 2.6.

In this way, habitus reflects generational history and reproduces this in future generations. Families accumulate and manage capital to increase the advantage of their members (Bourdieu, 1996). This is how dominance and power are reproduced because what is considered capital in one field is not necessarily so in another and, for example, what is reproduced in working-class families may not provide necessary capital in another field, such as school or university.

Education is the next social process discussed that contributes a foundational layer to habitus. People have an individual habitus but those from similar educational backgrounds share a structure of habitus (Maton, 2008) instilled by education. As discussed in Chapter One (see Section 1.8.2), in South Africa Apartheid education was a political tool in the hands of the State that was used to withhold from the dominated, the type of education that would bring capital. This systematic control of education reproduced and protected the social order and even years after its demise, that deep-rooted habitus is difficult to transform. Education durably inculcates (Bourdieu, 1991) practices and perceptions of matters relating to language and literacy. For example, Bourdieu considers how disparities of what constitutes “legitimate language” (1991:58) are transmitted through education. Equally so, I argue, education instils distinct “legitimate” ways of being literate and enacting literacy which may result in the unequal distribution of capital.

In the light of this, it is necessary to consider how teachers and learners from communities where marginalised languages and literacy practices occur, are excluded from attaining the necessary capital to improve their life chances by what Lodge (1997) and Janks (2004) refer to as the access paradox. By giving more people access to dominant forms of language (and literacy), these forms continue to dominate as capital. On the other hand, denying access to dominant language (and literacy) practices results in marginalisation and exclusion (Janks, 2010). Because these practices are embodied, they are difficult to change.

2.5.3 Embodied Habitus

Habitus bestows capital to a greater or lesser degree and this embodied capital “appears innate” (Bourdieu, 1993:86 in Nash, 1999:179). The dispositions which structure habitus are so ingrained that they produce what Bourdieu terms, “bodily hexis” (1990:69) as bodies reflect habitus. Our postures, actions, gaze, holding of

texts and the instruments for creating and consuming texts as well as the use of our mouths for speaking are all unconsciously affected. Others can read our histories and dispositions through our bodies, as they are so instinctive. Habitus then becomes a state of being (Thompson, 1991) and produces literate dispositions which are embodied and unconscious (Bourdieu 1990).

The assumption underlying this research is that a deeply-inculcated literate habitus mediates the actions teachers have in relation to their own literacy practices and affects how they teach literacy. If, for example, teachers are primarily encoders and decoders and do not have an embodied sense of literacy for making meaning and giving voice and agency, they would probably teach literacy as discrete skills. On the other hand, if teachers see different possibilities in reading and writing and value literacy in a variety of ways, this would also impact their literacy teaching.

Bourdieu argues that it is possible to become aware of the “particularities” of our own habitus through the “gaze of others” (Bourdieu, 2007:89), usually those who are engaged in fields that are different to ours. Becoming conscious of the unconscious bodily hexis is necessary before one can shift it (Janks, 2010). Disrupting literate habitus is difficult but not impossible. By doing literacy in different ways, often and over a long period, an altered embodied literate habitus could be generated and could replace the automatic and recurrent ways of being literate (Gennrich & Janks, 2013; Janks, 2010). This is important for this research because it looks at the effect of a four-year long teacher education intervention on the embodied literate habitus of the research participants.

2.5.4 Feelings and habitus

It is important to consider the role of feelings in relation to literate habitus because how one feels about literacy tends to affect how one values and perceives literacy. In addition, often, how one practices literacy, is related to one’s feelings about literacy. Maton (2008:51) lists feelings along with practices, beliefs and perceptions as being a part of habitus. Habitus is permeable and responsive to what goes on around individuals (Reay, 2004), and that responsiveness can be manifested in feelings.

If habitus is socially-constructed, this implies that conforming to society’s expectations involves feelings. Bourdieu (1977) provides an example to illustrate the

role played by feelings. Describing the role of gift exchange in the Kabylia community, Bourdieu contends that any of the initial acts in the game might misfire (1977:5). For example, the timing of counter-gifting needs to be carefully calculated so as not to insult, or cause offence, neither to seem ungrateful nor to betray one's motives. This is all part of an individual's strategy to maximise social capital. People hide the reality of these calculations even from themselves (misrecognition). From this example, we see how feelings are involved, for example, "disdainful refusal" when one chooses not to respond within the "correct" time periods which would show a deferential attitude (Bourdieu, 1977:7). Choosing to behave in expected or unexpected ways, to conform or resist the rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1991) are often tied to feelings.

Feelings govern the reproduction of habitus in families. Families reaffirm or reinforce habitus, and over time and after many repetitions, the "rites of the institution" of family life become transformed into real feelings of "devotion, generosity and solidarity" (Bourdieu, 1996:22). Groups generally control and shape behaviour so that feelings which result in "fusion" counteract the "forces of *fission*" (Bourdieu, 1996:22).

Symbolic violence affects the acquisition of habitus (Bourdieu, 2000). As individuals grow up, it is the "search for recognition" (Bourdieu, 2000:166) which influences all adjustments to and investments in the rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1991). Individuals accept limits imposed on them in the game and this often "takes the form of *bodily emotion* (shame, timidity, anxiety, guilt)" (Bourdieu, 2000:169). In this way, social structures use symbolic violence to impose a sense of one's position or place in the field. These emotions are preconscious and the dispositions leading to these feelings are unconsciously inculcated (Bourdieu, 2000).

So, as this study considers habitus and its possible shifts, it is necessary to consider the role emotions play in instilling a literate habitus and in providing catalysts for change. For example, we need to question the role of motivation in the choices made as to what texts and literate practices are considered distinctive in particular communities. We need to ask how one's feelings and relationships with others affect one's actions. However, it is the amount of investment in emotions, along with time, effort and money that can impel change.

I argue that feelings play an important role in how literate habitus is structured. Individuals strategise within the various social worlds in which they are active, to gain literacy capital. This strategising is linked to feelings of confidence or doubt, courage or fear, hope or hopelessness. As these feelings are often affected by others in the field who are similarly engaged in position-taking, the role of this struggle within fields of power needs consideration.

2.6 Fields

All human action takes place in and is affected by fields. People occupy more than one field at a time (Thomson, 2008). A field is a social space, microcosm or social context which structures the habitus of the individuals within it (Bourdieu, 2004) by imprinting themselves objectively on the ways individuals act, feel, value and believe.

The common meta-social space that all individuals occupy is a field of power (Swartz, 1997). Within this, there are many social fields. Bourdieu writes about fields such as the political, educational, religious, sports, literary, scientific and artistic. The literature also refers to fields such as language instruction (Uhlmann, 2008); colleges, academic, classrooms, in-school and out-of-school fields (Hill, 2006); literacy education (Albright, 2008; Heller, 2008); schooling, households (Pahl, 2008) and professional philosophy (Rowse, 2008).

Figure 2.1 illustrates the socio-historical and geographical contexts that are referred to in this study. The relative influence and “importance” of a particular field has been illustrated by size of font. The figure has been divided into two main sections, one representing Limpopo and the other, Gauteng. The field of research straddles the two with arrows going both ways showing the importance of what has happened in the past, in terms of research, current studies (including this one) and future research. The figure has bi-directional lines with arrows between the two meta-fields indicating their relationship to one another and how the influences and effects of one field impact the other.

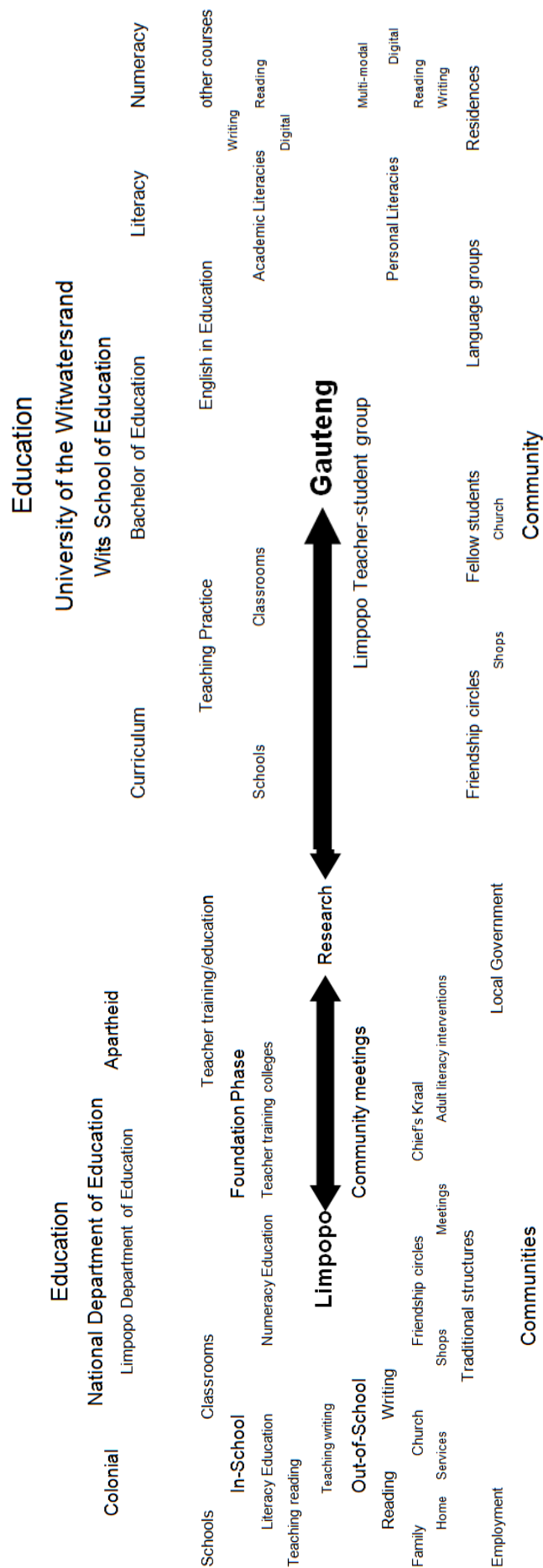


Figure 2.1: The socio-historical and geographical contexts

Figure 2.2 shows the relationship between the key socio-historical spaces. The fact that the circles overlap one another is significant because this research examines the amount of influence (indicated by the overlap in the circles) that being in Gauteng has had on the participants from Limpopo and whether this would be strong enough to be sustained in the future. It is the extent to which the level of overlap of these fields shrinks or grows over the period at Wits that is important for this study.

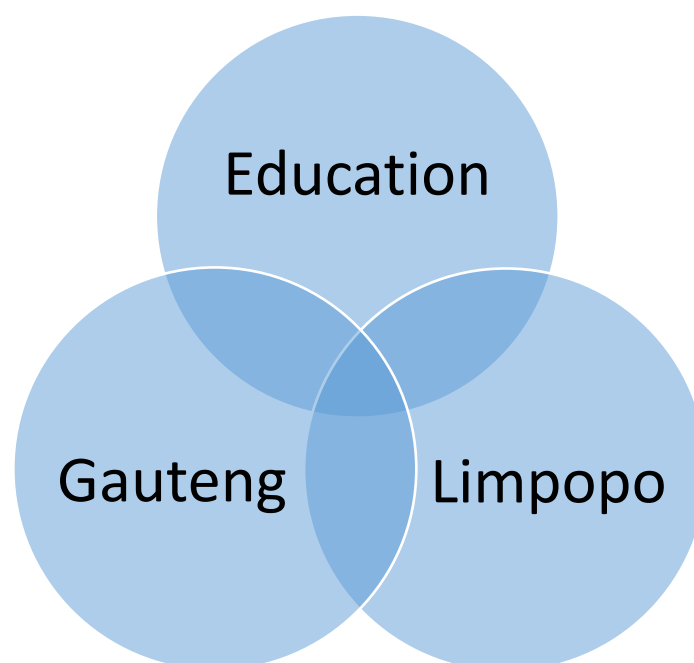


Figure 2.2: Relative influence of key socio-historical fields

Two major fields that are important for this research are the educational field and, more specifically, the sub-field of literacy education. The educational field is “a relational, multidimensional space of activity where agents – that is students, teachers and administrators – take up and occupy positions according to how much capital they have” (Kramsch, 2008:39). Fields tend to build up a concentration of field specific capital (Burawoy, 2012). Within the education field, like others, there are conflicting views as to what is valued and what should be devalued. So educational fields (like others) are “site[s] of struggle” (Kramsch, 2008:40) as individuals strive to gain capital and manoeuvre themselves strategically, to enhance their symbolic power. This research examines the importance of these conflicting views of capital in

the field of education as encountered by the research participants as they move into different micro-fields such as Wits University, courses, classrooms and schools. Questions are raised about how what counts as literacy capital in these different fields is sometimes incompatible with the literacy capital in fields the participants were socialised into.

The sub-field of literacy education is “a discursive space in which certain resources are produced, attributed value, and circulated in regulated ways which allows for competition over access, and typically, unequal distribution” (Heller, 2008:50). Heller emphasises the importance of “discursive” in this definition because she raises questions about how literacy practice is related to access to resources. This access is regulated and bound up with relations of power. This is what Stuckey (1991:37) refers to as the “violence of literacy”:

The argument is that a highly literate society that withholds literacy from some of its members uses literacy as another form of exploitation...which comes about... from marginalisation to decent conditions of lives and opportunities.

This consideration is important for my study which examines the literate habitus of a group of teacher-students who, because of historical, social and geographical conditions, remain symbolically dominated. It examines whether the fact that they appear not to possess the literacy “repertoires” (Blommaert, 2008a) which count as capital in dominant fields, limits their voice and agency. It also considers whether it is possible for a literate habitus, structured by external constraints, such as limited access to resources, can change.

To some extent, fields operate autonomously and because of this, can impose the “force and form” required to enter them (Bourdieu, 2004:47). As much as fields have some autonomy, they are also overlapping and dynamic areas (as indicated in Figure 2.2) where agents negotiate their activities and positions according to how they perceive their role subjectively in the objective reality of a particular field (Prosise, et al., 1996 in Albright, 2008). The relationship between habitus and field is important. Habitus acts as a positional “mediator” (Swartz, 1997) within the constraints imposed by the material conditions of the field, by producing behaviours which seem “reasonable” and are “common sense” (Bourdieu, 1990:55).

Each field has unwritten rules of the game (doxa) which are learnt over time and through experience. To play the game in a particular field, one needs to believe in the value of the game and its rules, which Bourdieu calls “illusio” (2004:4).

Spontaneity, freedom and choice are constrained by conditions of the field, necessity and obligation (Wacquant, 1992). Individuals strategise (unconsciously) according to the logic of the field. If the external conditions are such that certain behaviours are not seen as possible, they are recognised by the group as being “not for the likes of us” (Bourdieu, 1990:56). This social strategy leads to the reproduction of what is viewed as cultural capital within a particular field.

As indicated earlier, fields recognise particular forms of cultural capital (Hill, 2006) and this is tied up with the knowledge of cultural norms and values. This knowledge is linked to hierarchical interactions based on power, identity and capital (Luke, 2008). Literacy and language play an important role in reproducing these norms and values. Words, sayings and literacy practices produce and reinforce the habitus of the group, ensuring that individuals conform to “*collective belief*” (Bourdieu, 1977:167). For example, in traditional societies, this knowledge is passed on by elders to the younger generation, usually through the oral mode using stories, “customary rules ...gnomic poems, sayings, proverbs, every kind of objectification of the schemes of perception and action in words, things or practices” (Bourdieu, 1990:108).

Another way in which words structure the habitus and reinforce behaviour, is through religious or symbolic language. This language becomes symbolically effective because there is a hidden (misrecognised) link between the social space in which it is produced and the social space in which recipients interpret it (Bourdieu, 1991). An example of this is the language of religion and ritual which produces “statements that are *formally* impeccable but semantically empty” (1991:41). Symbolic power is assigned to speakers (or texts) and they are seen as “legitimate” or “authorised to speak” (1991:41) because of the illusio of the field.

Official language is another tool used in controlling behaviour and structuring habitus (Bourdieu, 1990). Bourdieu describes “officialisation” as the way a group “teaches itself and masks from itself its own truth” (1990:108). Rituals, public events and meetings are examples of ways in which social order is maintained and power

gained. These are important to consider because of the importance of storytelling, religion and traditional structures in the communities described by the research participants.

The relationship between fields and space is important in this study. Although Bourdieu's field concept focuses on social space and the ways in which individuals struggle for different types of capital in those spaces, I argue that it is necessary to consider positioning in *real* space as well. It is important to include a consideration of a material-geographic space into a discussion of the social realm because of the significance the physical space has for "access to social and chances and societal participation" (Manderscheid, 2009:19). Manderscheid argues that Bourdieu's field concept is a useful starting point for understanding how social inequalities are reproduced but that this concept has shortcomings because it is necessary to take into account the relational nature of the social and spatial world. Fields can be constructed in relation to different countries (Pahl, 2008), and in this study, fields are constructed in relation to different provinces in South Africa.

In the context of this study, it is important to consider the role of physical space for two reasons. Firstly, the fields the participants lived and worked in before 2009 were located in geographical areas which impacted access to literacy resources and literacy activities. Secondly, what is being investigated in this study, the effect of a four-year teacher education intervention, involved a geographical shift. The participants *physically* moved from one province in South Africa (Limpopo) to another (Gauteng). They moved from a rural area to an urban area. In Gauteng, they lived, studied and taught in physically different spaces from those in which they had operated before.

Habitus is also related to space, "Habitus is learned through space and through the displacement of space; it is embodied and can be discerned in the field, which, says Wacquant (1992), acts as a 'space of play'" (Pahl, 2008:192). For this reason, I argue that *physical* space and *social* space are interconnected (See Figures 2.1 and 2.2).

Because field and habitus are related, the question arises that if these teacher-students encounter different fields, what happens? Habitus interacts with fields and

this results in capital. It is the type of capital and the amount of capital one has that defines one's social position within a social space or field.

2.7 Capital

In fields, groups and individuals struggle for capital which will give them power. All practices arise from this self-interested pursuit of capital. It is the struggle for the definition of what is considered capital that constitutes the field. There are three important aspects related to capital which are important to consider in this study, namely, structure, volume and time. What capital is made up of, how much one has and its variation over time are what count (Bourdieu, 2004; Wacquant, 2006).

There are four kinds of capital which is discussed in this section, namely, symbolic, economic, cultural and social capital. The different forms of capital exist in complex connections with one another and one of the features of fields is how the game governs the conversion of one form of capital into another. In using the term "capital", Bourdieu taps into the language of economics but he extends the notion of capital to mean more than monetary or material value (Thomson, 2008).

2.7.1 Symbolic capital

Symbolic capital is the effect of any kind of capital that gains its power and returns based on how society is structured. For example, how we are placed within that society and what society chooses to value. It can also be "denied capital" in that *self-interest* is disguised as *disinterest* (Swartz, 1997:43). This occurs when individuals hide from themselves the fact that their actions and choices are motivated by self-interest (Bourdieu, 1977; 1990). Swartz (1997:90) argues that "This misperception legitimizes these practices and thereby contributes to the reproduction of the social order in which they are embedded".

Symbolic capital has a complex relationship to other forms of capital. It increases from the "successful use of other kinds of capital" (Bourdieu, 1990:122) and it is this misrecognition that makes up social reality (Bourdieu, 1990). Therefore, symbolic capital occurs when one of the different kinds of capitals is converted into prestige (Bourdieu, 1998; Wacquant, 2006). Bourdieu (1998:47) defines symbolic capitalism as:

Symbolic capital is any property (any form of capital whether physical, economic, cultural or social) when it is perceived by social agents endowed with categories of perception which cause them to know it and to recognize it, to give it value.

It is symbolic because it is only “real” because everyone within a particular field “does not want to know - that everyone knows - and does not want to know - the true nature of the exchange” (Bourdieu, 2000:192). Those within the field who ascribe value to selected ways of doing things or to specific objects, often do not recognise that the value given is arbitrary (Bourdieu, 1990).

Symbolic capital is linked to habitus because people defend and choose to invest in what they value as capital according to the structure of the habitus (Bourdieu, 1990) or through the “lens” of their habitus (Lehmann, 2007). Education and literacy are examples of this, because if one believes they will bring symbolic capital, one will work at attaining them both, investing time, effort and money on them; improvising and adapting in order to acquire education and literacy. Also one will strategise to get the best possible education within the constraints and regulations of the field. It is that investment and strategising that structures habitus.

2.7.2 Economic capital

Material and financial assets are economic capital but it is much more complicated, because the practices surrounding economic exchange have developed over time and within particular fields. What is important in Bourdieu’s theory of capital is that individuals are driven by more than economic interests. Individuals make economic choices designed to maximise their symbolic capital, to increase their prestige, or their cultural capital (education) or social capital (contacts, networks) (Thompson, 1991; Bourdieu, 1977; 1991). It is also the conversion of economic capital into other forms of capital that is important, particularly in this study. Choices affecting one’s literacy are, as with other forms of capital, mediated by habitus. Choices to spend money on literacy texts, or to invest money on pursuing goals requiring certain ways of being literate, are unconsciously affected by the layered structures of habitus (Thompson, 1991).

2.7.3 Cultural capital

Bourdieu (1986) distinguishes between three types of cultural capital, namely, embodied, objectified and institutionalised.

Embodied cultural capital is what is found within people, in their minds and bodies, their knowledge, talents, skills, appreciations and competencies. In this study, cultural capital refers to embodied linguistic and literacy practices. Literacy can be viewed as embodied cultural capital bringing with it, the possibility of conversion into economic capital. This embodied cultural capital can be instantiated or “sedimented” in texts (Pahl, 2008). For example, writing is an act of identity reflecting one’s embodied literate capital. We can write “with an accent” which “betrays who [we] are” (Blommaert, 2008a:85). Another example of embodied cultural capital, important in this research, is the passing on of knowledge and cultural values through oral modes such as memorisation, singing and reciting (Luke, 2008).

Objectified cultural capital is the material evidence of capital such as cultural artefacts and cultural goods such as religious texts, books, classroom teaching resources, anything that is physically transmissible to others. Finally, institutional cultural capital is what is regarded as important to give one status such as educational qualifications, awards, certificates and credentials (Carrington & Luke, 1997; Bourdieu, 1986). Certificates proclaiming one’s qualifications as a teacher are examples of institutional cultural capital. Having the objective capital of a certificate, however, does not always translate into embodied capital. The value these certificates are given also relates to the field in which they are produced and presented. In economic terms, all these forms of capital carry value in particular fields and, depending on the specific laws of conversion in each field, these forms of capital allow one to control one’s own future and that of others. So the value of particular practices depends on the field in which they are put to use (Kerfoot, 2008).

2.7.4 Social capital

Social capital is the resources one builds up because of membership of a certain group (Wacquant, 2006). It is made up of the accumulated capital of that group. For example, it could result from a family name, tribe or being a student of a particular university. The capital can also be built and maintained by material and symbolic exchanges (Bourdieu, 1986). It is a network of connections built up over the years through effort at participating in many essential instances of exchange of capital and takes “time, attention, care and concern” (Bourdieu, 1986:54). These social relationships bring about the reproduction of privilege in society (Fine, 2007). It is

the role that doxa and misrecognition play in maintaining and perpetuating the social order that is discussed in the next section.

2.7.5 The relationship between capital and doxa

Doxa is used in a number of ways in Bourdieu's writing (Deer, 2008). In the context of this study, doxa refers to "unquestioned opinions and perceptions" (Deer, 2008:120) underpinning what it means to be literate and how one teaches literacy in ways that have become naturalised in fields. This study examines what has become embedded as group beliefs about "doing" and teaching literacy and what counts as literate capital in particular fields. For example, the belief that literacy will lead to economic empowerment is an example of a doxic truth. These long-held claims for the power of literacy for economic empowerment and well-being are what Graff (1978; 1987) calls the "literacy myth".

The way that English is valued as capital is also another example of a doxic belief. In South Africa and around the world, speaking English fluently and well is viewed as symbolic capital. Yet, the value attributed to English is arbitrary and the language has value only because people choose to attach value to it (Bourdieu, 1990). It becomes aspirational to speak English because it is recognised as the language of business, politics and the media in South Africa and it is perceived as providing access to education and employment (Parmegiani, 2008). In cities like Johannesburg and on the Wits University campus, for example, it is the language used by many who do not share a mother tongue to communicate with one another. English becomes more powerful, not because of being superior in any way, but through a snowball effect that leads to it being more in demand than any other language (Janks, 1995). The more English is used in various domains, the more people need to use and learn it. The more people know English, the more the domains of its use can expand and the more profitable it is to produce resources in English. In this way, a cycle of increasing returns for English is perpetuated (Granville, Janks, Joseph, Mphahlele, Ramani, Reed & Watson, 1998).

For Parmegiani (2008:1), "linguicism" is replacing racism as being a more "politically correct" way of discrimination. In some workplaces and tertiary educational institutions, the standard of home language speakers' English is held up as an ideal while the use and accent of those who are not home language speakers of English is

deemed “inadequate”. As people who are not home language speakers of English use the language to give themselves voice and to be understood by others, they may find that the way they speak, read and write in English is not easily transferable to some fields, and so does not provide the voice they need (Blommaert, 2008a).

In South Africa, those who speak *only* English are generally viewed as having more linguistic capital than those who speak three or more IALs, despite having the same rights as English in South Africa, continue to have less power than English currently. This is an example of doxa, the misrecognition of how things become accepted in social worlds (Bourdieu, 1984). These views become internalised and form part of one’s habitus.

It is important for this study to consider the power of English because when the participants came to Wits in 2009, their command of and confidence in English was limited and this affected their literacy practices. Because of the rural nature of some areas of Limpopo, few people hear English and it can be described as a foreign language rather than a *lingua franca* (Reeves et al., 2008). Despite this, even while living in Limpopo, the participants desired to speak “better” English. They viewed English as being powerful and empowering, without acknowledging the *misrecognition* of the arbitrariness (Bourdieu, 1990) of this view. This is discussed further in Chapter Four Section 4.13.1 and Chapter Five Section 5.3.3.1.

Misrecognition is linked to doxa in that doxic beliefs are unquestioned and conceded to while denying the economic and political interests that are inherent in practices (Swartz, 1997). It is a form of self-deception (Bourdieu, 1986), which results in individuals neither recognising nor acknowledging how the consensus of certain opinions leads to some individuals and groups being more powerful than others. The arbitrary nature of the opinions that keep some in dominating positions while others remain dominated is not acknowledged. This is related to the setting up of particular capitals, for example, linguistic and literate, as more valuable than others. Deer (2008:121) describes doxa as:

the cornerstone of any field to the extent that it determines the stability of the objective social structures through the way these are reproduced and reproduce themselves in a social agent’s perceptions and practices; in other words in the *habitus*.

The habitus of those in the field then reinforces the rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1991) as they are played leading to the reproduction of practices in that social arena. *Reproduction*, in particular, the reproduction of literacy practices, is dependent on socialising practices.

2.7.6 The relationship between Doxa and Reproduction

Schools tend to reproduce the culture of the dominant classes or cultures by socialising learners into that class or culture (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Some children arrive at schools and some students arrive at universities with a literate habitus that is incompatible with the fields in which they are expected to learn. An example of this cultural reproduction is shown in Heath's (1983) seminal, ten-year ethnographic study on child language and teacher training in the USA between the years of 1969 and 1978. Her study shows that there was a mismatch between what was taught in schools and the working-class children's different "ways with words". These schools favoured middle-class ways of communicating and making meaning. Children from the working-class communities, who had been socialised into different ways of communicating, were disadvantaged by the rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1991) which they did not know.

What is important to understand in my research with teachers from the rural areas of Limpopo, is that they come from and work in schools which reproduce their own "ways with words". However, this provides limited capital in different fields because capital is situated and has different exchange values in different fields (Norton, 2010). Teachers in township and rural schools in South Africa often do not have the cultural capital to help their learners acquire what is considered literacy capital in the fields occupied by the dominant, powerful groups. In this way, broad power relations are maintained.

This study recognises that there are different ways of "saying (writing)-doing-being-valuing-believing" (Gee, 1990:142) which are not always valued in other fields. An example of this is discussed by Blommaert, who argues, using Kress' work on pre-writing, that grassroots literacy possesses an "exuberant visuality" and that the "primary tendency in sign-making is an aesthetic one" (2008a:116). However, Blommaert (2008a) emphasises that this aesthetic visuality is not always valued translocally. Luke (2008), like Blommaert (2008a), argues that instead of imposing

particular ways of teaching literacy one should work from the norms valued in traditional societies. For example, teachers should tap into embodied ways of knowing and learning, to “weave” (Luke, 2008:86) between teaching using oral modes such as memorisation, singing and reciting, and then focussing on meaning making, critical engagement and awareness of printed texts. This appropriation of traditional, didactic modes and a recognition of literacy as being tied up with cultural norms and values, as a “gift” from the older generation to be passed on to the younger, would contribute to a more agentive literate habitus (Luke, 2008). This could be done by viewing the oral and written as being on a continuum rather than seeing them as binaries and building on the relationship between the “ever-shifting” natures of these two modes (Heath, 1988:370). These arguments underpin this study because the oral and visual modes are dominant in the communities the participants come from. This study examines different ways of being literate and how these are related to different fields and what counts as capital in those fields.

2.8 Summary: The relationship between habitus, capital and field

It is the link between habitus, capital and field which is elaborated on in this section, in an attempt to summarise the issues raised by Bourdieu’s key concepts which are important for this study.

A helpful metaphor, used by Bourdieu (1990:57) to explain the connection between habitus, capital and field, is that of property. For Bourdieu, “Property appropriates its owner, embodying itself in the form of a structure generating practices perfectly conforming with its logic and its demands” (1990:57). I expand on this metaphor in an attempt to demonstrate how a field such as literacy education is structured by the habitus of those who have been in the field in the past and continue to be structured by the habitus of new agents in the field. However, any changes to the field or to what might be considered capital in the field are constrained by the structures of the past.

For example, a house has a structure which both reflects and is a result of, its history. The structure of the house exhibits the individual histories of those who have lived in it in the past; certain changes might have been made; some walls broken down; new walls built; doors and windows installed, while others have been blocked up. When one comes into the house with the intention of making it one’s home, one

brings one's own history and taste into the space. One may strive to put one's stamp on the house in attempting to ensure that it reflects one's personality and interests. However, its structure exists and dictates to what extent one can do things; how furniture will be placed and where certain activities will take place. Even if one should want to restructure parts of the house, this will still be dictated by what is already in place. This metaphor attempts to clarify the extent to which one has agency and choice and to outline how one is constrained by what is already in place. It is the dialectic between the institutions we practice in, whether it is a school or a university, for example, and our habitus that results in us having to make "regulated improvisations" (Bourdieu, 1990:57) to adapt to restrictions. Bourdieu also emphasises that although habitus is generative, it is limited. This study examines the extent to which habitus can change and that is why it is important to consider the extent to which this is possible.

Having discussed Bourdieu's key concepts, I now consider whether habitus can change or not, and if so, what it takes to shift it.

2.9 Can habitus change?

Bourdieu's notion of habitus has been criticised as being deterministic (Jenkins, 1992) and static (Giroux, 2001; Li Puma, 1993 in Albright, 2008). There are those who argue that Bourdieu's theory is less limiting than many of his critics claim (Nash, 1999; Swartz, 1997; Wacquant, 2014). Although habitus lasts over time and is durable, Bourdieu does not rule out the possibility of change, arguing that it is "not a destiny" (2004:44) nor is it "eternal" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:133). Bourdieu (2002:18, my emphasis) indicates that habitus can change:

The habitus is a set of dispositions, reflexes and forms of behaviour people acquire through acting in society. It reflects the different positions people have in society, for example, whether they are brought up in a middle class environment or in a working class suburb. It is part of how society reproduces itself. But there is also *change*.

2.9.1 What enables change?

There appear to be a number of catalysts for change in relation to Bourdieu's concepts and they are discussed in this section. The first important stimulus is a disruption in fields or between fields. This is key to this study as it examines the effects of moving from familiar fields into new fields on the literate habitus of

teachers. In times of constancy, habitus changes gradually in anticipated ways, along predictable pathways (Hardy, 2008), but during rapid changes within or between fields, habitus is more likely to change (Harker, 1984). Although habitus is durable, when it encounters a new field or a major change in the existing field, the incongruence brings about tension that requires some kind of reaction. It could be adaptation, innovation or rebellion (Burawoy, 2010).

Individuals are always in dialogue with different contexts and use different strategies to adapt to the game as it is played in new fields (Burawoy, 2010). It is the relationship between field, conflict, power, positioning and capital that brings about this strategising (Bourdieu, 2007; Crossley, 2003). So when the social environment changes quickly, individuals strategise to maximise their capital in the new or changing field. The habitus has to make compromises that fit in with the material conditions of the changed field (Harker, 1984). It is the instability and discontinuity brought about by a rupture in field that leads to these adaptations, adjustments or “regulated improvisations” (Bourdieu, 1990:57). Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner and Cain (1998) argue that Bourdieu’s concepts are useful for bringing together constructivist and culturalist positions, particularly in relation to improvisation. It is when individuals encounter new circumstances and conditions for which they do not have set responses, they act spontaneously, bringing the past into the present (Holland et al, 1998). Sometimes these forced improvisations lead to innovation which bring about the possibility of altered habitus (Dressman & Wilder, 2008; Wacquant, 2006). However, fields can inculcate a habitus of defiance which can lead to resistance or rebellion. This resistance can be seen in bodily dispositions (Von Holdt, 2012). It is important to consider the ways in which habitus responds to new fields or changes in field by adapting, innovating or rebelling and to look for these attitudes in the ways the research participants responded to the new fields they encountered.

It is the “fit” between the field and habitus that results in symbolic capital. When there is no longer a comfortable fit between habitus and field such as that brought about by a radical shift in conditions (Dressman & Wilder, 2008), broad socio-political and economic changes (Kerfoot, 2008) or moments of crisis (Crossley, 2008), a disruption of the doxic view of things occurs that can bring about adjustments to habitus. Cultural capital is acquired by those whose habitus is “well-formed” (Moore,

2008: 114) in relation to the field that has inculcated it. However, habitus needs to be capable of conforming to the structures of many different fields (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977).

Some forms of cultural capital are more enabling than others in negotiating new fields (Curry, 2008). For example, those who arrive at tertiary institutions with the necessary cultural capital to succeed are those whose educational backgrounds have provided them with the necessary capital of experience in negotiating practices (Curry, 2008). Gee (2002) refers to these students as being “well-precured”. Loh (2013) argues that the flexibility required to adjust is a classed concept and that those from privileged backgrounds are better equipped with the necessary capital to adapt. This is a contentious claim which my research investigates because it deals with working-class participants and examines the adaptability of the habitus they bring.

Others argue that it is the influence of prior learning experiences and dispositions and the relationship between the two in new fields that leads to the self-confidence and self-control necessary for adaptation and success in new fields (Reay, Crozier & Clayton, 2009). It is important to consider this claim as the research participants had studied before and were qualified Foundation Phase teachers. It is the relationship between the cultural capital they had acquired during their pre-service training, the new fields they encountered and their literate habitus that was the focus of this research.

Recognising possibility comes about as a result of understanding the extent to which one’s habitus is compatible with the field. The amount of capital one has in a field is an important ingredient for change because this “defines what is and is not thinkable and what is doable within the field” (Grenfell, 2008:223). The more influence and position one has in the new or changing field, the more likely one is to find a connection between habitus and field. As people move from one field to another, the patterns and volumes of capital they have changes and results in differing social positions as they compete with others for power in the field (Carrington & Luke, 1997).

Change affects one’s position in a field, and, with that, the amount of symbolic capital one has. Symbolic capital comes with being constructed and positioned in

new, empowering ways. For example, in a study examining the introduction of wireless technology into a United States school where students had been typically labelled as “failures”. It was through being constructed differently and given a new label, “high tech” that the students gained capital and were open to change (Dressman & Wilder, 2008). This is relevant to my research as the participants had to negotiate the ways in which they were positioned, labelled or named in the fields they encountered during their time at Wits and these were either enabling or constraining.

It takes an extended time in new a field which provides opportunities for many instances to put into practice new strategies that can bring about possibilities for change. This emphasis on time as a necessary facilitator of change is important to this study as it examines the effect of a four-year teacher education intervention. There are two combined parts to habitus, namely, an outer form, which is the social or objective structures around us and an inner form, our subjective personal experience. Embodied cultural capital is formed by how we respond subjectively in our practices to cultural norms (symbolic capital) and contexts (field). This entails “prolonged exposure” (Moore, 2008:111) and happens over a “long historical period” (Navarro, 2006:16).

Related to time is the necessity of doing things differently repeatedly in order to change practice. It is “only a thoroughgoing process of counter training involving repeated exercises...like an athlete’s training, [that can] durably transform habitus” (Bourdieu, 2000:172). The resulting new practices are informed by one’s ability to control and understand one’s actions. Using the metaphor of changing one’s posture using the Alexander technique, Janks (2010) explains that there are a number of steps necessary to change practice. Firstly, one needs to desire change, then one needs to become aware of the old habits in order to inhibit them. Regular practice can result in new practices becoming embodied. It is the interplay of openness and willingness to change and the external conditions over time that shapes habitus and this is an ongoing process (Bourdieu, 1984). These are all examined here as they related to the participants enacting literacy in new ways over time.

Awareness comes from moments of epiphany and self-reflection and these can impact change (Rowse, 2008). Disequilibrium brings about awareness and the

potential for reflection on what had been previously taken for granted (Crossley, 2003). It is the degree of reflexivity that the habitus enables in new contexts; applied to “the agent’s own thoughts, feelings, actions and surroundings” that directs “*self-work*” (Wacquant, 2014:5). This informs this project as one of the main research tools used in this study is the reflective journal, and in particular, a journal used to reflect on Teaching Experience (TE). Teachers should be reflective practitioners. This has been the subject of a number of studies which show that reflective teachers are also mindful of the challenges they have faced in developing their own literacy; have a deeper understanding of the affordances of writing and are more empathetic to the struggles their learners face (Krest, 1990; Root & Steinberg, 1996; Zancanella, 1991). Self-reflexive pedagogy encourages both teachers and learners to explore, evaluate and question what happens in classrooms, particularly in relation to gender, race and power (Luke, 2008). To develop such a pedagogy requires the development of a reflective capacity in teachers first and it is this which allows for shifts in habitus leading to transformed teaching. It is the reflective process of making the familiar unfamiliar (Schön, 1983) that opens up possibilities of changing the field. In this thesis, I argue for the importance of reflection in bringing about a change in habitus. The use of reflective journals as a means to contributing to this practice is discussed in detail in Chapter Three Section 3.9.2.

2.9.2 What constrains change?

Shifts in habitus are limited by the imprint of the past and this section examines how change in habitus can be limited by various factors. Shifts in habitus exist and habitus evolves in the light of new experiences which affect it by either reinforcing its structures or revising them, and it is this that contributes to future practices. Habitus can change in response to new experiences, but these changes operate “on the basis of the premises established in the previous state” (Bourdieu, 2000:161) and so there are “degrees of integration” (Bourdieu, 2000:160). As explained using the metaphor of a house in Section 2.8, the changes that are possible, are constrained by the original structure of habitus.

Researchers have coined a number of terms to describe the way that habitus shifts only marginally. Habitus is more likely to adapt than change (Burawoy, 2010) and this is evident in Abrams and Ingram’s (2013) study of working-class students who lived at home while studying. These students developed an adaptive habitus, a

“chameleon habitus” (Abrams & Ingram, 2013:5.1) and used this to straddle two fields, tapping into different embodied ways of speaking and behaving in different ways at appropriate times. Although a new habitus can be acquired, the old habitus is “not washed away” (Horvat & Davis, 2011:116). Ingram (2011) calls this the “tug of habitus”.

Therefore, habitus is not static, but for working-class students, new educational experiences and circumstances are viewed through the “lens” of class habitus (Lehmann, 2007). Grow (2011) uses the analogy of mixing different shades of paint colours to illustrate how habitus is mixed with identity, constantly evolving as the habitus of the pre-service teachers who participated in her study, “morphed over time” (Grow, 2011:36). These terms and images relate to Bourdieu’s concept of a “cleft habitus” (2007:100) which describes how one can have two habitus at the same time and be caught between the two. This brings about tensions and contradictions which, in itself, becomes a durable embodied state resulting in long-lasting, contradictory relationships with the field. This consideration informs my study in that the teacher-students had a literate teaching habitus that had been ingrained over a long period as they were experienced teachers. The extent to which the old literate habitus affected any possible adaptations was an important consideration for the study.

Another important constraint to change or literate habitus is *hysteresis*, the time-lag between the formation of habitus and its activation (Wacquant, 2014). This can bring about change or resistance to change. Sometimes the changes in a field are so rapid and extreme that the habitus cannot adapt timeously. Habitus adapts by degrees in response to radical changes in the field and these are not always in line with the new conditions (Bourdieu, 1997).

Hysteresis is a part of each habitus and is described by Bourdieu (1977:83) as:

one of the foundations of the structural lag between opportunities and the dispositions to grasp them which is the cause of missed opportunities and, in particular, of the frequently observed incapacity to think historical crises in categories of perception and thought other than those of the past.

A major constraint to changing literate habitus is one’s own deeply entrenched ways of being literate. These ways do not respond quickly to changes in curricula and literacy teaching conditions. Teachers’ prior experiences of doing literacy, being

literate and their own experience with early literacy teachers, impact on their conceptualisation of literacy and this informs their practices (Gains, 2010). There is also often a disjuncture between espoused beliefs and actual practices (Gains, 2010) which reflects the difficulty of change.

Another constraint to shifting habitus is a result of the “longstanding structural conditions” (Dressman & Wilder, 2008:114) of the field. Practices are formed by responses to the material conditions of the field in which they are embedded. Resource inadequacies in many schools are a factor in constraining change in teaching practices (Zimmerman, Howie & Long, 2008). Any new practice is made sense of within these structures, conditions and beliefs and this is how the status quo is maintained or reproduced. So it is external circumstances that constrain change. If the material conditions in a field do not change, even if new possibilities are introduced, the structure of the field dictates the level of improvisation that takes place (Dressman & Wilder, 2008; Gennrich & Janks, 2013). Improvisations are often accompanied by feelings of unease, uncertainty and self-doubt (Reay, 2005).

There have been a number of studies examining the extent to which habitus can change, focussing on students from working-class or lower-income backgrounds moving to elite tertiary environments (Abrams & Ingram, 2013; Aries & Seider, 2005; Aries, 2008; Curry, 2008; Horvat & Davies, 2011; Lee & Kramer, 2013; Lehmann, 2007; 2009; 2013; Reay, et al., 2009; Stuber, 2006; 2011). Although these studies reveal that habitus can shift, it is not an easy process. The studies focus on constraints and what enables change, for example, how working-class students feel alienated, disorientated and inadequate in their encounters with new fields in tertiary institutions (Aries & Seider, 2005; Lehmann, 2007). The adaptations they need to make are often accompanied by sacrifices in, for example, fitting in with one’s family and friends on returning to old fields (Lee & Kramer, 2013; Lehmann, 2013).

Students from working-class backgrounds also have to adapt in creative ways to the new social spaces they inhabit, resulting in a habitus “divided against itself” (Bourdieu, 1999). Working-class students appreciate the traits (cultural capital) that their backgrounds have given them yet, despite this, they engage in assimilative behaviour as they strategise to gain more symbolic capital in a different field (Aries & Seider, 2005). Their experiences are both “habitus-conforming and habitus-

transforming” (Lehmann, 2009:146). There are challenges in learning the rules of the game in new fields (Reay, 2001; Reay, et al., 2009), and to succeed students need to develop new repertoires or portfolios of cultural capital (Lehmann, 2013; Lin, 2014). These studies provide useful insights into the effects on the habitus of working-class students studying at universities and other tertiary institutions.

Shortfalls in studies exist in that researchers have yet to pay sustained attention to the impact of moving from rural to urban areas on mature students. Therefore, in this thesis, I seek to address this gap by focussing on *experienced* teachers, some of whom come from working-class backgrounds, and the possible shifts in literate habitus resulting from a four-year long teacher education intervention at a university.

In a South African context, Kerfoot’s study (2008) of Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) found that habitus changes when individuals are provided with a set of discourses that enables new ways of interaction and reflection. The acquisition of the necessary language as capital played an important role in shifts of habitus. Czerniewicz and Brown (2012) focus on the agency students have by using what is available as objective cultural capital to negotiate the field. Their study examined students’ *technological* habitus and found that students pushed the boundaries of the field using alternative forms of objectified cultural capital such as cell-phones rather than computers in order to operate successfully at university (Czerniewicz & Brown, 2012). These studies are important because they took place in a South African context and revealed the importance of the acquisition of capital, sometimes alternative to that sanctioned by the field, in contributing to shifts in habitus. This capital brings with it agency and the role of agency and its effect on habitus is discussed in the next section.

This section has discussed how habitus can change but has emphasised that this is difficult to do and it happens by degrees. This is important to consider for this research as it examined what conditions facilitated change and which inhibited change in the research participants’ literate habitus.

2.9.3 Habitus and agency

As a summary of this chapter, the role of agency in enabling or constraining change is focused on. Agency results from the intersection between habitus and field (Swartz, 1997). For example, one’s literate disposition responds to and is affected by

the opportunities and constraints to practising literacy offered by the fields in which one operates.

Bourdieu recognises agency in two ways, namely, adaptation and distinction. As discussed in Section 2.9.1, individuals adapt to the opportunities and constraints in a field and this adaptive agency results in the reproduction of the social order. In juxtaposition to this adaptive agency, is the agency that comes from those who differentiate themselves from others in the field. This results in distinction. This chapter has discussed how there are those who do not just conform to the norms of a field; they resist, rebel or innovate (Burawoy, 2012). Those who resist or find themselves “at odds” with to others in the field are able to exert agency, even though this confidence still operates through the exercise of the habitus guiding their actions (Dressman & Wilder, 2008:133). It is necessary to be *conscious* of the agency one has to make change a possibility (Uhlman, 2008). It is also those who *feel* powerful because of their location as “insiders in communities” who are more inclined to become “agents of change” (Kerfoot, 2008:107).

Agency leads to action (practices) which can result in change. Wacquant emphasises the importance of *action* and its relationship to habitus by calling habitus “a capsule for a dispositional theory of action stressing that the agent carries her history inside of her and actively shapes her world through socially constructed instruments of construction” (2014:7). The potential for change lies deposited in dispositions that are being continually layered by the objective structures of the fields one encounters. Action that can lead to change depends on strategising, the capacity to aspire (Appadurai, 2004), the amount of voice one has and access to resources (Blommaert, 2008a).

Strategies are either adaptive or distinctive and this is governed by one’s habitus as Swartz (1997:100) clarifies, “Actors are not rule followers or norm obeyers but strategic improvisers who respond dispositionally to the opportunities and constraints offered by various situations”. The strategies that individuals choose *may* be conscious, though Bourdieu claims that they are mostly unconsciously chosen and driven by a goal of acquiring symbolic capital:

The most profitable strategies are usually those produced, on the hither side of all calculation and in the illusion of the most ‘authentic’ sincerity, by a habitus objectively fitted to the objective structures. These strategies without

strategic calculation procure an important secondary advantage for those who can scarcely be called their authors – the social approval accruing from apparent disinterestedness (1977:214).

The second influence on actions is the ability to imagine possibilities which can lead to agency. It is difficult for those from poor, oppressed circumstances to imagine what the fields they operate in have not exposed them to. These conditions constrain the “capacity to aspire” (Appadurai, 2004). It is not easy to imagine how things can be done differently when the material conditions of the field one lives and works in are so constraining as to make it almost impossible to know what to aspire to. So, it is sometimes necessary to move from the field, to experience different conditions to enable one to imagine something different. This is an important consideration in this study because it examines the impact of new fields on the “capacity to aspire” to doing literacy in different ways.

Agency also comes from the capacity to make oneself understood on one’s own terms and this gives one voice (Blommaert, 2008a). Access to linguistic capital in the dominant language, access to different genres of texts and access to resources all affect voice. Firstly, one’s linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) enables one to secure a “profit of distinction” (Thompson, 1991:18) which can lead to agency. This is an important consideration for this study as the participants were not home-language speakers of English. In the new fields they encountered in Gauteng, they were required to read and write in a language that was almost foreign to them. Those who are asked to write in a language not their own are often judged “in terms of communicability” (Blommaert, 2013:4). As meaning and voice are linked to judgements on fluency and communicability (Blommaert, 2008a), not having adequate access to the essential “rules” of spelling, orthography and design can stifle voice considerably

Secondly, individuals need to have access to a large collection of texts that can serve as models in order to help them to understand how texts work in terms of content and form. Beyond formal characteristics, one needs to understand the expectations generated in a reader by the use of a particular genre (Blommaert, 2008a). As genre is socially-constructed, “genres only exist in so far as a social group declares and enforces the rules that constitute them” (Hodge & Kress, 1988:17). These rules are often unspoken and tacit (Chandler, 1997). The

consideration of access to genre is significant for this study as the participants were exposed to new genres and were expected to use new genres in the fields they encountered during the intervention examined. Most importantly for this study, they were expected to write using the reflective journal genre, a “borrowed genre” (Blommaert, 2008a), one which did not form part of their literate habitus. This would have limited the extent to which they had voice in their writing.

Voice comes from the acquisition of the discourses of the fields one inhabits. One needs to acquire a set of discourses that will enable engagement with the rules of the game as they are played in particular fields (Kerfoot, 2008). The acquisition of new Discourses takes time and requires effort (Gee, 2008). Students strategise as they learn to cope with the demands of new genres such as academic writing, they “try on the discourse” (Angélil-Carter, 2000) borrowing words and phrases from sources. This is one of many steps they take in shifting habitus. Gee refers to this as “mushfaking” (1990:159), pretending to know what is going on until one feels confident and the new discourses become part of the habitus. As teachers of literacy, educated during Apartheid, these research participants were outsiders to the “semiotic domains” (Gee, 2002; 2008) of the university. The extent to which their personal literacy histories have prepared them for the requirements of the new game and how “well-precursed” or “poorly-precursed” (Gee, 2008:145) they were, is revealed in this study.

Limited access to resources is another important contributing factor to the reasons some individual’s writing is judged as “inadequate” (Blommaert, 2008a). Access can be to the means of writing (technology) or material infrastructure. Access to these enables the acquisition of different kinds of capital. Limited economic capital results in limited cultural capital such as the objectified capital of literacy texts and instruments of writing. As a result, the necessary cultural capital for literacy to become embodied is not possible. In addition, access to literacy and ‘legitimate’ ways of being literate is influenced by and influences the teaching and learning of literacy.

2.10 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed Bourdieu’s theory and key concepts as it relates to the research questions posed in this study. It has also considered the literature on

agency, reflection and change. The importance of the literature that situates literacy within a socio-cultural framework has also been examined. Chapter Three describes the research methodology which is an ethnographic case study. It indicates how the data was collected so as to gather “thick description” (Geertz, 1973) of the cultural contexts of the participants both in Limpopo and at Wits and on TE.

Chapter Three: Methodology

“It always seems impossible until it's done” (Attributed to Nelson Mandela).

3.1 Introduction

This research has been approached from a Bourdieusian perspective using his key concepts as a framework for the research. Bourdieu emphasises the necessity of using his concepts not as metaphors, but rather to provide a fresh way of looking at the objects of research. A Bourdieusian research approach should then use the principles of habitus, capital, field, reproduction, distinction and symbolic violence in flexible ways to link theory and practice in an attempt to understand and explain social practices (Bourdieu, Schultheis & Pfeuffer, 2013; Grenfell, 2008). These principles have guided this study and have been applied specifically to this enquiry into literate habitus.

Bourdieu's work is credited for creating a bridge between empirically grounded and theoretically informed research (Susen & Turner, 2013). His methodological approach demanded that a field be considered in relationship with other fields. Secondly, economic, social and cultural capital should be mapped according to what is the most valuable and the least valuable within interrelated fields. Finally, individual agents within fields should be analysed, examining their position within the structures of fields and power (Grenfell, 2008). My study has applied used Bourdieu's concepts as a framework however, I have not used field as an analytic tool to map the participants in the fields in which they participate, and the relative value of different forms of capital within and across fields in detail.

3.2 Research paradigm

This study operates within the social constructivist paradigm which views social life as fluid, unfixed and constructed by social discourses, interactions and practices. In addition, it recognises that social life is formed through the relationship of the structure of fields, or social worlds, and the agency of those within it (Albright, 2008, Oliver, 2010, Reay, 2004). Bourdieu's theory can also be seen to operate within a critical theory paradigm (Reay, 2004; Schlitz, Vieten & Miller, 2010; Susen, 2013). As such, Bourdieusian research should contribute to making a positive and transformative impact on society (Susen & Turner, 2013). One of the driving forces behind this study is the aim to contribute to an understanding of the challenges of

teaching literacy in rural areas and to developing strategies and interventions to overcome these.

In this study, literacy is understood to be a social practice involving observable actions but includes the values, attitudes, feelings and social relationships associated with literacy (Street, 1993) (see Chapter Two Section 1.1). This research takes into account the political and ideological aspects of literacy and how they play out in the lives of rural teachers. The research questions, investigating the teacher-students' literate habitus and the possibility for change, required an investigation of power relations in social fields in which the participants participated, lived, worked and studied and how these shaped their lived and embodied ways of being literate.

3.3 Research site

Although the study was situated at an urban university, the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits), in a South African city, Johannesburg, Gauteng, the research participants were from a large, rural area, namely, Limpopo Province.

3.4 Time frame

The research sets out to investigate the literate habitus of individual, volunteer participants who were part of an unusual cohort of students at the Wits School of Education (WSoE), examining the possibilities for transformation and change in literate habitus. The research journey followed the participants for four-to-five years.

¹⁵The analysis of the initial data took place in 2010, but as the data was collected over a four-year period, the analysis took place alongside data collection.

3.5 Ethics

Ethics clearance and a protocol number (2009ECE116) were obtained through the appropriate channels at the WSoE. I wrote to the Registrar of Wits requesting permission to conduct research at the WSoE, which was granted. All of the participants signed informed consent letters agreeing to participate in this research (see Appendix B). At each stage in the development of this study, the participants were asked for permission to use their journals, TE observation forms and to allow the recording of focus groups and interviews. These data sources are all reported on

¹⁵ Some participants took an extra six months to complete their degree as they had failed some subjects. These teacher-students were put on an accelerated programme in 2013. Although some participants were still at WSoE in 2013, no data was collected during those six months.

in this chapter, and the documents are to be found in the appendices (see Appendices B-E). Throughout this research process, I have attempted to work with integrity both in my dealings with the participants and the data.

3.6 Research design

The design of this study is based on the assumption that how one speaks and writes about literacy and how one “does literacy” reflects the literate habitus of individuals. This research, like much other literacy research, particularly in New Literacy Studies (Heath, 1983; Prinsloo & Breier, 1996; Street, 1993) has ethnographic elements in its design. Social research terminology often overlaps, and ethnographic studies can be case studies as well (Hammersley, 1994; Oliver, 2010). This is supported by this research as the study contains elements of both ethnographic and case study methods.

3.6.1 Ethnographic elements of the study

Ethnography examines the behaviour and interactions of people in order to “uncover their beliefs, values, perspectives, motivations, and how all these things develop or change over time or from situation to situation...It is *their* meanings and interpretations that count” (Woods, 1986 in Basit, 2010:22). Examining literate habitus implies an attempt to understand deeply-entrenched, embodied meanings and interpretations an individual has about literacy, and so the data was analysed, focussing on the beliefs, values and feelings of each participant. It also examined the participants’ discussions of their use of literacy. This was all done to understand these teacher-students’ literate habitus.

Oliver (2010:82) identifies two common features of ethnographic research. Firstly, it tries “to adopt the viewpoint of those people who make up the social setting”. Secondly, the researcher assumes that “people may look at the same social event in different ways depending upon their own perspective” (Oliver, 2010:83). So an ethnographic researcher examines the ways in which meaning functions and develops and, more specifically, how different social groups perceive and value things differently (Oliver, 2010). This study focused on a group of participants who, ostensibly, come from similar communities and who were, as a group, experiencing an intervention together, in the same, new field. How each participant brought his or her own meaning to the experience and how this related to his or her personal

literate history was the focus of this research. In addition, whether and how meaning as it was related to literacy developed as a result of the disruption of each participant's fields was also examined in this research.

Bloome (2012), in discussing classroom ethnography, differentiates between qualitative research and ethnography. He argues that qualitative methods refer to research that allows "researchers to focus on the quality of human experience including interactions, thinking, emotions, imaginations, views, etc. of an individual group within the contexts in which the experiences occurs" (Bloome, 2012:9-10). Ethnographic studies, however, use theoretical principles which have been grounded in social anthropology. Bloome (2012) argues for the use of the term "ethnography" because it builds on epistemological principles and is concerned with examining a particular group of participants from an insider rather than outsider point of view. Classroom ethnography, in particular, considers how classroom interactions "reflect and refract" (Bloome, 2012:11) the many historical and social contexts represented in that space. By looking at what people do, questioning what that means and reflecting on who they are, their social and historical contexts are examined. My study was not a classroom ethnography but it examined interactions, reflections, actions and contexts of classrooms in relation to the teaching of literacy and how this related to the participants' literate habitus.

Bloome (2012) also distinguishes between ethnographic tools and an ethnographic perspective. Ethnographic tools are the techniques usually associated with ethnography such as participant observation, taking field notes, open-ended interviewing and the collection of artefacts. Bloome (2012) cautions that a study cannot be defined as ethnographic based on the tools used, but that it should also use an ethnographic perspective. This requires acknowledging and investigating the "multiple (and sometimes competing) social and historical contexts that are themselves constantly evolving and shifting" (Bloome, 2012:12). As a result, an ethnographic perspective relates what was observed compared to the larger contextual influences (Bloome, 2012).

So how were these ethnographic perspective applied to my research? Although the data collection included some ethnographic tools such as field-notes, texts produced by the participants, interviews and focus-groups to understand personal literacy and

classroom practices, more broadly, it examined how these practices related to the historical and contextual influences on the participants. In Bourdieusian terms, the study examined the effect of each habitus and social field on practice. And so, I would argue, there was an ethnographic perspective guiding this study.

Hammersley (1994) raises two criticisms usually aimed at ethnographic studies. Firstly, that ethnography looks only at the exterior and the apparent and, secondly, it is limited to recording phenomena as they are, rather than discerning how they can be improved on or changed. I recognised the challenges faced in using the *external* and *apparent* in attempting to understand a deeply-ingrained disposition, but I also believed that the concept of habitus was both “heuristic and explanatory” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:131). As a result, habitus could be applied to examining the relationship between texts and practices and enabled the researcher to demonstrate the ways of being, doing and valuing literacy.

In answer to the second criticism, I acknowledge that this study is limited in examining the literate habitus of the participants constituting a unique group of Foundation Phase teachers. However, I believe that the study has important implications for literacy interventions, teacher training and short courses. Concerns about teachers’ literate habitus are not confined to rural areas of South Africa, so the insights gained from this research will have implications for understanding teachers’ literate habitus beyond the Limpopo context.

3.6.2 Case study elements of the study

The arrival of this large group of practising rural teachers provided a unique opportunity to examine the possibilities and constraints offered by a four-to-five year intervention. As this intervention removed the participants from social fields they had grown up and worked in, it offered an opportunity to research what the effect of this long-term rupture was on their literate habitus. In addition, focussing on one situation could assist in understanding other situations and similar cases.

Case studies also recognise that social truths are multifaceted and entrenched as they examine “discrepancies between participants’ perceptions” (Basit, 2010:20) and a “multiplicity of perspectives” (Richie & Lewis, 2003:52). Basit (2010:20) indicates that the “rich description” of a case study as includes the:

details of the lived experiences of specific cases or individuals and offers an understanding of how the individuals perceive the various phenomena in the social world and their effects on themselves.

This study includes case study elements as it is an in-depth examination and interpretation of the literate habitus of selected participants. In addition it examines the importance of the relationship between different social worlds and the effect of ruptures and interactions in and between these fields on participants' perceptions and understanding of literacy.

3.7 Selection of participants

I taught 105 Limpopo teacher-students the *English in Education A & B* courses in 2009. Not all of these teacher-students chose to become involved in this research. As an introduction to the research study, and to delimit the required sample selection, I shared the focus of the research with my class explaining that having the teacher-students at Wits provided an unusual opportunity to gain knowledge and understanding of the issues they faced as teachers of literacy. I also set them up as experts and insiders needing to provide me, the novice and outsider with information about their literate lives. I then explained that the journals they had written and were continuing to write would be useful data, and requested permission to use them for the study clarifying that focus groups would also be conducted. It was emphasised that they did not have to take part in the research; that they could change their minds at any time and that a decision not to participate would not impact on their marks nor affect my relationship with them. They were also assured that their identities would be protected in reporting on this research.

An ethical challenge was that because this group was unique, they were being asked to participate in a number of studies at Wits. Also, they were fraught and anxious because of their heavy workload. As a result, many of them were not keen to take on anything that would demand more time from them. Despite this, thirty teacher-students initially chose to complete the consent forms granting me permission to use their journals and agreeing to be part of the research. As the research developed, a number of these participants dropped out of the research or did not provide sufficient data over the four years, resulting in a total of 22 actual participants (See Table 3.2 in Section 3.9.1).

3.8 Sampling

The sampling was purposive as the participants were selected based on my knowledge of these teacher-students (Babbie, 1990), and because I specifically wanted to work with this group of Limpopo teachers. I offered the opportunity to participate to the 105 teacher-students in my English class, and they had the option of participating or not. Masana is one participant who was not a member of my English class, as she was in the other stream. However, she volunteered to be part of the study. An advantage of the participation self-selection was that the participants who chose to become involved in research were likely to be more committed to the research. As a result, a core group of participants emerged who remained motivated and committed throughout the four years, although some participants gradually fell by the wayside. A disadvantage of self-selection was that it could result in bias as those who took part might not be truly representative. Consequently, each participant who remained committed to the study might have done so because of a determination and motivation to change.

3.9 Data collection

This study made use of a large corpus of data. The primary methods used to collect data were biographical questionnaires, English Reflective journals written in 2009, reflective journals from four years on TE (2009-2012), participants' Library Science journals (2011), and focus groups held in 2010 and 2012. This data was supplemented by teaching observation forms¹⁶ (2009-2012) and my research journal.

Table 3.1 indicates the codes that were used to reference the different sources of the data in the thesis. Dates were filled in after the codes in the references, with 'nd' indicating no date.

Table 3.1: Codes for data sources

Data source	Code used to identify data source
Biographical questionnaires	BQ
English Reflective journals	EJ //Participants were not always meticulous about dating the entries.
Teaching Experience journals	TE
Library Science journals	LJ /These were not dated but numbered by week

¹⁶ On TE every student is observed by a tutor assigned to them by the university who completes an observation form on which they comment on the students' teaching. These are discussed further in Section 3.9.2.3.3.

Focus groups	FG
Teaching observation forms	TO
Researcher's journal	RJ
Exit interviews and focus groups	EI

3.9.1 Biographical questionnaires

In October 2009, a two A4 page biographical questionnaire (see Appendix C) was distributed to those who had signed consent forms agreeing to participate in the research. The purpose of the questionnaire was to find out the participants' ages, gender, qualifications, experience, languages and their reasons for becoming teachers. These questionnaires were designed to be completed immediately after class and returned as they left the lecture venue, thus maximising their return (Gillham, 2000). This happened with most of the questionnaires, though I had to follow up with some, and one participant never returned a questionnaire. As discussed in Section 3.7, initially, 30 of the 105 teacher-students in the English class agreed to participate in the study. Two of the participants elected to leave the research early in 2010 indicating that they had too many demands on their time. Six of the remaining participants provided so little data over the four years because they did not provide me with their TE reflective journals regularly. Because of this I chose not to include them in this study, as it was not possible to meaningfully examine any possible shifts or lack thereof.

Table 3.2 identifies the final 22 participants using pseudonyms. I chose these pseudonyms by looking for appropriate names from their languages on the Internet, and ensuring that the meanings had positive connotations and meanings. Below each pseudonym is the code used to identify participants when quoting them throughout the thesis.

Table 3.2: Research participants

	Participant	Gender	Age*	Years of experience*	Grades taught	Matric Year	Home Language	Languages spoken	Library journal
1	Akani AM	M	43	15	3	1986	Xitsonga	English Sotho Tshivenda	yes
2	Amogelang AP	M	40	10	3/6/7	1988	Sepedi	English isiZulu Afrikaans	yes

3	Dineo ¹⁷ DM	F	-	-	-	-	-	-	yes
4	Elela EM	F	40	19	1-7	1986	Xitsonga	isiZulu English Sepedi Afrikaans	
5	Kemontle KK	F	39	15	1/2	1988	Sepedi	English isiNdebele Afrikaans	yes
6	Kganya KL	F	39	19	1/4/5/6/7	1986	Sepedi	English Xitsonga	yes
7	Koketso KM	F	40	17	1/2/3	1987	Sepedi	seTswana English Afrikaans	yes
8	Lethabo LM	F	39	15	1/2/3	1989	Sepedi	isiNdebele English Afrikaans	yes
9	Mamoratwa MH	F	33	5	R/2	1993	Sepedi	isiZulu English seTswana	yes
10	Mangalani MG	F	44	21	R/1/2/3/4	1984	Xitsonga	isiZulu English Afrikaans Sepedi	yes
11	Masana MS	F	40	16	R/3	1986	Xitsonga	Isi Zulu English Afrikaans	yes
12	Masingita MK	F	37	8	2/3/4/6/7	1992	Xitsonga	English Afrikaans Tshivenda	yes
13	Molebogeng ¹⁸ MR	F	39	14	1/3	1991	Sepedi	isiZulu Xitsonga English	yes
14	Motle MM	F	38	16	2	1989	Xitsonga	English	yes
15	Ntsako NL	F	37	4	1	1990	Xitsonga	English Afrikaans Tshivenda Sepedi seTswana	
16	Ntsovelo NM	F	34	7	2/3	1994	Xitsonga	Tshivenda English Sotho isiZulu	yes
17	Ntsumi NB	F	43	16	1	1987	Xitsonga	English isiZulu Tshivenda	yes
18	Nyeleti NT	F	38	14	2/4/5/6/7	1992	Xitsonga	Tshivenda isiZulu English Sotho	yes
19	Shiluva SM	F	41	14	1	1987	Xitsonga	English	yes
20	Tokologo TM	M	40	7	1/2/3	1999	Sepedi	Xitsonga English Afrikaans	yes
21	Unwana UM	F	40	14	2	1991	Xitsonga	English Tshivenda isiZulu	yes
22	Vuthlari VM	M	35	6	R/1/4/5/6	1993	Xitsonga	English	

¹⁷ Dineo did not complete a biographical questionnaire

¹⁸ Molebogeng did not attend a focus group

*The figures in this table refer to the start of the research in 2009, the participants' first year at the University of the Witwatersrand.

3.9.2 Reflective journals

Three different kinds of reflective journals were used in this study, namely, English Reflective journals kept in 2009, Library Science journals used for assessment in 2011 and TE reflective journals used for assessment for education students at the WSoE. It was, therefore, important to consider the literature on using reflective journals and on teachers' reflections on their practices.

Reflective journals are increasingly used as an assessment tool and as a means of helping students to make sense of their learning, the latter being important in this study. There have been a number of studies investigating the advantages and disadvantages of journal use. O'Connell and Dymont (2011) provide a useful review of this literature, identifying four themes which emerge as benefits of reflective journals for students. For example, journals provide a starting point for learning, centre students on the learning process, promote creativity and encourage critical reflection. Journals also help writers to become aware of their growing problem-solving abilities, decision-making skills; critical thinking and creative practices (Graham & Phelps, 2003). They also benefit educators in helping to build relationships with students. It is the interaction between writer, reader and context that contributes to how the texts are written and this helps students understand how the genre works (Hallman & Adam, 2013).

A number of authors argue that reflection is important for meta-awareness, which supports learning (Graham & Phelps, 2003; Perkins, 1992). Schön (1983) is credited as a source of the theories on the importance of reflection for teaching practice (Akbari, 2007). Schön (1983) differentiates between reflection-on-action and reflection-in-action. Writing in reflective journals about one's teaching involves reflection-on-action, thinking about your teaching through a critical lens, questioning your actions and considering solutions. Reflection-in-action happens when one reflects while teaching, instinctively, thinking on one's feet. Both of these types of reflection were important for this study as they demonstrated developing literacy teaching pedagogy.

In contrast to the positive view of reflection and the keeping of reflective journals is the position that there is no published evidence that convincingly shows that teacher or student performance improves because of reflective techniques. This is because reflection is often seen as an end (assessment tool) rather than a means to better learning and efficient teaching (Akbari, 2007). Others argue that journals are ineffective as students are not sufficiently guided on the use of journals and students have differing capacities of mindfulness and self-knowledge (Graham & Phelps, 2003; O'Connell & Dymont, 2011; Ryan, 2012; Ward & McCotter, 2004). The difficulty of meaningful reflection is often overlooked and explicit scaffolding is required (Ryan, 2012). Reflection is not intuitive, and students often need help to analyse what has happened and to make a value judgement about it (Graham & Phelps, 2003; Ryan, 2012). Reflective journals can also sometimes reinforce prior attitudes and dispositions and having to use them regularly can be constraining (Hallman & Adam, 2013).

In addition, reflection should not always be confined to looking back, which could be limiting (Akbari, 2007; Conway, 2001). Anticipatory reflection is also important because it opens users up to a more explicit, expansive way of thinking about one's practices (Conway, 2001). However, teacher education tends to focus on immediate anticipation such as lesson-planning, rather than a more expansive reconstruction of a professional view of one's development as a teacher (Conway, 2001).

This section has discussed the negative and positive aspects of reflective journals. I chose to use reflective journals as a primary research tool as I considered journals to play a valuable role in creating awareness of practices. The next section examines more specifically how the different kinds of reflective journals were used in this study.

3.9.2.1 English Reflective journals (2009)

The English course I taught the teacher-students from Limpopo in 2009 consisted of nine modules (see Appendix F). Although it was not a requirement for the course, I felt that the Limpopo teachers would benefit from having a safe space to experiment with writing and so I introduced reflective journals. I also realised that these would be useful data for my proposed PhD and so, on 19 March 2009, I arrived in the lecture hall with two A5 softcover notebooks for each of them.

It was explained that they should keep journals during the rest of the year. In my naivety, I suggested that they should write between one or two pages each week and that I would take in one book and respond to it while they had the other book to write in. I gave them two reasons for the journals: firstly, that the class was large and it was difficult for everyone to interact with me, so the journals would give them an opportunity to tell me about themselves, their literacy or to raise issues that concerned them. Secondly, it would be a place to practise writing. A limitation of the use of these journals was that I became aware that I did not give the students sufficient guidance on how to use them meaningfully. At the time, I made too many assumptions about their ability to understand the use of the genre.

The ensuing pandemonium as I handed out the books surprised me. The usually restrained teacher-students became frantic as they jostled to get hold of the books. Despite assurances that there were enough for all, they grabbed the books, shouting at one another. Reflecting on this later, I felt it might have been because they had come from areas where resources were scarce so the 'gift' of two books each was overwhelming. I felt hopeful, imagining their behaviour indicated enthusiasm for writing. This was soon proven false as one of the biggest challenges faced was getting the teacher-students to hand in their journals.

The journals became a source of stress for most of the Limpopo teachers. They wrote irregularly and when asked for them, they were "lost" or "left in Limpopo". My weekly request for journals was often met with shifty gazes and uncomfortable body language. My research journal reflects my frustration:

They view [the journals] as homework and many label it as such. On Thursday, I observed some of them quickly writing in their journals like naughty schoolchildren while I was teaching. One woman had written her journal in 'rough' on a piece of paper and was hastily writing a neat copy to hand in. I explained that the journals should be enjoyable, written in a quiet, comfortable place where they can think about what they are writing. I emphasised it was not homework and they would not be punished for not doing it (RJ, 23/07/09).

A week later, we discussed the problems they were having with the journal writing. This excerpt from my research journal describes the response of one of the teacher-students to the discussion. She explained how unfamiliarity with the genre of journal writing contributed to difficulties.

Ntsovelo¹⁹ stood up and explained that they came from a culture of ‘non-writing’ and they were not used to writing regularly and expressing themselves in writing. I thought this was helpful and insightful (RJ, 31/07/09).

Initially, I had told them that they were free to write on any topic but that they would be given three to get them started (see Appendix G). In addition, they should write a short weekly response to anything they had read in the week. Since the response had been poor, I realised that it would be helpful to give them a list of prompts (see Appendix H) which had arisen from language autobiographies they had written as their first assignment. Despite the challenges faced, some Limpopo teachers continued to hand in journals during the year, while others disregarded the invitation.

3.9.2.2 Teaching experience²⁰ (TE)

All students on the B. Ed course in the WSoE participated in a three-four week teaching experience twice a year, usually in May and September/October. On TE, students attended schools and worked closely with a supervising teacher observing and teaching his or her classes. Despite being experienced teachers, the research participants were required to do TE. This section discusses three aspects of TE. Firstly, the importance of the role of the supervising teacher is outlined, examining what the literature discusses about this role. The reason that was important for this study was that many of the participants focused on this relationship in the TE reflective journals. These reflective journals were an important research tool and I discuss them briefly in this section. Thirdly, another research tool, the TE observation forms are also described.

3.9.2.2.1 The role of the supervising teacher on Teaching Experience TE

The literature on TE acknowledges the importance of the relationship between supervising teachers²¹ and student teachers. These studies provided useful insights for an examination of the shifts in how the teacher-students in this study teach literacy negotiated their relationships and either learned from or resist what the supervising teachers’ modelled. Importantly though, these insights would be complicated by the fact that this interaction was between the research participants,

¹⁹ A pseudonym

²⁰ I refer to the time the student teachers go into the field to work in schools as part of their training as Teaching Experience. This is referred to variously in the literature as a practicum or field experience as well.

²¹ I use “supervising teacher” to refer to the teacher in the school who works with the visiting student-teacher as a mentor. The literature also refers to these teachers variously as mentors, collaborating teachers or “knowledgeable others” (Gelfuso & Dennis, 2014).

who were mature, experienced teachers and their supervising teachers. I could find no studies that had investigated a relationship between mature teacher-students and their supervising teachers and this was also a gap that this study aimed to fill.

Studies show the importance of supervising teachers in helping students develop positive attitudes about the profession (Astika, 2014) and in providing emotional support and feedback (Cohen, Hoz & Kaplan, 2013). Interpersonal skills are important as are the emotions that arise from the relationship between mentor and mentee (Beck, Kosnik & Rowsell, 2007; Kosnik & Beck, 2003; O'Dwyer & Atli, 2014). Difficulties could arise in this relationship when there are cultural differences between the supervising teacher and the pre-service teacher as this could lead to different interests, expectations about teaching styles, interaction with students and educational philosophies (Astika, 2014; Cohen et al., 2013; O'Dwyer & Atli, 2014). Some student teachers have difficulty managing a dual identity of student and teacher (Schoeman & Mabunda, 2012). They could feel stressed and threatened when supervising teachers are not supportive (Ferguson & Brink, 2004) or when supervising teachers treat the students as replacement teachers (Mukuredzi & Mandrona, 2013). There are often difficulties in building trust (O'Dwyer & Atli, 2014), and supervising teachers are sometimes so busy and focused on their learners that they do not have time to mentor pre-service teachers meaningfully. Alternatively, the supervising teacher might be so focused on the nurturing role in their relationship with the pre-service teacher that they shy away from critique. Generally, supervising teachers often lack the necessary preparation to enable high-quality and appropriate support of student teachers (Clarke, Triggs & Nielsen, 2013).

Pre-service teachers and in-service teachers need to be given the opportunity to practice teaching in different schools and classrooms as this provides opportunities to notice aspects of teaching which were not explicit or visible before (Grow, 2011; Walton & Rusznyak, 2013) to develop awareness of diverse work conditions and cultures (Kabilan, 2013) and to see the link between theory and practice (Cohen et al, 2013; Huber, Hutchings & Gale, 2005; Mtika, 2008). Learning comes from experiencing a tension in the differences between how one teaches and what one observes on TE (Horn, Nolen, Ward & Campbell, 2008). As a result, TE should provide opportunities for pre-service and in-service teachers to challenge their personal philosophies and teaching practices. If this does not happen, they will just

perpetuate (reproduce) what they see supervising teachers do (Gouda & Banks, 2006; Wilkington, 2005) or they will tend to fit in rather than assert themselves (Astika, 2014). In my study, all of this was complicated by the fact that the participants had deeply-entrenched practices and a strong dispositional teacher identity which was already well-established because of their years of experience. All of their observations and reflections on TE were made through the lens of experienced teachers rather than as developing teachers (Grow, 2011).

3.9.2.2.2 Reflective journals on TE (2009-2012)

Students kept a reflective journal as part of their learning experience on TE every year and this was assessed in their fourth year. The participants granted me permission to use their TE journals (see Appendix B). A limitation of this was that after 2009, I was no longer in regular contact with the participants so I did not get access to journal across *all* four years from *all* participants. This made it difficult to track shifts in how all the participants spoke about teaching literacy.

3.9.2.2.3 Observation forms from TE

When students were on TE they were each mentored by a tutor²² who visited each student twice during TE observing their teaching. Tutors completed observation forms, wrote commentaries on the lessons and discussed these with the students to help develop them as teachers. These observation sheets also formed part of the research data and were useful in comparing the participants' espoused teaching practices with those observed by the tutor. The research participants gave me permission to use these observation sheets (see Appendix D) and the Wits TE office arranged access to them. A limitation of using these was that the teacher-students were not always meticulous about filing them and so there were some gaps which made it difficult to compare what they had said about their teaching with what was observed by the tutors.

3.9.2.3 Library Science journals 2011²³

The third type of reflective journal used as data in this research was the Library Science journals. In 2011, some of the participants took the optional subject, Library Science. This was a five-week course and they were asked to write a response to

²² 'Tutor' refers to the university tutor who visits the student and assesses them.

²³ I am grateful to my colleague, Kate Earle for alerting me to the valuable information in the Library Science journals and to the participants for allowing me to use them for my research.

each weekly lesson in a journal. This formed part of the assessment of the course. Participants gave me permission to use the journals (see Appendix E) and I spent time noting some of the comments made in them that I considered relevant for my study. One of the challenges of this was that there were tight time constraints to doing this. Therefore, I did not copy the journals; instead I made notes of sections I felt would be relevant for my study from 19 of the 22 participant's Library Science journals.

3.9.3 Focus groups

There were a number of reasons for choosing to use focus groups. Firstly, because this was a large group of participants, focus groups would take less time than individual interviews (Bouma, Ling & Wilkinson, 2009), however, I was aware that they produced less data than face-to-face interviews (Berg, 2001). However, they provided an opportunity to expand on some of the issues raised in the English Reflective journals as well as allowing for some comparison in the parallel data (Barbour, 2007). They helped me to access what the participants thought about the topics and why (Morgan, 1988 in Barbour, 2007). Another benefit of focus groups is their interactive quality (Berg, 2001) and so, as participants expressed a point of view, this resulted in others reconsidering their own opinions and experiences (Barbour, 2007; Finch & Lewis, 2003). A disadvantage was that participants might be influenced by others in the group to express the same point of view (Barbour, 2007).

Before I ran the actual focus groups, I arranged with two Limpopo students from my colleague's English class to meet with me to try out the questions. It is important to run a pilot to assist with putting together the topic guide (Barbour, 2007). This pilot focus group was held on 17 February, 2010. As a result, I adapted some questions for clarity and cut the number of questions; refining them and narrowing the focus (see Appendix I).

In the early part of 2010, I invited the participants to attend a meeting in which I explained what a focus group was; that it would be a time to talk about themselves, their communities and literacy and that I would record and analyse these for my research. I created a timetable and asked them to fill in their names indicating the day and time that suited them best to attend a focus group. Initially, it was planned to have four or five participants in each focus group to ensure sufficient time for equal

participation. I had also hoped to organise the focus groups to facilitate comparison of attitudes and views (Barbour, 2007), and to have older and younger participants in different focus groups. This was difficult to arrange because of availability of participants at different times. I did, however, succeed in having the three male participants in a separate group from the female participants which provided some opportunity for comparison. The table below indicates the number of the focus groups, dates held and participants.

Table 3.3: Focus groups

Number	Date	Participants
1	19/02/10	Amogelang, Ntsumi, Nyeleti
2	22/02/10	Vuthlari, Motle
3	26/02/10	Lethabo (and two other participants who later dropped out of the research).
4	01/03/10	Ntsovelo, Masingita
5	02/03/10	Mangalani, Ntsako, Masana
6	03/03/10	Amogelang, Akani, Tokologo
7	05/03/10	Kganya, Koketso, Elela, Kemontle, Mamoratwa
8	09/03/10	Dineo
9	30/07/10	Ntsovelo, Mangalani, Ntsumi
10	04/08/10	Unwana, Shiluva

The focus groups took place in my office during lunch time (one hour) to facilitate attendance as access was easy and participants would be on campus. Chairs were arranged informally in a semi-circle. Focus groups were recorded with permission from the participants. I also aimed to keep the microphone discrete to minimise distraction and anxiety. The discussion was semi-structured and a conscious effort was made to ensure that each participant had chance to contribute. Throughout the discussions, attempts were made to highlight that all answers were acceptable, to clarify meaning and to check that those who felt differently or had alternative experiences felt free to articulate these.

Woods (1986:63-65, in Basit, 2010:111) notes three attributes of ethnographers as interviewers, namely, trust, curiosity and naturalness, which I attempted to maintain while conducting the focus groups. By the time these were held in early 2010, the

participants had been in my English lectures five times a week for a year so they knew me well and would have had some trust in me. During their lessons and focus groups, I expressed my desire to learn more about the contexts from which they came in order to assist them and to make a difference to the teaching of literacy in rural Limpopo. I tried to make the discussions as conversational as possible, conducting them in an atmosphere of mutual respect and understanding. A limitation of the use of focus groups in this study was that despite this attempt at informality, the participants treated them formally and some were restrained in answering. Because I was their lecturer, I had to be conscious of their telling me what they thought I would want to hear (Barbour, 2007).

In addition, despite meticulous arrangements made with the research participants, it was problematic getting them to attend the focus groups. They would forget, or arrive half way through a focus group session. In the end, 21 teacher-students participated in these focus groups, one of whom, Dineo, attended on her own. The organisational challenges came about for a number of reasons. Firstly, I was no longer teaching them in 2010, so contacting participants to make arrangements was difficult. Even though I had telephone numbers for all of them, participants would not respond to the messages probably because of time and work load pressure. Poor organisation and time management resulted in some of them arriving late or forgetting to come all together. To overcome the problem, I hosted an informal lunch for the participants during which my supervisor and I interacted with them socially and spoke about their homes, schooling and teacher education as well as their experiences at Wits. It was decided to hold further focus groups at their place of residence in the afternoons (I went twice, on 30 July and 4 August). These conversations were informal, unstructured and also recorded. They were hosted by Ntsovelo, in her apartment and were attended by Ntsovelo, Mangalani and Ntsumi (30 July) and Ntsovelo, Shiluva and Unwana (4 August). These participants volunteered to attend, revealing extra commitment to the research project.

3.9.4 Research reports and exit discussions

In the final year of study, 2012, I supervised five female in-service teacher-students as they worked on their fourth year research projects: Elela, Kganya, Masingita, Ntsako and Shiluva. I conducted an exit focus group with Ntsako and Shiluva, but Ntsumi chose to attend as well. I also recorded an exit interview with Elela, and

Kganya chose to answer questions (see Appendix K) in a journal. Kganya and I met to discuss some of her answers, during which I made notes. I built a good relationship with these five participants as we spent individual sessions together working on their research reports. They had requested to have me as their supervisor which was further indication of their trust which, I believe, resulted in more openness in the answers they provided in these focus groups, interviews and discussions.

3.10 Data analysis

The method used to analyse the data was thematic analysis which has the potential to provide a rich, detailed and complex account of data by identifying, analysing and reporting patterns within the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Roulston, 2001). Because this study is constructionist in perspective, I searched for themes that reflected how meaning and experiences about literacy were socially-produced (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The thumbnails of the participants can be found in Appendix A. Exemplars of the analyses can be found in the Appendices L, M and N which Table 3.3 clarifies.

Table 3.4: Analysis of data and appendices

Exemplar of summaries of the data	Appendix L
Exemplar of Habitus tables	Appendix M
Exemplar of the Four Resources tables	Appendix N

The data analysis was conducted using ten steps.

Step one: The analysis commenced with my transcription of the interviews/ focus groups. This was broad transcription in which the words spoken and by whom were recorded. Details such as laughter or hesitation were included. Transcription is an important part of analysis and doing it helped me get an overview of the data as I created meaning from the spoken word, while attempting to remain true to the original (Bird, 2005; Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999; Riessman 1993). Another benefit of my having conducted the focus groups and transcribed them was that it would be more likely that the written record would be accurate (Bouma, et al., 2009). Despite this, at times, I experienced some difficulty in recognising the voices of the participants. Also, because I had been the facilitator, I had not been able to take notes capturing body language and gestures (Bouma, et al., 2009).

Step two: The information from the biographical questionnaires was organised into categories for each participant and collated as illustrated in Table 3.2 (see Section 3.9.1). All of the data for each participant was then organised into hard copy concertina files as well as electronically into word files.

Step three: I began with a horizontal analysis (Van Zyl, 2010), looking broadly across the data. I analysed the initial English Reflective journals, focus group data and TE journals from 2009 and early 2010 by looking for recurring keywords, phrases and themes. Because I was looking for literate habitus, I looked for themes that captured something important in relation to the research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006). As I was looking for patterned, recurring responses, I initially worked at the semantic level (Boyatzis, 1998 in Braun & Clarke, 2006) identifying categories, but not looking beyond what the participants said or wrote. After the initial keywords, phrases and themes were identified, these were then reduced to six major themes, namely:

- *Access:* resources, teaching strategies, “not for us”, consequences of illiteracy, learning and teaching literacy, language, teacher training, programmes, interventions, literacy mediators/brokers.

This theme relates to Bourdieu’s concepts by revealing how different contexts provide differential access to resources. This access or lack thereof contributes to the structure of dispositions that result in individuals recognising what is possible or impossible. Some of what is accessed is accumulated capital which becomes embodied as habitus.

- *Social relationships:* rituals, traditions, superstitions, faith / ethics / morals / values, sayings / proverbs, trust / distrust, fear / confidence, gender roles, family, community.

This theme relates to Bourdieu’s concepts by emphasising the role that social capital plays in structuring dispositions that provide capital in one social space but that do not, necessarily provide capital in different social spaces, or fields. Fields are defined by a set of social relationships and the collective values of those in the field. Also the theme indicates the importance of the relationship between the affective and habitus.

- *Control and constraints:* DoE, principals, SGBs, curriculum, officialdom, discipline, programmes / interventions / workshops, assessment / testing, language, “supposed to”; “have to”, student identity.

This theme relates to Bourdieu’s concepts by showing how the “rules of the game” are imposed by those in power in the fields in which one operates. These rules reinforce what is valued and recognised as capital in particular fields. This becomes embodied as habitus in those who grow up in those fields.

- *Agency/Power/Resistance:* assertiveness, refusal, subversion, critique of what participants saw or had to do, negotiating of positions, insider / outsider, professional identity, hopefulness and motivation / loss of hope and motivation, time, workload.

This theme relates to Bourdieu’s concepts by emphasising the extent to which fields are arenas of struggle for power and influence. Agency is the extent to which individuals can act with intention and purpose within the constraints of the social worlds in which they operate. Bourdieu’s theories emphasise the importance of strategy on the part of an individual in the social worlds he/she finds him/herself in.

- *Adaptation:* acquiring the discourse, academic literacy, improvisation, “learn from the children”, “can learn something new”, epiphany, comparative – looking back “in Limpopo”, shift/change.

This theme shows the transposability of the set of dispositions that make up habitus. It reveals how individuals make sense of their current situations by building on their past experiences. The set of dispositions making up habitus is generative and this theme indicates how habitus is constantly being structured. However, Bourdieu’s caution that new practices are regulated by the field underpins examination of this theme.

- *Anticipation:* “when I go back”, anticipation of change, dreams of future, looking forward.

This theme relates to Bourdieu’s concepts by revealing how choices of practices are dependent on an awareness of the range of possibilities that become embodied as a set of dispositions. Anticipation is important in this

study because if one cannot anticipate one cannot imagine consequences and make plans to change.

Step four: These themes were then connected to social space and location linking them to how they operated across three key areas. In particular, examples of shifts or resistance to shifts needed to be identified. I did this on large poster size sheets of paper organised into columns, namely:

1. Limpopo (The social spaces and areas in which they grew up, trained and taught).
2. Wits (The social spaces and areas at the university and where they lived in Johannesburg).
3. Teaching Experience (The social spaces, schools and classrooms they visited and taught in during TE).

Step five: Thematic data analysis is a recursive rather than linear process (Ely, Vinz, Downing & Anzul in Braun & Clarke, 2006). Therefore, I read and re-read the transcripts and then wrote summaries of the data for each participant, highlighting key quotes which related to the themes. This was an attempt to reduce the large amounts of data and to begin interpreting the data. Data from 2009 and 2010 was analysed initially, and as more was gathered, this was added to the summary. An example of these summaries is included in Appendix L. I used vertical analysis, “drilling down” as I searched for key events and experiences, perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, concepts and ideologies in each participant (van Zyl, 2010). I also noted quotes from the data that I considered would be useful.

Step six: A challenge in this analysis was how to ‘understand’ habitus which is deeply unconscious. It became clear to me that I could only, realistically, become aware of each participant’s *espoused* practices through words, which would reflect habitus. I examined what the participants said they could do in relation to literacy and made connections with what was revealed by the actual writing of the texts. For each research participant, I created “Habitus tables” (see example in Appendix M). This entailed re-examining the data and categorising it into four areas which, according to Maton (2008:52), relate to habitus, “Simply put, habitus focuses on our ways of doing, feeling, thinking and being”. This relates to Gee’s (1990:43) theorisation of the primary Discourse as well as:

... a socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing and of acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or 'social network' or to signal (that one is playing) a socially meaningful role .

It was difficult to capture the notion of “being”, so I focused on what participants wrote and said about knowing how to be literate. Instances in the data relating to doing, valuing, feeling and knowing were put into tables. I included extended quotes and comments from my own observations in these Habitus tables, which were used as markers of habitus. The baseline data was the starting point, and each mention of literacy was placed into these categories. Maton (2008) and Gee’s (1991) definitions of habitus were combined in Table 3.4 which illustrates the organisation of the Habitus tables in Appendix N.

Table 3.5: Habitus table

Acting Speaking, writing, doing (Gee, 1990;1996)	• Practices- looking for instances of literacy practices and events • How participants use literacy in their own lives, what literacy is used for • Memories of early learning processes
Thinking Believing and valuing (Gee, 1990;1996)	• Interpretation of literacy • Perceptions about literacy • Patterns of thinking about literacy • How participants value literacy • What can be achieved or accomplished with literacy
Feeling	• Affective • Emotions/feelings about literacy and teaching literacy • Descriptions of enjoyment or frustration • Sense of power, influence and agency • Sense of self
Knowing	• Knowledge about doing literacy • Learning to be literate • How participants say they should teach literacy • Production and consumption of texts

As an interpretative researcher, I was aiming to understand the meanings within the participants and the closest I could get to this was to examine the meanings the participants gave to their understanding of and discussion of literacy. As part of these tables, I identified instances of the use of literacy and categorised these according to the Four Resources Model (Freebody, 1992; Freebody & Luke, 1990) (see example in Appendix N).²⁴

²⁴ All of the tables initially included data from 2009 and 2010.

Step eight: The selected data derived from the journals were analysed using Blommaert's analytic tools (2008a:7) which are summarised in Table 3.5. This helped me to identify shifts in the writing in the texts produced by the participants over time. However, I did not analyse all of the writing in this way, I only applied this analysis to the data that I had used to discuss a specific participant's writing in detail. This data is elaborated on in Chapter Five (see Sections 5.3.5.2 and 5.4.3.1).

Table 3.6: Blommaert's (2008a) analytic tools

<i>Hetero-graphy</i> "The deployment of graphic symbols in ways that defy <i>orthographic</i> norms"	1. Spelling difficulties 2. Erratic punctuation 3. Texts as drafts 4. "<i>Visual aestheticisation</i>"
<i>Vernacular language varieties being used in writing</i>	Use of: • non-standard language varieties, • code-switching • colloquialisms
<i>Distant genres</i>	Marginal exposure to some genres results in a lack of resources to use them as expected Texts 'assembled' from available resources to construct perceived genres
<i>Partial insertion in knowledge economies</i>	Texts constructed on basis of locally available knowledge resources (<i>asking and listening</i>)
<i>Constrained mobility</i>	Texts that are <i>locally</i> meaningful and valuable lose 'voice' when moved geographically and into other social spaces (<i>fields</i>).

Table 3.5 illustrates in table form Blommaert's (2008a) analytic tools as they were used to analyse selected sections of the written data. I have kept most of the errors of the original writing in the data chapters in order to reflect the difficulties the participants had with English. In some places, to clarify meaning, minor adjustments were made when quoting.

I also chose to analyse particular journal entries according to two reflective models, those of Perkins (1992) and Ward and McCotter (2004). I applied these models to selected sections of the journals, in particular, in relation to the participants on whom I chose to focus, namely, Elela, Kganya, Motle, Ntsako and Shiluva. The hierarchical model for meta-cognitive thinking developed by Perkins (1992) has four levels, namely, *Tacit*, where the writing is descriptive, revealing no meta-cognition; *Aware*, the second level, reveals some meta-cognition but no understanding of purposes and strategies is shown. The *Strategic* level shows organised thinking, developing strategies and moving beyond obvious choices to discuss implications of new

learning. The highest level, *Reflective* is where one assesses one's progress and evaluates strategies.

To some extent, Perkin's (1992) reflective model could be related to Ward and McCotter's (2004) rubric, developed to assess pre-service teachers' reflection. This rubric also includes four levels, namely, *Routine*, *Technical*, *Dialogic* and *Transformative*, with the highest level being *Transformative*. Ward and McCotter (2004:251) describe *Routine* reflections as those that reveal a "lack of curiosity or lack of attention to complexity". These reflections are limited to focussing on problems and blaming circumstances or others for things going wrong in lessons. There is no questioning, no taking of responsibility for change and the emphasis is on issues that affect oneself directly such as discipline and control of learners. Reflections operating in the *Technical* category reveal a desire to learn and centre on solving problems. The focus in these entries is on narrow teaching tasks and this inquiry neither leads to new insights nor a deeper questioning of practice.

Reflections that reveal an ongoing process of thinking and taking into consideration the views of others are characteristic of the *Dialogic* level. The questioning process leads to further questioning which, ultimately, leads to new insights and the possibility of change. Although for Ward and McCotter (2004:253), *Transformative* reflection "questions fundamental assumptions and purpose more deeply", they also point out that it is rare for pre-service teachers to reach this level. The participants in this study were experienced teachers so one might expect that they reflected at the *Transformative* level. However, transformative reflection takes place over a long period of time and is characterised by "whole-hearted inquiry" (Ward & McCotter, 2004:253) leading to new perspectives. The pressures of the curriculum and 'teaching to the test' tend to get in the way of critical reflection in practicing teachers (Ward & McCotter, 2004). Together both of these models provided useful ways of assessing the quality of reflection of selected participants, as revealed in the journals in this study.

Step nine: I chose to include data in the data chapters based on similarities and differences, focussing particularly on agency and willingness to change as opposed to constraints and resistance. I chose to examine closely the participants who had

provided me with most of their journals, teaching observation forms and who had chosen to complete their research reports under my supervision.

Step ten: I found working with the fairly large group of participants and the enormous amount of data difficult to control initially. Backhouse (2009) used the life story approach (Bertaux & Kohli, 1984 in Backhouse, 2009; Peacock & Holland, 1993 in Backhouse, 2009) to summarise her data and as a tool of analysis. I adapted this approach and constructed what I refer to as “thumbnails” of each of the participants (see Appendix A). These are smaller-sized versions of the bigger picture and the purpose of these was twofold: first, to help the reader of this thesis recognise the participants and second, to help me to organise and manage the information. I used the initial focus group data and journals from 2009 to construct these narratives.

Similarly to Backhouse (2009), I wanted to keep the narratives I wrote as close to the original as possible. I wrote them by combining the information from the data. I changed the sentence order and focused on key moments, trying to keep each thumbnail to a limit 500 words.

3.11 The reflexive researcher

During this research, I have been conscious of the role I played in defining, classifying and judging the social world and habitus of each participant. For example, the complexities of growing up in Apartheid South Africa have affected both the participants and me as the researcher. Subjectivity is a key element in qualitative research (Eisner, 1998). While conducting this study I had been conscious of possible preconceptions I might have brought to the research as well as the challenges in understanding the habitus which is deeply-embedded. Researcher bias is also a common criticism of qualitative research (Merriam, 1995). I was aware that my role as the participants’ lecturer could colour my perspective. I also realised that coming from an urban, academic environment, in contrast to the environment the participants had come from, might lead to certain prejudices. The difficulty of discussing literacy and language in the lives of those who come from predominantly oral communities, without using language that might appear to be ethnocentric or discriminatory was something I was acutely aware of (Andreotti & de Souza, 2008). To overcome this I tried, throughout the research process, to focus on the

significance of what I was noting in as open and sensitive a manner as I could without constructing the participants as “other” because we had come from such different worlds.

Bourdieu (2000) claims that those who work in the social world of academia presume to have the means within the “logic of a field subject” (2000:129) to explain and understand a subject and to demonstrate and refute claims made about that subject. It is these same means that can be used on the researcher. This awareness has prevailed during this research project. I have been conscious of how, in the social space of the university, my position has, of necessity, governed how I have viewed the participants. This position as lecturer has affected how the teacher-students have revealed themselves to me. What I have observed has been embodied ways of being literate and doing literacy as expressed in material form. This has reflected the participants’ ways of being literate in the world. Similarly though, my interpretation and comprehension of this has depended on my habitus and my position in what to me, is a familiar world but to the participants, less so. I cannot hope to perceive accurately without recognising my own “construction” of what I perceive.

Bourdieu (2000) argues that this is the usefulness of the notion of habitus. How it reminds the researcher that what he or she has is a “capacity to construct social reality” which is, itself “socially constructed” (p.131). During this research process I have reminded myself that what I observe is socially constructed and that my judgements and interpretations are socially constructed.

In addition, Bourdieu (2000; 2007) argues that it is necessary for reflexive researchers to make their stance and position clear using the concept of fields to reflect on this position. I have attempted to do this in this Section 3.11. In addition, at the beginning of this research in 2009, after reading Kramsch (2008), I wrote a short biographical memoir in my research journal (see Appendix O). Kramsch (2008) sees this act as a step towards taking a Bourdieusian, reflective stance; so making explicit the social and personal factors that have triggered the research.

3.12 Trustworthiness

Firstly, for the research to be trustworthy, I needed to question how compatible the findings were with my perspectives of reality as perceived through a set of dispositions structuring my habitus. I recognise that reality is not inflexible and that it

is located within people and open to interpretation. What I offer in this thesis is “an interpretation of someone else’s interpretation of reality” (Merriam, 1995:2). In the journals and focus groups, the participants assumed the role of “insiders” explaining their backgrounds, communities and dispositions to me. This is an example of “double hermeneutics” (Giddens, 1987:20). I was attempting to understand a concept, “literate habitus”, which was nested in each participant’s reflective construction of his or her literate and teaching practices. How each person spoke and wrote about literate practices was filtered through the lens of his or her literate habitus (Lehmann, 2007), and so was “not [a] potentially ‘true’ picture of ‘reality’” (Silverman, 2005:154) but rather, a construction of reality.

During the data collection and analysis of the data, I needed to be aware of the ways in which the participants constructed their reality in the data and how this might have been affected by their reactions to being part of the research. The whole English class (105 teacher-students) I taught in 2009 was asked to keep reflective journals, so the participants were not set apart in any way. However, it was understandable that what they wrote in the journals was a “performance” to some extent, a constructed text in which each participant reflected his or her reality. Similarly, as discussed in Section 3.9.2.3.2, TE journals are kept by every B. Ed. student at WSoE, so there was nothing that set the research participants apart from other students, they were not asked to do anything that was not already required of them. Because these journals were required for assessment, I needed to be aware while analysing them, that the participants would be writing these texts with this purpose in mind. During the focus group interviews, I was aware that the participants might be presenting a version of their literate selves that they might have thought I would be looking for. They might also have attempted to present themselves, their families, schools and communities in the best possible light.

Because I knew the participants well as their lecturer, I needed to be conscious of how my observations and interpretations might have been coloured by my feelings about the participants, the Halo effect (Basil, 2010). I attempted to overcome this during analysis by using more than one analytic tool on the data. I also used methodological triangulation to ensure validity. I did this by collecting data using varied and different research tools. In this case, both written and oral modes were used. Once the data had been collected and interpreted, I worked closely with my

supervisor to examine and critique the acceptability and probability of the interpretations. I also discussed some of the inferences I made with my peers to ensure that subjectivity was controlled and that the correlations and inferences being made were valid. In addition, I used a number of different ways of analysing the data, as described in Section 3.10 maintaining an awareness of possible biases. This, realistically, did not ensure the trustworthiness of the interpretation of the data, but ensured that different perspectives brought different possibilities of judgements made.

3.13 Conclusion

In the spirit of being a Bourdieusian researcher, I have attempted to make all of the steps taken in conducting this research clear to the reader of this study. I have also discussed the strengths and weaknesses of the process and shown how the research developed over time. I have explored my role and possible biases in this research. Validity and reliability and ethical concerns have also been addressed in this chapter. The next three chapters present the analysis of the data.

Chapter Four: Literate Habitus in Limpopo

“I could not imagine that the future I was walking toward could compare in any way to the past I was leaving behind” (Mandela, 1994:78).

4.1 Introduction

The research participants grew up in the rural areas of Limpopo and this chapter examines the influence this had on the development of literate habitus. Within the macro-fields of the communities in which they grew up, there were a number of micro-fields which structured the participants' inclinations to literacy and affected their perceptions, beliefs, feelings and practices in relation to literacy. With this in mind, this chapter attempts to answer the first research question: What literate habitus did the research participants bring with them to Wits in 2009? Using a Bourdieusian theoretical framework, it looks at what they wrote and said about how literacy was valued in the fields they came from. Relational thinking is important when working with Bourdieu's concepts (Maton, 2008), and this chapter looks at the relationship between habitus, field, capital and practice to help gain insight into the way the participants made meaning with and about literacy.

This chapter discusses the literate habitus of all 22 research participants. Within the scope of this chapter, it is not possible to give an in-depth examination of the literate habitus of each individual participant; instead I have attempted to provide a broad picture of the literate habitus of this group of teacher-students. This chapter uses the data from the 2009 English Reflective journals and focus groups conducted early in 2010. I have chosen key incidents and insights from the data which are representative of all of the participants' experiences in Limpopo, taking care to represent the voices of those who differed in significant ways.

If we believe that habitus can be shared by a group even though it is an attribute of the individual, and if we take seriously the understanding that habitus is produced by participating in structures (Burawoy & Von Holdt, 2012), it is important to consider how a community's way of valuing literacy and “doing” literacy are reproduced in those who are part of the group. However, as members of a field also contribute to the structure of the field, I argue that any resistance to the way literacy was positioned on the part of the participants also contributed to the ways literacy was valued and used in the fields in which they lived and worked.

As this study is grounded in a socio-cultural view of literacy, an awareness of the way social relationships have structured the participants' literate habitus is important. For Bourdieu, family and education are the first and most significant influences on habitus (Maton, 2008), so these contexts are presented here. It is through familial and educational socialising agents that "the child is disposed to see the world in the same way as the older generation of the primary group" (Harker, 1984:120). This chapter examines the ways families, groups and schools in rural Limpopo used literacy and how this structured some commonality in the research participants' literate habitus.

4.2 The structure of habitus

It is not possible to see habitus, it can only be inferred from what people do, say and in the choices they make. Feelings expressed about literacy also reveal habitus. Along with accounts of how the participants learnt to be literate, layers of the "structuring structure" (Bourdieu, 1994:170) of literate habitus are discussed. In order to organise the examination of literate habitus, I use the framework presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Framework for discussing literate habitus

Literate Habitus in Limpopo Province				
Displays of Dispositions				
	Using	Valuing	Feeling	Learning
Social (Field)	How is literacy used by others and personally in Limpopo?	The value placed on using literacy in communities in Limpopo. What was desirable about literacy and what values were related to it?	Feelings (Emotions) about literacy as it related to the social – the family and the community.	How was literacy learnt in the community?
Constraints (Lack of capital and Symbolic Violence)	What were described as constraints to using literacy in Limpopo?	What were described as the effects of constraints on the valuing of literacy in Limpopo?	How did the constraints on literacy make the participants feel?	What the constraints were to learning literac- (ies) in Limpopo?
Agency (Capital)	How were power and personal influence asserted in using literacy in Limpopo?	How was agency influenced by the value placed on literacy?	What feelings were associated with power and agency in relation to literacy?	How was agency and asserted? How did this influence the learning of literac- (ies)?

Table 4.1 illustrates the three major themes relating to the participants' literate habitus that emerged from the data, namely, social relationships, external constraints and agency. The vertical axis of Table 4.1 represents these themes which are then related to how the participants spoke and wrote about using literacy, valuing literacy, their feelings about literacy and learning literacy which form the horizontal axis of the framework. Field and capital are enmeshed in the structuring of habitus, and contribute further to its formation. These concepts are intricately entwined, so the lines in Table 4.1 are represented as porous. The limitation of this framework is that it attempts to "fix" a fluid concept, habitus. This is difficult because habitus is complicated to capture, with different parts of habitus shifting differently. In this thesis I argue that because habitus is generated by the interactions between individuals and society, it is constantly being affected by these interactions.

4.3 Social / Using

In this section, I examine what the participants said about the use of literacy and texts in their homes. The participants' families formed the foundation of the structure of literate habitus because the way books and texts were or were not used at home were the participants' initial encounter with attitudes to literacy (Bourdieu, 1977). Families "perpetuate their social being, with all its power and privileges" using reproductive strategies (Bourdieu, 1990 in Curry, 2008). These initial dispositions to literacy are strong, embodied and have lasting impact on literate habitus (Bourdieu, 1990 in Curry, 2008). There is a tendency to position those who live in rural areas as having limited "repertoires" of literacy (Blommaert, 2008a:5). To some extent this is true as the discussion shows. Some of the teacher-students had a habitus structured by the limited use of printed texts in their homes. But this section also reveals that there were varieties of ways in which people use texts in their homes in rural areas.

4.3.1 Homes with limited access to printed texts

Some of the participants grew up in homes where their parents or caregivers were illiterate and so they were exposed to few or no literacy texts. Some participants described homes where the only texts seen were the bible and hymnbooks. They remembered these books as being present but not often used. This limited ownership of printed texts could be both a result of economic constraints or it could be that books were not viewed as cultural capital.

Mangalani and Amogelang both described homes with restricted access to texts. For example, *“Most of the people depend on their Bibles as the only source of reading materials”* (MG, EJ, 25/05/09); and *“The book I used to see at home it was the bible that was it!”* (AM, FG, 03/03/10). Religious texts tended to be associated with didactic, moral and spiritual purposes and this contributed to a disposition which valued literacy for passing on morals, values and beliefs. Kemontle described how this disposition lasted until adulthood and was reproduced in her own nuclear family as well as in her learners, *“I am a Christian person and I believe in reading the bible most of my time... I buy as many little stories because my children like to listen to when I read. But I always buy bible stories as I think they will [also] believe in Christianity”* (KK, EJ, 28/04/09). Kemontle also *“read bible stories before I start with programme of the day”* in her class.

It was not only in the homes where caregivers were illiterate that there was limited exposure to texts. Ntsako, for example, grew up in a home where, for generations, her family had been teachers. Despite this, her exposure to texts was equally constrained. For example, *“I grew up hearing my grandmother and my parents reading the bible and I did not read until I go to school”* (NM, LJ, 2011). Although her parents had access to literacy, they did not seem to recognise a need to ensure that their children were exposed to texts, other than religious texts, in the home. In-school and out-of-school literacy practices were kept apart.

Dineo described regulatory practices in her school linked to the performance of biblical texts, for example, *“In those days there were these parents’ day and you find that I was saying bible verses and bible songs”* (DM, FG, 09/03/2010). Her description of how her *“teachers used to make me say verses”* implied some reluctance on her part and her view that this practice seemed to have been imposed on her. Yet the memorisation of these texts became objectified capital which contributed to Dineo’s embodied capital as the knowledge and skills of her bodily hexis (Bourdieu, 1977) when she stood on the special parents’ day performing the text. What was noteworthy in this description was the merging of oral and print modes. In a society where culture was transferred inter-generationally largely through the oral mode, it appeared to have been important to commit written biblical texts to memory in order to transmit them in the dominant oral mode.

This section has focused on selected examples from the data referring to the importance of religious texts for transmitting knowledge and for regulating behaviour (Bourdieu, 1991). It has shown that in some homes, the only texts available were a bible and a hymnbook. These texts were often present but not used, because the adults could not read. Adults seemed to value these texts for their symbolic meaning, as “material embodiment of meaning” (McEwen & Malan, 1996:206). This section has also shown that even in homes where parents could read, out-of-school literacy practices focused on religious texts and in-school literacy practices were not brought home.

4.3.2 Homes where reading is encouraged

The examples in the previous section appear to confirm a common assumption that reading and writing of extended printed texts were not part of everyday life in some rural areas of South Africa. However, there were other examples in the data of participants who grew up valuing printed texts more than is generally believed. This section examines what Ntsovelo, Lethabo and Elela said about how they rose above the material conditions of the field and found agency, though somewhat limited, and how that agency led to a disposition to literacy which viewed reading as capital and as important enough to invest time and money on.

An instance of this was described by Koketso. For example, *“My grandmother was always reading a bible for me while I was young”*. Her description of the reading of the bible was different to that of the participants in the previous section. Koketso explained how bible reading affected her literate habitus more broadly. She demonstrated a desire to read and an awareness of some reading behaviours, concepts of print literacy and book handling, which she copied from her grandmother, *“I could not read but while she was away I would imitate her and just open any page and start reading as if I knew what I was reading”* (KM, FG, 05/03/10). Koketso portrayed the literacy practice of reading the bible as something to which she aspired. She also described a childhood during which she had access to a variety of reading materials, for example, *“I used to read in the library, I like reading a lot of story books I would borrow them from the library and read... magazines I would buy and read...even the academic books”* (KM, FG, 05/03/10). Koketso read whatever she could access, doing her best to overcome material constraints because she valued reading.

Her love for reading developed and was maintained as a working woman. Buying romantic novels became a priority for her, something worth spending money on, *“I’ve got a lot of books... I used to buy the Mills and Boone books every month when it’s the 22nd the first thing on my list is [these] books”* (KM, FG, 05/03/10). One might argue that the novels she chose to buy and read were not of a high quality, but she clearly loved reading for pleasure and did so regularly, building a literate habitus that found joy in reading.

Similarly, Ntsovelo had access to books growing up. Her parents were teachers and she described her home as having *“many books”* and credited this with stirring a liking for reading in her, *“When I grew up I liked reading”* (FG, 01/03/10). Although the books in her home were limited to what was available and those necessary for her parents’ working lives as teachers, she emphasised their importance in her formative years:

I was inspired by my father, he was a teacher and there was a library at home, like a shelf with many books there, but many were Afrikaans books because by that time, my father, they were learning Biology, Agriculture in Afrikaans²⁵, so there were few books in English actually. So I read Afrikaans so I didn’t understand at home then he used to buy also the text books for us in Afrikaans...because we were doing Afrikaans in school, learning and then for English ‘Mother is sleeping’. I remember a novel that I first read in English was ‘Oliver Twist’ it was there at home (NM, FG, 01/03/10).

Significantly, the texts Ntsovelo mentioned were written in English and Afrikaans. No mention was made of reading texts in Xitsonga, her home language. Interestingly too, was her view that *‘a shelf’* of books could be considered a library. In a community where there was limited access to books, a *“shelf”* became a *“library”*; having books, although they were text books used by one’s teacher parents, was a luxury others did not have. She viewed reading positively and used the word, *“inspired”* to indicate the role her father played in developing her literate habitus. Reading was also closely linked to her growing identity as a teacher, *“I remember also I used to buy the magazines for teachers like ‘Educama’ by then. I used to just read about teachers”* (FG, 01/03/10). She used reading to actively make meaning, using the text-participant role (Freebody & Luke, 1990,) to engage with the education context.

²⁵ Afrikaans would have been the LOLT at the time.

Ntsovelo seemed to recognise that growing up with this exposure to reading materials provided her with more embodied capital than her peers:

When I was doing my matric the poems were there but the Biology section all those things they were there so I was exposed to reading a lot of materials compared to my peers, my friends I was at school with (NM, FG, 01/03/10).

The purpose of reading for Ntsovelo was to facilitate her schoolwork, and the availability of the types of texts in her home contributed to this goal.

Lethabo was another participant who described how reading was highly-valued by her parents and how this love was passed on to her. For example:

My parents bought me English books and my father would help me read and explain what the stories were all about. I gained a lot from those books and I was confident and spoke openly in English. I used to take those books to my friends and read with them too” (LM, FG, 26/02/10).

Lethabo’s father helped her with decoding English texts and this became empowering as she took on a mediating role, sharing books with her friends. Her father’s economic and temporal investment in reading impacted her literate habitus and in adulthood she described how this was generative as she, in turn, bought books for her own children, “As a parent I started buying books for my two year old daughter...she loves the books” (LM, LJ, 2011). What is significant in Lethabo’s discussion is that while there was limited access to books in her home language, the value of books lay in the linguistic capital they provided her with, “I gained a lot”; “confident”; “spoke openly in English”. Their worth lay in facilitating fluency in an aspirational language, English.

Similarly Elela’s mother loved reading and invested time and money in reading, “My mother used to love to read...she used to buy me books”, and Elela linked this exposure to books to the ease with which she read in adulthood, “Even from my earliest grades I was a good reader and it was not difficult for me”. Her word choice “good”; and “not difficult” emphasised how reading was experienced positively for her. This had a lasting impact on Elela’s literate habitus and in adulthood, she continued to buy novels and Christian books for herself:

I read a lot I would get hold of anything that I could read in my mother tongue and in English but mainly in English. I even thought that I have read all

the books in my mother tongue because I loved to read so much ... (EM, EI, 30/10/12).

Elela indicated an exuberant passion for reading that seemed bounded by constraints of access. She seemed to think that she might have exhausted all possibilities for reading in her own language.

The findings discussed in this section have shown the importance of the link between how the family values literacy and the development of literate habitus. They have raised questions about the connection between the use of and availability of printed texts in childhood homes on developing literate habitus. The participants' accounts showed that while there were those who had restricted interactions with written texts, there were also those who loved reading and, despite difficulties of access went out of their way to find books, magazines and newspapers to borrow and buy. Although the material conditions of the field appeared to constrain literacy in the lives of some of these participants, this was not necessarily deterministic. There were those who rose above these circumstances; assumed agency in overcoming the conditions of field and invested time and money on reading and writing.

4.4 Constraints / Using

Bourdieu's concept of habitus was useful for examining both the social fabric of the participants' lives as well as the way in which this was taken for granted (Pahl, 2008) while the participants lived in Limpopo. Section 4.3.1 described how in some participants' homes, an absence of books was the norm. This section focuses specifically on newspapers and libraries and discusses how some participants were constrained by lack of access to these, while others overcame these constraints to reading.

Some participants described how distance from shops and libraries inhibited reading. For these participants, there seemed to be no reason compelling enough to go out of one's way to find printed texts. The literacy resources (objectified capital) were difficult to access, but this access was also limited by attitudes to literacy (embodied capital). This resulted in choices being made about what was important or not in one's community and travelling for miles to buy books, newspapers or magazines was not seen as worth the time, effort and money invested.

4.4.1 Newspapers

An example of this evident in the data, related to reading newspapers. Ntsumi described how in her community economic limits restricted this practice, *“Even those few that read newspaper they have to take a taxi and travel for more than 10 kilometres”* (NM, EJ, 13/4/09). The investment of time and money was not considered viable, and so accessing newspapers seemed overwhelming for some. Gender roles and attitudes also seemed to govern who read what kind of texts as Motle and Elela indicated in these extracts, *“Men read newspapers and women magazines”* (MM, EJ, 24/5/ 09), and *“In our community it’s like reading for leisure is mainly for men... maybe it’s because they don’t have much to do...they mostly read newspapers”* (EM, FG, 05/03/09). Elela implied that because of the gendered roles at home, men had more time to read.

However, Lethabo, who, as described in Section 4.3.2, grew up loving reading, appeared to resist both the stereotype and the challenge of access by regularly reading a local bi-weekly newspaper, and, in this way, stayed true to her literate habitus:

With my mother tongue reading, there’s a newspaper in Limpopo which is called ‘Siponi’ which means ‘The Mirror’ that is the one I am reading...It comes after two weeks... We get it in Polokwane right in town (LM, FG, 26/02/09).

Masana also mentioned enjoying reading an English newspaper along with other reading materials. For example, *“I used to buy magazines like ‘Drum’ and ‘Bona’ ... and the newspaper, also the ‘Times’... [and] I like reading novels”* (FG, 02/03/10). Lethabo and Masana countered the prevalent social, gendered preconceptions because their dispositions were such that they loved reading. Reading the newspaper appeared to be part of a collection of literacy practices which they both had, despite difficulty of access.

Two male participants, Amogelang and Tokologo, mentioned reading newspapers. They overcame the challenges of accessing newspapers readily because they were both motivated to read. Tokologo indicated that although he was constrained by distance, the importance he placed on soccer was a motivating force in developing his reading. He emphasised this by personifying soccer in this extract from a focus group discussion:

Amogelang: *Sometimes I read the newspaper. I personally like to read 'City Press' ... I was just buying it, every Sunday, it's my favourite newspaper... I was starting with reading [it] in 1994.*

Tokologo: *I love soccer... that introduced me to reading newspapers so I buy newspaper almost every day. First I was just reading the part which pertains to soccer but now I like reading about political news. The only problem that I had was because I'm staying far away from town so I can only access newspaper when I went to town. [But] definitely when I went there I buy the newspaper but here [at Wits] I can buy a newspaper almost every day (FG, 03/03/09).*

Akani, in contrast, seemed overcome by the challenges of access and revealed how this affected him and his community members, so much that he could not begin to envisage any possibilities of how things could change:

In my case, no, we are in very much rural far from town let alone to see the newspaper we cannot talk about that, so really there is nothing inspiring about reading there unless maybe the community must be made aware that they need to start reading but I don't know how we can do it (FG, 03/03/09).

The dualities in this extract were striking as Akani found “*nothing inspiring*” about reading but saw a need for the community to be “*made aware*” of the importance of reading. He constructed himself as helpless in the face of circumstances and seemed paralysed, “*I don't know how we can do it*”. This powerlessness seemed to be a result of the conditions in which he had grown up. These conditions had not encouraged the resourcefulness and confidence necessary to be an agent of change, particularly in relation to literacy.

This section has traced how constraints in accessing newspapers were considered overwhelming by some participants. However, it builds the argument that habitus is “not a destiny” (Bourdieu, 2004:44) in that it has revealed the importance of agency in the face of constraints. It is difficult, however, to determine exactly what brought about agency in some participants rather than others, besides motivation. The reasons some participants were more motivated than others appeared to be filtered through their habitus in a complex way.

4.4.2 Libraries

There were no libraries in many of the communities described, and participants from these areas made a relational link between the lack of this resource and the difficulty

of developing a love of reading. In this section, I focus on the different reactions participants revealed to the absence of libraries.

Some participants were able to imagine the possibilities that the library as objectified capital would bring to the children in the community. Section 4.3.1 described how Kemontle valued reading for the role it played in shaping children's lives. In this section I discuss how she revealed a recognition for the potential for increased literacy and a love of reading that could come about if there were a library, "*If the community would have a Library then most youngsters will be motivated to go and read*" (KK, EJ, 20/04/ 09). This seems like an idealised view of the link between access to books and a love of reading or it could be a feature of Kemontle's disposition, one that is positive and open to opportunity.

Lethabo described a community where, despite illiteracy and perhaps even because of it, adults challenged the limitations and strove to encourage literacy. Despite constraints, reading was viewed as desirable capital. The dichotomy between those with access to a library and those without was evident in the data. Lethabo was someone who had experienced the benefits of being a reader. Her view of the possibilities having a library might hold, might have been influenced by her literate history. Lethabo described how those who lived far from the library did not have fair access which would enable the growth of literate capital. Despite the parents' desires and the positive value they placed on literacy, the conditions of the field resulted in an unequal distribution of the probabilities for gain. Even within this geographically marginalised community, access to books created divisions between the literate and illiterate. For example, Lethabo commented on this:

My community finds reading very important. Because many adults did not go to school themselves, they make it a point that their children go to school. Parents visit the schools to see how their children are doing. Some, who are literate encouraged their children to read every night. Some are illiterate but they also encourage reading to their children. There is a library where learners go and read many books there. But not all learners are able to visit the library because some homes are too far. But those near visit the library frequently. The children enters for reading competitions through the help of the librarian and they win little prizes (LM, EJ, 26/03/09).

Both Kemontle and Lethabo grew up loving reading and it could be this that coloured their view of the potential of libraries and helped them to notice the positive aspects related to reading in their community.

In contrast to those who were proactive and positive about encouraging literacy in their children, were participants such as Mangalani and Ntsako, who expressed hopelessness and who were deeply conscious of the limits the lack of libraries brought:

Lack of libraries and learning materials in our school is making it difficult for people to be fluent enough in their reading. Most of the people depend on their Bibles as the only source of reading materials. In some families learners find it hard to collect magazines or newspapers, let alone story books. The love of reading is therefore not watered since there are no books to read. (MG, EJ, 25/05/09).

In this extract, it can be seen how Mangalani linked the lack of access to books to an absence of a love of reading. Reading had negative associations for her, for example, “*lack*”; “*difficult*”; “*hard*”. She focused on decoding the text with fluency being seen as important. The metaphor she used, that of reading being like a plant needing to be watered in order to grow, was appropriate considering her rural background. Similarly, Ntsako used a metaphor of reading as a seed having no chance to grow because of the shortage of libraries:

Lack of libraries is a very big issue in my community...Our children only read at school and it is not enough to motivate or plant the seed of reading for enjoyment or to expand knowledge because most schools don't have libraries (NM, EJ, nd/09).

Ntsako echoed the constraints of access, cost and distance which dominated in the participants' descriptions of the reasons that reading was not developed in their social world.

Similarly, Mamoratwa identified how her community's collective literate disposition seemed to be one of being unable to envisage any possible solution to resisting conditions of access. Blaming constraints, such as access to libraries, for resulting in an undeveloped love of reading became the ‘norm’, “*Most of the community they don't care about literacy*” (FG, 05/03/10). Mamoratwa described parents who “*don't encourage ... they don't even help their children at home with literacy*” (FG, 05/03/10). The community she described seemed to have limited agency in relation to literacy and they did not recognise opportunities, “*even if in the shop you can ... create a bookshop*” (MH, FG, 05/03/09). Mamoratwa suggested the possibility that local shops could stock books if there were a demand. This is significant because it

indicates that she could see possibilities but there was no evidence that she did anything about it. As we saw in relation to Akani in Section 4.4.1, it seems that the constraints of the social world she inhabited resulted in a literate habitus that stated outwardly how important reading was, yet this was not translated into the agency necessary for change.

Tokologo also identified a community where reading and writing were not collectively valued:

Reading and writing forms a very small part of the community's daily life. Lack of libraries maybe impact negatively as far as reading is concerned. The only time when reading and writing takes place is the classroom, during formal times" (TM, EJ, 08/09).

Both Mamoratwa and Tokologo indicated how the community acted according to what was viewed as 'reasonable' within the circumstances of the field and adapted accordingly by excluding libraries and the associated literacy practices as being "not for the likes of us" (Bourdieu, 1990:56). For example, "*The community associate reading with highly learned people*"(TM, EJ, 08/09), and "*They don't read because maybe some of them think literacy is for their children not for them*" (MH, FG, 05/03/10).

There were variances within the communities described by participants, so one cannot make dismissive, judgemental claims for a group literate habitus which was disempowered. Kemontle, for example, described those in her community who took opportunities to overcome constraints faced by lack of resources. She had a positive disposition to literacy and this was reflected in her view of the community in which she lived. She painted a picture of enthusiasm and increasing objectified capital (buses filled with books and library assistants) which in turn led to a love of reading developing with the parental assistance. Instead of being constrained and defeated because of circumstances, there was active involvement; instead of removing themselves from the game, parents found a role for themselves:

Before the library was build there was a bus which was called mobile library. Here children were helped by assistant librarian who accompany the bus from town every second Saturday. It later increased to four buses and four assistants. ...It encourages learners to do homework and come up with questions to the mobile library. There are parents who volunteer at the library where Grade R are encourage to do picture reading and try work on letters of

alphabet. This helps the children to develop love of reading (KM, EJ, 28/04/09).

The members of this community found ways to modify the conditions imposed from outside. It is this sense of agency and how it impacted on the use of literacy which is discussed as agency in the next section.

The findings from this section showed that despite similarities in the participants' backgrounds, they reacted differently to challenges of access and this reaction resulted in either agency or helplessness. Some participants were constrained by the conditions of the field which restricted access to reading texts and they accepted these conditions as natural. It was this acquiescence that limited potential in their literate lives. The outside influences (the objective conditions) had become embodied as second nature (Bourdieu, 1990) to those who faced them daily and were reflected in the choices they made. The energy that drives what happens in fields is capital (Moore, 2008) and if people feel that their literate capital is restricted because of outer constraints, they will not have the energy to drive the development of reading in a limiting field. As a result, there is no capacity to aspire (Appadurai, 2004) to doing literacy differently. I argue that it was the extent to which participants could see possibilities and view themselves as having agency that contributed to their resisting and overcoming constraints to literacy. Some participants and community members had a disposition to literacy that empowered them to overcome constraints.

4.5 Agency/ Using

The participants discussed in this section all showed resourceful ways of enacting literacy within the limited conditions of the fields in which they grew up. This section focuses on the descriptions of how a number of the participants, in the face of restricted access, improvised in order to read and write. The importance of visual texts is also concentrated on this section.

4.5.1 Improvisation in order to write

Examples of various improvisations, particularly in relation to out-of-school literacy, were evident in the data. Ntsovelo, whose parents were teachers, described writing on the walls of her home, *"And with writing also we used to write, using the chalks because they were there at home, we would use... charcoal and we would write on*

the walls as well” (FG/01/03/10). Elela explained how, as children, they wrote with stones on the ground, *“When I was in Grade 1 and 2 we were not using books, we used the stones; we call it ‘minyaka’ in our language. So after school we would run around looking for those stones so that we must have them at school to write with”* (EM, FG, 05/03/10). Nyeleti described similar writing practices, *“We were writing on the ground. Amongst us there was someone who was [pretending to be] a teacher there. When we were still young she was teaching us what was happening in the class so we take it a stick or a finger”* (NT, FG, 05/03/10).

The participants played games around literacy practices, indicating a positive attitude to literacy in their lives at that stage. However, the limited types of writing instruments available, namely, charcoal, stones, sticks and fingers, would, inevitably have limited the type of writing that could be done. It seems most likely that letters, single words, and, at most, simple sentences could be written using these tools. As young children, this would not be unusual; however, it seems unlikely that this would develop into the writing of extended texts or experimentation with different genres, using the materials described. Material conditions appeared to have restricted the types of literate events possible in out-of-school literacy practices for the participants and this contributed to the development of their literate habitus.

4.5.2 Improvisation in order to read

Participants, who loved reading as children, read whatever they could find. Koketso, for example, read the Afrikaans dockets her policeman father brought home, *“My father was a policeman and he used to come with these books...with case dockets and then I would page through them... and read all the pages”* (KM, FG, 05/03/10). There is a sense in this extract, of a child reading something ‘forbidden’ yet devouring every page possible, since that was all that was available.

Borrowing books from older siblings and neighbours was another way of overcoming limited reading resources. Having a sibling who read provided access to objectified capital (books). For example, Ntsumi read books borrowed from her older brother, *“I took any book he read and read it, and I think it also helped me. I loved stories, so I read. Fictions, prescribed and not prescribed books, books by James Hardley [sic] Chase”* (NB, EJ, 19/02/10). Having a “*readerholic*” brother was constructed positively. The word choice used in this extract emphasised this, for example,

“helped me” and “I loved stories”. The use of “any book” and her list of the types of books read implied abundance though, in reality, this was not so. Ntsako was another participant who described borrowing books from her brother:

Fortunately I have a brother, so with the books that he used I read them and I would get something to summarise. And my neighbour was someone who liked to read so I also borrowed from him (NL, FG, 02/03/10).

Ntsako viewed having her brother as a supplier of books as “fortunate”. There was some indication in this extract, that it was the school assessment demands that drove her need to read though, as she required “something to summarise”. Unwana and Koketso also borrowed books from older siblings. Unwana described how she, “used to take my sister’s books and I wanted to read... novels they used to read at school... that is what I liked the most when I was young” (UM, FG, 04/08/10). For Koketso, “When I was in Grade 2, my sister was in Grade 5 and I would take her books and read them and imitate her while doing her recitations” (KK, EJ, 28/04/09). In Section 4.3.2, Koketso also described imitating her grandmother reading and in this extract she described how she extended this to imitating her sister reading. It appears that reading was aspirational for her. She also equated reading with ‘recitations’ which suggests the importance of memorisation in her oral culture and perhaps the choral learning so prevalent in many rural schools (Reeves, et al., 2008).

The importance of the teacher sharing his/her own reading with the class (Applegate & Applegate, 2004) was suggested in Masingita’s account of her teacher’s enthusiasm for a book motivating her to seek it out, “In grade 7 (Std 5) I heard our teacher talking about a certain book called “Xirhalagangi” [meaning] ‘Obstacles’ that it was exciting. Back home I asked my brother about the novel, and he borrowed me the novel. It was a short novel, in no time it was over” (FG, 01/03/10). The use of the emotive word “exciting” and the phrase “in no time it was over” underscored her enjoyment in reading this book.

In all of these examples, strategising and improvising to read was indicated. Participants used words suggesting plenty, but on closer examination one realises that this access was restricted to work documents, school books and a single-mentioned author. These participants painted a picture of loving reading in their

childhood and despite economic constraints and limitations imposed by the lack of texts available in indigenous languages; they found ways of fulfilling their passion for reading. However, the constraints of the field restricted the possibilities and extent of the strategising.

4.5.3 Multimodal texts

This section considers Dineo's account of the importance of visual texts in her own life and that of her community. Her caregiver was her literate, pastor grandfather. In discussing her early literacy, she described making use of "whatever is at hand" (Kress, 1997 in Blommaert, 2008a) in her home, and those texts were religious and visual, *"they gave him these posters and then he would bring them home and teach me about the vessels and then I would draw even these dots, I would just complete them and colour in"* (DM, FG, 09/03/10).

Dineo's disposition to literacy continued to focus on the visual as seen in her explanation of how her literacy had changed at Wits. The extract below emphasises the link she made between reading and the visual mode:

Now we have a lot of interest in reading. Because when you come across something, you are able to just grab it, but since at home we are just ignoring ...reading, maybe you just see a picture then we just pass by. But since we come here, if you see a picture you just want to know more about it and have a research about it (FG,09/03/10).

Dineo equated 'reading' with 'see[ing] a picture'. She also appeared to recognise the need to read visual texts. This focus on literacy, emphasising the visual, was elaborated on further in her discussion on reading and writing in her community in the following excerpt:

In my community, they like reading...Maybe you find there are posters on the walls at the shops, like these advertisements, you find people are interested to know more what are they talking about and what do you want from the poster and then you find that maybe people are even organising themselves through that poster so I don't see the problem in the poster relating something. And writing...maybe the competition the learners maybe we are having these things we call maybe pair drawing and maybe you make them draw something ...Sometimes the teachers, maybe the shopkeepers, mostly organise a competition ... it will bring along these posters and you will make a picture and out of that picture you will say something about it (FG, 09/03/10).

Her description of posters, advertising and drawing competitions were instances of literacy events which served a communicative and socialising function in her community. There appeared to be an emphasis on the use of the visual elements of texts. This focus should not be viewed as negative as the CAPS curriculum (DoE, 2011) emphasises the importance of visual literacy and should Dineo recognise the capital she has, in the future, she would be empowered to teach this.

The participants discussed Section 4.5; all showed resourceful ways of being literate within the conditions of the field which limited access to literacy resources. Making use of whatever they could find, they showed resilience in their efforts to read and write. However, these improvisations were “regulated” (Bourdieu, 1990:57) by constraining circumstances and, consequently, each literate habitus was constrained by these as well.

4.6 Social / Valuing

I now turn to examining the value placed on the use of literacy in the Limpopo communities described by the participants. Looking, in particular, at the clash between ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ ways of being literate, I explore the ways in which the fields the participants lived in generated a literate habitus.

4.6.1 The chief and his kraal ²⁶

Embodied institutional capital gave the chief (traditional leader) and his indunas (senior advisors) power. They commanded respect as they possessed the “capital of authority” (Bourdieu, 1977:40), which was hereditary. In this study, the chief’s kraal was revealed to be a source of information and an important literate space in the communities portrayed. Motle described the importance of the kraal as a social, edifying and motivational space in a journal entry. There was no indication in her account that going to the kraal was compulsory and it appeared that people chose to attend meetings every Sunday:

This induna used to call a meeting for the whole of community to talk about how to improve. [He] talked about, how the youth can improve their lives ... He even tell us to go to school and learn and when you are a grown up not knowing how to read and write he tell us to study so that we must be able to read and write. This made his community not poor when it comes to

²⁶ A kraal is a homestead

Educated people. This helped the youth to remain good people all the times and not trouble their parents.

Motle also linked literacy to regulation and rules and she inferred from the chief's urgings that education results in conformity, morality and respectability. As a result, Motle made a link between being good in reading and writing and being good in behaviour. Her habitus was built on the importance of tradition in creating a moral community.

Ntsumi and Kemontle also discussed the kraal's importance as a mediating space for the provision of information for those who were illiterate. Teachers and SGB members formed part of this process and were respected and legitimised by their participation in the events at the kraal. Those who could read and write were represented as having power, which brought with it capital:

When there is an urgent matter where they need to write they also meet at the chief's kraal and use literate people who are there in the community. Especially school governing body members who also work for the school.
(NB, EJ, 24/06/09)

At the community where I came from there was a meeting called by our Indunas to the people that those who can't read or write the government has a rule that they must learn. There are qualified teachers who helped ... after learner's lessons (KK, EJ, 21/04/09).

In this extract, Kemontle linked learning to officialdom, a 'rule' imposed by government while Ntsumi connected the communicative function of the kraal with economic imperatives. For example, buying magazines, newspapers and books was expensive whereas, "*When they have to go to the chief's kraal it doesn't cost a cent so it is preferable to my people*" (NB, EJ, 04/09). The chief held power as a disseminator of information because his kraal was accessible. There was no questioning of his power as the single mediator of information, taking the place of many different literacy-based sources. The implications this might have for limiting access to different perspectives were not considered in the participants' accounts. This situation was also not interrogated critically either in their writing or in the community, as it was accepted as the norm.

This section has shown how many in the community relied on others at the chief's kraal to act as literacy brokers (Brandt, 2001) for them. Knowledge was linked with power, morality and regulation. Members of the community thus had limited agency

and opportunities to engage with texts as individuals, making personal meaning from texts. Compliance with rules appeared to have been linked to literacy and was a dominant aspect represented by participants discussed in this section.

4.6.2 Traditional schools

Traditional schools, run by traditional leaders, played an important role in rites of passage, particularly in rural communities in South Africa. In Limpopo, in the winter months, nine-year-old boys and girls were expected to attend traditional schools separately. There was secrecy around what happened in these schools but boys were circumcised and the elders taught cultural history and traditional knowledge. There was a clash in many African communities at the time, as there were those who associated Western education with colonial and Apartheid control. Historically, this schooling was seen as undermining African culture, and so, in the past it was shunned by some (Ngugi, 1987; Rodney, 1981).

Agency can often only be found within the possibilities offered by those in power and the world structured around them. This was evident in the participants' explanation of how traditional schools were often set up in opposition to Western schooling in their communities. This caused conflict between those who saw Western education as being "not for us" and those who embraced Western education for the possibilities it offered. Some participants described how the fields they lived in became sites of struggle (Bourdieu, 1984) for capital as some community members resisted pressure to send their children to traditional schools. However, choosing this option seemed to come at a price. These families became excluded from the community, because they could often no longer fit into the norms of the field.

The conflict and the cost of choices made, are apparent in the extract from Amogelang's journal below:

Long, Long ago black people in Limpopo province did not care much about formal education. The old (ancestors) believed that schools are made by western people for white children to be educated. Most of the Limpopo people did not understand school because they thought was for the benefit of the whites (AP, EJ, 16/07/09)

Amogelang referred to a negative opinion of Western schooling as being an integral part of Limpopo history. He appeared to distance this view from the present time by

using a formulaic beginning to his account, almost as if what he was writing was part of a fable, yet it seemed that what he described had been a part of his childhood. Nyeleti also expressed how some in her community viewed Western education as promoting values which were in opposition to African culture, “*Many illiterate people did not enrolled in the programme [Adult Basic Education and Training] because they associated it with whites culture that promote laziness*”. Rejecting Western culture was also seen as a virtue, because it was constructed as promoting the negative qualities of the powerful ‘other’. Refusing this education brought some sense of agency. Those who argued against Western education seemed to recognise the role it played in moulding people and controlling them in ways that they wanted to resist. These community members chose to assert their identity from a position of opposition (Gee, 1989), claiming it as different from that of “white people”.

The choice to attend traditional schools and to participate in the rites of passage associated with them was an example of a “social strategy” (Bourdieu, 1990:16) where people attempted to maximise their symbolic capital. There was conflict because some community members chose to go to Western schools, disrupting the reproductive norms of education in the community (field) while others conformed to these norms. Amogelang described the dilemma parents faced in having to choose which type of schooling would bring more symbolic capital:

[Some people] believed that children should be taught about adulthood only. How [to] care [for] their families”; “They did not care much about the future of their children because they know that after completing their initiation school or training they will look after their parents’ herd (AP, EJ, 16/07/09).

Parents’ choice not to send their children to traditional schools was based on religious beliefs. Amogelang distanced himself and his family from the conflict but described how his neighbours, Christians, were outside of the traditional norm and were laughed at because of their choice not to conform to the rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1991):

For an example I and my family members we were staying next to the people [who were Christians] who used to take their children to formal school not for circumcision school. They [Community members] laughed them when taking their children to school not knowing that education is also important in life” (EJ, 16/07/09).

Amogelang described the community as being ignorant of the importance of education and asserted his personal view of its value for life. Those who sent their children to Western schools were ridiculed by community members, who played a regulatory role in the field, attempting to ensure that everyone played by the rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1991). They used symbolic violence to do so. As has been argued, compliance with social norms is a necessary strategy in acquiring social capital. But this compliance is linked to doxa because, besides creating a sense of belonging in the field, it results in misrecognition of the implications of this compliance. Amogelang's neighbours, in resisting and refusing to "toe the line" appeared to be strategising in order to gain what they considered capital. In doing so, they lost the respect of the traditionalists; however, they persisted in order to gain a form of cultural capital which they recognised as being useful outside of the community and its norms:

As times goes on things changed slightly as they [people in Limpopo] have started to understand the importance of formal education... They have started to discover formal education as more important than circumcision school when one who attended formal school he or she will be given good position at work and he or she will progress than one who is looking after his parents herd (AP, EJ, 16/07/09).

The use of the word "slightly" in Amogelang's description of change implied some resistance as he explained how traditional attitudes have shifted in Limpopo today:

Nowadays in Limpopo, people are aware of the importance of [formal] education. Their children are spread all over the country to be trained and be educated so that their future be good and bright. Once young children are educated they have an opportunity to getting employment as they are skillful and professionals. If a person at home is educated it means all of us we are going to be educated too (AP, EJ, 16/07/09).

Amogelang emphasised how change has happened and how "people are aware of the importance of [formal] education". He used maxims to stress the views and values that he, in adulthood, recognises. For example, "their future will be good and bright"; "Education is a key of all doors" and "If a person at home is educated it means all of us we are going to be educated too". He appeared to be advocating shifting ways of valuing literacy and beliefs about literacy, making claims for literacy, which Graff refers to as the literacy myth (1978). Graf (1978) negates the inevitable connection between literacy and material and moral capital as a myth.

This divide between traditional and Christian schooling was evident in Ntsumi's journal as well. She went to a traditional school but described how, when she befriended a Christian family, she realised how different the girls were. She looked up to them and yearned to be like them, "*They always came top at school. I think I liked them because they were different, they were literate and dressed well*" (NB, EJ, 25/08/10). She linked their literacy and the capital that came with it, with the fact that they did not go to traditional schools and she wanted what they had. Ntsumi's conflict at the time was between gaining the cultural capital valued by her parents, "*my father would not allow me not to be initiated*" (EJ, 25/08/10 my emphasis) and the capital she observed as being a result of the Christian family's resistance to cultural norms.

This section has shown how within one community there can be conflicting views as to what constitutes cultural capital particularly in relation to literacy and education. Swartz (1997:121) describes fields as "sites of resistance as well as domination", and this has been illustrated in this section. A dilemma existed for those in these social worlds who needed to strategise in order to maximise their capital. The choices individuals made reflected how they valued education and literacy. These choices were constrained and regulated by the conditions of the field as well as the different views as to what constituted educational capital. Those who chose Western schooling had to endure symbolic violence inflicted on them by others in the fields. Nonetheless, some chose to resist the norms and values in their communities because of their intense belief in what constituted educational capital.

4.7 Constraints/Valuing

Participants described constraints within their communities which affected how literacy was valued. Limited availability of jobs requiring high levels of literacy and the importance of physical and domestic labour in meeting daily needs, contributed to negative attitudes to literacy. This is what is explored in this section.

4.7.1 Lack of job opportunities

The relationship between how literacy was valued and the constraints and lack of opportunities afforded by the community was strong. It was the "possibilities and impossibilities, freedoms and necessities, opportunities and prohibitions" (Bourdieu, 1990:54) which the field offered which resulted in dispositions that excluded "as unthinkable" options which did not tally with the conditions of the field.

The participants described how difficult it was and still is to become motivated to become literate in their communities because of the lack of job opportunities. Literacy was not valued as social capital where the types of jobs on offer were largely those requiring manual labour such as mineworkers or farm workers. Because of this, government literacy interventions failed as the investment of time and effort into these classes was not translated into a vision of possibilities that could bring reward, as Vuthlari recognised in a journal entry:

The government had tried to intervene in the past years by introducing ABET classes. This has failed because people who need help do not see the opportunity of being helped. They think [leaving] their domestic duties to attend classes is waste of time. So they dropped off one by one until the classes were no more. There is no motivation. For them to learn does not have value because they see few who has completed their matric not working. There [are] no job opportunities in my community because we don't even have shops. There is only one shop... which only afford to hire one person (VM, EJ, 28/04/09).

This entry had a list of negatives, specifically, the repeated use of “no” and “only” and words such as “waste” and “fail” which contributed to a picture of impossibility. Kganya also identified how hopelessness and lack of agency impacted on the young people in the community negatively:

In my community there are a lot of children who are drop-outs at Grade 9²⁷. Most of them reach this grade without knowing how to read and write their mother-tongue. They wake up every morning and go to the shop where they sit all day smoking dagga²⁸. Some of them when you advise them to go back to school, they do not see the importance of Education in their lives (EJ, 18/05/09).

Both of these participants painted a picture of communities where literacy and education were not seen as empowering because there was nothing for which to be empowered. However, Kganya tried to be proactive, offered solutions and tried to make a difference:

I tried on many occasion to even pay school fees to those learners who said their parents do not have the money for school fees, but the peer pressure overcame them.

It was as if these teenagers eliminated themselves from the larger game by positioning education as undesirable. They made a “virtue of necessity...refuse[ing]

²⁷ These learners would, on average, be 14 or 15 years of age.

²⁸ Marijuana

what is anyway denied” (Bourdieu, 1990:54). This unconsciously validated the choices they made. This unquestioned attitude to education was part of the misrecognised logic of the game in this field which became reproduced and entrenched because the conditions of the field did not change.

The rules of the particular game the young people chose to play made it difficult to escape a self-fulfilling prophecy. Ntsumi described how it was not being able to envisage things differently that perpetuated the cycle, *“The people in my community have lost hope or so it seems, the number of pregnant girls is more than the number of people who are trying to learn to read and to write through the programmes that are there”* (NB, EJ, 09/09). These pregnant and uneducated teenagers would become the parents of the learners these participants would teach in the future and so the system became reproduced, *“The disadvantage of uneducated women, they do not encourage or see the importance of education, therefore how can such people encourage their children* (MH, EJ, 09/09). These were the conditions these teacher-students worked in and striving to teach literacy in a field where these dispositions and attitudes to literacy prevailed would have been difficult.

It is significant that although the participants grew up in these conditions themselves, they resisted the prevailing context and persevered with their education. They worked in conscious opposition to the material conditions of the field (Rowse, 2008). The challenges that came from stepping outside of the ‘norms’ of the community were evident in Mamoratwa’s discussion of the reaction of other women to her education. She was separated from others in her community in distinctive ways:

These [uneducated women] like to criticise instead of motivating or appreciate others effort. I remember one time when I finished my diploma in teaching. I spent two years taking care of my daughter and one of them said how I have wasted my parents’ money and stress that how better they are because they never wasted time and energy for nothing” (MH, EJ, September, 2009).

The women tried to justify a negative view of education by criticising Mamoratwa. They viewed money spent on education as a waste, particularly as she appeared not to be using her education. Ironically, Mamoratwa was fulfilling the ‘traditional’ woman’s role, by spending time on the responsibilities of motherhood. However, her peers judged her harshly and acted as “arbiters” (Bourdieu, 1997:17) controlling the

behaviour within the boundaries of the game, by using traditional views to exert symbolic violence. These women did not value education as an investment for the future. The immediate was what counted and it was considered wasteful to have trained as a teacher and not to have used this training straightaway.

This section has emphasised how prevailing conditions of the field made it difficult to recognise the possibilities offered by education. Because of this, education was rejected as not providing capital. This was how the cycle of poverty and unemployment was reproduced in some of the communities described. Resisting this required much effort, agency and resilience especially as others in the game used symbolic violence to regulate behaviour, ensuring that everyone played by the rules of that particular field.

4.7.2 The importance of physical and domestic labour

Another instance of this regulatory behaviour was evident in the description of attitudes to education in relation to daily chores. In fields where daily survival depended on physical effort, reading and writing were valued less than the need to do daily tasks. Those who had to rely on providing for their basic needs made a “virtue of necessity” (Bourdieu, 1990:54), and emphasised the importance of spending time on activities essential for survival while eschewing those that were viewed as not contributing to this. There were instances in the data which revealed how reading was viewed negatively in a community struggling for daily survival.

Some research participants described their caregivers as not valuing reading while there were ‘*more important tasks*’ to do such as housekeeping, collecting firewood and caring for animals. Amogelang, for example, indicated that in his childhood home, reading was actually discouraged because household chores and tasks took precedence:

I’m staying with my grandmother and mother so they really discouraged reading because they see reading as a waste of time because most of the time they will say ‘No, reading is nothing, just come and help us’... Ja they don’t see reading as important (FG, 03/04/09).

Lethabo also lived with her illiterate grandmother and revealed how daily necessity impacted attitudes to reading, “*You know at home, we were not reading, in fact they overloaded us with manual works like cleaning the house, going out to fetch some water and wood and at the end of the day we slept, doing nothing*” (LM, FG,

26/02/09). The “*doing nothing*” used here seemed to suggest that there was no encouragement to read or do schoolwork before bedtime. Amogelang and Lethabo described homes where literacy was not viewed as capital because it did not offer possibilities of being converted into economic capital. This perspective emphasised short term gains and, although the economic capital gained from these chores might have been minimal, there was also social capital that arose from doing them.

Key findings from the data presented in section 4.7 showed how constraints in local fields affected how literacy was valued. Because of the material constraints, individuals had to improvise to practise literacy. These improvisations provide examples of what Holland et al (1998) describe as “openings” (p.18) which bring about intergenerational change. These constraints began as material but these affected attitudes so deeply that the players of the game bought into the “illusio” (Bourdieu, 2004, 2007) that the game was only worth playing in particular ways because of the limits imposed by external social and material conditions. This was seen in the description of attitudes that perceived no point in spending time or money on education because it brought no foreseeable rewards. Also time spent on tasks that affected daily survival was viewed as more important than time spent on reading and writing. These attitudes resulted in class reproduction as the marginalised and poor, frustrated by lack of opportunity, made it a virtue to avoid education. I argue in this study that these dispositions, when transposed into the social worlds of the university result in marginalisation because those with power in university fields regard these dispositions as problematic.

4.8 Agency/ Valuing

Oral storytelling was an important influence on the literate habitus of the participants. They described how valuable this practice was in contributing to who they were morally and relationally. The role of storytelling as an inter-generational practice was emphasised. This section shows how much of what was valued in the oral mode of storytelling became transferred to written texts by participants in this study.

4.8.1 The importance of storytelling

The participants equated literacy with oral storytelling as shown by Lethabo, who described her childhood literacy experiences as, “*The kind of literacy we did as young children. Because I stayed with my grandmother, she was unable to read and*

unable to write. So most of the time... she used to tell us stories... especially at night... that is where we got this ... literacy, from her" (LM, FG, 26/02/10). Motle also explicitly linked literacy to interactions between the elders of the community and the young, *My community literacy is when the old people teach us about how we can live at home and everywhere we found ourselves in* (MM, EJ, 22/07/09). Heath (1983:93) distinguishes between speech events and literacy events defining the latter as "any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of participants' interactions and their interpretive processes". I argue that it is necessary to discuss storytelling as literacy because the participants referred to this event as 'literacy', and these oral stories contributed to the way written stories were valued and used in their lives.

Storytelling was integral to family life and the time spent around the fire after the evening meal was where the socialising influence of the family was manifested. For those growing up in homes where the primary caregivers were neither readers nor writers; family elders modelled oral storytelling practices. The descriptions of oral storytelling were filled with moments of warmth and there were positive memories associated with this practice, *"It was the exciting time we had in the family"* (KK, EJ, 28/04/09); *"Our elders used to tell us stories during the night after supper around the fire, eating peanuts and other traditional food"* (NT, EJ, nd/09).

Besides being pleasurable, this time was also important for passing on the history and culture of the community and maintaining the values that brought the "group to order" (Bourdieu, 1977:15). Stories were also important for teaching morals and attitudes important to the community such as truth, trust, obedience and self-belief. Lethabo explained the role stories played in her early education:

[My Granny] used to tell us these stories but we were applying them in our lives because I remember one day she was telling us a story about a little girl who did not listen to the parents so ... We used to remember that maybe if I don't do this maybe I will land up being the same as the one that I heard in the story (FG, 26/02/10).

This interaction contributed to Lethabo's habitus as her grandmother ensured the reproduction of the values of the community, building Lethabo's cultural identity. Kemontle described something similar:

My grandmother used to tell us different stories about animals but at the end we will discover that the story does not talk about animals but about the behaviour or lifestyle of people. Stories played an important role in life as they have build up our moral or values and through them I have learned to listen to others ideas and work together with other people (KK, EJ, 28/04/09).

Lethabo and Kemontle described the community elders using the fireside storytelling routine to inculcate dispositions, instil cultural capital and build in the children a sense-of-self and a sense of their positions in the community. These stories formed part of intergenerational learning and created dispositions which were constantly being reinforced and reproduced. Koketso continued to use stories to “mould” her own children and to build her relationship with them, for example, *“I have a strong and good relationship with my children through telling stories and even when they had problems they are not afraid to talk to me”* (KK, EJ, 28/04/09). The stories were “iterations” (Pahl, 2008:206), and the telling and retelling of them became a part of the habitus of those who heard them. The values and morals taught through these stories became “sedimented into practices” (Pahl, 2008:206) and were reproduced from one generation to the next.

Nyeleti focused on the instructive elements of the stories she heard as a child, *“Stories helps me to knows the rules, norms, values and morals that govern my society. They also help me to respect adults and trust in myself. They are also act as intertainments at the same time”* (NT, EJ, nd/09). Nyeleti described how, as an adult, she used stories as a tool for discipline and valued them as control, *“Stories helps to discipline in learners”* (NT, EJ, nd/09). She also indicated that there were taboos and superstitions surrounding the telling of stories, *“The elders tell us it is taboo to tell a story during the day”* (NT, EJ, nd/09). If this were a rule, then story telling (and reading) would not be considered acceptable at school in her community. There appeared to be boundaries as to what was appropriate to say or not to say, how to behave and not behave, when to tell stories and not to tell them and these were associated with storytelling.

A respectful disposition was so ingrained in Nyeleti that when writing about stories in the above extract she reduced herself to the position of a child. She appeared to be espousing what had been told to her about the value of storytelling from a young age, *“They also help **me** [my emphasis] to respect adults and trust in myself.”* Her identity as obedient listener had been so strongly “sedimented” into the text of her

journal (Pahl, 2008), that echoes of the elders telling her how to behave came to the fore unconsciously as she wrote.

Some research participants transferred formulaic patterns and practices from the oral mode into their writing in the English Reflective journals. For example, “*Long, Long ago*” (AP, EJ, 16/07/09), and “*Once upon a time there was a family in a village*” (MR, EJ, nd/09). They also emphasised moral lessons using proverbs and biblical references, for example, Motle used biblical echoes to explain how stories taught “*that the rewards of sin is death*”, and also, “*teach us... to be faithfull and truthful always in our life*” (MM, EJ, 04/09). Mamoratwa used three dictums in short succession in one journal entry, namely, “*there is a saying that ‘you teach a women, you teach the nation’*”; “*behind every successful men there is a woman*” and “*Education is the key to success and how can one open the door of success without the right keys*” (MH, EJ, 09/09/09). Molebogeng also emphasised the moral point of a story as “*it teaches people to love and treat people with respect and the same because you never know what tomorrow holds*” (MR, EJ, nd/09). Ntsovelo summed up an entry with a quote, “*I agree with the quote which says ‘Learning does not end, and it is not fixed’*” (NM, TE, 22/05/09). Unwana used a maxim to emphasise the moral lesson she had learnt from a soap opera character, “*I learn a lot from Thandaza, to persevere, to go on with life although tough things come because tough time never last but tough people do*” (UM, EJ, 27/07/09).

These are examples of the use of sayings making explicit some of the community practices and building up a dialectical relationship between these sayings and the dispositions that are reproduced in the community (Bourdieu, 1990). It was evident that the participants’ use of proverbs, sayings and biblical quotes, provided examples of what was valued in their literate habitus and their cultures, namely, virtue, honesty, respect, learning and perseverance.

This section has shown how the participants grew up in communities that valued storytelling and, I argue, it was these values that became associated with reading stories as well. There were boundaries associated with who told stories and when it was appropriate to do so. Stories in these communities functioned to shape behaviour and instil cultural values, and were structured in certain ways and these

oral patterns were transferred into the participants' writing. I now turn to discussing how feelings impacted on literate habitus.

4.9 Social /Feeling

Emotions played an important role in structuring habitus. This section focuses on Mangalani's description of what members of a school community felt about reading and how this was reproduced in the learners.

4.9.1 Reading is a burden

Mangalani explained how, amongst her colleagues, reading was seen as a burden. This could be because it was not something that was done regularly or it could be because these were official Department of Education documents which formed part of the teachers' working lives. These were written in English and would have been formal and bureaucratic:

I remember at one stage I would read a circular and if there are other teachers behind me they just say "After reading, you just tell us, we just want to sign." There is no passion for reading. Even things that concern them. Just imagine a circular, it's a message from the department to teachers even the teachers don't read this (MG, FG, 30/07/10).

Mangalani's words "*no passion*", "*even*" and "*just imagine*" seemed judgemental as she assessed her colleagues' attitude negatively. She appeared to argue that the relevance of the documents in providing information should sufficiently motivate her colleagues to read them. This conversation took place in her second year at Wits and perhaps it was this spatial and temporal distance that resulted in her critical opinion. She went on to use a racially-prejudiced view which was shocking in its bluntness, yet she seemed to want to emphasise her feelings, "*If you want to keep a secret from a black person write it down because they are lazy to read. So indeed it was like that*" (MG, FG, 30/07/10). Her short, sharp declaration, "*indeed it was like that*" emphasised her opinion. The situation was such that her colleagues were able to read and write but they seemed to choose not to read, whether for fun, "*Reading for fun, it was not our style*" or for necessary information, "*Even things that concern them*" (MG, FG, 30/07/10). They were not intrinsically motivated to read and there was neither a love of reading for reading's sake nor a desire to read to satisfy one's curiosity. Like the pre-service teachers in Applegate and Applegate's (2004) study, Mangalani described herself, and others, as having no use for reading except for

academic purposes, *“We read only when we were registered with the University of Pretoria, that’s when I got involved in reading”* (FG,30/07/10). Although Mangalani was criticising others’ attitudes to reading, she included herself in this appraisal.

Mangalani recognised that this literacy cycle needed to be changed, *“I think the best idea is to plant this idea in our schools that the learners must love reading”* (FG, 30/07/10). To some extent her use of the metaphor of planting a love of reading showed awareness that a desire to read had to be deep-rooted. However, by using the passive construction she removed responsibility from teachers. The phrase, *“learners must love reading”* put the onus on the learners and the imperative *“must”* associated this with rules and regulations. If teachers do not regard reading for pleasure as capital, there is little chance that they can pass on that gift and *“plant”* the seed of a love of reading in their learners.

This section has focused on Mangalani’s account of the negative feelings some teachers had about reading and the consequences of this. The next section expands on the negative feelings associated with literacy especially as it is linked to rules and authority.

4.10 Constraints/ Feelings

Participants outlined how strong, negative feelings associated with literacy contributed to a literate habitus which was constrained. In-school and out-of-school literacy practices were experienced differently by some participants. Positive emotions about literacy were transformed into negative emotions, often by the ways literacy was practiced in schools and this is explored in this section.

4.10.1 Negative emotions

In this section, I discuss how three participants’ negative feelings to literacy constructed each literate habitus in ways that constrained pleasure in reading and writing. These feelings were related to being forced to read and write, seeing no purpose in reading and writing and becoming demotivated because of a lack of encouragement. Learning to read and write is a social process and the way the older generation responded to literacy practices affected the participants’ literate habitus.

Ntsumi described reading as being a particularly negative experience for her as a child. Her father tried to encourage her to read in English but his efforts resulted in

distress, *“My father would bring those books and would ask us to read and I would cry all the time because it was like torture”* (NB, FG, 30/07/10). As she looked back though, she painted a picture of a man trying to ensure that the educational and literacy disadvantages he had experienced in his own life were not reproduced in his daughter’s life, *“He did not give up on us...he did not even go to school... and that laid a foundation for me”* (NB, FG, 30/07/10). This father’s recognition of his limited cultural capital because of having no education motivated him to try to break the cycle. With hindsight, Ntsumi recognised how his desire had structured her habitus, and *“laid a foundation”* even though her father’s efforts were linked with anguish.

For Dineo, reading was also not pleasurable because it emphasised operational goals, for example, *“ You were only interested in reading when you were given a task”* or *“after reading when someone asks you what it was you have read”* (DM, FG, 09/03/10). Her words implied a lack of joy in reading, *“We read...not for having an effect on you ...or for pleasure”*. Her older cousin taught her to read and she used negative words about the experience, *“he would just **force** me to read”* and *“and I would just **struggle**”* [my emphasis] (FG, 09/03/10).

In contrast to her unenthusiastic feelings about reading, Dineo spoke positively about writing, describing how, as a nine-year-old, writing letters was vital for communicating with an absent father about what was happening in her life:

I liked writing very much. I would just write everything I see and when he come back I would give him [the letter] and he must read and see how I can write...but I wouldn’t write the bad things like when my teacher hit me. I would only write the good things because I just want to impress him (DM, FG, 2009).

There is pride and cognizance of writing as capital, something with which to impress her father and gain favour. She was aware of which details to include or exclude and revealed that she was using the role of the text-user (Freebody & Luke, 1990, 2003), understanding her audience and the purpose she was wanting to achieve. To some extent, Dineo was demonstrating how writing could be used to construct a particular point of view and to serve the purposes of recording and sharing with her father what she felt he was missing in his absences from her.

However, this love for writing was apparently not reinforced at school. At home, Dineo wrote with a clear function but at school she became demotivated by being

“forced” to write without any clear purpose and so she lost interest in reading and writing, *“Why should I just do something they are forcing me so I don’t write for fun now. I was just writing and reading because they say I must”* (DM, FG, 09/03/10). Any sense of enjoyment in literacy practices was eliminated by the purposeless, tasks she had to do in school, *“because the reading was more abstract like they would say ‘Read pages 1-10’”*. The isolated, task-based reading and writing done at school discouraged her.

Kemontle described enjoying writing but she felt ashamed of her *“bad handwriting”*. The emphasis she placed on form and display was probably a result of how she had been taught writing, *“I am having a bad handwriting but my children they are writing nicely and My husband write using cursive handwriting”* (KK, EJ, 04/09). Her habitus affected her practice and the principles she emphasised were performative, and she judged herself as coming up short. Despite this, she had dreams of writing more:

I used to write a lot about my life experience in my diary. I enjoy writing even if my handwriting is bad. My dream was to write dramas and stories but somewhere the dream was spirited by responsibilities I have in my family. But now I feel I can write some little stories of young children (KK, EJ, 04/09).

Kemontle’s enjoyment in and motivation for writing had been lost and this was emphasised in this extract, by the poignant metaphor of a dream being spirited away by family commitments. The phrase *“But now”* implied that in a new field, perhaps because she was removed from the field of home and responsibilities, she expressed a glimmer of possibility and creative potential reflected in a rekindling of the dream of writing *“little”* stories for children.

It was not only family responsibilities that had spirited away Kemontle’s dream. She also described demotivated, discouraging teachers as being the cause of the disappearance of a writing dream. In a focus group, she described being inspired to write dramas in response to a visit to her school from representatives from the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC):

So I wanted to write and read the dramas, story books and try to write but we will take it to our teachers and they are also not motivated and it seems that when we are taking them to our teachers to supervise what we are doing they show no interest in them so that’s what made us to be discouraged on writing. But my dream is to write something on dramas or what not but now that dream has disappeared (KK, FG, 05/03/10).

Her teachers might have felt unable to comment meaningfully on the writing and structuring of dramas, because of their own literate habitus, and this gave the appearance of indifference. Or it could be that the teachers were not motivated to comment on something that was not for assessment. Whatever the reason, their reaction brought about the disappearance of a dream. The pathos in Kemontle's description of moving from excited anticipation to discouragement emphasised the loss of agency. However, she was one of the most prolific of writers in the English journals, having fifteen entries. Her joy in writing was being given free rein in this new social space and she seemed to relish it.

This section has focused on the important link between feelings and the development of literate habitus. Using examples from the accounts of Ntsumi, Dineo and Kemontle, it has shown how focussing on performance rather than pleasure, rules rather than relaxation, force rather than fun had impacted these participants' literate habitus so that they were thwarted in their reading and writing practices.

4.11 Agency/ Feeling

The importance of the affective is extended in the discussion in this section. It demonstrates how agency associated with literacy was evident in the data in three main areas: positive emotions, literacy heroes and literacy mediators.

4.11.1 Positive emotions

This section continues discussing the affective and extends it into focussing on environments where participants felt validated and encouraged and how this nurtured positive feelings in relation to literacy. For example, having an audience for her writing and being motivated by her teacher gave Lethabo capital, particularly as she was praised for her work:

When I was in standard 8 [Grade 10] I was writing, even the essays. I still remember by my Northern Sotho teacher used to take my essay...and read it to the Std 10s [Grade 12] it was so good ...One essay was: "The day I shall not forget" (she repeats it in Northern Sotho) so I wrote an excellent essay that she took it to the Std 10s and read it for them and I was so happy... I was so proud (FG, 26/02/10).

The positive words used, for example, "*it was so good*", "*it was an excellent essay*" and "*I was so proud*" reflected how writing in her home language was empowering as

embodied cultural capital. Her writing was commended publically, giving her status with the older learners, thus building social capital.

Lethabo continued to have a positive disposition in relation to literacy. For example, her teacher encouraged her by giving her magazines and she became addicted to word puzzles, *“The first page I will go for is the word puzzles...I feel proud to see I got this one correct and that even developed”* (FG, 26/02/10). She described being so passionate about the puzzles that she neglected teaching her class, making them sit quietly while she completed them. She showed no awareness that she could possibly share this joy in words with her learners. She saw no possibility of bringing her out-of-school literacy pleasure into her lessons.

In relation to reading, Masingita described a vivid, positive memory of her using the text-participant role (Freebody & Luke, 1990, 2003). Section 4.5.2 describes how Masingita went out of her way to access a book recommended by her teacher. There too, strong emotions were associated with the book. In a focus group, Masingita remembered a book she borrowed from her brother and how it made her feel. She demonstrated empathy with the protagonist:

When I was in Std 6 [Grade 8] I read my brother’s novel...There was a sad story about the main character, she was abducted when she was young and forced to marriage by an elderly man big enough to be her father. I was young when I read this book so I cried as I read the suffering she was in. I didn’t miss a page, even on way to school; I took time to read this book. Fortunately there was a happy ending and I was also happy (MK, EJ, April, 2009).

Masingita continued to describe the emotions she felt while reading the book as *“painful”*. She brought meaning to the text (Freebody & Luke, 1990, 2003) as she immersed herself in it, vicariously living through the character’s *“suffering”*. The phrase, *“I took time to read this book”* implied investment (Bourdieu, 1986; Norton, 2010). For capital to become embodied, effort and time are required and Masingita’s emotional investment enabled the embodiment of capital.

This section has demonstrated the role of positive feelings in contributing to the structure of each literate habitus. Lethabo’s love of words was encouraged by her teachers; Masingita’s emotional enjoyment of a book made a lasting impression on her. The next section shows how those who enabled literacy in others were

constructed as heroes by the participants and how this contributed to their desire to become facilitators of literacy themselves.

4.11.2 Literacy heroes

The heroes of the community reflect the values of a community and one such hero described by Tokologo was Esau Mapunye²⁹. In this account, Tokologo described how Esau forfeited economic capital and created a chain of capital which benefitted his family for generations:

My grandfather is one of the oldest people alive in our community. And I learnt a lot from him, especially about “botho” (humanity). He used to tell me that “motho ice motho ka batho” (a person is what he is because of other people). He told me that whatever you have, learn to share and God will bless you.

He told me an interesting story about one of the community member called Esau Mapunye. The only person who had access to school in their time. He was taught by the missionaries. And later he went to work as a clerk in a mine. So the members of the community asked him to come back and assist them in learning how to read and write as there were no schools by then.

Esau sacrificed his job and came to help the community with literacy classes. He was not paid but only compensated after he wrote a letter or read on your behalf. The old man whom I knew very well died a pauper but now more than 80 percent of the people in our community are able to read or write because of him. Even though he died a poor man Esau’s children are the most succesful in the whole community. His first son is a qualified motor mechanic working for Limpopo provincial government, the second one is a school principal, the third one is a traffic cop and the last born is a qualified teacher.

What I learnt most is that some people will be rewarded directly meanwhile others indirectly. God rewarded Esau by blessing his children after his unselfish role he played to change life of the people.

I am also planning to follow Esau’s path by educating one child from our community as another way of saying thank you to the spirit of Esau Mapunye, the unsung hero (TM, EJ,12/08/09).

The account was structured like a story told by Tokologo’s grandfather to pass on community values. There was a mixture of discourses evident in Tokologo’s retelling. For example, there was the religious discourse of sacrifice and blessing linked to honour and virtue, “*learn to share and God will bless you*”; “*Esau sacrificed his job*”; “*some people will be rewarded directly meanwhile others indirectly. God rewarded Esau by blessing his children*”. Then there was the discourse of traditional proverbs

²⁹ Not his real name

which underlie the African philosophy, Ubuntu³⁰, “*I learnt a lot from him, especially about “botho” (humanity). He used to tell me that “motho ice motho ka batho” (a person is what he is because of other people)*”. Both of these discourses, religious and traditional, have “generative capacities” (Bourdieu, 1991:41) and are powerful because they produce what is collectively recognised and so becomes the representation of reality of that group (Bourdieu, 1991). These discourses demonstrate how others were urged others to focus on community needs. The promise of rewards for putting aside one’s own aspirations in order to contribute to the wellbeing of the community was how the power of the group was asserted over the power of the individual. Self-sacrifice for the promotion of literacy was endorsed, and Tokologo was deeply affected by this. These beliefs become reproduced in his life and he saw Esau as a male role-model, “*I am also planning to follow Esau’s path*”. Esau’s story had dynamically structured Tokologo’s literate disposition, inspiring him to follow Esau’s example and to become a Foundation Phase teacher. The investment and sacrifice Esau displayed, embedded the view that enabling literacy in others was highly-valued and worth self-sacrifice. For Tokologo, literacy had symbolic capital and there was honour and virtue inherent in providing this gift to others.

This responsibility and desire to make a difference to the community became embodied in Tokologo’s disposition to literacy. As is discussed in Chapter Five Section 5.3.1.2, Tokologo, removed from Limpopo, began to recognise the possibility of a role he could play in writing down stories and so preserving cultural resources (stories) by capturing them in material form (objectified cultural capital).

4.11.3 Capital – mediating literacy for others

Some participants discussed the role they played growing up, as literacy mediators (Wagner, Messig & Spratt, 1986 in Prinsloo & Breier, 1996) or literacy brokers (Brandt, 2001) in their communities. In rural Limpopo, employment opportunities were scarce and this forced many men to leave the villages to find work. Because of this, many older, illiterate members of the community had to rely on children to help them write letters and to read them.

³⁰ Ubuntu is a Zulu word which roughly translated means “humanity toward others”. However it has come to mean more than this and is the name of a philosophy which forms the spiritual basis of African societies, emphasising the universal bond of sharing that connects all humanity.
<http://www.southafrica.info/about/people/ubuntu-260905.htm#.U7PXOtHrIU>

Malan's (1996) study in Newtown, South Africa describes adults acting as literacy mediators for those who cannot read or write and shows how those who write for those who cannot are positioned as socially superior. The research participants in my study described how the structure of the social worlds they inhabited had resulted in the unequal distribution of literate capital between generations, with the younger generation having more literate capital than their elders. They described being uncomfortable as children because this inverted the norm. Having to read and write private letters filled with confidential details and personal emotions was awkward as Masana suggested, *"Then you find that you happen to know many secrets... family secrets actually because maybe the husband is sending money ... and you happen to know about it"* (FG,02/03/09). There was a mismatch between their social capital, which positioned them in a subordinate position as children, and their literate capital which made their elders dependent on them.

Mangalani described being aware of her responsibility to respect the privacy of those for whom she read but she recognised the potential for others to take advantage of illiterate elders, *"[We did not talk about the secrets because] the norms and values that we have been brought up with it was not when we have something we have to spread it, you must keep it to yourself"* (FG, 02/03/09). Discretion was important to Mangalani and she emphasised that this was part of the rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1991) as she understood them, repeating that this was *"the way we were brought up"* (FG 02/03/09). Despite having the power to spread these secrets, the values of her family and community made no allowance for imprudent behaviour as was emphasised in Mangalani's use of the auxiliary *"must"*, expressing necessity.

Motle articulated the dilemma for the older members of the community involved in this inversion of roles:

It was difficult in the sense that even if you want to write to your partner you [had] to call a person to write[a] letter for you. And this was not easy because you were unable to express your feeling of how much you love your partner... when you ask a child from another family to write or read your letter [they] will sometimes go and tell people about [it] and they started talking about it and when it came back to you it will be painful and will make you angry (MM, EJ, 22/07/09).

Kganya also commented on the impact of illiteracy and indiscretion on members of her community:

Most women were given wrong information by the people who read their letters. Some of the confidential information leaked because of the mediators. The mediator has to respond the letters by writing back and some of them who were cruel wrote wrong information. Some families suffered divorce because of being illiterate (KL, EJ, nd).

Difficulty, pain, cruelty, suffering and anger were associated with illiteracy and the participants recognised the challenges faced by those who were illiterate. This contributed to a literate habitus that valued the empowerment literacy brought.

Sections 4.9 to 4.11 have focused on both negative and positive feelings and how these have contributed to the literate habitus of the research participants in varying ways. I argue that the affective plays an important role in structuring literate habitus. Where reading and writing were associated with negative emotions, literacy was constrained. Where reading and writing were perceived as having no purpose, literacy was experienced negatively. The role of teachers was important. Those who praised and encouraged their learners in their literacy efforts inspired, while those who did not, dampened enthusiasm. These emotions were complex. Sometimes efforts to encourage literacy could be experienced as negative as we have seen in the case of Ntsumi's father's attempts to encourage her to learn to read. Also the positive feelings resulting from the capital that being able to mediate for others brought could result in negative feelings both in those who mediated for others and those for whom one mediated literacy.

4.12 Social/Learning

Learning literacy is a social act and how community values and attitudes affected the learning of literacy generally is focused on in this section. In particular, it explores how literacy was learnt in ABET classes in Limpopo communities.

4.12.1 Attitudes to ABET classes

It was not only children who acted as literacy mediators, teachers also helped those who could not read and write, and so the participants held a position of trust in their communities. Unlike the children described previously, the teacher-students had both literate and cultural capital appropriate to their position in the field, for example, *"The community is dependent on teachers to help them fill forms for identity documents, pension forms and other forms that require help. The old people and illiterate come to certain teachers they trust to hold their secrets"* (NB, EJ, 24/06/09).

Teachers, played an important role in their communities, helping others to deal with “dominant, faceless, institutions” (Malan, 1996:107) such as government departments, banks and the post office.

Ntsumi, in the above extract, emphasised the functional role of literacy while Nyeleti emphasised how a desire for self-sufficiency was the driving force impelling some community members to attend ABET classes, “*They are interested in going to school so they don’t want to go with their children to post office and to banks, they want to go alone, they want to sign on their own*” (NT, FG, 19/02/10). Vuthlari also believed that the important gains literacy brought were limited to simple, discrete skills (text-decoder) for example, “*The grannies need to know how to read and write so that they can use receipts, write invoices when they sell beads they have made*” (VM, EK, 29/04/09). The views expressed in these examples showed that some community members aspired to literacy levels bounded by external circumstances. Choices to become literate by attending ABET classes were also influenced by economic imperatives.

Other participants viewed ABET classes as empowering on a larger scale. Unwana, for example, expressed pride when someone she had helped with literacy became independent and she emphasised the dignity that came with self-reliance and this was an important value of literacy for her, “*They were happy because they even learn how to write their name and they say: ‘Hey I’m no longer coming to you and take you to accompany me to the bank now I know how to fill that deposit slip’*” (FG, 04/08/09). Although she emphasised functional skills such as filling out a form and signing it, it was the broader claims for the value of these skills which Unwana emphasised.

For Koketso the importance of the ABET classes lay in how they opened doors for people to study further. She linked literacy with competency in the outside world, “*In ABET classes, some are given certificates at the end of each level and others complete grade 12. Those who complete Grade 12 are helped to study further or helped to find jobs*” (EJ, 12/08/09). Mangalani also emphasised extending beyond just learning to sign one’s name to getting a matric certificate, “*Some of them went up to matric. This makes it possible for them to collect other certificates which help them find better jobs than they expected*” (EJ, 25/05/09). Both of these participants

emphasised the importance of the objectified capital of certificates in opening up possibilities for the acquisition of economic capital.

Mamoratwa linked ABET with availability of material resources “*such as books, computers*” (EJ, 26/05/09) and how these facilitated literacy learning which could improve lives affected by circumstances, “*the centre is very effective because it also accommodate learners who failed matric as well as the teenage mothers who want to continue with their studies*” (EJ, 26/05/09). These participants viewed literacy education as powerful and as having the potential for making real, material differences in the lives of those who attended classes. Interestingly, Koketso, Mangalani and Mamoratwa all had the institutional capital of an ABET teaching qualification, so their views might have been coloured by their participation as teachers on these interventions.

Related to this view was the opinion that those who worked on literacy programmes were constructed as heroes in their community. Koketso associated literacy development with advancement in other areas such as health, protection of the vulnerable and education broadly, for example, “*Mrs M was also a finalist in the Community builder of the Year 2006 under health category. She got position 2 and the Premier of Limpopo donated R100000, 00 to the centre ... The community is proud of her because she developed their village a lot*” (KM, EJ, 12/08/09). Koketso described an agentive mediator who roused others, principals and volunteers in the community and donors from outside, to be proactive. This literacy hero enabled growth and possibility for literacy development.

On the other hand, there were negative descriptions by participants, of those who worked as ABET teachers. Elela judged those who taught ABET for financial gain harshly. Her view was that those who worked on ABET should do so because they valued literacy and not for economic reasons,

The people who are employed to offer ABET classes are the educators who are not yet employed. These ABET teachers do not help the illiterate because they really want to, I also think that many of them do not even care about the level of illiteracy but they are engaged in the teaching for the sake of earning a salary (EM, EJ 08/07/09).

Similarly to Tokologo who described his literacy hero Esau, in Section 4.11.2, Elela believed that helping others to become literate should be motivated by concerns beyond the economic.

This section has shown how attitudes to ABET interventions expressed by the participants revealed various views on the value of becoming literate. Some participants emphasised the functional role of literacy while others focused on broader envisaged empowerment associated with literacy. Both of these points of view made a link between literacy and personal, economic and social success which might not necessarily come about, despite these interventions. These differing values, I argue, form part of the literate habitus of individuals. However, each of these structured the fields the participants lived and worked in. These interventions played an important social role and impacted on how the community as a whole felt about the value of literacy.

4.13 Constraints/Learning

In this section, I focus on two areas of learning which appeared in the data as constraining, namely, the learning of English and the learning of reading and writing in home language.

4.13.1 Learning English

As discussed in Chapter One Section 1.8.6, prior to 1994, the Department of Education and Training (DET) applied a “mother-tongue policy” for Foundation Phase learners with a switch to a second-language medium in Grade 5 (Reeves et.al. 2008). This was the system that the participants described as their experience. English was the official LOLT from Grade 5 onwards, but teachers interacted with their learners primarily in the language spoken in the community. This was an example of the curriculum not taking into account the realities of the communities in which the learners and teachers were situated.

Vuthlari and Koketso both described being taught by teachers who were not proficient in English. Teachers’ poor use of English constrained the learners’ access to the ‘legitimate’ forms of the language. Vuthlari focused on the objective capital her teachers lacked, “*We are taught English by teachers who are unqualified*” (VM, EJ, April, 09), while Koketso emphasised their limited embodied cultural capital, “*I have learned English even if my teachers lack the skill and knowledge of English accent*

as it was not their mother tongue” (KK, EJ, 28/04/09). There was a sense of frustration as those tasked with teaching English appeared not to have had the necessary linguistic capital to teach it effectively. Tokologo described English being taught as a fixed set of isolated words and sounds, divorced of meaning, *“We were never taught how to communicate in English... because even the teachers who taught us used Sepedi to teach English”* (TM, EJ, 28/04/09). This was an example of the “paradox of the primary school professional” (Pretorius & Machet, 2004:58 in Nel & Müller, 2010), unskilled teachers of literacy who neither read nor spoke English well. This also pointed to the inadequacy of the curriculum at the time to address the language complexities of the South African situation.

Kganya and Lethabo described English lessons in which teachers focused predominantly on the oral rather than written mode, *“I started learning English at Grade one, but mostly as oral”* (KL, EJ, 28/04/09) and *“I remember I knew what a leaf is in grade 2 till today. Even though I could not write it but I knew what it was”* (LM, EJ, 28/04/09). Secondly, participants described teachers using repetition and memorisation to teach English in decontextualized ways. The following extracts show how these pedagogic practices limited learners’ development as efficient speakers, readers and writers of English:

I can still hear the rhymes that my teacher taught us... Rote-learning was most frequently used. I did not understand some meanings. I learned, ‘As busy as a bee’, ‘A dog barks’ (NB, EJ, 24/09)

We were also taught how to greet in English and some of the object in the classroom (Grade 3) (NL, EJ, 27/05/09)

We were just taught key words, like body parts. The teacher who taught us will just put a picture on board and point at body part and expect us to name them. We just memorised all the names of different body parts and that was enough to know (TM, EJ, 28/04/09)

The way I started learning English was a simple thing – that is because we were just reciting(SM, EJ, 04/09)

... because we sang those words everyday they stayed in my head until today. We learnt recitations and songs everyday (UM, EJ, 04/09).

The emphasis seemed to be on performance and limited text-decoding. There was misrecognition that, as Tokologo pointed out, *“that was enough to know”*. Meaning-making, text-participation, awareness of genre and critical analysis seem absent

(Freebody & Luke, 1990). There was little evidence of reading and writing extended texts. Frequent referrals to “*even if*”, “*even though*” and “*just*” reflected how the participants viewed this as insufficient. There was no reference to the use of printed text resources other than visual so the development of literacy in English appeared to be associated with the oral and visual modes. Reading materials as cognitive resources (Taylor, Müller & Vinjevoold, 2003; Taylor, 2007; Van der Berg & Louw, 2006) did not seem to have played a part in the development of literacy in English.

The symbolic value of English (Bourdieu, 1991) is such that to be able to say words, even without understanding, receives praise. In this extract, Unwana described her parents sanctioning the isolated recitation of English words, misrecognising that what she had learnt provided insufficient linguistic capital for success outside of this field, “*After learning new words in English, I used to go and tell my parents what I have learned, and they said I was a clever girl because I knew English meanwhile I didn’t know the meanings of those words*” (UM, EJ, 04/09). Unwana emphasised the distinction afforded to those who spoke English, “*in those days if you speak English, we took you so special*” (UM, EJ, 04/09). However, because of poor teaching even if learners developed basic interpersonal skills in English, their cognitive academic language skills were often not developed (Nel & Müller, 2010).

4.13.2 Learning to read and write

It was not only in the learning of English and Afrikaans that skills-driven pedagogy was described as being used. It appeared that this was the dominant pedagogic method in teaching reading and writing in their home languages as well. When the participants learnt to write, encoding and the formation of letters was focused on. Instances of writing to create meaning or of understanding how to construct texts according to purpose, genre and point of view were not described by the participants (Freebody & Luke, 1990). Amogelang described learning to write by, “*just copying when we were reaching say standard 4, (Grade 6)...we used to copy the notes, only that*” (AM, FG, 03/03/10). Copying appeared to be the dominant writing event with story writing or creative extension not forming part of the lesson as Tokologo and Akani confirmed, “*I cannot recall myself writing my own story. I was just copying off the board always*” (TM, FG, 03/03/10), and “*I didn’t write any stories*” (AP, FG, 03/03/10). This type of writing provided limited cognitive value as participants were able to form letters and encode but these skills did not provide the learners with the

chance to explore the writing of diverse texts. They did not learn to develop a variety of registers and, consequently, their repertoire of literacy practices (Blommaert, 2008a) was limited.

One of the contributing factors to teaching reading and writing in this way is the inadequate availability of literacy materials in the home languages of the learners. There were few books available when the in-service teachers were at school, and the little there were, dealt mostly with cultural and traditional topics. Because of this, the focus in teaching reading and writing in home language, as it was for teaching English, was on the oral and visual modes as Motle described, *“teachers were using pictures because there were no books for us to read...in those pictures we have to formulate some sentences* (MM, FG, 22/02/10). Nyeleti described learning to read and write showing how repetition and decoding discrete sounds was not confined to learning English, *“The method of reading in my community is characterised by vowel that is followed by consonants. The teachers read and make sound that is associated with letters that is on the chalkboard. Learners read several times”* (EJ, 04/09). Reading extended texts and the provision of opportunities to build vocabulary were limited. Nyeleti indicated that this way of teaching reading was reproduced in her own teaching as *“Repetition of vowel and consonants is still our daily process”*. She did not critique this pedagogy, and it appeared that her experience of learning to read had become embodied and recognised as a norm for her. She taught in the way she was taught.

Assessment took the form of dictation exercises and reading aloud. The focus was on the mechanics of writing, encoding and decoding rather than making meaning (Freebody & Luke, 1990). Unwana made claims for the usefulness of dictation in measuring understanding, *“We used to read some books and then they gave us dictation to see whether we have understood or not”* (UM, EJ, 16/05/09). Dictation would help in assessing accuracy of spelling and correctness of punctuation rather than successful meaning-making. Ntsako characterised good reading as being fluent, correctly pronounced and punctuated, *“Loud reading has also helped me a lot because that was how I was to be sure of my pronunciations, flow and the use of punctuation marks”* (EJ, 27/05/09). Both participants seemed accepting of these measures of “good” writing and reading. The assessments described measured the mechanics of literacy rather than understanding, discussion or critical awareness.

There were no accounts in the data of learning the generic features of different texts nor of learning to critically interrogate the construction of the texts.

Kganya had a more critical disposition and three months into her time at Wits she appraised how she was taught to read more thoughtfully. It was unclear whether this was done in the light of her experience at Wits or whether she had been critical of this prior to writing about it in her journal:

Reading was done in bits which led to learners not fluent in reading. For example, Learners are taught sounds and then syllables which then form words - b - ba – bana. Learners will read sounds or syllables instead of words. Sentences become a big challenge to read, as it will not flow and meaning of the whole is not easily grasped (KL, EJ, 28/04/09).

Kganya used limited meta-language “sounds”, “syllables” and “sentences”, but showed that she was aware that focussing on discrete skills restricted the comprehension of longer texts. Mangalani also criticised how she was taught to read and write, recognising the reproductive nature of the poor teaching:

Underperformance was always a problem mostly in rural areas. This could be caused by the apartheid system of employing unqualified teachers and not taking into consideration the importance of educating a Black child. The methods used then were teacher-centered, learners were spoon-fed with wrong techniques, therefore the reading and writing skills in our community is still very poor (EJ, 06/09).

Mangalani was critical of Bantu education and the impact that it had on her community. She realised the consequences of Apartheid, constructing rural areas as having insufficient resources and knowledge to acquire literacy capital. Differently to Unwana and Ntsako, both Kganya and Mangalani appeared to be aware of the shortcomings in how they learnt literacy.

The social realities of the field influenced what it meant to be taught how to read and write. I have shown in this section how material conditions reflected and produced particular ways of valuing reading and writing. This was self-perpetuating and reproduced a cycle of reading and writing focussing primarily on the code-breaker role and limited extension into the roles of text-participant, text-user and text-analyst (Freebody & Luke, 1990; 2003). Some participants were more reflective and conscious of this than others and articulated this in their own writing revealing how

they were able to use writing to examine early influences and pedagogy on their literacy development.

4.14 Agency/ Learning

There were instances in the data which described the agency that came from having linguistic capital. The symbolic nature of this capital is explored in this section as well as the shifts in participants' views about language and the role it plays in the teaching of literacy.

4.14.1 Linguistic capital

Dineo described having linguistic capital because of having had access to a language variety which had 'distinction' (Bourdieu, 1991:73), namely, 'pure' Sepedi, as this was the language her grandparents spoke, *"We have many dialects and because you find maybe I am speaking Sepedi but my language is not written in the books so you find that when the children come to school they have a little bit of a problem of translating to the language that is written"*. The conflict described here was focused on which form of the language was considered "legitimate" and as Janks (2010:115) points out in a multilingual society such as South Africa, "different symbolic power attaches not only to different varieties, but also to different languages". Dineo stood out amongst her peers and was validated by her teachers because they believed that the form of language she spoke provided a "profit of distinction" (Bourdieu, 1991:55). When she was in Grade 3, Dineo was taken to other classes to "perform" in order to demonstrate the "pure", "correct" and legitimate way of speaking Sepedi:

By that time my teacher would take me to the Standard 2 (Grade 4) to go and they have to listen to how I was pronouncing... the language I was speaking from my grandparents.

Those who did not speak pure Sepedi were constructed by teachers as being inadequate, and these children were doubly marginalised. On the one hand, they were marginalised by the Apartheid government as their home languages were not respected and then they were marginalised as the particular dialect they spoke was not valued as being the standard form.

In this section, I have focused on linguistic capital emphasising how languages and varieties of language did not have equal social distinction. Languages might provide

“linguistic capital” in the field of Limpopo but more broadly, “the constitution of the linguistic market” (Bourdieu, 1991:54) in South Africa had created conditions where these languages did not function as linguistic capital outside of these communities.

The next section discusses how participants appreciated learning literacy in their home languages and recognised this as linguistic capital.

4.14.2 The value of learning literacy in home language

The ‘Language and Education’ module in the *English in Education* course explored the role of language in education and emphasised the complex South African language situation where many children attended schools in which the medium of instruction was not their home language. It introduced different perspectives on language acquisition and language learning.

The issues raised evoked heated reactions from the Limpopo teachers and they were more vocal than they had been in class previously. I gathered that the reason for the agitation was that they were hearing different perspectives about language teaching at Foundation Phase. It seemed that contrary to the recommendations in the RNCS (2002), the curriculum they were working with prior to coming to Wits, their understanding was that they should not use English in Foundation Phase at all.

Some class members told me that they were “not allowed” to speak any other language but the designated home language in their classrooms. Their perception of the “rules” was that they were non-negotiable and they were uncomfortable encountering different perspectives. This seemed to reflect their view of knowledge as something fixed which should be strictly adhered to with little room for debate or contestation. Their view of the policy was that it was a rigid text and they felt anxious about doing things differently. Yet there appeared to be some ignorance around what the RNCS actually contained. This curriculum advocated an additive approach to multilingualism in which the home language was used for learning and teaching and additional languages introduced as a subject in Grade 1 and used alongside the additional language for as long as possible (DoE, 2002b).

This English module prompted a journal topic in which the participants were asked about the languages in which they had learnt literacy and the value this had for them.

Eleven participants handed in a journal entry on this topic, ten describing the value of learning to be literate in their home language

The first consequence of learning literacy in a particular language described by participants was how it contributed to the ease with which they had learnt other languages, for example:

I valued it [my home language] as an important language in life as it has supported my learning development. I think I have managed to acquire other languages through its support (KK, EJ, 28/04/09)

It is very important to master your home language in order to accommodate other language (MH, EJ, 28/04/09).

Learning in my home language has widened my vocabulary a lot and I became able to move from home language to the English and Afrikaans and I realised that some Afrikaans words are borrowed words and sometimes the same as my home language. (NL, EJ, 27/05/09).

In making this claim, Kemontle, Mamoratwa and Ntsako were using an argument they were introduced to during the course. This demonstrated an attempt to integrate what they were learning at WSoE into their journal writing.

Mamoratwa indicated further that she was aware of research in this area, though she was vague about which research, and wove this new found knowledge with her own practical wisdom (Breier, 2008) as a Foundation Phase teacher:

Many researchers have shown that children learn better if they use their own language and I have also discovered that in the school where I have been teaching. The grade one learners learn how to speak, write and read in their mother tongue and before the end of second quarter they are able to read or speak English very easy but it is difficult to a learner who is still struggle to speak with her/his mother tongue (MH, EJ, 28/04/09).

Tokologo was more assertive about the importance of learning in one's home language. He seemed aware of some of the key issues focused on in the course, namely, that mother tongue education was increasingly being encouraged as a human right and the importance of the link between home and school:

It helped us to link the school as part of our home. I think it could have been strange should we started to learn to read and write in another language. I think everyone deserves the right to learn in a language of his or her mother tongue (TM, EJ, 28/04/09).

Using their own language was viewed as empowering by the participants. This was particularly poignant in the light of the difficulties they had experience in adapting to learning and to writing in English at Wits. Motle revealed a common thread which had been evident throughout her writing, that of the importance of respect. This was a dominant feature of her habitus and in this extract, she linked learning in her home language to learning the values of her culture which were deeply ingrained, *“I have acquired the literacy knowledge because through my mother tongue. My mother tongue is Xitsonga and it taught me to speak, write, respect to each and every person I come across; mostly those whom I know not, the strangers”* (MM, EJ, 28/04/09).

Kganya also tapped into a dominant aspect of her habitus, that of criticising the current education situation, in this case as it applied to language issues. She compared her learning literacy, though not perfect, with the difficulties learners and teachers experience currently. She described the Wits B.Ed. intervention as important for equipping her to teach the new curriculum:

There is something very wrong in our new curriculum. Is it because teachers are not well trained to implement this new curriculum? Here we are, some of us more than eighteen years of teaching experience to try and improve our knowledge and be equipped to teach this new curriculum (KL, EJ, 28/04/09).

Motle and Kganya both viewed their experiences of learning literacy in their mother-tongue through the particular point-of-view of their habitus. Although being literate was only a part of their habitus, the way they wrote about it was influenced by their habitus as a whole.

Koketso found value in preserving a love of her home language and, like others, explained that it is a large part of asserting her identity:

I valued it as an important language in life. I still feel comfort when I practises some exercise here at Wits using my mother tongue to explain some contents to my colleagues. I feel respected if we use it in our group as is the language we can express ourselves better than other languages (KK, EJ, 28/04/09).

Koketso emphasised how using her home language in class made the tutorial groups a safe space. Ntsumi also focused on the affective aspects of learning literacy in her home language, emphasising how using it at school made classroom a

safe space for her. Perhaps this memory was even more acute in the light of her struggles with language at Wits:

I acquired Literacy in Xitsonga, when I went to school I was taught in the language which I understood well. It was valuable for me since I could understand what the teacher was saying and this allowed me to respond well to questions without fearing that I might say or do something not right (NB, EJ, 28/04/09).

This section has shown how participants' ways of thinking about language in education were shaken up by the English course. They were exposed to thinking differently about language and knowledge as they were presented with differing theories and arguments about learning and language. They began to realise that knowledge could be contested and is not fixed. They also tried to incorporate what they were learning into journal entries about learning in their home language, showing how writing about language was filtered through the lens of their habitus. There was evidence of partial inclusion of newly-acquired knowledge. The affective aspect of learning through and speaking one's home language in learning was emphasised by participants as well.

4.15 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the literate habitus of the participants by addressing the first research question investigating what literate habitus group of teacher-students from Limpopo brought with them as indicated in their first year at Wits? What has emerged from this analysis is that habitus is not unshakeably deterministic. At times, the analysis of the data has confirmed commonly held beliefs about literacy in rural areas but it has also revealed that there was agency in some participants and the community members described. This agency caused them to resist their material conditions and the attitudes of those around them. The importance of feelings in the structuring of literate habitus and the awareness of what counted as literate capital was evident in the data discussed in this chapter. Those participants who felt motivated and had a sense of agency were able to take action to overcome constraints, while others felt overwhelmed by them and so, were debilitated.

The data has shown how the amount of agency that some participants had was, however, often constrained by the material conditions of their social worlds. The participants articulated how the limited access to printed materials, their own poorly-

qualified teachers, limited job opportunities as well as the power of the oral and visual modes all contributed to the way literacy was enacted and valued in their own lives and those of the members of the communities from which they had come. The analysis of the data also revealed instances of how symbolic violence was used by members of different social spaces where literacy was enacted, in attempts to force others to conform to the rules of the literacy game. This resulted in the construction of a group literate habitus which reproduced the structure of meta-fields in South Africa, where those in marginalised rural areas remained dominated. However, there were those who resisted this, despite the cost, and it seemed that this decision was related to their perception of what would result in capital. This perception of literate capital enabled and compelled some participants to act differently to others in the same area of social activity.

Chapter Four has focused on the influence of past experiences, familial, educational and community, on individual participants' literate habitus, because it is these which "ensure the active presence of past experience" (Bourdieu, 1990:54) particularly in perceptions, thoughts and actions.

This chapter has set the baseline against which to measure the nature and extent of possible teacher-student changes in relation to literacy. In the next chapter, I discuss the participants' developing personal and academic literate habitus while they were at Wits. It explores if and how the participants practice literacy differently and raises questions about what causes shifts and what prevents shifts

Chapter Five: Literate Habitus at Wits

‘Wits opened a new world to me’ (Mandela, 1994:85).

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into three main sections all focussing on the participants’ literate habitus during their time at Wits University, examining, in particular, how being in different fields for an extended time impacted habitus. As discussed in Chapter Two (see Section 2.6.), field, in this study is understood to be a social space where individuals strategise to gain maximum capital. Fields are “arenas of conflict” (Swartz, 1997:9) which act as mediators between habitus, practice and capital, which is the focus of this chapter. The first section of this chapter (see Section 5.2) describes a visit to the theatre which took place in the participants’ first year at Wits. Using theatre as a metaphor for field, it examines key themes that emerged from journal entries responding to this visit. The chapter then demonstrates how these themes were echoed more broadly in the participants’ writing about their experiences with reading and writing at Wits (see Section 5.3). These themes also related to the continuities and discontinuities participants encountered in terms of their personal and academic literate habitus during their four years at Wits. The third part of the chapter (see Section 5.4) narrows the focus to three participants, namely, Shiluva, Motle and Elela looking more closely at their writing and reflection on their teaching of literacy during TE.

5.2 The theatre as a metaphor for ‘field’

On Thursday, 6 August 2009, I arranged for the group of Limpopo Foundation Phase teachers to go to the Market Theatre in Newtown, Johannesburg to see a production of *Touch my Blood*³¹. The theatre, like any new social space, required from the participants ways of acting, thinking and feeling which they were not used to, not having had the opportunity of being in a theatre before. One of the participants, Kemontle, described it as, “*my first visit and experience about what is happening in theatre and I enjoyed myself*” (KK, EJ, 12/08/09). All who wrote about this visit indicated that it was a novel experience, and not part of their cultural capital.

³¹ This play is an adaptation of Fred Khumalo’s memoir of his life growing up in Hammersdale Township in KwaZulu Natal in the 1980s.

A theatre is a self-contained space, cut off from the rest of the world for the duration of a performance. It is internally-structured but relates to other fields, for example, what is shown on the stage depicts slices of life. Bringing a production to the stage requires many people to play different roles – from director to prompt, from lighting designer to lighting operator, from marketer to ticket seller. People play their parts according to their positions in the field. Each of these roles is based on power and limits are set as to what can or cannot be done; where one can go and not go; what one should say and do and not say and do. Each individual's role is dependent on the position they have in this field.

Theatre is competitive as each participant uses different strategies to maintain his or her position in the company or to make a good enough impression to be hired again. There are different kinds of capital, which are important for the theatre. For example, economic capital is necessary as money is needed to pay for the production; cultural capital is needed by those who are involved in the production, and knowledge of the culture the play represents, aesthetics, use of voice and body as well as the effects of narrative and language. Social capital is also useful as networks and connections often open doors to opportunities. Those with talent and training are advantaged because of their embodied capital, and they accumulate more and more capital to build on their success.

Audience members are expected to obey certain rules which are not written down; these are learnt and become embodied, often unconsciously by attending theatre regularly. There are conventions about where to sit, how to behave, when to stand up, when to applaud and how to interact with your fellow audience members and the actors. Each performance is slightly different in live theatre because of the vital role of the relationship between audience and actors.

What of this particular group of visitors to the theatre? Much of what happened in the theatre and how they reacted can be seen as a metaphor for the discontinuities they encountered while living, studying and teaching in Johannesburg. Visiting the Market Theatre required a small investment of time and money and there was not a lot at stake compared to the investment required to study at Wits. The theatrical visit provided a short time of rupture, a removal from other fields into different fields, which resulted in some adjustments having to be made. Leaving their homes to live

and study in Johannesburg created a larger rupture, removing them from fields which had structured their habitus and placing them in new social spaces. Similar significant things happened on a larger scale in their lives in Gauteng, affecting how the teacher-students thought about, did and valued literacy. The themes which were evident in participants' writing about the visit to the theatre and which, I suggest, are reflective of the experience of the other fields, are:

- experiencing the novelty of field which results in shifts perceptions
- choosing to accept opportunities offered or to resist them
- overcoming fears and other emotions
- relating the new to the known
- trying on the discourse
- thinking in different ways about what is accepted as the norm
- reflecting on the old field and anticipating possible changes in going back

This chapter shows how each of these themes was important in identifying a growing sense of agency in the participants' journeys, as well as recognising the confidence that came with it. How this brought about shifts in habitus because of the participants' recognition of possibilities for change is also examined in this chapter.

5.2.1 A new field: *"It is a shame to know and experience the theatre at my age"*

Visiting the theatre was one of many new experiences the research participants had in Johannesburg. It was something they had not been exposed to in Limpopo, and Lethabo described it as, *"a first experience of what a theatre is, how it looked like and what is done there...It is a shame to know and experience the theatre at my age. It means hadn't I got this chance of coming to Wits I would never know about a theatre"* (LM, EJ, 12/08/09). Lethabo recognised that the new social spaces she was participating in provided her with opportunities not imagined possible before. She appreciated that the social and economic conditions of the game as it was played in the macro- and micro-fields in Limpopo, restricted her acquisition of cultural capital. She acknowledged that what was not thinkable or doable (Grenfell, 2008) in old fields, because of restrictive norms, resulted in a certain logic of practice in the game, which did not include theatre visits.

5.2.2 Accepting or resisting: “*I have learned a lot about things I thought are impossible*”

Koketso, and others, chose to resist the encounter altogether, overwhelmed by work demands, “*I did not go to theatre because the work was too much for me*” (KM, EJ, 12/08/09). Habitus is structured by its encounters with fields, but individuals react differently, and so their habitus is structured in diverse ways. It was the desire to take opportunities that, I argue, was what differentiated those who shifted in their literate habitus and those who did not, however, it was more nuanced than that. People make choices linked to their understandings of what is important to invest time and effort into in order to gain capital, their “subjective aspirations” (Collins, 1993). Koketso jostled educational capital at Wits and so focused on the immediate gains of completing her academic work because, to her mind, that would give her this capital. Lethabo also had an assignment to complete, nonetheless she chose to go to the theatre and found herself invigorated by it, “*I was busy with the assignment but I went there. I arrived at my place at something to ten but I was energetic to take the books and go on with my assignment*” (LM, EJ, 12/08/09). She grabbed the opportunity offered to her and this inspired her. She recognised the value in theatre once she had experienced it, the chance it gave her “*to take out stress and relax*” (EJ, 12/08/09).

The occasion afforded an opportunity for reflection on new possibilities and Kemontle recognised a shift that came about because of this, “*Being in theatre for that hour I have learned a lot about things I thought are impossible were possible. I loved everything about theatre*” (KK, EJ, 12/08/09). Participating in and observing new practices helped Kemontle to recognise potential she had not conceived of before. Because of the relationship between habitus and field, the opportunities offered and the possibilities recognised influenced her habitus to change in subtle ways.

5.2.3 Fear and other feelings: “*When I first enter the place I was so frightened*”

The play began with a machine emitting smoke, a common theatrical device which would not have disturbed those with the necessary cultural capital to recognise it. Not having encountered this before, some participants were afraid and puzzled by what was happening but they overcame their fears to enjoy the play. This fear was described by Kemontle, “*When I first enter the place I was so frightened as the*

atmosphere was full of smoke which I cannot understand why but as time goes on it disappeared (KK, EJ, 12/08/09). In this new situation, it was the inability to make sense of novel practices and rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1991) that resulted in fearful emotions:

What amazed me was the smoke that was prevailing in the there. I was afraid I was going to choke and my eyes would itch. I was afraid that I was not going to see properly as I was getting in. But to my amazement there was no such. Once I got [to] my chair I seated and watched and the smoke eventually vanished. I was settled by then (LM, EJ, 12/08/09).

This extract emphasises two emotions, namely, amazement and fear. The physical threat and the thought that the experience might be spoiled were related to a lack of understanding of the use of special effects in the theatre. Lethabo felt physically threatened by the smoke used to create atmosphere. These participants had to unpack the symbolic meaning of special effects they had only experienced as reality before. Even after the play, Motle needed help to understand the purpose of the smoke, *“I didn’t understand why were they doing that because it was the first time to be in a theatre...will you please tell me why are they doing that before the movie starts?”* (MM, EJ, 12/08/09). Motle appeared to think that having smoke in the theatre was the norm for *all* plays; as she was unable to recognise the representational link relevant for *this* particular play.

Emotions can be constraining or motivating, and Motle described how she felt shame in her Drama class because *“our lecture ask us about theatres and we feel embarrassed not knowing how theatre look like. But now I have known theatre ... I was very excited to see how theatre look like and what is happening in the theatres”* (EJ, 12/08/09). In class Motle had felt that her lack of knowledge, embodied capital, was due to personal deficiency or a reflection of her ‘rural’ background. Because of this she felt humiliated and, perhaps guilty, because she did not meet the expectations of her lecturers. This is an example of the symbolic power institutions exert, resulting in individuals blaming themselves for their “failings” (Kramsch, 2008:35-36).

Motle also had no sense of agency and claimed that if the excursion had not been organised by her English lecturer, *“will I have chance to go to theatre”*? She was not alone in thinking this way, as Mamoratwa asked, *“If it was not Toni, will I have*

chance to go to theatre?” (EJ, 12/09/09). Despite the fact that there are a number of theatres in close proximity to the university and to their place of residence, these participants were reliant on someone else to organise a visit. They were constrained by the structuring structure of their habitus which resulted from their position in the game, overwhelmed by what it would take to organise a visit for themselves, or even to imagine the possibility.

5.2.4 Relating the unfamiliar to the familiar: “*It’s the same as bioscope*”³²

Motle called the drama a ‘*movie*’ throughout her journal entry, and she, and others, made sense of this genre by associating it with similar genres they had been exposed to in the past and with which they were familiar. This resulted in slippage and the interchanging of the words “*drama*” and “*movie*” in Motle’s account. Ntsumi made a more specific link by comparing the theatre to buildings she had been in before, “*It is the same as bioscope except for the centre stage*” (NB, EJ, 12/08/09), and Kemontle compared the stage actors to television actors, “*I used to see those on television but now I have seen them personally*” (KK, EJ, 12/08/09). These participants made sense of the present, new experience by linking it to the known, and using the recognisable to help them “navigate uncharted cultural waters” (Blommaert, 2008a:47).

5.2.5 Trying on the discourse: “*The theatre is a proscenium*”

Molebogeng took Drama as a subject in her first semester at Wits and in her account of her visit to the theatre there was evidence of her “trying on the discourse” (Angélil-Carter, 2000); by taking what she had learnt in the Drama class, applying it to her viewing of the play and then using the language in her journal entry. Molebogeng made it plain that this was what was happening, for example, “*As a Drama student I linked a lot of the concepts that I learnt with what I was watching. In Drama Language, this [my journal entry] is a review... For the first time I incorporated what I am learning at the university with real life*” (MR, EJ, 12/08/09). She had acquired some of the meta-language which enabled her to discuss the new event. An example of this was “*The theatre is a proscenium*” (MR, EJ, 12/08/09), and she described how her understanding of ‘proscenium’ linked to the design of the stage in the Market Theatre. She showed some confusion about text genres suggesting that

³² A South African word for ‘cinema’

writing about theatre was automatically a “review”. Writing in her journal about the theatrical visit gave her an opportunity to become apprenticed to the language by being exposed to a “prototypical case” (Gee, 2002:26). This allowed her to work out how these meanings were situated in the new domain, which generated confidence as she asserted her identity as a “*Drama student*”. The journal provided her with a safe space to try out this discourse in a non-punitive context.

5.2.6 Thinking in new ways: “To my surprise it was a young lady and I appreciated that”

Lethabo found her stereotypical views of the role of young women shaken by the experience:

The lady who was controlling the sound was so young but was doing a perfect job. I thought it was a big man who was on the machine. To my surprise it was a young lady and I appreciated that. Most of the time I associate machines with men (LM, EJ, 12/08/09).

As discussed in Chapter Four (see Section 4.4.1), the community Lethabo came from had clearly-defined gender roles. Although she had grown up with these views as a norm, she now found these norms challenged by this encounter in the theatre and she was forced to rethink and restructure her habitual view of what women could do. What counts as work for men and what counts as work for women is often embedded in relations of power, and Lethabo was surprised by what she saw as being a shift in this power which held possibilities for resisting the reproduction of these roles.

5.2.7 Reflecting and anticipating: “I hope to take my family one day”

The outing opened up other possibilities for Lethabo. In Limpopo, where going to the theatre was not possible, her habitus was structured with no opportunity to imagine or to understand what it might offer, now, however, having enjoyed this experience she wanted to share it, “*I also thought I must take my husband along one day*” (12/08/09). Mamoratwa and Ntsumi both saw the generative prospects of having been to the theatre, “*I really enjoyed [it] and hope to take my family one day*” (MH, 12/08/09) and “*I want to book myself and my family one of these days*” (NB, 09/08/09). This encounter impacted these participants’ frameworks of perception so that they envisaged sharing their new-found enjoyment with those they love. They adjusted their expectations because being in a new field had enabled new

experiences and given them access to cultural capital which they could pass on to others.

This section has focused on seven themes which arose from reflective journal entries on a visit to the theatre. These themes reflect how the participants adjusted and strategised in reaction to their encounters with a new field. The next section uses these themes and demonstrates how they were evident in the ways participants wrote and spoke about their struggles in the macro-fields at Wits and in Johannesburg.

5.3 Shifting literate habitus: Personal and Academic literacy

The data shows how being in the new field of studying and teaching at Wits resulted in a number of discontinuities, similar to those experienced by being in the theatre. This section discusses how these affected the personal and academic literacy of the research participants.

5.3.1 The novelty of the field

The discontinuities, clashes and competition in fields and between fields can result in a resolute, conscious decision to change or a resistance to change. The turning point, resulting from the rupture between fields, produces either a feeling of agency or a feeling of being marginalised; a sense of power or a sense of powerlessness. Some participants embraced new possibilities, others resisted these, some reframed them in terms of the old field while others were overcome by their feelings and this affected the extent to which they were able to shift.

The Limpopo teachers each brought a particular literate habitus with them to Wits University which had been structured by their personal histories as discussed throughout Chapter Four. They had taken “a fork in the road” (Maton, 2008:52), the choice to study at Wits University. Chapter Four discussed their using, valuing, feeling and learning of literacy in various fields in Limpopo. I now move to examining the second research question, which asks whether the way the participants *talk* about and *enact* literacy changed during the course of their four years at Wits? Focusing on the first year-and-a-half, the data presented here focuses on what the research participants revealed about their personal and academic literate habitus in the light of being in a new game and it examines how they strategised, learnt the rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1991) and how this affected their confidence during

their time at Wits. Although they came from similar backgrounds, the differing levels of agency they had resulted from various “strategic response[s]” (Warde, 2004:14) they each had to the fields that had structured the habitus. It was their different positions in past fields; the different trajectories they had travelled to get to new fields and each participant’s distinct habitus that generated these various responses, resulting in different levels of adaptation (Warde, 2004). Bourdieu (1990:68) calls this “enter[ing] the magic circle” and argues that “one cannot enter this magic circle by an instantaneous decision of the will but only by birth or by a slow process of co-option and initiation which is equivalent to a second birth”. It is this process which is examined here. This section focuses broadly on 20 participants. The remaining two, Kganya and Ntsako are discussed in Chapter Six.

5.3.1.1 Reflective writing: English journals

This section examines how the participants used their English Reflective journals. I argue that choosing or rejecting to participate in this new literacy practice reflects literate habitus. In the theatre, actors begin by learning lines written by someone else, portraying another’s character and behaviour. It takes many rehearsals and much repetition of lines for the performance to become embodied; for the words to come naturally and for emotions to become honestly reflected. Similarly, I claim, it is by making the effort to write or read differently and doing this repeatedly and frequently that allows for literacy practices to become embodied and ‘natural’ (Janks, 2010).

The Limpopo teacher-students were invited to write in reflective journals, “an elite genre” with “non-elite resources” (Blommaert, 2008a:176). As there were those who chose not to go to the theatre, there were also those who elected not to write, or to write very little in their English journals. Coming from fields where extended, reflective written texts were unusual, their linguistic and sociolinguistic resources were such that they did not feel confident in writing in this way, nor did they see the value in doing so. Table 5.1 shows the number of entries and word count that each participant wrote.

Table 5.1: Number of entries and words in English Reflective journals

	Name	Number of entries in English Reflective journals	Number of words
1	Akani AP	0	0
2	Amogelang AM	5	1659
3	Dineo DM	0	0
4	Elela EM	8	2271
5	Kemontle KK	15	4615
6	Kganya KL	18	3890
7	Koketso KM	8	3629
8	Lethabo LM	6	3136
9	Mamoratwa MH	17	6827
10	Mangalani MG	9	1820
11	Masana MS	1	760
12	Masingita MK	2	574
13	Molebogeng MR	12	6195
14	Motle MM	9	3148
15	Ntsako NL	2	678
16	Ntsovelo NM	3	1067
17	Ntsumi NB	8	3075
18	Nyeleti NT	4	2634
19	Shiluva SM	1	426
20	Tokoloko TM	16	3073
21	Unwana UM	4	1045
22	Vuthlari VM	9	2931

From Table 5.1, it is evident that there was a spread across the participants of the number of entries and the amount written amongst the participants. Mamoratwa and Molebogeng were the most prolific writers in their English reflective journals in terms of word count. Kganya wrote the most regularly, 18 entries in total. Dineo and Akani both did not hand in English reflective journals. Shiluva, Ntsako and Masingita seldom wrote in their journals. Masana has only one entry, which she wrote on the day I taught her stream. As discussed in Chapter Three (see Section 3.8), she was not in my *English in Education* class but wanted to be part of the research. The average number of journal entries written by the participants is, seven, while the average number of words written in the English reflective journals is 2429.

The choice to write or not was, perhaps, an unconscious strategy governed by a habitus seeking the best way to attain capital. Some participants, overwhelmed by the demands of academic work, chose to do what they felt would give them the most capital, spending time on assignments which would be marked, rather than journal

entries which were not for assessment. When asked why they did not write in their journals, some participants mentioned workload as a reason. Dineo claimed to enjoy writing but did not hand in a journal entry, *"Myself I like it [Journal writing] but most of the time I did not write... because we were loaded with works...with assignments* (DM, FG, 26/02/10). There was a mismatch here as she claimed to like journal writing but there was no actual evidence of having done so. Masingita also claimed to recognise the benefits of journal writing but only handed in two entries, *"Writing a journal it has benefited me a lot but sometimes I didn't write because I was having a lot of work to do. I enjoy writing actually when I have time I did write the journal"* (MK, FG, 01/03/10).

Both participants' assertions about loving writing were not translated into practice. Ntsovelo consciously strategised considering what would give her more capital, *"As a student, I was always heavily loaded by work which was demanding. I will like to write but my schedule will be hectic and I will have to prioritise the important things like reading for a test"* (NM, FG, 01/03/10). These three participants recognised that the journals were not used for assessment and so journal entries were relegated to a lower position on the schedule of 'things to do'. Writing was valued for performing tasks that would result in marks being allocated. The struggle in any field is often for cultural capital and, in their courses at Wits, some participants seemed to have made a strategic decision to invest time and effort on assignments, rather than writing in reflective journals because they could not imagine the possibilities that writing in the new genre offered them outside of assessment.

Lethabo was different and attempted to write in her journal fairly regularly because she had glimmers of insight into the potential that this type of writing held for her and she seemed prepared to invest time and effort in doing so:

It [journal] was where we used to take out our stress, our problems, maybe sometimes you don't have someone to talk to...so we just pour out our tears there in the journal it was helping us a lot (LM, FG, 26/02/10).

The metaphor comparing writing to pouring out tears indicates an understanding of the cathartic potential of writing. Despite the recognition of positives, Lethabo described procrastinating because of a paralysing fear of writing, *"we just waited and waited and we're just having that fear of just starting to write"* (LM, FG, 26/02/10). However, it was evident that she overcame this fear to some extent as she wrote six

journal entries. These participants' responses to journal writing support the claim that it is how one feels about literacy that contributes to how one "does" literacy.

Overcoming negative emotions in relation to reading or writing in particular ways, often depended on how much value the teacher-students saw in the practice. As Table 5.1 shows, there were participants who wrote more regularly. It is difficult to account for what exactly motivated them to do so except that they appeared to recognise various possibilities beyond assessment. Their decisions appeared to be strategic and designed for gaining symbolic capital. As theatrical actors gain embodied capital from regular rehearsal, this regular writing enabled Mamoratwa, Mangalani, Koketso, Kganya and Elela to identify the benefits of journal writing which they articulated in a focus group together. These benefits were identified as:

- A memory keeper: *"I think it is good to write a journal because it helps they are memories that are very important to remember (MH, FG, 05/03/10).*
- A free space: *"I actually liked writing in the journal because there was no limitation" (KM, FG, 05/03/10).*
- A safe space: *"the world that is safe where I can say what I like knowing that I won't be judged" (KL, FG, 05/03/10).*
- A space to share secrets: *"we are able to take out whatever we want to talk to and then it was a secret between me and you" (KK, FG, 05/03/10).*
- A place to escape to: *"it was just like escaping from the real world into my imaginary world" (KL, FG, 05/03/10).*
- A space to share hurts: *"some of the things that are hurting us here at ...university I will tell you about them" (MH, FG, 05/03/10); "And to write about something that hurt you...after writing that thing you feel like it has been cleared" (KK, FG, 05/03/10).*
- A space to develop thinking and writing skills: *"it helped us develop our writing skills and our thinking skills - it's a good practice" (EM, FG, 05/03/10).*

These participants realised, through writing regularly, that they were gaining more than discrete learning skills, though these also formed part of the value of the experience for them. This section has shown how some participants made strategic decisions to resist participating in reflective journal writing. This decision was influenced by a literate habitus that regarded writing as a tool for assessment rather than reflection. This was also related to a desire for capital in the "game" of being a student at Wits. Those who regularly wrote in their journals became aware that the

advantages of this literacy practice moved beyond the external to become internal (embodied). The next section expands on how enacting new literacy practices regularly created awareness of the benefits of engaging in these new practices, which was important for shifting the teacher-students' literate habitus.

5.3.1.2 Doing new literacy practices generates new possibilities

In this section, I examine more closely how, by engaging in new literacy practices, such as writing extended texts, some participants were able to reflect on the continuities and discontinuities of these practices in relation to other fields.

In a focus group, Elela described her feelings about the limited availability of books written in her language and imagined a role for herself in changing this:

I'm also very worried. You know I am a Shangaan and in my language there were interesting novels but now they are no longer there. Nobody's writing books anymore. I am worried that the culture is dying in our language...so I would like to revive it somehow (EM, FG, 05/03/10)

Elela's repetition of the word "worried" emphasised an emotional response to her concerns. The words "no longer" and "nobody's" highlighted the negative view she had of the situation. The metaphorical contrast between the culture "dying" and her desire to "revive" it, underlined the extent to which she recognised the possibilities and power writing gave her as a "keeper" of her Shangaan³³ culture. Furthermore, she realised that by encouraging writing in her learners, she could foster their potential, "I think we have to develop these skills with our kids" (EM, FG 05/03/10). Elela had written often in her English Reflective journal (eight entries). Therefore, it was likely that this writing had enabled her to recognise possibilities for writing as a preserver of culture. She considered overcoming concerned emotions with actions and envisaged her role in effecting change.

Similarly, the three male research participants showed awareness of the potential to influence others through their shifting attitudes to writing. Tokologo had written in his journal regularly and through the act of writing had begun to recognise the possibilities inherent in this practice. He had already tried out writing reflective journals with a class on TE:

³³ Shangaan is dialect of Xitsonga spoken by those who come from the most Northern areas of Limpopo or from Mozambique.

I introduced the same thing of journals to the grade 2 learners so I just give them the topic: Write about the teacher you like most and why. So it helped me to understand what the children want and what they don't want so I knew about the whole school within a period of two days because of what they had to say (FG, 03/03/10).

Tokologo's focus in the task he had set the learners was on the communicative aspect of writing. He recognised how this had given him insights into the learners' needs, and he strove to enable them to make meaning about their lives in their writing. Section 4.13.2 provided an example of how Tokologo's experience of writing at school was mainly copying off the board and his TE task excerpt above demonstrated a change as he saw the potential in writing for meaning.

Furthermore, like Elela, Tokologo realised the importance of using writing, or literacy, for preserving his culture:

We have all the stories, we have all the stories it is just that they are not on paper... Our elders, we just sit around the fire during the night and they tell us the stories. It is not something that is written down. So for the story to be written, the challenge is on us (FG, 03/03/10).

Tokologo reflected on what was valued in his culture in the light of his experiences at Wits and these links became productive. He made connections between the fields he was in at Wits and those in his past. Realising the value of writing as a means to record, he saw himself and his fellow teacher-students as having the responsibility to transpose valuable cultural heritage into written text. This was a reversal of the inclination to commit written texts to memory in order to perform them. The repetition of *"we have all the stories"* accentuated the value in stories but this was followed by the negatives, *"not on paper"* and *"we just sit"* implying the need for action. In Chapter Four (see Section 4.11.2.), Tokologo described being inspired by his literacy hero, Esau. This inspiration led him to consider the role he could play in making a difference in his community, and he anticipated returning to Limpopo and writing the stories down.

Amogelang also appeared to think differently about the value of writing because of the request to write in his journal, *"Since I started writing the journals I now have the idea of writing a very short book ...so it gives me a power. A book about myself and where I am from"* (AP, FG, 03/03/10). His use of 'power' is significant as he seemed to view writing as empowering, associating it with a chance to write about himself

and his life history, giving him voice. He detected the possibility of the embodied capital of writing for new purposes to give him influence beyond the school and university context. This hints at the dynamic nature of habitus but it is important to emphasise that this was a voiced recognition which, by the end of his time at Wits, had not been translated into action. Akani, who was part of this same focus group discussion, also expressed a desire to write a book:

I think I will write the book about where I come from, more especially the village where I am from. But the book will be concerning the value of education, I think ... I will write something about that” (AM, FG, 03/03/10).

Akani highlighted the anticipation of writing and his determination to do so by repeating the phrase, “*I think I will write*”. He connected this desire to his identity as a teacher in his village, recognising possibilities for persuading others, through writing, to share the value he gave education. Akani espoused possible positions but it could have been the influence of the others in the group or his attempts to give the researcher what he imagined she wanted that resulted in his articulation of these thoughts. Alternatively, he could have been taking tentative steps towards constructing himself as a “writer”.

This section has shown how those who were attentive to possibilities opened up by writing in journals, could look back critically at the fields they had come from and make resolute decisions to return to them and to make a difference. As a result, using a new genre and writing in a different way to what the teacher-students were used to, or thought possible, created possibility for agency. The next section expands on the role emotions played in choices the teacher-students made to participate in new literacy practices.

5.3.2 Overcoming fear and other emotions

The importance of the affective in generating literate habitus is what is discussed next. Fear caused participants to be constrained in the ways they enacted literacy and it was necessary to overcome this fear, in order to produce new literacy practices.

5.3.2.1 Digital literacy

Two key themes in relation to the participants’ experience of digital literacy are discussed in the following section. Firstly, the novelty of the practice of digital literacy

was experienced as a major discontinuity between the old and new fields. Secondly, fearful feelings could result in resistance to shifting to a new practice because participants could feel out of control. However, I argue that it is necessary to overcome fears to enable shifts in habitus. Similarly to how some participants were fearful of certain aspects of the theatrical event, so was their encounter with digital literacy at Wits. In this section, I focus on how two participants, Mangalani and Ntsumi, dealt with the discontinuities faced in relation to digital literacy.

Mangalani described living in an area in Limpopo where access to digital technology was limited, *“Like it was not for us. We were so far from it”* (MG, FG, 30/07/10). These words are so similar to those used by Bourdieu (1985:782) “that’s not for the likes of us”. He uses this to explain how the dominated continue to be dominated because they are bound by a “reality principle” which creates a sense of what they can or cannot permit themselves because of their position in a social space. This is comparable to what Mangalani described about digital technology in rural Limpopo. However, she was offered a chance to change this, *“I had that opportunity of being trained. I had that certificate but cannot do because I don’t have a computer at home. You know, learning computer is like having a driver’s licence without having the car”* (MG, FG, 30/07/10). Using a vivid simile, she focuses on the lack of material resources as being a contributing factor to her restricted digital literacy and the reason that the objectified capital of the certificate was not transformed into the embodied capital of actually being able to use the computer meaningfully.

At Wits, in a new digital field, where there was the possibility of access and a chance to use a computer regularly, Mangalani described being constrained by her habitus. Fear was a limiting emotion which was instrumental in her resistance to becoming more digitally literate, *“I’m still far from this because ... I hear people saying that “I typed my six pages assignment and thereafter it got lost and I had to start from zero” and that make me fearful. To go there and type my assignment thinking that it might get lost!”* (MG, FG, 30/07/10). Well into her second year at Wits, she had not dared take opportunities offered by access to computers. This was an example of hysteresis. The changes she encountered in the field of digital literacy were too immense and Mangalani’s habitus had not caught up with them. She focused on negative outcomes rather than positive possibilities and was not prepared to take risks with using technology. She had to rely on others to mediate this literacy

practice for her because she did not have the confidence to change, *“When I go to the library the librarians help me; I don’t know how to do it myself. I must find somebody who is computer literate to type it [assignments] for me and I pay him”* (MG, FG, 30/07/10). Even functioning at the most basic of digital literacy roles, as a Functional user (Hill, 2007) was too much for her and she avoided it. Her “certificate” did not provide her with sufficient capital to result in any major shift in her digital literate habitus.

By way of contrast, Ntsumi, reflecting on Limpopo, recounted how she tried to access resources for her learners, *“I learned that universities after using computers that they can give them away. I wrote to one but I never got a reply, but other schools did and they got maybe around 20 computers for their school. I wrote ...but I never got a reply”* (FG, 30/07/10). She showed agency and attempted to overcome the material limits of the field, but her attempts were met with silence. Despite this, her attempts at agency were not dampened:

I decided now I am going to school. I was enrolled; I was learning. Yes I knew a little bit. But in my school, let me tell you there was no one that was learning. But now they are encouraged because when I came back last year I told them: “Guys you must go and study, these things are for you and then there were three teachers who went in there studying (NB, FG, 30/07/10).

Ntsumi uses a series of phrases with the positive form of the verb, *“I am going”*, *“I was enrolled”* and *“I was learning”* which contribute to her description of learning to use a computer as optimistic even though it was *“a little bit”*. She tried to have a beneficial influence on her colleagues emphasising that *“these things are for you”*, they are *“for the likes”* (Bourdieu, 1985:728) of you. Ntsumi envisaged further impacts as she anticipated returning to Limpopo. In an exit focus group when asked how she would overcome the lack of resources, there was no hesitation in her declaration of how she would harness the possibilities created by access to digital technology, *“I will use the Internet!”* It is difficult to pinpoint why these two participants, both women in their 40s, reacted so differently to the challenges of digital literacy, but it appears that overcoming constraining emotions plays an important role.

5.3.3 English – a struggle for capital in new fields

Language was often linked with feelings in the minds of the participants.

Competence in English was a key discontinuity in their encounters at Wits.

Bourdieu's (1991) theory of a linguistic market is indivisible from issues of a literate habitus because learning to be literate is bound up with language. As seen in Chapter Four (see Section 4.13.1), English was viewed as aspirational in the field of Limpopo and yet the participants' access to "legitimate competence" in English (Bourdieu, 1994:44) was constrained by social and economic conditions. They had not had much access to the language nor opportunities to use English and produce English texts as much as they would have liked.

Nyeleti and Masana both revealed in their discussion about English how particular varieties and accents had symbolic linguistic capital. They both explained how they strategised to have access to these varieties. Nyeleti gave an example of being in teacher training college and the challenges she faced dealing with the accents she encountered, *"I couldn't understand because of the way they [lecturers] pronounce words. We were pronouncing English words based on our home language so when I hear the white person pronouncing differently I couldn't understand it ... it was very difficult"* (NT, FG, 19/02/09). She presented the English variety she knew as different from how the *"white person"* she encountered spoke and so it was as if she were listening to a foreign language. Masana explained her frustration at college as she was taught by Afrikaans speakers. Her dissatisfaction lay in that she wanted to have access to a particular variety of English, which she imagined would give her capital, but this did not happen for her, *"At my tertiary what I can remember of my lecturers they were Afrikaans speaking and who were unable even to pronounce the English words but they were supposed to teach me English"* (MS, FG, 19/02/09). The desire to build her linguistic capital was dashed as she felt her lecturers did not offer her a chance to increase this capital. Both of these participants did not question the symbolic value of the variety of language they aspired to.

Other participants did the same, they valued English highly, realising the linguistic capital it held. This, despite the fact that it was not a dominant language in the fields in which they lived and worked. The longer the participants stayed at WSoE, the more they realised how they did not have the necessary linguistic competence in English to gain further capital. In discussing English, they did two things, firstly, they

conflated fluency in English with being a measure of literacy. This was most likely owing to the fact that their languages, like many others, have no word for 'literacy' (Janks, 2010).

In reply to a question in the focus groups as to whether their literacy had changed in the first year at Wits, the participants mentioned how their English had improved. For Ntsovelo, the focus was on her "*communication skills*" and "*I have improved a lot. I'm no longer the same I used to get stuck like talking, the vocab, I will not have them*" (FG, 01/03/10). Masingita revealed her sense of inadequacy, and described being "*nervous*" about using the English language in speaking and writing (FG, 01/03/10). Her feelings were related to her not having a voice because she did not have "*legitimate competence*" (Bourdieu, 1991:55), and was not "*likely to be listened to*" (Bourdieu, 1991:55).

A second aspect of English focused on by participants was the view that English was aspirational. This was probably compounded by the recognition that their limited English competence intensified difficulties with academic reading and writing at Wits. This was a central constraining factor in their academic literacy and limited their voice (Blommaert, 2008a), and thus their cultural capital. This became even more pronounced when teaching on TE as articulated by Koketso:

Coming to Wits... going to first teaching prac ...teaching in class it was difficult. Firstly because back at home I used mother-tongue always to teach in class, even when I'm going to the offices doing enquiries. Then I got to teaching practice it was different because I have to use English. It was difficult because I had to think using my mother tongue then talking in English (KM, FG, 05/03/10).

These participants were constrained in fields of practice where English was dominant. Koketso did not contest the fact that she had to use English to teach on TE despite the fact that in Limpopo she would be teaching in her home language. She, and others, struggled to frame their ideas in English and also on TE. Koketso drew a distinction in describing how using her home language in class at WSoE was a chance to reassert her identity, *I still feel comfort when I practises some exercise here at Wits using my mother tongue to explain some contents to my colleagues. I feel respected if we use it in our group as is the language we can express ourselves better than other languages*" (KK, EJ, 28/04/09). She used key words of "*comfort*"

and “*respected*” in relation to speaking her home language which implied that the opposite was true of speaking English in front of others in the Wits lecture rooms.

WSoE is a “super-diverse” (Vertovec, 2007) environment where lecturers and students come from many linguistic communities and English is used as a primary means of communication. For Bourdieu, power is the way people have access to, use and produce different kinds of capital within various fields (Grant & Wong, 2008:176). At Wits, the extent to which the participants were able to exert power by giving voice to their ideas was limited by their lack of linguistic capital. Mangalani reflected on this, referring in particular to the English classes I taught:

When you asked us questions, we were just quiet not knowing how to answer you. And the most important thing was the language. We were afraid... we know that our English is not good. If we talk to the lecturer with our broken English in front of the other students we will have a bad name. We were afraid really (EI, 2012).

Again fear was a constraining emotion for Mangalani and this touches what Bourdieu refers to as an individuals’ “rights to speech” (Bourdieu, 1977:648). Mangalani was conscious of the power relations in the lecture room, and, despite the fact that the class was made up entirely of Limpopo teacher-students, who themselves would have been struggling to express themselves fluently in English, she still felt fear and felt that she was an “illegitimate speaker” rather than a “legitimate speaker” (Bourdieu, 1977:648) of English. Norton (1994) discusses how this “right to speech” is essential to overcoming assumptions that “those who listen regard those who speak as worthy to speak” (Norton, 1994:3). Voice is a social product and a social process connecting social structure, history, culture and power (Blommaert, 2008a). Bourdieu emphasises how limited competence excludes people from social domains or “condemn[s them] to silence” (1991:55). These participants felt disempowered and inhibited by their limited linguistic capital in English.

In the English lectures, these participants were grouped together with other Limpopo teachers, but in other courses at WSoE, they were mixed with other students and issues of age, race, culture and power were even more pronounced than in my lecture room. Because of entrenched unequal relations amongst South Africans, these teacher-students, older than many of their fellow classmates, were doubly disadvantaged. Despite having capital acquired by many years of teaching, they

were not positioned as powerful in the fields at WSoE. The dominant groups held symbolic power to which the participants acceded, positioning themselves low down in the hierarchy of distinction. This was what influenced their desire to become more competent in English. However, in her final year, Mangalani reflected a shift as she and her fellow teacher-students became less constrained by language, *“We realised that the important thing is not the language but it is the idea that we have actually”*. She moved from fear to empowerment as she recognised that she has capital, and that her ideas were capital. Mangalani progressed from a focus on form (how ideas are framed) to substance (the actual ideas) (Shalem, Dison, Gennrich & Nkambule, 2013).

The findings presented in this section show how the participants experienced symbolic violence in the dominance of English in the fields they encountered in Johannesburg. The university privileges English and, even though these teacher-students would teach in their home languages on return to their classrooms, they were motivated to struggle for the linguistic capital, competence in English affords.

5.3.3.1 Writing in journals to improve English

Because of the high value placed on learning to speak and write English, it was not surprising that for many participants, the merit in writing in the journals lay in the opportunity to improve their English. This section examines how one of the reasons the teacher-students gave for participating in journal writing was to increase their linguistic capital.

Some participants took the opportunity of writing in the journals and found productive value in doing so. Ntsovelo described the role that writing in her journal played in improving her English:

My vocabulary is increasing like I can write about a topic and flow. Since English is not my home language I have discovered that I have improved both in listening, writing, and communication skills. I am proud to say I can communicate with an English speaker and not get stuck or run short of vocab (NM, EJ, nd 2009).

Ntsovelo's growing competence in English resulted in pride, confidence and agency which came from taking opportunities and overcoming inhibiting emotions. She focused on fluency and vocabulary development which are discrete, technical skills.

To some extent, she hinted at the importance of making meaning in considering how she “*can write about a topic*”.

The value of the journal writing for Unwana also lay in the role that it played in improving her English. This was so important to her that she went so far as to argue that she saw no purpose in writing a journal in her home language as it offered no chance for improving her language use.

Toni: OK but do you think you would write a journal if you weren't at Wits and you had more time?

Unwana: If I had time I would

Toni: What do you think would be the purpose for you?

Unwana: I'm still learning this... this... as English is not my mother-tongue so I will improve more.

Toni: And would you maybe write a journal in your mother tongue?

Unwana: Who's going to correct me? (UM, FG, 04/08/10).

Unwana wanted immediate, productive results for her writing. She perceived that her journal entries were corrected, which they were not. I wrote comments responding to and reflecting on what the teacher-students had written and I made no language corrections at all. It could be that the misapprehension by the participants, that these entries were marked, was necessary to confirm the usefulness of the practice of journal writing.

Nyeleti also remembered that the journals were marked, “*I tell myself that I don't know English but with the journal after you have marked it I say I am improving and I've never done it before, it was my first time to do it*” (NT, FG, 19/02/09). She seemed to be justifying for herself the investment of time and effort spent on this practice by emphasising the role it played in improving her English. Vuthlari also expressed being encouraged by the “corrective” comments in response to what she had written and her focus was also on improvement, which was the reason for her investment of time and effort, “*because of time I was struggling to make sure that I write those journals and when they come back I can reflect what went wrong... I really enjoyed it*” (VM, FG, 22/02/10). It is possible that these participants had blurred

the memories of the comments and corrections I wrote on their assignments, and tests with the conversational comments made in reaction to their journal entries.

The subjective perception of the journals being corrected could be as a result of these participants' understanding of what the usual role of an educator is on receiving a piece of writing from a student. In their experience as learners and students, it was unusual for writing to be submitted and not assessed. To make sense of this dialogic writing experience, they remembered their journals as being marked. It was deeply ingrained in their literate habitus that writing was a regulatory rather than discursive exchange between educator and student. This was their normative experience of writing and formed the basis of their "schemes of perception, thought and action" (Bourdieu, 1990:54). They perceived what was not there.

5.3.4 Academic literacy

The participants struggled with the requirements of the B.E. course, particularly in reading and writing academically. There was a mismatch between the literacy practices learnt in communities, classrooms and the colleges they had attended and what was required in the various sites of struggle (Bourdieu, 1984) they encountered at Wits. These adult teachers were novices to new practices despite having studied before. In addition, they did not have the capital they should have acquired from previous tertiary studies to make the transition easier.

As these teacher-students had a limited repertoire of practices (Blommaert, 2008a), this resulted in discontinuities (Shalem, et al., 2013) between what they had experienced academically before and what was expected of them at Wits as was highlighted by Mangalani, "*The Wits standard is very high*" (MG, FG, 2010). I argue in the next section that it was their attentiveness to the discontinuities and how they dealt with them that enabled change. I discuss academic literacy as it was applied to reading and writing in the next sections, 5.3.4.1 and 5.3.4.2.

5.3.4.1 Academic reading

The teacher-students experienced the expectations of academic reading in the new field as an enormous workload. The new fields required them to "strategically improvise in [a] quest to maximise their positions" (Maton, 2008:54). Learning how to deal with the quantity and type of reading and writing was part of having to learn the

rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1991) which were the expected literacy practices in the field.

Akani commented on two aspects of reading at Wits that were particularly challenging. Firstly, the fact that new reading roles (Freebody & Luke, 1990; 2003) were required, *“it has to do with comprehension as well, you need to read with understanding”* (AM, FG, 03/03/10); and, secondly, the large quantity of reading required, *“we are not used to this type of reading now you have this huge mountain of reading”* (AM, FG, 03/03/10). Only at this point did he have an epiphany that being a text-participant was important (Freebody & Luke, 1990). This is significant as he was a qualified, experienced teacher and one would expect a teacher of literacy to be aware of the necessity of meaning-making. His chosen metaphor emphasised his feelings of pain, discomfort and apprehension in dealing with the amount of reading required. Akani’s reading experience had not prepared him to read to the extent that was expected in his classes at Wits. He seemed to be describing how his reading pathways (Wolf, 2007) had not been developed sufficiently to cope with the type and amount of reading he was encountering at university. For example, *“Sometimes the concentration lapse somewhere then you just [ask] by the way, what am I reading? So it is more than challenging given the fact the foundation we had... we were not introduced to reading to such an extent”* (FG, 03/03/10). Akani recognised the discontinuities between how he read in the past and was required to read at Wits. He realised that he had been “poorly-precursed” (Gee, 2002) because of *“the foundation”* he had had which resulted in his restricted English ability and limited exposure to printed texts. He had to position himself by improvising in relation to the powerful discourse he encountered in the new fields (Holland et al, 1998).

5.3.4.2 Academic writing

The second practice the participants described struggling with was academic writing. The discontinuity was enormous because some of them were not even used to writing about familiar things in a familiar language and at Wits they were expected to write about unfamiliar things in an unfamiliar language (Craig, 1996; 2001). Nyeleti explained how she and others were constrained as text-users (Freebody & Luke, 1990) not recognising that the genre of academic writing, has specific requirements and a particular ‘language’:

When we come here, we are not aware that there is an academic language... just language... To us it was all English that's why we used to put every word we think about when we write the essays... any word that comes we just wrote it down not knowing that we were expected to write academically (FG, 19/02/10).

However, Nyeleti emphasised her growing confidence and understanding of the requirements of the genre:

I can say it increased my self-esteem and confidence because now we know what to do now when we are having an assignment we know we must analyse we must use the academic language to go deeper into whatever it is that we are expected to do" (FG, 19/02/10).

She was beginning to acquire the discourse and meta-knowledge needed to succeed, overcoming the discontinuity of not realising that academic texts used different discourses. She had some of the tools which enabled writing in an academic genre and it was this that empowered her and gave her voice.

Shiluva also demonstrated that she had gained some control over how she wrote, understanding the link between how a text functions and its structure:

We thought introducing a topic is explaining what that topic is about but now we have known that when we introduce the topic you have specified what you are going to write about in your essay and now at least we have that understanding and we can plan... what we are going to do, and stick to that plan (FG, 04/08/10).

Shiluva also identified previous misunderstandings and articulated what was required, reflecting meta-awareness of discontinuities. She also showed that she had developed strategies to overcome these. Mangalani also demonstrated a meta-awareness of how she had shifted in writing academically. This awareness related to presentation, the need to research, argument and preparation before writing:

It has changed tremendously, the way you have to present yourself, the way you have to research your things, the way you have to put them on paper and the way you have to argue them you know, it's different because here I have realised you must have some more knowledge about a thing before you start writing (EI).

Shiluva's awareness revealed a changed understanding as well. She described the discontinuities between where she had studied before, which had resulted in her being "poorly precursed" (Gee, 2002) for the requirements at WSoE. For example, Shiluva described the different university standards, "This is for most of us was not

our first university – we’ve got other degrees from other universities... but the standard is different” (EI). She felt that neither her schooling nor her previous tertiary qualifications had prepared her to master the elements necessary for success in the fields she was encountering during her studies at Wits.

Ntsovelo, in conversation with me, also highlighted how WSoE encouraged giving voice to one’s own ideas, using sources as support and referencing correctly in different ways to institutions where she had studied before. She admitted that what she understood to be required of her previously, was not sufficient for the competence required at Wits. For example, she said: *“We got our previous degrees by plagiarism”* (07/10). In exploring continuities and discontinuities between the old and new field Ntsovelo, also made explicit the links between her growing writing abilities and her developing identity. Firstly, she linked the value of writing in a journal with her identity as a student of History. She blurred the genre of journal writing with the academic requirements of her History course but saw them both as important in developing her writing, *“I am also a history student it feels good just to write a story”* (FG, 01/03/10). She related writing in both genres to storytelling, a genre which was an integral part of her habitus. Ntsovelo made sense of the new practices by linking them to the old. Masingita, in the same focus group, did something similar, *“That’s why I like writing and I like telling stories. You know I’m doing history so I like retelling what I’m learning”* (FG, 01/03/10).

Ntsovelo went further and linked journal writing to her growing academic identity, focussing on the discontinuity between writing in Limpopo and writing at Wits, *“I am an academic just to write you a two page... I am improving my writing. Because back home...we are not used to writing actually”* (FG, 01/03/10). Not only was writing academically not part of her literate habitus, but writing any extended texts at all. She associated increasing proficiency and quantity in writing with being ‘*an academic*’. She used the first-person pronoun and the declarative *“I am”* which suggested confidence as she claimed a new identity as a history student and an academic.

In contrast to Ntsovelo’s confidence, Unwana described feeling overwhelmed and discouraged by the demands of the English course in her first year, so much so that she wanted to give up. Her lack of understanding became debilitating, *“When they give us a topic...like your English at first it was a disaster. I complained a lot and*

when I read the question I say 'I don't understand the question'" (FG, 04/08/10). She relied on her roommate to help her, *"I strongly say: 'Do an introduction for me... I gave up' (Laughs) and she says: 'Wake up, you have to do this yourself'"* (FG, 04/08/10). This peer provided social capital, understood the challenges and helped Unwana to persevere, and did not allow her to succumb to a defeatist attitude. As a result, Unwana was able to get to the point where, in relation to reading and writing at Wits she could say *"I have learnt a lot"* (FG, 04/08/10). The importance of the role her roommate played is noteworthy. The social capital afforded by having someone, who was in a similar position to her, and who urged her not to give in to her emotions, was vital.

The findings presented in this section showed that, despite having limited academic literacy competencies, the participants discussed here demonstrated awareness of the specific difficulties faced and a willingness to overcome them. This awareness and willingness, I argue, were necessary to initiate change in habitus. The next necessary step was to accept and to participate in opportunities to read and write differently. This reinforced a changing literate disposition, by adding a new layer to the literate habitus. Resistance to negative emotions, a recognition of developing identities and the social capital provided by others, added to this shift.

5.3.5 Personal literacies

This section examines what participants said about their developing personal literacies during their time at Wits.

5.3.5.1 Reading

I discuss the shifting personal reading attitudes in the lives of two participants, namely, Kemontle and Shiluva. Kemontle described reading a book, cover-to-cover for pleasure as a new experience. She read, 'Breaking the Silence' on the way home to Limpopo, *"It's the first time I've done that...so you can't believe I read the whole book...I didn't realise I could just read for fun, for enjoyment"* (KK, FG, 30/07/10). Reading books from beginning to end for enjoyment was clearly not a 'norm' in her literate habitus and it was by doing the practice, that she became aware of possibilities the practice held, *"I think I can do this again"* (KK, FG, 30/07/10). The book was non-fiction and touched a nerve, *"It's a story about different people are talking about what happened in their life. It was those POWA [People against women*

abuse] *people*” (KK, FG, 30/07/10). It is evident that Kemontle had not shaken off a literate disposition that linked literacy with didactic purposes as she used a short maxim to sum up the lessons learnt from reading the book, *“because I read how they dealt with their grievances and to keep something in you is not nice, you better talk to somebody so they can give you advice. From there you can enjoy life. Don’t just think life ends where you are”* (KK, FG, 30/07/10). She expressed three lessons in the imperative, as if she was passing on advice to the others in the focus group.

Kemontle explained how her experience at Wits had taught her many new things about reading and that the lecturers had inspired her to read more, *“To come here it’s meaning a lot when it comes to books...one of my lecturers said a person must develop...that motivate me to read”* (KK, FG, 05/03/10). Kemontle became motivated by recognising that reading opens up possibilities that lead to personal development. This fitted comfortably with her literate disposition to reading which emphasised productive purposes for reading. Kemontle learnt new, inspiring things about magazines as well, *“I wasn’t aware that the magazine even if it was the last years’ magazine it can have information that you can use”* (KK, FG, 05/03/10). She admitted to going to the library and finding fairy stories for children, *“So Wits has turned me into someone who can just read any books that I come across with”* (KK, FG, 05/03/10). This sentence hints at limitless potential *“any books”*, and she credited a change in field with changing her literate identity. She had embraced new ways of reading and *“entered the magic circle”* (Bourdieu, 1990:68) by making resolute choices to change.

Shiluva, like many of the participants was motivated to view reading differently as a result of the Library Science course which some of the teacher-students had done in 2011. She described how her love of reading was constrained by her experiences at school. Her teacher, instead of modelling a love of reading, reproduced a negative attitude to reading:

I was a reader before, But I stopped loving to read because after trying to read a certain book. It was a prescribed book but because of lot of work the teacher failed to do/ read it with us. I was in Std 7. Then I decided to read it on my own. I could not understand a lot of words, ended up not understanding the first chapter. Then I stopped reading stories books (SM, LJ, Week 7).

Shiluva was able to reflect on the reasons for her actions as a literate person, the choices she made to stop reading. But her encounters with books in her Library Science classroom resulted in a changed attitude:

Then I said “Wow it so fascinating. Now I know it is important to read to children from an early age. It’s like I was awakened into reality. But why do we need to read to children? What are the benefits of reading aloud to the children?”

- *To stimulate imagination*
- *Stretches attention span*
- *Encourages compassion*
- *Nourishes emotional development (SM, LJ, Week 1).*

Not only had Shiluva’s reading changed but how she wrote about reading had changed as well. She wrote in a vibrant voice, using exclamations, questions, figurative language and quotations from class. There was variety in the sentence structure and the characteristics of “grassroots literacy” so evident in her English Reflective journal, in her first year³⁴ were not apparent in her Library Science Journal kept in her third year at WSoE.

The question and answer technique she used in writing this extract revealed a growing attentiveness to linguistic style. The simile used, comparing her new attitude to an awakening, emphasised her awareness of the discontinuities between what she believed about reading to children and how her thinking was shifting. The question she asked at the end of the entry reflected the questions she would have heard in her community, *“But I was still wondering “Is this not the teacher’s work, how can parents/caregivers took the teacher’s work?”* She answered this question in the declarative, almost as if anticipating and rehearsing how she would answer this in reality, *“It is true. Children cannot be left to teachers alone. They need to be read aloud to, even at home”* (SM, LJ, Week 1). She not only thought this but she translated her thoughts into action, *“I have started devoting my time on them [books], for me to know what it is all about. Yes, kinds of story books were introduced, but I wanted to engage myself on reading them”* (LJ, Week 1).

³⁴ Discussed in section 5.3.5.2 to follow.

The findings discussed in this section showed that being exposed to new ways of reading and to new opportunities to read differently generated new literacy practices. These practices were, however, still enmeshed with old literacy practices as seen in the example of Kemontle’s need to find a lesson in her reading.

Both Kemontle and Shiluva demonstrated how these new practices lead to action. They did not merely espouse the importance of reading, they both described taking action to facilitate reading with their children by accessing books in the library and buying books. Shiluva’s words, “*devoting my time on them [books]*” and “*I wanted to engage myself on reading*” indicated both action and a desire to read differently as she recognised new possibilities. It appeared that the participants’ exposure to new reading practices had not only resulted in their learning about reading differently, but had motivated them to act differently.

5.3.5.2 Writing

This section focuses on writing in the English Reflective journals of two participants, namely, Shiluva and Elela, to demonstrate how their literate habitus could be traced in their English journal entries in 2009. I selected them because they both chose to complete their fourth year projects with me in 2012, and I tracked them closely during their four years at Wits. They also used their reflective journals in contrasting ways which I discuss in this section. Table 5.2 illustrates the differences in the amount they wrote in their English Reflective journals.

Table 5.2: Shiluva’s and Elela’s English Reflective journals

Shiluva	1 entry	426 words
Elela	6 entries	2271 words

5.3.5.2.1 Shiluva

Shiluva wrote one entry in her English Reflective journal in May 2009 and what she selected to write about, from the suggested topics was her acquisition of literacy in her home language and how she had learnt English. I examine the entry closely to demonstrate how this text revealed elements of her literate habitus:

My mother tongue is Xitsonga. The first language I learnt in school was Xitsonga. I have learnt all the syllables and the letters in Xitsonga language. I have acquired literacy – knowing to read and write in Xitsonga from Sub A [grade 1]. The first skill that I was taught in this language was reciting different poems in Xitsonga. I was also taught how to read out vowel and then write

them. I was then taught how the vowels make different sounds e.g. ma me mi mo mu. This sounds were then taken to make different words. Then the words were put together to make different sentences. That is how I acquired the skill of reading and writing in Xitsonga. The learning of Xitsonga or the acquisition of literacy in Xitsonga had help me in acquiring reading in other languages like English. Xitsonga is a phonetic language – the way it is written it is the way most letters are spelled, so it helps me in translating the English words and reading them by the first time I have to learnt English. It is also easy to read words written in other languages through the knowledge of the sound of the letter (SM, EJ, 05/09).

The entry was written unemotionally, in the first-person using a simple sentence structure. It is evident that Shiluva was constrained as a writer and limited as a text-user. She seemed uncomfortable using the reflective journal genre. I make these comments, aware that she was also constrained because English was not her home language.

Her writing showed some of the features of “grassroots literacy” as identified by Blommaert (2008a (see Chapter Three, Table 3.5.)). Firstly, she displayed spelling difficulties, for example, the words were spelled in a variety of ways and reflected the ‘accent’ of how they are pronounced in the spoken vernacular (Blommaert, 2008a:7). The word “*This*” was used instead of “*These*” and reflected how the *-i-* sound is pronounced in her home language, Xitsonga. She also attempted to appropriate the word “*acquire*” provided in the topic, and repeated it a number of times in different forms, for example, “*acquired*” (twice), “*acquisition*” and “*acquiring*”. Shiluva appeared to be experimenting with the word, and did so mostly correctly except in her use of “*acquisition*” instead of “*acquisition*” revealing an attempt to produce a ‘pure’ and ‘standardised’ version of the language (Blommaert, 2008a:68) modelling it on what had been introduced to her with the word “*acquire*”. Other examples of Hetero-graphy (Blommaert, 2008a:7) were evident in the incorrect use of the verb form, “*Xitsonga had help me*” and “*I have to learnt English*”. These examples demonstrate that she was writing in genre and language in which she was uncomfortable.

She repeated “*Xitsonga*” ten times in fifteen lines and made some contradictory claims about how useful it was to learn to read in her “*mother-tongue*”. Her emphasis on this language linked it to power, which was her capital, the writing was assertive and she revealed pride in her home language. She displayed some knowledge about

language and had the discourse to describe it as “*phonetic*” and she then proceeded to define this for the reader. Shiluva then appeared to lose her way in describing the link between knowing Xitsonga and learning English. This is an example of “partial insertion in knowledge economies” (Blommaert, 2008a:7), namely, the construction of the text on locally available knowledge rather than searching and researching. This text was written after the English module on ‘Language in Education’, so she first had access to information and readings around acquiring literacy in her home language. However, the description was confused and vague. Having emphasised the phonetic nature of Xitsonga she did not comment on the fact that English is not a transparent language and claimed that having learnt the sounds in Xitsonga enabled her to learn the sounds of other languages easily. This is unlikely because linking letters to sounds is not easy to do in English. She was also using poorly-formulated concepts in relation to learning literacy.

The second part of her entry was a response to something she had read in the week:

A response to something I read

I have read a case study, a journal about assessment. The different ways of assessing was discussed. From this journal I have discovered that it is easy to make or assess invalidly, unreliable and inaccurately. It depends on the way the assessment tasks are set. It is easy to set difficult or too easy assessment tasks which does not answer what is required to ask. For the assessor to assess reliably he/she must know what to assess and the knowledge of the learners being assessed. The assessment itself is a useful tool in developing learners and helping them to gain more knowledge on different skills.

In the light of her concern with workload, it seems appropriate that Shiluva chose a journal article on assessment on which to reflect. She adopted one purpose of writing and borrowed a different genre, note-taking from an article in a journal, and repurposed it, transferring it to the requirements of journal writing in the English class. She operated within the constraints of the writing repertoire she had, and her writing was dispassionate. There was no personal response in this extract, making meaning of what she had read and no evidence of her own voice or opinion. She was constrained in what she could produce as a personal response and the effect of what she wrote did not meet the expectations of what is required by the reflective journal genre (Blommaert, 2008a). Shiluva’s development as a reflective writer is discussed in Section 5.4 in relation to her TE journal.

5.3.5.2.2 Elela

The second participant whose journal entries I examine is Elela. I have chosen to focus on two of her six entries to demonstrate her shifting literate habitus during her first year at Wits.

The first entry discussed was also a response to something that she had read and was quite different to Shiluva's. Elela's response made connections between her personal reading and her academic reading, and she related the new literacy practices to the known. Her Christian faith, which was a strong dispositional layer in her habitus, guided her reading choices and she related this to what she had learnt in the academic field at WSoE and presented this reflectively in the new genre of her journal. She made meaning from the personal to make the academic real, and reflected on some chapters in the book, 'Good morning Holy Spirit' by Benny Hinn:

Firstly, I was interested by the place of his birth in Israel. I like Israel because of its biblical implication. He explained that he was born in a city of Jaffa and indicated that that place was a Canaanite city in the tribute lists of Pharaoh Thutmose III in the fifteenth century B.C. This interested me very much because in the History course that I am doing this year we are learning about what he is referring to in his book like Pharaoh Thutmose III. It makes the History course feel real to me. Some times history doesn't seem real but when a person I know, like Benny Hinn describe exactly what I have learnt it makes me feel like I connect better with what I am learning. (EM, EJ 15/07/09).

Elela's writing displayed a few elements of "grassroots literacy" (Blommaert, 2008a). There were some spelling difficulties, namely, "referring" and "Some times" and she also used the incorrect form of the verb in "Benny Hinn describe". However, these errors were minor and none of Blommaert's (2008a) other characteristics of grassroots literacy were evident in her writing. On the contrary, this text was constructed using evidence which she had obtained from a "literate corpus" rather than a local knowledge resource (Blommaert, 2008a). Her writing was meaningful beyond the local, and she had understood the demands of the genre.

Elela's description of the author as being "a person I know" indicated the depth of her identification with his experiences and what he had revealed of himself in his writing. It was this relational aspect which was taken further in an entry in her English Reflective journal two weeks later. In this entry, she recognised that one of the courses she was doing at Wits moved her thinking to a deeper learning level. She

was more aware of her thought processes and it was this that revealed what was unconscious and brought it to the surface. Elela showed that she had always been a deep thinker but now she could name it, for example, *“Philosophical thinking is something we have been doing all along, thinking deeply about issues, however we were not aware that it is philosophical thinking”* (EM, EJ, 29/07/09). In naming it, she could tap into the relational aspects between her Christian faith and what she was learning in Philosophical thinking:

A question that interested me was the question of whether I could choose another life or to go to heaven if I was given a chance to choose. This made me think deeply because To choose going to heaven would equal to being ready to die now (EM, EJ, 29/07/09).

This was similar to what she was doing with her religious reading and her History class reading. It is this relational aspect which is important for reading and creating academic texts and Elela was trying to make sense of the philosophies she had encountered “in the light of their contribution to the topic as a whole” (Biggs 2003:39, in Shalem et al., 2013:1085). What Elela wrote in her reflective journal showed “deep learning” (Prosser & Trigwell, 1999; Trigwell, Prosser & Waterhouse, 1999) as she described independence of choice and agency in her learning, which had been enabled by the course, Philosophy, *“it allows me to go in my thoughts wherever I want to go”*. Elela was also aware of learning to be critical and *“to question things out and not take everything at face value. Philosophy requires that we be critical with everything we come across with”* (EM, EJ, 29/07/09). She progressed from accepted ways of thinking and believing, and this contributed to her development as an academic thinker and writer.

Elela was motivated by her encounters with different ways of doing literacy at Wits. For example her encounter with a genre she had worked with before, poetry, made her excited by the possibilities opened up by the different approach to this genre in her English class at Wits. An entry in her English Reflective journal of 20/08/09 revealed active engagement with poetry, and Elela began with a poem she had written herself:

*Poems, poems, Poems!
So challenging yet so interesting.
Like funny strange creatures
With silly scary features*

*They slither towards you; and
Cover you up.*

This poem was revealing in many ways. It was short and written with control. There were a number of figures of speech used effectively which demonstrated that Elela had understood their use beyond merely identifying them as she described doing with poems in the past, *“In our mother tongue approach of poems we only looked for figure of speech in the poems and identify them”*. The whole poem was an extended metaphor in which she compared poems to *“funny strange creatures”* indicating how the genre was unusual for her. The choice of the words ‘funny’ and ‘strange’ emphasised this, however, these words were not sinister or frightening. Lines 4 and 5 contained alliteration on the ‘s’ sound which suggested a connection with a snake especially because of the word *“slither”*, so there was some element of trepidation and the enjambed lines effectively added to this. There was a possible double meaning in, *“Cover you up”* as *covering* could be protective or overwhelming. This phrase encapsulated the duality of her emotions in relation to poetry.

Elela focused on the discontinuities between how she had been taught poetry at school and the way she had learnt poetry in English at Wits. Her reaction to the poetry lessons revealed an understanding that resulted in a shift in her feelings and comprehension. She used contrasts to describe the two ways of learning poetry, for example:

When we learnt poems at the school level it was to memorise them and then recite them in order to obtain some oral marks. The only poems we attempted analysing were mother tongue poems with a totally different approach to the one we learnt here at Wits University (EJ, 20/08/09).

At Elela’s school, the typical literacy practice related to poetry was memorisation and performance and enjoyment was constrained by having ‘oral marks’ assigned to these activities. Assessment rather than enjoyment was the focus of the literacy event. She used negative phrases such as *“not given much attention”*, *“usually avoided”*, *“did not fully understand why”*, *“poor quality”* and *“never really studied them in depth”* which highlighted the attitudes to poetry as she had experienced it at school. Elela used the word *“only”* twice implying that, with hindsight, the way she had studied poems previously was limited. She implied that the learning was

“surface learning” rather than “deep learning” (Prosser & Trigwell, 1999; Trigwell, et al., 1999).

At Wits poems were experienced as *“a challenging yet interesting adventure”*.

Although the experience was new and strange, she embraced it. She felt regret at the brevity of the three week module, *“I just feel the session was too short because just when I felt I was beginning to get what poems were all about, the session came to an end”*. This was particularly so as Elela realised how she was becoming attentive to the possibilities opened by poetry, *“I was beginning to love poetry because I realised one can gain great insights and wisdom from them. I also realised that because of their open endedness they encouraged critical thinking and creativity”* (EJ, 20/08/09). Not only did she love reading poetry, but she wanted to develop her literacy practices as a text-user (Freebody & Luke, 1990) and write her own poetry, *“I was beginning to appreciate the art of the poets... and even wondered if I myself can be able to express myself through poetry, unfortunately before I was sure of it, it was over”*. Despite this unsureness, it was evident that she *did* try writing poetry. Her awareness of the necessity of extended time needed for the literacy practice to become embodied is interesting to note as it indicates the importance of time for new practices to become entrenched.

Elela ended off this entry by revealing her confidence, power, agency and her openness to new possibilities:

The introductory paragraph is my playful attempt to see if maybe I can develop the skill of expressing myself through poetry which I believe I can learn if I put myself to it. I think I have fallen in love with poetry, and to think how stupid and funny I viewed those who wrote and recite them in our traditional events before learning about them here at Wits makes me see how ignorance can make one miss out on great things (EJ. 20/08/09).

The phrase *“I believe I can learn if I put my mind to it”* emphasises her determination to try out new ways of writing. This new field and her experiences of the genre in the new field allowed her to reflect on her attitudes to those who were poets in her community and to anticipate appreciating things differently. She recognised that she was like ‘a fish in water’ and now, out of the water, removed from the fields of learning and teaching in Limpopo, realised *“how ignorance can make one miss out on great things”*. Elela was becoming aware of the discontinuities between the old field and the new and this enabled critical reflection on her own attitudes to poets

and poetry in Limpopo and she articulated this, reflecting a critical understanding which appears to have contributed to a shift in how she thought about poetry.

Two key themes are evident in this section where the discussion has focused on literate habitus and its shifts being apparent in Shiluva's and Elela's journal entries. The first theme identified is that being in a new field had exposed these participants to encounters with new text genres. These encounters were either exuberantly experimented with, such as demonstrated by Elela, or there was a struggle to incorporate the practices appropriately, as seen in Shiluva's writing.

A second theme identified was the importance of recognising differences in how one practiced literacy in the past and new ways of reading and writing. Elela demonstrated how she could relate what she was learning in English lectures to the ways of doing poetry in the past. What she encountered at Wits was discordant in relation to the normalised ways of reciting and identifying figures of speech. Her attempts at writing poetry and her obvious, new-found enjoyment in both reading and writing it, revealed the extent of her modification to new ways of learning and doing.

5.4 Reflective writing about the teaching of literacy

This section focuses on three participants, Shiluva, Motle and Elela, tracked through their four years at Wits. I discuss their development as writers and teachers of literacy in relation to the themes arising from the visit to the theatre, which have been used throughout this chapter. These participants gave me access to most of their reflective TE journals over the four years and this allowed me to examine how they wrote about teaching literacy. Elela and Shiluva also took part in an exit interview at the end of their final year at Wits. I chose to include Motle, even though she did not complete her research project under my supervision, as the development of the way she spoke about and did literacy was different from the other two participants. I wanted to present these participants as being on a continuum of shifts in writing about their literacy teaching.

Firstly, I focus on how each participant coped with the novelty of having to write regularly and reflectively about one's teaching in a journal. These journals showed traces of their literate identities (Pahl & Rowsell, 2005) over four years and revealed developing literacy teaching practices. Initially, all three were limited in their ability to

reflect meaningfully and there seemed to be a disparity between what they were expected to do and what they could achieve (Blommaert, 2008a).

The TE journals were different from the English Reflective journals in that they were part of the assessment requirements for students on TE and so were written to be read by a tutor who would decide on their acceptability or not. There were clear stipulations about what to include (see Appendix J). In examining these journals, I was conscious of the danger of “fetishizing the features” (Horner, 2013) of what would be seen as an “ideal” reflective journal and presenting the participants as falling short. However, with this caution in mind, I examined the TE journals as reflecting personal and pedagogic growth.

All three participants were constrained in their writing to a greater or lesser degree initially and coped by using formulaic sentence structures and patterns to frame their writing. These repetitive sentence structures could be related to the formulaic structures used in oral story telling but could also relate to what Lefstein (2008 in Pahl, 2012) refers to as “discourse genres” by which Lefstein means “relatively stable ways of communicating and interacting, which serve both as resources for fashioning utterances and constraints upon the way these utterances are fashioned” (Pahl, 2012:97). Although Lefstein’s term refers to the oral mode, I am appropriating it here to show how these structures shaped the participants’ writing and provide a “safety net” of expression (2008 in Pahl, 2012).

5.4.1 Shiluva: “*I don’t like writing*” (EI)

Shiluva is the first participant presented here and the themes focused on in the discussion of her writing in her TE journals are how her writing was structured, her attempts to appropriate the new discourse she was learning, her growing reflective ability and the development of new ways of thinking about literacy and the teaching of literacy. Finally, the extent to which Shiluva displays anticipatory reflection is discussed.

5.4.1.1 Structured writing

Shiluva used highly-structured entries. As seen in Section 5.3.5.2.1, she took no pleasure in writing and only wrote one journal entry for English. What was evident in her TE journal entries of 2009 and 2010 was that they were constructed in exactly the same way. There were 31 entries for May and September 2009 and May 2010.

The first entry in May 2009 was the longest, specifically 12 sentences and followed the instructions of what she had been asked to comment on (see Appendix J). The rest of the entries were short, ranging from one to four sentences each. They were all introduced by the phrases: *“I observed a lesson”*, *“I presented a lesson”* or *“I offered a lesson”*. Shiluva was constrained by not having the “liberties” of having been well-established in the discourse (Bourdieu, 1991:82) of this genre or even the literacy practices involved.

Shiluva was reflecting at the Tacit (Perkins, 1992) or Routine (Ward & McCotter, 2004) level. She described her lessons as being successful with no attention given to the complexities of how this success could be measured. For example, *“The learners knows and understands the lesson”* (TE, 13/09/09); *“Learners got clear insight about different religions”* (TE, 14/09/09) and *“I offered a lesson on sharing. It was successful”* (17/09/09). In May 2010, she attempted to articulate what improvements she could make in her lessons. However, she still used two sentence entries with the initial sentence being juxtaposed with an attempt at reflection. This attempt was also at the Routine level as it commented on whether the lesson could be judged as successful or not without interrogating why this could be assessed in this way.

In September 2010, most participants completed their TE at a school, sometimes, the one they had taught at previously, in Limpopo. Shiluva’s journal entries for September 2010 showed a marked difference from the other TE journal entries until that point. The school she visited was not the school she had taught at previously and she had struggled with language issues. The LOLT was SeTswana and she is a Xitsonga speaker. Although she still used formulaic patterning in her writing, for example, *“I offered a lesson... I presented a lesson....”* these sentences were extended with more, though limited, reflection on what went wrong in the lesson. They were introduced by repetitive phrases such as, *“I should have”*, *“I was supposed to”* and *“I have failed to”*. These negative sentence constructions indicated the mental habits of her disposition, signalling an attitude of being hard on herself, which was reflected in her writing. However, Shiluva did not question the nature of the difficulties she was encountering. Instead, she constructed herself as falling short of ‘rules’ without revealing deep thought about why she should have done things differently.

5.4.1.2 Trying on the discourse

What is noteworthy in the entries in September 2010 is that Shiluva began to appropriate the pedagogic discourse of the academic field she had been exposed to at Wits. Until this point, we had seen her struggle to cope with the language and style required in the field. But at this time, there seemed to be a shift. It is interesting that she did this for the first time during a TE when she returned to a Foundation Phase classroom in Limpopo. It is possible that finding herself back in Limpopo enabled her to assert her identity as a Wits student, empowered with the necessary discourse, or, it could be that having spent a year and a half being part of a different game, she had begun to acquire the discourse, and was feeling confident in the use of the language. Whatever the reason, the shift was marked and this raises interesting questions about the timing.

There were no instances of pedagogic discourse in 2009. In the 14 entries in September 2010, there were 25 occurrences of words and phrases that belonged to the academic discourse she would have learnt at Wits, namely:

“mathematical talk”; “number chart”; “recognition of words”; “dictation exercise”; “associate sounds with letters”; “real objects”; “different resources”; “the maths talk that I have learned in class”; “ordering of numbers”; “number lines”; “play card activity”; “activity to be extended”; “reinforce”; “place value”; “scatter boards”; “building up numbers”; “teaching group”; “phonic sounds”; “teaching new concept work”; “recognition of patterns”; “similarities and differences”; “similar formation”; “read alouds”; “guided reading”; “word recognition”.

Shiluva also used her journal to express feelings for the first time during this period. For example, *“I **enjoyed** ³⁵helping individual learners though it took a lot of time”* (TE, 09/09/10); *“The activity was **exciting** as they were expected to count the pictures in their respective cards”* (TE, 13/09/10); *“I was **becoming more confident** as I started seeing the new concept work with a lot of practice”* (TE, 13/09/10); *“I was **fascinated** by the fact that they also assess handwriting and letter formation skills”* (TE, 20/09/10).

In 2011, Shiluva still relied on carefully-structured entries but now included comments on what she had learnt or observed, introduced with the phrase, *“I learnt”*. However, her reflections on how she could improve were still framed with self-deprecating phrases. She appeared to be moving towards the ‘Aware’ (Perkins, 1992) level of reflection as there was some meta-cognition but there was no description of the steps she had taken to learn, nor was there much detail on what

³⁵ My emphasis

she had learnt. To some extent, she was operating at the Technical level of reflection (Ward & McCotter, 2004). For example, the focus of her consideration was on narrow teaching tasks and there was no intensive questioning about her practices. Shiluva expressed a desire to do things differently but this was not supplemented by any new perceptions. Shiluva began to vary her sentence structure, writing in the passive voice, *“Further explanation need to be done as remedial for learners who have not grasp the concept (TE, 12/05/11),* revealing growing competence in experimenting with the language. By 2012, she no longer wrote in a formulaic way and no longer expressed her reflections as personal failure, though she showed consciousness of her mistakes. Although there were changes in the way Shiluva wrote, her underlying habitus still did not seem to value writing or to enjoy writing as she pronounced emphatically in her exit interview, *“I do not like writing”*.

5.4.1.3 Reflective ability and thinking in new way

This section discusses how Shiluva accepted rather than resisted new ways of thinking about her teaching. She seemed to grow in confidence and was aware of this during the TE in Limpopo in September 2010. She was also beginning to think differently about teaching numeracy employing strategies she had been taught at Wits, *“My plan was to get the children acquainted with the new way of learning – the maths talk that I have learned in class” (TE 12/09/10).* Part of this growing confidence and new thinking was reflected in her beginning to critique what she observed in schools. On TE in Limpopo, she was critical of her supervising teacher, questioning the excuse this teacher made about not teaching numeracy lessons according to ability groups, *“The teacher said she has never taught them in their groups but she knows the learner’s different level of understanding” (TE, 14/09/10).*

Also while in Limpopo on TE, Shiluva criticised aspects of the common assessment test the learners wrote. Perhaps because she had been in different schools prior to this, she began to recognise how these Limpopo learners were disadvantaged. Firstly, she identified that the children could not read the questions on their own and secondly, that they were unused to writing on answer sheets (TE, 20/09/10). She admitted to teaching some aspects of the test while the children were writing it, *“I found that it was making the assessment unfair but if I had not done that learners will not have written anything...it seemed as if they could not even remember the things they have done in class” (TE, 17/09/10).* Shiluva also revealed acute awareness of

the challenges the learners in this rural school faced and recognised that the difficulties were a result of the field conditions, namely, the lack of resources, *“Teachers should have used worksheet in which the learners answer question to make them get used to it”* (TE, 21/09/10).

Over the four years Shiluva’s journal entries revealed a willingness to learn from her supervising teachers. This was indicative of an openness to thinking differently. Already in her brief entries in 2009, she described how her supervising teacher, *“helps us in teaching learners how to make sentences”* (SM, TE, 04/09/09). In May and September 2011, she went to the same school, with the same supervising teacher. She described asking the teacher for advice with grouping children into ability groups for reading:

[The phonics lesson] also took longer than I anticipated, I then ask the teacher, about the strategy she uses with them. She indicated that those who couldn’t finish they are made to do the task during break. I found this strategy to be working hence I will use it when doing other tasks (SM, TE, 11/09/11).

Shiluva habitually constructed herself as failing and it appeared to be this attitude that motivated her wanting to learn from her supervising teacher. There is evidence here that after dialogue with the teacher about transforming her practice, Shiluva tried the strategy and anticipated using it in the future. Her reflection had moved into the transformative level. She was aware of her lack of capital and this initiated the steps she had taken towards transformation (Ward & McCotter, 2004). This short extract reveals that Shiluva had tried the teacher’s strategy and in doing so became conscious of its benefits. This led to anticipatory reflection (Conway, 2001) as she planned to use the same strategy in other situations.

In 2012, with a different supervising teacher, Shiluva continued to show a readiness to ask for help from the teacher. Shiluva observed how learners were able to read an instruction on their own while practicing for the assessment tasks. She had noticed Limpopo learners’ difficulty with this on TE in 2010, *“I had to help them by reading the question to them”* (TE, 20/09/10). So she was compelled to find out how this was done. Being in this classroom allowed Shiluva the space to reflect on the challenges she had encountered in different fields and to find out from someone she perceived as having more capital, how to overcome these challenges:

I asked the teacher, as I wanted to know how they do make children able to do tasks by themselves. She assured me that it is possible because it is revision for what they did, the whole week. I observed that reinforcing what children have learned is very important (SM, TE, 06/05/12).

Her earlier experience on TE in Limpopo and her own experience as a teacher, helped her to recognise that, “*it is possible*” for things to be done differently and she was exposed to techniques that would enable this, in particular, revision and reinforcement. She had the meta-language also to write about these techniques, showing how they were gradually becoming transformed into embodied ways of teaching literacy.

On her last TE, in September 2012, she described writing an exercise on the board and she had to concede that the supervising teacher’s advice was wise and that she could learn from it:

I learned that I also have to avail myself to learning new things from my supervising teacher. I had written the instructions on the chalkboard, indicating that what the children have to do. I was advised that I need to watch as children will also copy it although it was not necessary for their activity. When marking the books, I realised that it was what they did. They copied the instructions on their workbooks. When doing the other activities, I will follow my supervising teacher’s advice (SM, TE, 16/09/12).

The phrases, “*I also have to avail myself*”, “*I need to watch*”, “*I realised*” and “*I will follow*” positioned her as a ‘student’ with a disposition open to learning and a commitment to seize opportunities provided. She was aware of her shortcomings and desired to change. Shiluva reiterated the important contribution her relationship with her supervising teacher had been:

The important part of my experience was the way in which my supervising teacher gave support to my teaching in class. She was helpful and supportive although, she is not teaching children in their ability groups but using whole class teaching as she said, she has more work and group teaching will limit her as she will be teaching one group per day. Besides all that she was able to help me to organise and regroup children into their different abilities (SM, TE, 14/05/12)

The mutual respect shown between Shiluva and her supervising teacher contributed meaningfully to her learning experience. Although the teacher did not use the methods encouraged by Wits (teaching children in ability groups), she was open to assisting Shiluva to try them out. This teacher went out of her way to help Shiluva

experiment in using ability groups. It was this consideration and respect that facilitated Shiluva's willingness to learn. The supervising teacher acknowledged Shiluva's position in the field as a professional and it was this capital, recognition, which empowered her. Shiluva conceded symbolic power to this teacher who displayed sincerity in her relationship with Shiluva. It was also the "engagement with [a] model mentor" (Ward & McCotter, 2004:250) that was transformative.

Another new way of thinking about teaching literacy for Shiluva was in the area of phonics. She was not used to teaching phonics and this was a struggle she reflected on throughout her four years on TE. Much of the difficulty arose because she was teaching in English, and she experienced difficulties in pronouncing English phonemes. In 2012, she wrote about making a pronunciation error:

I nearly made a mistake teaching sounds in a THRASS programme way which the class is not using. It was fortunate because the teacher was in class and she had to correct me and show me that 'sm' is one sound as it is a blend. I accepted the correction and thus had to ask children to sound out the word for me. I also observed that it is a good idea to depend on children's pronunciation as I pronounce most words different from them, which could have an effect of their spelling if I am not careful" (SM, TE, 12/09/09).

At Wits, Shiluva was taught the THRASS³⁶ method of teaching phonics and showed a willingness to try it out, even though using this method was not necessary. She recognised that the supervising teacher and the learners had more linguistic capital in English than she did but was open to learning correct pronunciation from them, an exchange of capital. What this experience did for her, was to shift the way she thought about knowledge and the role of the teacher. She gradually learnt that the teacher was not expected to know everything and that there were times when s/he could rely on learners' knowledge, in fact, she depended on the correction. This was possible only because in this game she yielded symbolic capital to others recognising how this would contribute to her acquisition of cultural capital.

This was not a constant though, as a few days later Shiluva described another incident of getting it wrong in her teaching of phonics, when asked to teach the Grade Threes:

³⁶ Teaching Handwriting Reading and Spelling Skills (Davies & Ritchie, 2003). This is a programme that teaches children to analyse words by recognising phonemes and graphemes and to link them to letters of the alphabet (Davies & Ritchie, 2003).

I was feeling so confident... I started the lesson with the phonics lesson. I was so confident that I mistakably gave a wrong sound (vowel, 'a-e' sound which I associated with the vowel sound – 'are'. I then found myself panicking. This affected the whole lesson, in such that I was not able to expand on the children knowledge and understanding of the sounds. I was in a position that made me to make mistakes after mistakes. It also affected my Read aloud lesson (SM, TE, 18/09/12).

This description focused on her feelings of panic and self-doubt and the negative impact this had on her teaching. She described moving from great confidence to uncertainty. The strong emotions expressed in her writing and the honesty bared as Shiluva described her lesson sinking deeper into trouble was in contrast to the limited emotional engagement and reflection earlier in her TE journal. Despite making “*mistakes after mistakes*” she was able to identify what they were, and to articulate the effects using pedagogic discourse, “*expand on the children knowledge and understanding of the sounds*” though she gave herself no credit for this. Shiluva experienced herself as having tripped-up on overconfidence as she repeated, “*I was...so confident*”. The capital she thought she had acquired lay in tatters. The emotions arising from the linguistic challenges she had to overcome in this field overshadowed any other sense of learning of which she might have been aware. In a later entry, she compared herself with the learners and judged herself as coming up short. Shiluva’s disposition, inclined her to be harsh on herself, however, this did not stand in the way of her opening herself up to learning, and, in fact, I would argue that it was precisely this self-awareness that motivated her to put in the necessary effort to change:

I see myself learning new things, in this class. I observed also that the children had accommodated English as their Home language easily, which is not easy for me. They converse well and can also bring new ideas using English, which - to some children was a new experience (SM, TE, 19/09/12).

In examining Shiluva’s English writing over four years in her TE journals, it was evident that she had learned to “*accommodate English*” successfully, but she chose to focus on the ease with which the children had achieved this in comparison to herself.

The findings of this section have shown how the participant’s perception of his or her own cultural capital played an essential role in contributing to a willingness to change. However, this process was complicated in that the participant needed to be

aware of the capital he or she lacked and this needed to be accompanied by a desire to change. This desire required an acknowledgement of capital that others possessed and how learning from them could build the participant's own cultural capital. Another requirement for shifting habitus was the need for a field where there was mutual respect between agents jostling for position. The importance of a supervising teacher and learners who respected Shiluva, for example, and who recognised the capital she brought, was necessary for transformation.

5.4.1.4 Anticipating change

In 2012, her last year at Wits, Shiluva thought about going back to Limpopo. She considered the changes she would be able to make, especially in relation to professionalism and order. She commented, as other participants had done, on how in schools in Gauteng, teaching time was strictly valued and that meetings did not impinge on this time. She also made a link between order kept in class and efficient learning, *"They [the learners] also completed their work successfully... I realised that this was possible as order is also kept in the classroom"* (TE, 09/05/12). It was this discipline that Shiluva envisaged implementing in her classroom when she went back to Limpopo.

She also anticipated teaching literacy differently:

We learnt this year that writing must have a purpose. I must make sure that they know why they are writing and for whom...When you say the purpose children become excited so this is a thing that I will change because back home we just used to write for the children to copy from the board. We didn't engage them on creative writing. We just write on the board and say, "Copy what we have written" (EI).

Shiluva showed an awareness of the differences between how she taught and what she perceived she needed to do in other ways. She recognised how she used to teach writing as an isolated, discrete skill at the most basic level of encoding. There had been a shift in her thinking, recognising that writing should involve an awareness of a text's purpose and audience, making meaning, helping learners to incorporate the text-participant and text-user roles (Freebody & Luke, 1990). Speaking in the declarative, *"I must"* and *"I will change"*, Shiluva revealed both determination and a desire to change from her old practices which she expressed as negative, *"We didn't"* and *"We just"*. Similarly, she anticipated teaching reading differently:

In reading the children must be engaged in becoming part of what we read and we must teach them to read to understand, to comprehend what they are reading. This is what we were not doing. We were just reading choral reading and echo reading. What we were assessing them on is that they are able to decode the words but now we know that children must be part of the text, they must engage with the text, they must understand what the text says to them (EI).

Shiluva was able to contrast her past teaching practices with how she anticipated teaching differently in the future. She described shifting from pedagogy and assessment practices that focused only on the code-breaker role, to building on these to include text-participant, “*understand and comprehend*” and text-analyst “*engage*” and “*understand what the text says to them*” (Freebody & Luke, 1990). The structure of what she expressed here, using the imperative and contrasting “*we were*” with “*we must*” or “*the children must*” revealed insight into past practices which needed to shift into new ways of doing, being and valuing reading. Shiluva was also positive about returning, making a difference and influencing her colleagues:

I think it will be easy. It will not be a big problem because the time we were sent home the people were open to receiving us. They said ‘Tell us what you are doing at Wits. Tell us the things that will improve’” (EI). Recalling TE in Limpopo, she realises how much capital she has gained since then “unfortunately at that time – we only know about Focus Time because we had only been at Wits for a short time. So I would just say ‘I don’t have enough information. I only know that we have to develop vocabulary when we teaching children to read’.

At the end of her final year, she had confidence, willingness, knowledge and agency which was revealed as she spoke and wrote about the changes in her teaching of literacy and her determination to do things differently. She had taken the opportunities offered to her at Wits and had overcome negative emotions experienced to think differently about her teaching and to feel empowered to help others.

5.4.2 Motle: “*The lesson was good*”

Motle’s development as a writer and the extent to which she was able to shift in her literate habitus is discussed focussing on the themes of how her writing was structured, her acquisition of the discourse necessary to reflect on her teaching of literacy, her reflective ability and the extent to which she was able to think differently about literacy are considered in this section. Motle’s focus on discipline, respect and a sense of responsibility and how this impacted her awareness of the necessity of

change is discussed. Finally, Motle's resistance to change and possible reasons for this are presented.

5.4.2.1 Structured writing

This section examines Motle's writing in her reflective TE journals. Like Shiluva, she structured her journal entries in a formulaic way. She was a constrained writer and her introductory phrases were fixed and overused but the body of her entries showed more structural flexibility than Shiluva's. Motle wrote more than one or two sentences but introduced those using patterned structures which are illustrated in Table 5.3.³⁷

Table 5.3: Motle's TE journals

Date of entries and number of entries	Introductory phrase	Number of times used
May and September 2009	<i>We arrive at school at [time]</i>	6
	<i>We arrived at school as usual</i> <i>The school starts as usual</i>	4
May 2011 / 14 entries	<i>We arrived at school at [time]</i>	9
September 2011 / 15 entries	<i>On this day</i> <i>I prepared the lesson</i> <i>We arrived at school</i>	3 5 3
May and September 2012	<i>We arrive</i> <i>I prepared</i> <i>The day started as usual</i> <i>On this day</i>	1 5 5 9

5.4.2.2 Trying on the discourse

There was little evidence of the acquisition of the discourse of the pedagogic field in her TE journal entries throughout the four years. There were no examples of pedagogic discourse in 2009. The excerpts below were the instances evident in Motle's TE journals from 2010-2012 showing how minimal her acquisition was:

Alphabetical order; halving, doubling, differentiation; shared reading; big book; single digit numbers; compound words; number chart.

It is difficult to make claims for the reasons for this restricted assimilation and embodiment of cultural capital, but it seemed to be related to Motle's focus on irrelevant details and her inability to reflect meaningfully on her teaching. She proclaimed her lessons to be good and so there was, in her view, no need to put effort or critical thought into changing her teaching and learning to do things differently. She seemed unaware of a need to change, this was her "strategy of habitus" (Bourdieu, 2004:61) and affected possibilities for shifts. The state of the

³⁷ I did not have her 2010 TE journals.

game as she perceived it was that her teaching was “excellent”, “good” or “fine” and there was no need to adjust. Motle’s judgement was that she had sufficient capital and this position appeared to be related to her disposition of needing to be respectable, virtuous and good. She constructed herself as “good” because this was a foundational layer of her habitus.

5.4.2.3 Reflective ability and thinking in a new way

Motle struggled to reflect meaningfully on her teaching and her early entries consisted of descriptions of what occurred in the class rather than meaningful reflection, “*I taught them about behaviour, bad and good behaviour. They identify between the bad and the good behaviour*” (TE, 03/09/09). There was little deliberation on the lessons she observed or her own teaching and she glossed over feedback from her university tutors, “*She said that our lesson is good*” (TE, 10/09/09). Motle focused on minute, irrelevant details rather than on the actual feedback provided and how she could implement it, “*The tutor took us to the staffroom to talk to us there only to find that they were on the meeting so we go and she talk to us outside*” (TE, 10/09/09). Typically, of the Routine level (the lowest level) of reflection (Ward & McCotter, 2004), Motle’s focus was on discipline rather than the actual teaching she did and observed, “*Today learners get into the class, they pray and they were told to make a line girls on their own line and boys on their line and madam move forward they followed her quietly and when they arrive at the hall they sits on rows bending their legs*” (MM, TE, 08/09/09).

Motle described in detail the comments made by the principal in assemblies and meetings about discipline, littering and tests. In contrast, a short amount of space was afforded to detailing the actual teaching she observed and did. She saw no difference in the teaching she observed in Gauteng and what she was used to in Limpopo and attributed any differences she noticed to the availability of resources, common for those reflecting at the Routine level, “*Their teaching is not so much different from the school I was teaching the only different is that they have resources*” (TE, 21/05/09). There was no insight or interrogation of pedagogic practices from which she might learn. Rather Motle commented on the interaction between teachers and the fact that they planned together, how lessons were repeated, the availability and use of the library and the multicultural aspect of the

school. These were the only remarks that showed some element of observing differences but these did not move beyond the Routine level of reflection.

In 2011, there was little shift in her ability to reflect. She still focused on minute details of daily activities and there was no evidence of meta-cognition. Motle still wrote about organisational plans rather than the evaluation of her lesson, “*The critics went well and she guide us and told us that she will be coming again on Thursday*” (TE, 09/05/11). There was no comment on what the guidance from the tutor was and how she planned on doing things differently. Reflecting at the Routine level, she blamed the children and resources when the lesson did not go well:

The lesson was not good because the kids to that class were very noise and I used blocks as my resources and when it comes to them that they must count using those counters and match boxes they were excited because it was the first time they used them (TE, 13/05/11).

She measured the success or lack of success of her lesson by the amount of noise in the classroom and appeared unable to reflect deeply on her pedagogy and classroom control and how that shaped the lesson.

Despite many attempts by her university tutors to help her become more reflective and to move beyond general discussions about school issues, she was unable to meet these requirements over the four years. The tutors urged her to “focus on the strengths and weakness of your teaching” (TO, 12/05/11), “I would like more focus on...what you have learned” (Comment in TE journal, 26/09/11) and “Comment on observations such as, was the lesson good and why? What could be improved? What would I do differently?” (Comment in TE journal, 11/09/12). Yet, four years into keeping a reflective journal, she continued to make broad, sweeping statements as to the success of the lessons without interrogating her practice as a literacy teacher.

This could be a result of Motle’s disposition of a desire to please and to be compliant and so she chose to present herself as doing well. In May 2012, it seemed that Motle was still struggling to shift in old teaching practices:

The lesson started well and the children were enjoying but towards the end were restless because they were tired of sitting on the carpet and the tutor said I should have let them talk about the animals because I explained the vocabulary words to them. I think the lesson was good only that the tutor also said I’ve done much of the talking than children so it turn to be teacher

centred. I thank my tutor because he helped me in a good manner, he was no so harsh to me. He also said it was a fair lesson” (TE, 07/05/12).

She repeated what the university tutor critiqued in her teaching, that it consisted mainly of teacher-talk, but she described her lesson as “*good*” as opposed to his description of it as “*fair*”. Her use of the word “*only*” implies that she viewed his criticism as minor and she appeared to be resisting his appraisal by emphasising the good. Her focus was on the manner in which he delivered the information, rather than the content of the feedback and in doing so, resorted to the compliance and respect which was so much a part of her disposition, in thanking the tutor for the manner in which he provided feedback.

Motle received similar feedback on her next observation lesson where she was encouraged to put the learners in pairs to discuss and participate, revealing that she still had not shifted from a teacher-centred pedagogy. Despite this, Motle judged her lesson as “*good*” (14/05/12). I argue that it was the limitations in her ability to reflect meaningfully that resulted in limited evidence of shifting teaching pedagogy. Also, the “determinisms” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977:38) of her disposition of wanting to be seen as obedient and good, blinded her to making decisions that could lead to different epistemological and pedagogical choices. As is shown in the Table 5.4, in 2012, even when there were obviously learners who were not understanding or achieving, she judged her lesson positively. Motle continued to measure the success of her lessons by a lack of noise, “*The lesson was good because... they listen attentively without making noise* (MM, TE, 13/05/11) or compliance “*The children were fine and they do whatever I told them to do. It makes the lesson successful*” (MM, TE, 16/05/11). Good behaviour and submission were important in her own life and she expected this from the children she taught. This, in her view, made her lessons successful.

Motle gave little thought to the actual pedagogy and the majority of suggestions for improvement she provided come from the Wits tutors, with little indication that she was taking these views into consideration (see Table 5.4).

Table 5.4: Motle’s assessment of lessons

Date	Judgement on lesson	Criteria for judgement	Solution
07/05/12	<i>“I think the lesson was good”</i>	None	
08/05/12	<i>“The lesson was fine”</i>	<i>“Learners do participate even if it</i>	

	<i>"So the lesson was good"</i>	<i>was not all learners"</i> <i>"Most of them did get it...Even if was good there are some children who need special attention in the sense that they did not know their letters of alphabet and even the sound"</i>	
09/05/12	<i>"I think the lesson went well... I think the lesson was fair"</i>	<i>"because most of the children were actively participating and at the end were given exercise to write they got it right"</i>	
10/05/12	<i>"The lesson went well"</i>	<i>"But there was other learners who does not understand and I tried to help them by showing them how they can add repeatedly"</i>	Her solution is repetitive drills
14/05/12	<i>"But anyway the lesson was good"</i> <i>"The lesson was fine"</i>	<i>"because learners participated but not all learners"</i>	<i>"so the tutor said I must put them in pairs to discuss"</i>
15/05/12	<i>"so I see that this lesson was successful"</i>	<i>"most of the learners managed to make sentences...most of them got all right".</i>	None
17/05/12	<i>"the lesson was good"</i>	<i>"some of the learners were unable to create numbers...others did not get it to show that they did not understand"</i>	None
21/05/12	<i>"the lesson went well"</i>	<i>"learners were actively involved and participating"</i> <i>"most of the learners got the sums right"</i>	
22/05/12	<i>"I have seen that the lesson went well"</i>	<i>"learners pay attention and responded...retelling the story sequentially"</i>	
23/05/12	<i>"I think the lesson went well"</i>	<i>"children participated actively on the examples that they were given"</i>	
12/09/12	<i>"I think the lesson went well"</i>	<i>"learners were participating"</i>	<i>"Tutor said I have to improve in disciplining them that when they talk loudly I have to speak softly to them"</i>
13/09/12	<i>I think the lesson went well</i>	<i>Because learners were able to construct sentences even if it was not all</i>	<i>To help 'slow learners' "I think they need more time to be taught alone after school"</i>
14/09/12	<i>The lesson was good</i>	<i>Because learners were participating actively and they were supposed to match the job and the person who does that job. They did it well</i>	
17/09/12	<i>The lesson was good</i>	<i>Because learners were participating in large numbers or actively</i>	Giving learners who hardly participate words to go and read at home Giving those who were actively participating more words to go and learn
18/09/12	<i>The lesson went well</i>	<i>Because learners did participate in numbers actively but ... learners did not understand about halving</i>	<i>"Having two columns where we counted the specific number to both columns"</i>
19/09/12	<i>I think the lesson went well</i>	<i>Because learners were giving answers from the clock we were having</i>	She recognises that they understand the half points but that they struggle with quarters – no solution provided
25/09/12	<i>I think the lesson was successful</i>	<i>Because learners participated</i>	
26/09/12	<i>This lesson was successful</i>	<i>Because learners were able to read the new words that was on the text without any problem</i>	

What surprised Motle the most during TE was the teachers' dedication, *"What amazes me in this school is that teachers are committed to their work"* (MM, TE, 11/09/09). She commented on the teachers' professionalism and responsibility, *"I have realised that when the teacher knows that he/she is not going to be in he left the learner with something to do"* (MM, TE, 17/09/09). Although Motle did not indicate whether this was the norm in her experience, the fact that she was surprised by it seems to indicate that it was not. This observation also corresponded with her desire to be good, but it was a common observation amongst the research participants generally.

Motle also found the interpersonal relationships that she witnessed on TE unusual:

I've seen the love of teachers to learners and relationship between learners and teachers. Even if the teachers are from different country but they are one thing they greet one another and they have good relationship (MM, TE, 19/05/09).

The fact that she commented on this hinted that this behaviour was not the norm in her school or classroom. This was probably related to her view of the role of the teacher as being an authority figure. Also being exposed to a "super-diverse" (Vertovec, 2007) environment with teachers from different cultures and countries would have been new for Motle. Another surprising occurrence she noticed was the reading and writing abilities of the learners:

What amazes me most is that the grade ones are able to read and write on their own without teacher most of them. To the class which I've been all learners can write and read except those whom are exceptional (MM, TE, 20/05/09).

She did not examine these observations any further nor did she seem to try to find out how this level of reading and writing could be replicated in her classes. Because these three details, namely, dedication, relationships and literacy ability were especially noticed, it could be surmised that it was because they were out of the ordinary for her. They might be something she could aspire to reproducing in her own classes, but there was no anticipatory reflection evident in her journals.

5.4.2.4 Discipline, respect and responsibility

A persistent theme throughout both her English and TE journals was the need for "respect" and the importance of being "responsible". Motle described using stories in

the classroom in the past to achieve this (EJ, 20/04/09). As discussed in the Chapter Four (see Section 4.6.1), Motle linked education with “*doing good things*” and “*living with others in harmony*” (EJ, 07/09). Throughout her TE journal entries there were eight references to staff discipline and 29 references to learners’ discipline. Motle did not deliberate on discipline, these references were all descriptive of either good or bad behaviour, or rules that were in place to ensure obedience. So, in relation to the learners, she did not appear to be trying to think of new ways of dealing with the difficulties she had with discipline. She was unable to move from Routine reflections (Ward & McCotter, 2004) to questioning her practices or others’ discipline strategies. Motle blamed the learners and did not reflect on her role in ensuring that the classroom atmosphere was conducive to learning. There was only one instance where she mentioned a specific disciplinary technique and that was when she recorded her university tutor’s advice to speak quietly to the learners when they became noisy. Motle did not reflect on why this would be helpful nor did she indicate that she would try to do this.

Although Motle was respectful of the supervising teachers, there was no example mentioned of something she had learnt from them. In relation to pedagogy in 2009 and in May 2011, there were no direct references to pedagogy or reflection on teaching strategies. In September 2011, of 16 entries, there were two references to teaching strategies, one being in a numeracy lesson where she considered that she should have given the learners a “*200 number chart*” (TE, 18/09/11) to help them count. The second reference was an assessment of a lesson in which learners were asked to write words in alphabetical order and that she felt this was “*a good way of teaching them words because there were slightly few spelling mistakes*” (TE, 15/09/11). The connection between writing in alphabetical order and fewer spelling mistakes was unclear, but her focus was on form rather than substance. In 2012, Motle’s commentary on teaching strategies and reflection increased slightly, there were 30 entries for the year and six references to teaching strategies. She showed some signs of reflecting on ways of improving and these were giving learners counters, not using English and Afrikaans simultaneously, helping slower learners after school or giving them extra work to complete at home, and using columns to help learners understand halving numbers and using number charts. Despite these, there was no evidence of questioning and insights about her teaching strategies.

This section has shown how Motle's habitus had been structured by the inculcation of the importance of responsibility, goodness, conformity and respect. This had become "internalized as second nature" (Bourdieu, 1990:56). This determined what she considered capital and "ensure[d] permanence in change" (Bourdieu, 1990:56). Motle did not change because she was unaware of the need to change. Her focus on discipline was not interrogated because what had been embodied from her past, was compliance.

5.4.2.5 Resisting change

There was also no indication in the data of Motle anticipating going back to Limpopo and doing things differently. Janks (2010:201) in discussing how difficult embodied practices are to change, emphasises that "We have to want to change and we have to work at it". It seems that Motle did not have this desire, because of what Janks calls, "unconscious incompetence" (2010:201). The compliance which was so "durably inculcated" (Bourdieu, 1990:54), blinded Motle to any need for doing things differently because this would imply that she was not "good" and that she was not doing things as she should. This would be too jarring a view of herself and what, for her, counted as capital. Because she was unaware of the need for change, Motle did not modify her teaching in noticeable ways. Because she did not perceive a disjuncture between her old ways of teaching, and the requirements of the different field, there was no need to improvise (Pahl, 2008), or shift to accommodate the schism.

5.4.3 Elela: "*I saw what we are learning theoretically being practically done*".

The third participant whose writing about the teaching of literacy in her TE journals is examined is Elela. The discussion focuses on the themes of how her writing was structured and how this advanced over four years. It also examines the extent to which she was able to "try on the discourse". Her developing reflective ability, the way she found agency in classrooms which were not her own and her ability to overcome negative emotions are discussed as catalysts of change.

5.4.3.1 Structured writing

Elela showed some characteristics of grassroots literacy (Blommaert, 2008a) in her early TE journals. For example, Elela made use of discourse genres (Lefstein, 2008, in Pahl, 2012) repeating phrases such as "*I have noticed*" (six times in 2010, three

times in 2011 and twice in 2012). She also began many sentences with “*When*”. For example, “*When we arrived*”, “*When we went*”, “*When the bell rings*”, “*When she realised*” and “*When learners go*”. There were eight instances of this initial phrase in 2009, and 2010, only one in 2011 and four in 2012, showing declining dependence on these discourse genres. The most common introductory word/s she used were “*Today*” or “*This day*” and throughout the four years Elela used this to begin an entry 36 times. These introductory words and phrases were balanced, however, with a variety of different other words and phrases with which she began her paragraphs and entries. She did, however, tend to structure most of her sentences using a subject-verb construction. This was not that surprising, considering that English was not her home language. Although Elela used regular phrases to “fashion her utterances” (Lefstein, 2008, in Pahl, 2012), these were not constraining on her writing and reflection.

As noted in Section 5.3.5.2.2, Elela showed that she was reflective and thought in a penetrative way about her courses and developing personal literacy practices in her English reflective journals in 2009. Much of her reflection on TE in May 2009 was about the contrast between what the learners had and were exposed to in comparison to the learners in Limpopo. In particular, Elela mentioned resources and parental support. She also observed the impact of facilities and resources on teachers. This is typical of the Routine level of reflection (Ward & McCotter, 2004) but Elela was perceptive enough, to recognise that it takes more than resources to make a good education, stating that teacher commitment leads to better education:

I believe the difference in resources contribute to the difference between the quality of education offered by them. However, I believe the attitude of the educators between the two schools also differ because in Appleton Hall³⁸ they seem to be more committed to their work than in ours (TE, 22/05/09).

Unlike Motle who also noted the difference in commitment, Elela, in using the word “*ours*” revealed that she included herself in the judgement on lack of commitment, signifying that she was operating at the “Aware” (Perkins, 1992) level of reflection and that she recognised a need for change in herself.

Elela showed that she was reflective about pedagogic strategies early on. In May, 2009, she made extensive notes and drawings of the methods the supervising

³⁸ The names of schools mentioned by the participants have been changed.

teacher used to teach various things. There were four specific instances where she extended beyond description to making evaluative comments on the teaching she observed. She also described one lesson that she taught herself, and outlined its strengths and weaknesses. In fact, what she identified as a weakness, I would argue was a strength as it seemed she was aiming to integrate skills:

I tried to intergrate phonics to the lesson and asked learners whether they could identify the first letter of the words. My supervising teacher advised that at the end the lesson seemed like a spelling lesson (TE, 21/05/09).

Elela did not challenge this judgement from the supervising teacher, perhaps because she was not confident enough at that stage and did not feel that she had the necessary capital to do so.

For reasons which are difficult to identify, Elela's TE journal in September 2009 became less reflective. Her focus was on routines, namely, what happened, what should happen, what did not happen, and why. A routine that particularly intrigued Elela was school assembly. She contrasted assemblies in Gauteng with those held in her school in Limpopo and commented on the following advantages of assemblies: the honour and respect afforded the principal and teachers, the formality of the occasion, the discipline of the learners and the opportunity to reward learners, for example, *"I felt that is so much gave the learners a sense of formal gatherings and trained them on how to behave"* (TE, 11/09/09). The importance of the control of the environment and the learners were what she focused on in these observations, as Elela was operating firmly in the Routine level of reflection (Ward & McCotter, 2004).

In April 2010, Elela's reflections became more evaluative, though they were still focused on discipline and control. She criticised discipline five times in ten entries, *"The learners are very free to shout answers whenever they want. It was difficult for the teacher to control the learners"* (TE, 21/04/10). However, she also discussed pedagogy, disapproving of the fact that learning was *"task orientated"*:

They learn in order to write tasks which are required to be supervised. So the learners are not used to long lessons and soon get tired of listening and begin making noise (TE, 03/05/10).

They were given an occupational task just to keep them busy (TE, 21/04/10).

She appeared to regard the learners' writing tasks she observed as negative, resulting in learners being unable to listen to long lessons. This revealed how her pedagogic habitus was still framed by teacher-centred rather than learner-centred practices. Listening to the teacher was seen as more important than doing tasks to learn.

Elela also found the reading ability of Gauteng learners impressive, and recognised that they made meaning rather than just decoding texts. Like Motle, she was struck by the communication and interaction between teachers but she highlighted how this lead to discussions of pedagogy and content. Contact with parents was also something she found inspiring. Finally, the hard work teachers did and their constant involvement at many levels of school life was notable for her. The fact that these were commented on as being noteworthy seems to indicate that these were not something she was used to and she became aware of differences between Limpopo and Gauteng.

Elela continued to develop in her reflective abilities and made insightful comments. As in her English Reflective journals (see Section 5.3.5.2.2.), Elela looked for ways to implement or to relate what she had learnt notionally into practice. For example, referring to classroom management she wrote, *"I saw what we are learning theoretically being practically done, and I felt it worked. I learnt a lot in managing group work from her"* (TE, 04/05/11). She appeared to be thinking strategically, planning how to implement her new learning (Perkins, 1992).

This section has shown that Elela demonstrated some characteristics of "grassroots literacy" (Blommaert, 2008a) but that this did not constrain her reflections. She had indicated early on (in 2009) that her habitus was open to questioning differences she encountered in her courses at Wits. This questioning was transferred into her interactions in schools and classrooms on TE. It is not possible to make claims as to why Elela was different to the other participants discussed, but, I argue, that it was her awareness of differences that facilitated shifts in her literate habitus. It was *because* she reflected and interrogated that she was able to display shifts in her teaching of literacy.

5.4.3.2 Trying on the discourse

Already in 2009, in her TE journals, there was evidence of Elela making use of some pedagogical terminology. This was not evident in either Motle's or Shiluva's journals in 2009. The excerpt below includes each example of the terminology she used in 2009:

Number chart; doubling, halving, phonics, consolidation, integration, fractions, 2D shapes, 3D shapes

Her use of pedagogical terminology continued to develop throughout 2010-2012 and it is evident that the number of examples increased. For example:

Differentiated; scaffolding; counting charts; vocabulary development; homophones; addition and subtraction; literacy focus time, common sound, initial and ending sounds, shared reading, guided reading, graphemes, independent groups, comprehension, oral questions, inferential questions, mind map; separate activities, activity outcomes, decomposition of numbers, numeracy time, top group, weak average group, ability groups, bulletin boards, assessment tasks, place value, brainstorming, mental maths, manipulate strategies, edit, problem solving, experiment, inviro-in, inviro- out, non-fiction, rotation, self-discovery,

The increasing use of this discourse reflected, to some extent, the embodiment of new ways of thinking and doing. As Elela acquired the meta-language to discuss her developing pedagogic habitus (Grenfell, 1996), she began to write and speak differently about her teaching.

5.4.3.3 Reflective ability and thinking in a new way

Elela's journal in September 2010 in Limpopo was filled with confidence and self-assurance. This was in contrast to her Limpopo colleagues whom she described as, "not very sure what to do when they come to school" (TE, 08/09/10); "not using the 'Foundations for Learning Guide' because they are not sure how to use it" (TE, 09/09/10); "seem not to know or understand what is needed" (TE, 09/09/10); "discouraged" (TE, 09/09/10); not having "any clear preparation" (TE, 13/09/10 and "they continue with their old teaching styles they are accustomed to" (TE, 14/09/10). Her emphasis was on the teachers' lack of knowledge and understanding as well as their emotional unsureness and low spirits, constructing them as deficient in contrast to her. Having been in a new field and going back a year and a half later, she wrote with certainty, "Not much has changed in Limpopo. In contrast to Gauteng...Limpopo is still far behind" (TE. 17/09/10).

Elela positioned herself as assertive, knowledgeable, encouraging and as having capital which would enable her to make a change to the field, "I hope by the end of my [TE] I will have really contributed to the teachers with what I have learnt at Wits"

(TE, 09/09/10). The colleagues were welcoming and “*everyone seemed eager to learn from my experience at Wits*” (TE, 08/09/10). She recognised that in this environment she had more capital by virtue of her opportunity to study at Wits, and she also recognised that she had more capital in Limpopo than she did in schools in Gauteng, “*What I have noticed is that unlike the teachers at Gauteng who act as if we the student teachers are wasting their time...the teachers at Limpopo are eager to give an opportunity to us because they hope to learn from us*” (TE, 15/09/10).

Her agency was such that Elela confronted the principal about classroom practices she found unacceptable, such as the fact that brighter learners were put in a class with an experienced teacher and the weaker ones with a “*teacher who is not qualified*” (TE, 10/09/10). She noticed that the teacher working with weak learners was daunted by the task, and although “*struggling, he tries very hard to help them*” (TE, 10/09/10). She also spoke to the principal about the fact that the ‘Foundations for Learning’ programme was not being used by teachers in his school. Elela was critical of other things on this TE as well. For example, the fact that the common national assessment tasks were given to the teachers at the last minute and that she noticed that these tests were filled with errors. This critique and her recording of it, revealed that she was reflecting at the Dialogic level of Ward and McCotter’s (2004) rubric. Elela raised questions with others, was concerned with struggling students and looked for ways to assist. She also wrote critically about the Wits B.Ed. programme. Being in Limpopo helped her to see that she had not been equipped sufficiently to teach in Xitsonga by the course she was doing, “*I felt stuck most of the time when preparing because I felt teaching to read home language is not the same as second language and cannot be approached the same way*” (TE, 15/09/10). There were traces of the Transformative reflective level (Ward & McCotter, 2004) in her writing as she also broached ethical issues in her critique about the impact of student allocations and assessment on the students and the teachers in Limpopo. However, this was not self-judgement which this level requires, she was appraising the actions and decisions of others.

This section has shown how Elela’s growing awareness lead her to think in different ways. This was evident during her time on TE in Limpopo that it was the “intersection between habitus and fields” (Swartz, 1997:213) that allowed her to reflect on what she saw in the Limpopo classroom and school in the light of what she had

experienced in different fields. Being a “fish out of water” in classrooms in Gauteng helped her to become aware of differences to Limpopo. Going back to Limpopo on TE reinforced the many differences in schools and teaching between Limpopo and Gauteng that she had become mindful of. She became more attentive to what was problematic in Limpopo classrooms. So, she responded to this disjuncture with a sense of agency, recognising the capital she had acquired and acting on it in her attempts to influence change. What she confronted in Limpopo informed her critique of an aspect of the B.Ed. course at WSoE, identifying that, in terms of language teaching, it was not empowering her as a teacher of literacy in her home language, Xitsonga.

5.4.3.4 Agency and positioning

A challenge for many of the participants on TE was that the classrooms they were working in were not “their space”. They had limited capital in them as they were positioned as “students” in these fields. This must have been particularly difficult for the Limpopo teachers with many years of experience. Elela was conscious of this particularly when she encountered a class on TE which was difficult to discipline:

Today I reflected a lot on the discipline of learners in my class. I realised that for the short period that we go to the TE it is difficult to change what the learners are used to. If that is how they work with their teacher there is not much one can do. Moreover one tries to comply with the teacher (TE, 03/05/10).

There was oblique criticism of the teacher’s discipline in the extract but Elela also displayed an acceptance to work within the constraints she faced. She retained a conforming attitude to the supervising teacher, however, this was tinged with some helplessness in the face of the challenges she faced. Earlier she had anticipated that discipline would be her biggest challenge at this school, “*The learners move and talk whenever they want...I was worried whether I will be able to discipline them. God help me!*” (TE, 22/04/10) and this became something that Elela thought about deeply. Unlike Motle, she did not blame learners for poor discipline, but considered different strategies she could implement to handle difficult situations. She continued to be critical of discipline levels and techniques in 2011, and expressed disapproval that, “*the main form of discipline in this school is shouting at the learners by the teachers*” (TE, 05/05/11). She acknowledged that this was how she had disciplined learners in the past, reflecting on how she was changing, and recognising

that, *“it is a quick method of disciplining the children and produce immediate result”* (TE, 05/05/11). She wanted to try out new ways of disciplining, for example, *“I am still to observe how they will behave if I do not shout at them and try other methods of discipline like standing next to them”* (TE, 05/05/11). Elela not only criticised, she reflected on her own discipline strategies and how she could transform them.

In 2011, she was more assertive and confident, and when the children challenged her because she did things differently to their teacher. Elela stressed her professional identity and capital, for example, *“I explained to them that I am a different teacher and will do some of the things differently, and that settled them”* (TE, 14/09/11). She was not disconcerted by the children contesting her ways of doing things, nor did she doubt herself. This confidence grew as the next day she worked with the class, *“without the shadow of their teacher”* (TE, 15/09/11), the metaphor used indicating the level of influence the supervising teacher had in comparison to her, a teacher-student. Elela consciously attempted to explain her expectations to the class without changing, *“much from what they know”* (TE, 15/09/11). She made compromises without losing her own identity. Although her agency was constrained by the field, and she adapted to this situation. Bourdieu (1989) claims that adaptation is a common form that agency takes and this was evident in Elela’s attempts to control the children she taught on TE.

Elela often struggled with the challenges of her identity as a professional teacher on TE in Gauteng, especially the conflict in her identity between that of being *“an experienced teacher”* (TE, 05/05/11) and being positioned as a student, *“I feel so frustrated because of being in somebody else’s class, being not very sure of her expectations”* (TE, 06/05/11). The May 2011 TE was the first after her time on TE in Limpopo and the contrast was quite striking, Elela felt hamstrung and disempowered by having to follow a programme, *“They usually provide a weekly plan. But you usually do not know what more to ask so that you do not derail them from their programme. It’s so difficult to keep on going back to ask when they do not tell you clearly what you want”* (TE, 06/05/11). Her exasperation was clear and it seemed to have arisen from a lack of agency. On TE in Limpopo, she had more influence and agency. Although she was frustrated by Limpopo teachers who were vague, unclear and not following a programme, in that environment she was afforded the status of an “experienced teacher” and, additionally, one who was upgrading her qualifications

at Wits, and so was given the opportunity to “*decide what to actually teach the learners*” (TE, 10/09/10) and to take over the teaching “*because I want to encourage [the teacher]*”. In Limpopo Elela set herself apart from her peers in the field. Her agency gave her distinction as she attempted to influence the supervising teacher positively. In Gauteng schools she did not have that capital because of her position in the field as a student.

The findings presented in this section seem to confirm Bourdieu’s (1989) emphasis on the relational aspects between the positions occupied by agents in the social space and the volume of capital they have. In Gauteng classrooms, Elela was positioned as a student with less capital than the supervising teachers and so her agency was limited to being adaptive. In the Limpopo classroom she visited on TE, she had more agency than her supervising teacher and this resulted in her agency being more distinctive. For Bourdieu, “*Habitus ...implies a ‘sense of one’s place’ but also a ‘sense of the place of others’*” (1989:19). As a result, there was a connection between the amount of capital Elela was aware of having, how she was positioned in a field and her agency. It was the amount of agency she felt that she had that gave her the confidence to assert her position, identity and opinions.

5.4.3.5 Overcoming fear and other emotions

Elela looked for the positive in most situations. She honestly reflected her negative emotions in the journals but these were always accompanied by “schemes of thought” (Bourdieu, 1977:78) which were optimistic assertions. It was this disposition that was empowering and gave her the lens to envisage possibilities.

One of the anxieties Elela faced on TE was not having her own class and not being able to build up a relationship with the learners. However, her upbeat nature overcame this, for example, “*I have however, decided to look at it in a positive way that I will be having an opportunity to learn from the different experiences at the same time*” (TE, 06/05/11). She took action to overcome her fears, asking to remain with the new class for the rest of her time on TE. The strategies of her habitus were governed by the rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1991). At the AL Hopkins School, she made decisions, within the constraints of the field, which she believed would give her the most capital within the boundaries set by those with more power in the field:

I decided early to try as much as possible to carefully observe during my observation days and try to do as she told me. That seemed to help a lot in terms of avoiding tension between us the two teachers (TE, 15/09/11).

Realising the pressure her supervising teacher was under and trying to juggle the demands of the university with being accommodating, Elela manoeuvred, yet still asserted her professional identity and equal footing, referring to “*us two teachers*”. This might not have been her classroom, but she was still a teacher. This strategising became more difficult in 2012. Feeling more confident about her teaching of phonics, Elela wanted to implement the THRASS programme taught at Wits, but the supervising teacher, “*thought it would confuse the children as she does not use it*” (TE, 07/05/12). Elela justified the THRASS programme in her journal twice after that incident, emphasising its value, and with that asserting the cultural capital she had acquired:

I met a challenge explaining how not to include similar sounds...that's when I realised that Thrass can be more useful in helping learners understand these similar sounds by locating them appropriately (TE, 07/05/12).

My problem though was explaining how the children will know how to differentiate which sound is appropriate for a given word. I realise that this could be solved by using Thrass to locate words according to sound” (TE, 08/05/12).

Elela’s strategising continued and she became increasingly confident in teaching phonics, which she had never used in Limpopo.

On her final TE, Elela was treated with disdain by her supervising teacher. She was not shown where she could keep her personal things safe “*so I found a corner in the classroom and put my things there*” (TE, 10/09/12). She was also not given a seat, so stood all day. On her third day, she described how she adapted by walking around the class helping learners with their work, choosing to assert her teacher identity rather than standing idly by, “*But I was not free because I did not understand what she [the teacher] was doing*” (TE, 12/09/12). Elela felt anxious as she tried to juggle the demands of an assessment task that had been set by the university which she needed to complete on TE and a supervising teacher who was uncommunicative and who did not allow her to do what was necessary for the successful implementation of the task. Her TE journal was used as an outlet for her frustrations, albeit in a restrained and professional manner. Elela was perceptive and sensitive

and tried to think the best of her supervising teacher but was obstructed at every turn. The difficulties she experienced with her supervising teacher emphasised the importance of the role of others in the field in fostering confidence as illustrated in this extract:

I can see she [supervising teacher] means no harm, its just her personality. I know this because whatever I say she agrees fast, even before hearing me out. But then she does something else... When I am about to teach she comes and suggest that I do other topics which I did not prepare for (TE, 12/09/12).

Elela honestly reflected on the challenges of this lack of capital and her writing was filled with emotion and frustration. She vacillated from one choice to another as she weighed up her options in her writing. Her positive disposition was evident in the midst of her emotional turmoil, “*But maybe tomorrow things will improve*” (TE, 12/09/12), and “*So I will just try to make what I have work, however way it will work*” (TE, 13/09/12).

Elela chose to be proactive and discussed the challenges she faced with the Head of Department (HOD) who explained that the Wits students had come to the school at an inconvenient time. Elela’s struggles remained as she fretted over how to comply with the demands of being a student, having to fulfil the assessment task set, and at the same time being a teacher in a space which was not her own.

In the centre of all this confusion, Elela found something positive to hold onto in relation to her teaching, “*It seemed like I touched a small angry boy who is sometimes so violent*” (TE, 13/09/12). And most significantly, what she used to reach this child, was to help him realise how writing could be used as an outlet for one’s feelings:

When I said that a diary can be like a friend whom you can share even the emotions that frustrates you I saw him paying more attentions with improved interest. I adviced in the lesson that if you have a diary nobody should read it without your permission, even parents. So even if you are frustrated with them and sometimes are angry with them you can tell it to the diary in the form of writing instead of hurting in silence. He came to me afterwards and told me he wants to write one.

The fact that Elela had used writing as an outlet for her own emotions and that this helped her overcome them, allowed her to recognise the value of writing as a tool for

self-expression. This realisation enabled her to pass the affordances of writing on to a little boy who seemed to have no release for his anger, and the effect this had on her was profound, *“Today I had the satisfaction of seeing children produce something I know they learn from me and nobody else”* (TE, 17/09/12). She described how she had worked step by step with the learners, helping and motivating them to write a diary, *“A lesson I had never done before in my life... I never thought I could enjoy reading children’s writing like that”* (TE, 17/09/12). Her identity as a teacher of literacy was enhanced in this moment of epiphany as she passed on the new literacy practices she had learnt.

Elela reflected deeply on how far she had come on her long journey to becoming a different kind of teacher to the one she had been prior to this intervention:

I realise that hard work pays. I was a teacher long before I came to Wits. However, it is only now that I really feel connected to and responsible for my teaching. When my students become successful because of something that I taught I really feel some sense of achievement and satisfaction. Where I would have lately blamed on other people, e.g. that children were not serious, parents are irresponsible and do not help or blamed the Department for changing curriculums without training us, I realise now that I feel like I am directly responsible too for their learning and want my children to be successful (TE, 20/09/12).

She credited planning, preparation and being asked to assess carefully whether learning had happened or not with this development. Elela also recognised how she had learnt to be more reflective on her teaching, and how she was more able to identify her strengths and weaknesses instead of blaming others. The fact that she had learnt to face difficulties was something else she pinpointed as contributing to her development as a teacher. She was able to reflect on the type of teacher she used to be and to recognise how far she had come:

Before I came to Wits I realised that my children learnt very little. I just let them read, dictated some words to them, and let them transcribe sentences. I know I had to integrate other subjects, but I did not know how to do it. I did try to do the best I could, but could not teach the way I do now (TE, 27/09/12).

The third major section of this chapter has focused on three participants, Shiluva, Motle and Elela. It has tracked their journey as teachers of literacy over four years spent at Wits. It has shown that a necessary aspect to changing the teachers-students’ embodied practices was for them to become aware of what they were

doing unconsciously. The three participants showed different levels of adaptation or resistance to change and these were related to their awareness and reflective abilities. Shiluva and Elela were both attentive to the discontinuities they experienced in the new field, and it was this which enabled change. However, Motle's perceptions and appreciations were so durably inculcated that she was less attentive and reflective in relation to her teaching practices. For her, it was the fear of not being "good" and "responsible" that concealed alertness to the discontinuities between what was expected at Wits and how she taught in Limpopo. This inattention constricted options for Motle's transformation.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the second and third research questions:

- Does the way that the teacher-students *talk/write* about and *do* literacy change over the course of their four years at Wits?
- How does literate habitus connect to the teacher-students' espoused and observed literacy teaching practices?

The data has shown that the participants spoke about, wrote about and enacted literacy differently over the four-year intervention. The findings have shown that being exposed to new literacy practices had an impact on the teacher-students' personal reading and writing as well as their academic reading and writing. The study has also shown how enacting literacy in new ways allowed the participants to become aware of the possibilities offered by these new literacy practices.

In addition, the data analysis has provided an understanding of the conditions necessary for the participants' literacy habitus to change. It has revealed that choices made as to whether to enact literacy in new ways or not depended on three factors, namely, the participants' perception of the capital inherent in the practices, their feelings about the new practices and their attentiveness to the discontinuities between the old ways of enacting and valuing literacy and the new. It has shown that participants who recognised possibilities for the acquisition of capital in engaging in the literacy practices, made the choice to participate in these and that this was transforming. The findings have demonstrated how the participants' feelings of fear and other negative feelings could be constraining. The findings have indicated how these feelings were often related to the participants' sense of agency and their

perception of how much capital they had. Thirdly, the participants needed to be aware of the discontinuities between their embodied, ingrained ways of being literate and the new ways they were being made aware of. More than this, there needed to be a desire to change, and this desire came from being made aware of the possibilities that opened up by doing literacy differently. What is important is to emphasise that it was the combination of these aspects, and how they worked together which resulted in a possible shift in the participants' literate habitus.

Having examined the importance of a rupture in or of fields on literate habitus in this chapter, Chapter Six turns to a close examination of the effect of the four-year journey on two participants. It presents their in-depth stories as 'analytic narratives' tracking the development of their literate habitus and examining the complexity and nuances of their participation in the B.Ed. programme at WSoE.

Chapter Six: Two Analytic Narratives

“I have walked that long road to freedom. I have tried not to falter; I have made mistakes along the way. But I have discovered the secret that after climbing a great hill, one only finds that there are many more hills to climb” (Mandela, 1994: 617).

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I focus on the four-year journey that two participants, Kganya and Ntsako, took during their time at Wits. I present their stories as ‘analytic narratives’ in which I try to reveal these participants as embodied human beings, telling their personal stories. Academic research tends to reduce participants to being objects of analysis and in dealing with a large group of participants; it has been difficult to present a rounded picture of the individuals involved. Chapter Four dealt broadly with 22 participants in relation to the literate habitus they brought with them to Wits, and in Chapter Five, the focus began by examining the impact of the field on the personal and academic literacies of 20 research participants (excluding Kganya and Ntsako). Chapter Five, Section 5.4, then narrowed to discuss three participants, namely, Shiluva, Motle and Elela and their personal writing and reading as well as their writing about their teaching of literacy. All of the participants in this study changed in varying ways as a result of being at Wits, and this chapter focuses, in particular, on the shifts in capital in the lives of Kganya and Ntsako and how this, in turn, translated into shifts in their literate habitus.

These two women acquired institutional capital when in July 2013 they attended a graduation ceremony, and walked away with certificates officially indicating that they had a B.Ed. degree from Wits University. I examine the other outcomes of this journey as I consider the complexity and nuances of their participation in the B.Ed. programme.

6.2 Kganya – ***“For the sake of the innocent young lives, who are eager to learn, I will do my best”***

Kganya was an elegant, articulate 39-year-old whose home language was Sepedi. She also spoke Afrikaans. She brought her family with her to Gauteng and settled her four daughters into a school in Johannesburg. Kganya took her role as a parent seriously and so was pleased that she was able to continue her support of them and

her involvement in their lives while she was studying. Being with them during her winter holidays was described as:

... a wonderful time to spend quality time with family...I took my children to school every morning; managed to attend a closing ceremony where my daughter was elected a leader. I also had a chat with their educators and discussed their school progress' (EJ, 26/06/09).

In this extract it was evident that Kganya considered it important for parents to be involved in their child's education, specifically in daily interaction, attending school functions and working with the teacher to support the child's progress.

Kganya grew up with an illiterate mother and the only book she remembered seeing in her home as a child was the bible. She never went to a library while living in Limpopo and did not remember much enjoyment in reading and writing when she was young, *"I do not have memories that are vivid and interesting about reading. Maybe that is the reason I see reading as a 'duty' I read when I 'have to' and mainly for academic reasons"* (LJ, 2). She also had no memory of writing creatively and described the limitations of her own learning of literacy, *"nevertheless, we managed to acquire literacy in this manner and we are better off than learners of today who are unable to read and write"* (EJ, 28/04/09). Despite the limits of her literate capital Kganya was aware that she was in a better position than the learners she taught.

Despite the limitations, Kganya matriculated at the age of 16 and did well enough to be admitted to the University of Limpopo to study Pharmacy. Her parents, however, could not afford the R1000 deposit needed to secure her place at the university. Nevertheless, Kganya had some social capital, a relative who was a lecturer at the local teacher training college and he persuaded her to study teaching there as he was able to assist with funding owing to the position he held at the college. This helped her to overcome the lack of economic capital which stood in the way of her tertiary study. She grudgingly went to study teaching, but over time realised that teaching was her true passion. The objective conditions of the field and the limited capital she had, forced her into a career not of her choosing. Still, Kganya made the most of this situation, in fact more than that, she felt satisfied. Her first TE brought to mind the reasons why she loves teaching:

As I have been a teacher for a long time now, this day has reminded me of my learners and colleagues back at home – Limpopo teaching is a fulfilling job, seeing those young lives who are eager to learn, they put their trust in the teacher and it made me not regret to be in this profession (KM, TE, 19/05/09).

Kganya showed resilience in overcoming the original economic constraints she faced and became a competent and motivated teacher. It was her desire to change young lives and to honour the trust of her learners that resulted in her sense of fulfilment. She pursued this career and taught for 19 years prior to coming to upgrade her skills at Wits. She taught, at various times, Grades 1, 4, 5, 6 and 7. A thread running through her journals was a reminder to the reader and herself of her identity as an experienced teacher, the capital she had gained, for example, *“As I am a Grade 1 teacher”* (17/05/11), *“After so many years of teaching...”* (19/05/11), *“As a qualified teacher for many years in foundation phase...”* (14/09/11), *“As a practising teacher I know...”* (17/09/12) and *“Here we are some of us with more than eighteen years of teaching experience to try and improve our knowledge”*. This last sentence is tinged with some embarrassment and a sense of inadequacy at the necessity of having to learn more at WSoE. It seems that being at Wits and discovering that her capital was not easily transferable, she needed to assert it throughout her writing.

6.2.1 Developing personal literate habitus

Kganya’s literate habitus was strongly entrenched and even in adulthood while living in Limpopo she did not read for fun or relaxation. Even though her husband used to read newspapers regularly at home she never felt tempted to do so herself, *“I would not even one page”*. Her strong Christian faith motivated her to read religious books and this influenced her use of her mobile phone as she subscribed to a daily bible verse which she found encouraging. Reading Christian and self-help books was common among the teacher-students and the values of self-sacrifice and service, important to many of them, were reinforced in these books. Some of the participants were socialised into a belief system that viewed cultural capital as needing to be in line with the values of their religious world view (Wilson, 2012). This was also true in Kganya’s life and her literate habitus was affected by her faith.

During her first year at Wits, Kganya’s use of reading began to shift marginally and she started reading a newspaper daily, discussing the articles with her husband, who visited from Limpopo regularly. She also warmed to the idea of writing in the English

Reflective journal regularly and it appeared to be through doing this often that she began to experience this kind of writing positively, for example, *“the writing in the journal is building towards my self-image, self-esteem and confidence. I enjoy writing about myself and also about issues”* (EJ, 04/08/09). Kganya still, however, had a functionally-orientated view of the importance of literacy as she saw its value lying in self-improvement.

Her style of writing in her English journal was honest, open and almost confessional as she articulated concerns she felt about personal issues, teaching and studying. Kganya wrote these entries with an awareness of her lecturer as a reader and the anticipated response inspired her. She was also open to the influence of those around her and learnt a “feel for the game” (Bourdieu, 1990:66) in the field in this way. Kganya’s disposition was such that she was motivated by the hard work and the attitudes of others around her, but equally, she was influenced negatively by unprofessional attitudes as is discussed in Section 6.2.2. She also became conscious of the amount of effort the lecturer took in responding to all entries and found this encouraging:

I have to confess that initially it [journal writing] was a burden. I only waited for the last minute and just wrote for the sake of submission. You put aside time to read and comment in each and every journal and that has motivated me. If you can read all, then I can write one (EJ, 04/08/09).

Kganya recognised that this genre of writing had a dual audience, her lecturer and herself. She addressed me, the reader, directly demonstrating her awareness of the required style for the genre, using the text-user role appropriately (Freebody & Luke, 1990). She also addressed herself, *“I am eager to see my results for English. When are they coming out? Patience, girl, next week is not that far!”* (EJ, 13/07/09). Her style was suitably informal and revealed her recognition that this space was different from writing an academic essay, *“Wow!!! Mid-year exams are over... Enough about exams, there is life after exams”* (EJ, 18/6/09). She played with ideas and language making use of an extended metaphor, displaying some enjoyment in writing, *“You are welcome to use my journal for your research. I hope it will be a pleasant journey, buckle up and relax as I take you to places you have never been before”* (EJ, 04/08/09). There was agency in this metaphor as well, as she represented herself as a leader in this journey taking the reader into new experiences.

For relaxation Kganya escaped from everyday life into the fictional world of TV soaps, “*I hide in soaps*” (EJ, 21/07/09). She became so involved in the lives of the characters, screaming at them and crying with them that her husband became jealous of her attachment! During her first year, she moved towards transferring this meaning-maker or text-participant role (Freebody & Luke, 1990) from visual texts to printed texts. When she responded in her journal to articles she had read she related them to her own life. For example, she read a newspaper article about parenting, “*The author of this article challenged my way of parenting...I reflected on my way of dealing with crisis or situations at home*” (EJ, 13/07/09). Kganya discussed this in some detail in her journal, recounting the article, but also raising questions, “*Do we become over protective or lenient*” (EJ, 13/07/09), and this revealed how the article had helped her rethink her parenting style:

Now as a mother raising four daughters, can I allow them to explore things by themselves in this cruel and scary world? NO! But I believe that through teachings and most importantly the relationship I have with tem, will help

She played with writing, using different print styles like capital letters and exclamation marks, to reflect emotion, for example, “NO!” This demonstrated that Kganya had access to and interacted with a variety of texts. This access resulted in her using them meaningfully to reflect on her own experiences in relation to the information in the text. She also interrogated the facts, recognising how this particular text had influenced her way of thinking about parenting, a strategy of the text-analyst role (Freebody & Luke, 1990). However, this reading did not stray far from the principle of reading as serving a functional purpose and her reaction to what she had read, was to focus on the informative and how this could be applied to her role as a mother.

In her English class, she encountered another new genre, a drama script, ‘*Love, Crime and Johannesburg*³⁹’, which, at first, put her off because of the “*swearing words and vulgar words*” (EJ, 25/07/09). This objection reflected her habitus which was infused by principled values, but she was willing to move beyond her initial dislike to engage meaningfully with the text at a text-analyst level (Freebody & Luke, 1990). Kganya consciously questioned the meanings in the text, articulated the

³⁹ Purkey, M. (2000). *Love, Crime and Johannesburg*. Junction Avenue Theatre Company. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

views portrayed and realised how this drama conveyed views on important societal issues and challenged stereotypes:

I have a feeling that the authors want to portray Queenie as incapable of managing the police. The issue of affirmative action is questioned here. Queenie got the job not on merit, but because she is a woman...The song that says 'When will the woman police govern?' suggests the gender issue and males are not satisfied to be the subordinate of females (EJ, 25/07/09).

As a result, as Kganya became exposed to different ways of reading and writing, her literate habitus shifted and the experience was generative of some new ways of thinking, perceiving and acting in relation to literacy. From the outset, she had shown a critical, reflexive and questioning stance. For example, in a focus group in 2010, while other participants positively described the *Breakthrough to Literacy* intervention that had been introduced in Limpopo schools, she critiqued its limitations, "*The problem is... if you don't do your work as a teacher your children will memorise the words, they won't know the letters*" (FG, 05/03/10). She turned this critical gaze on herself and then also on the teachers and teaching in Limpopo.

6.2.2 Developing identity as a professional teacher of literacy

Kganya had a number of 'Aha moments' which impacted her identity as a teacher and contributed to incremental shifts in the way she thought about teaching literacy. She described an epiphany (Rowsell, 2008) in her first year at Wits when reading an article about parents queuing all night to enlist their children at a particular school in Johannesburg. This article reminded her of the first school she had taught at, "*Every parent in a community and the surrounding communities brought their children to this school*" (EJ, 31/07/09). Soon after that, she went to teach at another school where "*there was no education at all*". She taught at Grade 4 level and the children could neither read nor write, so she spent extra time trying to help them but became demotivated because she realised that by the time these learners went on to the higher grades, all the hard work was lost because "*there was no effective teaching. Lack of commitment towards our career and lack of passion contribute to this poor teaching. I eventually joined the team – if you can't beat them, join them*" (EJ, 31/07/09).

Kganya showed how she was affected by others in the field; the lack of responsibility amongst her colleagues resulted in her own apathy. The choice she made to join her

colleagues in their unprofessional and passionless teaching was a way of finding similarity rather than difference, of fitting in with the rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1991) rather than resisting them. Others in the field had regulated her behaviour so that she strategised to conform. Looking back, she felt regret at betraying the trust of the learners, *“If I was given a second chance to go back to that school, I would do things differently. For the sake of the innocent young lives, who are eager to learn, I will do my best”* (EJ, 31/07/09).

Kganya reflected on the Limpopo classrooms and critiqued them in the light of her experiences at Wits. This critique was a common theme in her discussions and her journals throughout her four years at WSoE. Her evaluations were scathing and focused on the teachers’ lack of professionalism but also acknowledged her own complicity in the lack of effort in teaching reading and writing. It was not clear whether she was as aware of this while being in Limpopo, however, outside of the familiar field, Kganya seemed to feel confident and empowered enough to comment strongly on what she recognised as being problematic in the teaching of literacy in her community. This critique was important in the continuing development of her teacher identity.

The first issue she dealt with in her critical assessment of literacy teaching in Limpopo was that it was associated with rules, regulation, performance and achievement. Teachers lacked accountability and masked the truth to officials and themselves, which for Bourdieu (1990) would be an example of misrecognition. Being in schools in Johannesburg opened her eyes increasingly to the ways in which Limpopo teachers subverted government attempts at regulation. This resistance took a number of forms. For example, in preparing for tests teachers, *“cheat by giving learners answers”* (KL, EJ, 20/04/09) or *“practice the test with children...giving them the correct answers”* (EI, 2012), and so did not give the learners embodied literate capital perhaps because the teachers did not have the necessary capital to do so themselves. There is a possibility that teachers resisted the ‘symbolic imposition’ (Bourdieu, 1991:72) of external testing because they felt powerless. Blommaert (2008b:439) submits that the “regimented nature of what goes on in schools privileges those who are mainstream”. In schools in Limpopo, where the teachers themselves were not ‘mainstream’, any attempt to regulate became problematic as they attempted to come to grips with frameworks put in place by national government

which did not ‘fit’ with their own meaning-making let alone those of the learners in their classrooms. These attempts by government appeared to constrain rather than empower.

It was the government’s increasing attempts to control quality and “steering via grids of performativity” (Luke, 2008:84) that lead to teachers Kganya described as being “masters of disguise” (KL, EI, 2012). The disguise strategies that Kganya portrayed were elaborate:

On the surface it looks like we are doing what the curriculum advisers want. Our files are neat, you will be so impressed. If we know that a curriculum advisor is coming, we spend a whole day devoted to making children quickly copy down what they are meant to have done so that we have everything in order (EI, 2012).

Another strategy, even more so:

Never trust those results. When the actual test is written some teachers divide the children into groups and put up on the board sets of answers. Some of them have all the correct answers and one group is asked to put in those answers, another set of answers has a few incorrect answers. There is no real learning taking place (EI, 2012).

These tests had the effect of further distancing reading and writing in the schools as described by Kganya, as teachers focused on copying for display rather than real learning (Fleisch, 2012; Hendricks, 2006). In zones of social activity where embodied ways of being literate focused on performance and display, these attempts at regulation served to reinforce these patterns rather than to develop new ways of enacting literacy. What looked like providing accountability was a polished veneer of ‘achievement’, which was a sham. These actions, however, perpetuated a cycle of non-achievement feigning attainment.

Where conditions in the social fields did not enable the acquisition of embodied capital, or the curriculum was too confusing, teachers resorted to “hiding” the truth from themselves and officials:

Teachers generally see the new curriculum as too much work. We hide behind group work while individual learners with learning problems are left behind. The continuous assessment in a large group of learners is not practiced [sic] and learners are promoted to next grades because we know we did not do enough to teach those learners. We want to look good. One thing we don’t want to be is accountable. We sugar coat everything. We are killing those kids (EI, 2012).

Being in urban schools offered Kganya the opportunity to reflect on professionalism generally, and on her own more specifically, in the light of the Gauteng teachers she observed. She noticed the dedication of her supervising teacher on her first TE, *“Mrs R is dedicated to teaching these young ones”* (TE, 07/09/09). Kganya also commented on the teacher’s drive, *“The teacher is energetic and learners are kept meaningfully busy all day”* (TE, 19/05/09). Kganya contrasted this professionalism and time management with her experience in Limpopo, *“Time is respected. There are no social visits of teachers which I think is what we (Limpopo) need to work on. Contact time is used to the benefit of the child”* (TE, 22/05/09); *“In Limpopo starting times are not adhered to but knock-off time is adhered to and social visits are a norm”* (TE, 18/09/09). The fact that she noticed the importance of time management, revealed shifts in her thinking about professionalism.

Kganya’s observations revealed her growing professional identity. In Limpopo, she followed the crowd but being in Gauteng schools confirmed for her what it meant to be an effective teacher and how her ‘sense of self’ fitted in with the larger context (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009). It seemed that in Limpopo, she was an outsider in her home community (Lee & Cramer, 2012). Kganya did not fit in because she wanted to behave differently. She encountered practices on her visits to a number of schools in Johannesburg that confirmed how her inclinations were correct:

I learnt and observed how other teachers are committed to their work. I know I am committed also to what I do, but I felt empowered to do more and be more committed to my work (TE, 05/09).

She found a home for her habitus where her identity as a professional teacher was affirmed and her desire to do her best for the children was recognised as legitimate. This realisation brought about transformation in habitus that linked to her position in the field. In Johannesburg, she was a student, not a peer of the teachers she encountered and so she was positioned for change.

6.2.3 Going back to Limpopo on TE

Kganya went back to Limpopo to her old school for TE in September 2010. She arrived with institutional recognition (Bourdieu, 1986) by virtue of being a student at Wits, *“Most teachers were so eager to know what we are doing at Wits. They are so interested to know what will happen to us as the new curriculum is on the way”* (TE, 07/09/10). What was notable was that her colleagues focused on policy and Kganya

demonstrated how she recognised that what she was learning at Wits was deeper than that, that she was learning much that was applicable in a wider learning context:

I explained that, we are not specifically focussing on the NCS⁴⁰ and LO⁴¹s but we are equipped to teach under any curriculum. We are taught how to teach concepts in such a way that children are able to understand and thus applying the knowledge to real life situations (TE, 07/09/10).

What was valued as embodied capital amongst her colleagues was knowledge of how to deal with each new curriculum and the specifics and details of these. Kganya showed metacognitive understanding, as she clarified for these teachers what she was learning and exhibited her awareness of her own knowledge and the differences between her colleagues' expectations and the reality of what she had gained.

6.2.4 The teaching of reading and writing

Kganya increasingly scrutinised how writing and reading were taught in Limpopo during her time at Wits. She linked the dearth of resources resulting from a lack of economic capital with certain approaches to teaching and valuing literacy. For example, writing practice in Limpopo classrooms was limited by the lack of resources. Worksheets were described by Kganya as a *"luxury" and are used for assessment only and for putting into the learner's portfolio in Limpopo*", whereas she observed that *"in schools in Gauteng the children write on worksheets every day"* (TE/05/09). The focus of writing in Limpopo schools appeared to be on neatness, correctness and display. Interestingly, Kganya's own TE journals were extremely neat in appearance; there was a sense that she was presenting a final product and her habitus of perfection and performance was instantiated in this text (Pahl, 2008).

Kganya's TE journals were written in colour, different paragraphs written in different coloured pens in a surprisingly immature way, despite Kganya's intelligence and sophistication. This reflected aspects of her disposition to writing and the magnetic pull which emphasised outward show as a criterion for assessment. On the other hand, at Wits, Kganya had come to understand that her teaching of writing in the past did not allow for the fact that meaning was embedded in writing. For example, *"I taught writing mainly in grammar lessons and handwriting. Creative writing was not*

⁴⁰ National Curriculum Statement, the new curriculum statement introduced in 2003 to replace the OBE-rooted Curriculum 2005 (Bloch, 2009, p.103).

⁴¹ Learning Outcomes

emphasised therefore limiting the children to develop their creative writing. Children were denied to develop independent writing and thinking” (EI, 2012). In the light of what she had experienced at Wits, Kganya could look back critically on her teaching as indicated in the use of the negative, “*not*” and the word “*denied*”. She identified what should have been taught, namely, creativity and independent thinking and writing. The fact that she was able to articulate this, showed that she had understood the contrast between her past teaching practices and what she could change in the future.

Kganya realised retrospectively how her teaching of reading had relied on memorisation rather than on ensuring that learners understood a concept before moving on to the next, “*It is important to ask questions and allow for individual responses. Choral responses might be deceiving*” (TE, 05/05/11). She often contrasted teaching in Limpopo to what she observed in classrooms in Gauteng, “*Choral drills are seldom done but children are rather made to repeat lessons. The teacher also uses questions to re-enforce concepts of understanding*” (11/05/11). Kganya emphasised how she had begun to realise that it was important not to “*hide*” behind choral answers and group work. It was evident, though, that the “tug of habitus” (Ingram, 2011) was so strong that she slipped into old ways despite this claim. Although consciously she was able to articulate a changed attitude, her literate habitus, operating “below the threshold of reflexive consciousness” (Bourdieu, 1990:116) influenced her to teach a poem using chanting as her university tutor pointed out, “*Was it necessary to get them all to chant the poem together?*” (TO), 12/05/11).

Kganya acknowledged that reading was not done regularly in Limpopo because of objective conditions of the field, resulting in the inadequate access to books, whereas “*Reading activities is a serious business in Gauteng*” (TE, 09/09). The focus of her teaching used to be on fluency, the code-breaker role (Freebody & Luke, 1990), and none of the other roles of the reader appeared to have been focused on, “*I used to teach reading separately focusing on phonics and fluency but ignoring the main aspect of reading – meaning*” (EI, 2012). When she returned to Limpopo on TE in September, 2010, she tried out new ways of teaching reading in FAL English. Kganya described patiently using pictures to help the learners to read in English, “*I also used flashcards and learners could read and had to write the words in their*

dictionaries” (TE, 08/09/10). What was noteworthy in her account was, that although she was in an environment where resources were scarce, she was empowered enough to create suitable teaching aids as she had been exposed to what was possible on her course and on previous TEs. She had been shown teaching aids which she had not seen before and now could envisage what was worth doing and creating for herself.

Kganya increasingly appreciated a number of things about reading that she saw in action in Gauteng schools. Kganya observed how children read “*enthusiastically*” (TE, 11/05/11) and regularly as well as how reading was being “*made an integral part of their learning process*” (TE, 11/05/11). She found these observations appealing and anticipated going home to Limpopo and “doing” reading in alternative ways, “*I am going to adopt this method of teaching to improve reading skills in my classroom*” (TE, 11/05/11). Previously, she had not known anything different and so could not imagine how to motivate her learners to read; nor could she imagine the necessity of doing so. It was because she had been presented with different ways of being literate that she could anticipate doing things differently.

6.2.5 Relating to the supervising teacher

Being placed in a position of learning from another teacher, sometimes younger and less experienced than themselves, was experienced in various ways by the individual participants in this study. The relationship with the supervising teacher was an important part of their experiences during TE, and Kganya was open to it and adjusted her identity accordingly. In 2009, during both TE periods completed at the same school, she described her supervising teacher, Mrs R, as “*welcoming and approachable, readily gives advices and honest opinions*” (TE, 18/05/09), and “*I am privileged to have Mrs R as my ‘mentor’. I learn a lot from her everyday*” (TE, 08/09/09). In 2010, Kganya faced a dilemma, which was common for the teacher-students on TE, that of having to follow a programme set by another teacher. The classroom on TE was not Kganya’s own space and she had restricted power to improvise and experiment.

These classrooms were zones of social activity (Little, 2011) where both the teacher-students and the supervising teachers struggled for power and position. This was complicated by the fact that the teacher-students were positioned as students and

yet, were experienced teachers themselves. 'Students' were expected to be compliant in the social spaces on TE, fitting in with the expectations of the supervising teachers (Flores & Day, 2006). This requirement was so much more difficult for the participants in this study who tried to sustain their own ways of teaching. Kganya was aware of this but viewed the situation through the lens of her habitus (Lehmann, 2007) which led her to be more accepting and positive than some of the other participants. She was confident and assertive and so was able to view these challenges as a positive learning experience. Her attitude was one of seeing possibilities within the restrictive context:

I get an amazing support from my supervising teacher. The only challenge I face is that they follow a 'set' programme which makes me to follow the programme also... It is not a problem though, because I get advise of how to do activities from the teacher (TE, 22/04/10).

Some supervising teachers interrupted the teacher-students while they were teaching, taking over the lesson which Kganya saw as helpful, unlike other participants who found it demeaning and humiliating. In 2011, she described such an incident when she was teaching literacy and writing sentences on the board:

I have thought I did enough to drill the sentences but the supervising teacher assisted me. She took over and guided learners to repeat the sentences. It was really informative. I like the way she prompted answers out of the learners" (TE, 09/05/11).

Although Kganya had to concede that her teaching might not have been 'good enough' in the eyes of the teacher, she viewed this experience as an opportunity to learn. Her writing revealed the contrast between the "drills" she was doing and the "prompting of answers" from the supervising teacher, though this was not overtly discussed. Kganya demonstrated an awareness of new "ways of doing" literacy teaching that she was observing. She was also prepared to subsume her identity as a professional and to take on the role of student because she could see the advantages and the embodied cultural capital she was gaining as a result.

However, there were difficulties in this and there was a noteworthy glimpse into some resistance to being treated as a 'student' rather than a professional in 2011:

Well, it has been an interesting day. In the morning all student[s] teachers were called to the office (principal) to be reprimanded. We were warned about late comings, neglecting playground duties and just sitting in the classroom

without helping out....Our tutor Mrs M came for a visit. She explained further what is expected of 'us' as students (KM, TE, 16/09/11).

The restraint in the introduction to this entry was countered by the emotive words “reprimanded” and “warned”. Kganya’s feelings about her identity as a “student teacher” were hinted at by the phrase “student[s] teachers” and some opposition to the label was indicated by Kganya putting ‘us’ in inverted commas. She was an experienced teacher and there were hints of her defiance in reaction to the reprimand by both the principal and the university tutor. She was aware of the duality of her identity as a professional and as a student and appeared to surrender to it but not without a sense of irony in her account of this “interesting day”.

6.2.6 Relating to the learners

There were two key themes evident in Kganya’s descriptions of her relationship with learners, namely, discipline and the interaction between teachers and learners in Gauteng classrooms. One of the issues Kganya thought most deeply about was discipline and how she, as a teacher of Foundation Phase learners could implement it. She tended to equate noise with ill-discipline:

There was an element of noise which I did not take it as conducive to learning. Most of the time, the learners were talking randomly which I considered inappropriate. At this stage I expect them to be well-mannered and responsible (TE, 20/05/09).

Kganya also became more aware of the difference between learners being in a safe space as opposed to being in an atmosphere of fear. Summing up her experience on her first TE under the heading ‘Classroom atmosphere’, she wrote:

Learners are not threatened at all. There is no corporal punishment evident, but alternative means of discipline are used. Unlike the schools I taught, I used to take a stick to keep discipline which worked in a way. What I have realised is that learners were scared and that hampered their learning (TE, 05/09).

Despite corporal punishment not being allowed in schools in South Africa, this had been the way discipline had been implemented in schools for many years, particularly in rural schools (Motala & Pampallis, 2005). Kganya was used to asserting her authority using a stick to reproduce disciplined subjects. On TE, her eyes were opened to alternative ways of disciplining such as “positive reinforcement” (TE, 28/04/10) and she realised that discipline practices could be done differently to

good effect, for example, *“The learners respond well to the giving of stars/stickers and appreciation”* (TE, 28/04/10). The discontinuity she encountered triggered innovation because choices were opened up to her which were different from what she had known previously (Wacquant, 2006).

This development did not happen without a struggle and this was reflected in her TE journals:

Had a great day, I am better at using different discipline strategies. There are still elements of misbehaviour but generally, learners behave well (TE, 02/09/09).

Kganya recorded gradual changes in her discipline techniques. The use of *“better”* implied an understanding of the need to work on this even more. There was also evidence of an evolving habitus, and even a “cleft” habitus (Bourdieu, 2007) as she struggled to overcome the old ways of disciplining learners. For example, on TE during May 2010, Kganya conducted a lesson in which she, at the urging of her university tutor, tried to be creative using group work and a role-play about pirates and treasure. The university tutor’s comments on the observation form were positive, but pointed out that noise was ‘allowed’, *“The group work was excellent and the learners participated eagerly. Remember this is a fun lesson, they are allowed to make a noise”* (TO, 06/05/10). In her TE journal, Kganya did not discuss the discipline issues involved in this lesson but measured its success by the excitement of the children. This revealed a modification in her thinking about noise, learning and discipline.

There was a definite change in Kganya’s thinking about discipline during her four years at Wits as reflected in her TE journals. For example, she began to recognise that learning could be noisy. Describing a numeracy lesson in which the learners were working in groups creating shopping lists, she commented, *“The children were talking and discussing as a group. They were noisy but this did not bother me a lot because it was constructive noise”* (KL, TE, 22/09/11). Her description of noise as “constructive” emphasised the change in her attitude. However, this was not always the case as in September 2012, she revealed how she battled to control the class during group work, *“I cannot work and concentrate with the focus group when there is so much talking. This led to trying to calm the groups and at the same time*

ignoring the group on the carpet" (TE, 13/09/12). She was obviously struggling to strike a balance between constructive and disruptive noise. This came to the fore particularly in group work, which was something she was not comfortable with using as yet. Despite these struggles, she persevered, trying out different strategies, revealing that she was committed to group work, *"The children like to work in these group activities, so I will not take the fun away as I know that the noise is not always disruptive"* (17/09/12). Her use of *"will not"* emphasised her determination to make learning pleasurable for her learners.

Kganya also made it clear that she had changed her attitude to corporal punishment, *"One thing is for sure that I now know better that I can teach children without corporal punishment. I have been exposed to various strategies or alternatives to corporal punishment"* (TE, 20/09/12). The determination she showed in this extract *"for sure"* and *"I now"* revealed how she viewed herself as having acquired embodied capital; a repertoire of new disciplinary practices, attained at great effort.

Related to discipline was Kganya's growing awareness of how learners related to teachers differently in the Gauteng schools she visited, compared to what she was used to. As early as 2010, Kganya made explicit the contrast between her monologue teaching style with the interactive style she encountered in the new field:

The learners they can interact with the teacher they can ask questions. When I think of my learners at home mostly they'll be sitting and listening to me, they won't be asking questions that is the thing I have learnt that ... maybe when I'm teaching [I'll] try to develop these kids to interact even with each other to discussion groups because they sit in groups mainly for the sake of sitting in groups, but they don't interact that much (KL, FG, 05/03/10).

This change of teaching type became an important consideration in her TE reflections in 2011:

I find so interesting how the children asks and answers questions. The children like giving their own opinions. They participate enthusiastically in lessons and the teacher has created a warm, friendly environment where learners are free to interact with the teacher (TE, 05/05/11).

Kganya not only observed the atmosphere and how it was created, but put it into action a few days later as her university tutor comments, *"Your handling of learner responses...was good. You affirmed learner contributions and mediated understanding...you seem friendly and personable. Good as this makes you*

accessible to the learners” (TO, 12/05/11). In September 2011, she was again praised for her interaction with her learners, *“The learners were comfortable with the teacher and participated well in class”* (TO, 19/11/11). Kganya described her own lesson, a reading lesson, as being done *“in a warm and friendly environment which engages the learners in meaningful constructive learning without [their] even noticing it”* (TE, 14/09/11). She had, it seemed, made choices, perhaps consciously or maybe “below the threshold of reflexive consciousness” (Bourdieu, 1984:476) because of her desire to be a different kind of teacher to what she had been before:

I would love to have a class like this. The children must know when to talk without fear that their ‘voices’ will be underestimated. This is a result of a warm friendly environment that the teacher has established (TE, 21/09/11).

It was the discontinuity between fields that had enabled Kganya to think differently about discipline and classroom interaction. She aspired to possibilities which were unthinkable previously. At times, these changes seemed to have been pre-reflexive and unconscious while at others, her journals showed awareness as she wrote about the changes in her thinking about a classroom where learners had a voice.

6.2.7 Going home

Conway (2001:90) describes reflection as “not only about taking the long view backward in time, but also ...looking forward toward the horizon”. Bourdieu (2007) claims that our everyday actions are anticipatory and that the future is deeply embedded in the present. In examining Kganya’s journals over her time spent at Wits, there was evidence of her anticipating her future actions as a teacher of literacy in the light of her developing teaching disposition and the expectations of how this would fit in with the social space of her classroom in Limpopo. If the present contains the future (Bourdieu, 2007), it became necessary to look at how Kganya’s teaching and thinking while on TE had the potential to affect her future ways of being a literacy teacher. All of the improvisations and experiences in her teaching in schools in Gauteng should have the potential to lead a pathway to her teaching in the future. Fields are relational and the boundaries between them permeable so the “future is already inscribed in the immediate present” (Adkins, 2013:353). This notion is useful in looking at Kganya’s journey at Wits. The past, present and future were entwined in Kganya’s thinking about going back into a classroom in Limpopo.

Kganya's reflections on the changes in her personal literacy practices in her exit interview, exemplified the importance of time in contributing to these shifts, for example, *"I have improved in my reading and writing and the improvement can be attributed to the Wits B.Ed.. programme that I enrolled [in] for the past four years"* (EI, 2012). She, furthermore, indicated how the time on the B.Ed. programme had changed her academic literacy practices:

The few first months were a wake-up call that made me realise that I need to have a mind shift on how to study academically. This has not been an easy shift but due to courses that were offered at the university, I gradually understood what it means to be a student" (EI, 2012).

Kganya also noted the importance of an extended time period in changing her teaching practices:

As a practising teacher, I got used to teaching and year in and year out and repeated what I have been teaching the children...The way I teach reading and writing has changed significantly when I was doing TEs (EI, 2012).

Kganya's repeated use in her exit interview of the phrases, *"before I came to Wits"*; *"when I came to Wits"*, emphasised the role time played in the significant changes in her literate practices.

In anticipating going back to Limpopo, Kganya had hopes of being an agent of change but understood that it was going to be difficult to make a difference for a number of reasons. There were three issues she focused on, namely, the lack of resources, poorly-educated parents and her relationship with her colleagues.

Firstly, the conditions of the fields to which she would go back would not have changed much from what she had left behind:

I intend to put all the efforts in developing the children's literacy skills. There will be challenges, of course, of lack of print-rich environment because of poor family backgrounds... but this will not hamper the passion I have developed in making the classroom a print-rich environment to supplement what the children lack (EI, 12/12/12).

Although Kganya would be confronted with the same lack of resources in the field, she implied that there had been enough of a shift, so, instead of this being an excuse, she had enough agency and passion to overcome the constraints. She was able envisage what she had not been able to imagine as a possibility before.

Another unchanged condition in Limpopo would be that many of the parents of the children she taught were illiterate and the homes that her learners came from were still poor. In thinking about returning to this situation, she displayed confidence, as she anticipated prospects of doing things differently. Her language was assertive and revealed self-assurance:

I will try and involve parents in their children's education by creating a positive relationship. The parents need to know that they are the primary teachers of their children and the correct way of raising children will enhance the school (EI, 12/12/12).

Finally, she mentioned her colleagues and contemplated her relationship with them. However, there was a dual view expressed here. On the one hand, she seemed assured of the capital she had acquired:

In my quest to try and involve the fellow teachers, I will be an example, I will first involve the grade 1 teachers...I will invite teachers to see what I am doing and how I am doing it. I will also conduct meetings for teachers to discuss challenges they encounter and how to tackle them (EI, 12/12/12).

In relation to the other field members in the game, she could envisage asserting herself as being in a position of power and control as she shared what she had learnt, which facilitated the implementation of new ways of teaching. The use of “quest” emphasised her grasp that this would be a challenging pursuit of a worthwhile goal.

On the other hand, there was a realistic awareness of the realities of what awaited her. Kganya understood how difficult it would be to be an agent of change. She recalled what her peers in Limpopo had said to her previously, “*We are waiting for you guys, will you really change this education system?*” (EI, 12/12/12). This demonstrated that Kganya had accrued additional institutional and cultural capital during her four years at Wits which would be closely watched by her peers. The real test for her would be the value this capital had in the fields to which she would be returning.

Bourdieu's focus on the relational aspects of fields was evident in this discussion. Kganya's growing professional identity had been affected by being able to examine the differences in the fields she had been exposed to and been a part of and the one she had come from. She was aware of how this would result in a sense of dislocation

when going back to Limpopo. Kganya discussed how it would be easy to give up and that it would not be easy to implement change, particularly as she was the only teacher from her district who had been part of this intervention. In our last interview together, she told me that she felt stressed, *“I want to make a difference but I will be alone and it will be overwhelming”* (12/12/12). I encouraged her not to try to do too much at once and to focus on her group of learners, her space and to do her best there. We spoke about how best to approach other teachers with offers of sharing what she had learnt, without alienating them. She looked at me anxiously and repeated, *“But I am alone”* (12/12/12).

6.3 Ntsako – “My family were all teachers”

Ntsako was tall, solidly-built and dressed conservatively. The impression she gave on meeting her was of self-containment and self-control. She was a 37-year-old Xitsonga speaker but she also spoke many other languages, namely, Afrikaans, Tshivenda, Sepedi and Setswana. Ntsako came from a family of teachers. In her primary school years, she lived with her grandparents. Her grandfather was a school principal and she was taught to write by her grandmother who was also a teacher. Ntsako took particular pride in her handwriting, *“She [my grandmother] was very good in handwriting that’s why I can write beautifully”*. Like other participants, her concern was with appearance of writing, which was what defined ‘good’ writing for her. Her mother taught ABET classes and her father, also a teacher, encouraged reading by setting a timetable and checking up on her regularly. Her reading at school was also regulated by having to summarise a certain number of books for assessment. So reading and writing were not experienced as fun or creative practices, but rather as task-based performance.

She matriculated at 18 but, as indicated earlier, those who grew up in these rural communities in South Africa during Apartheid had limited choices for further study. Ntsako was persuaded to give up her dreams of being a policewoman and to follow in her father’s footsteps to become a teacher, *“He told me that teaching was risk free”* (BQ). Her father’s ‘common sense argument’ structured not only her future but reproduced the social order that was the norm in her family (Bourdieu, 1996), that of becoming a teacher. Ntsako made the most of this choice as she had no way of “un-making and re-making” (Bourdieu, 1985:734) the social world that she was a part of, except by understanding realistically what was possible or not possible because of

her position as the daughter of teachers with limited opportunities available to her. So she claimed to be happy, *“I enjoyed working as a teacher until now”* (NM, BQ). She studied for a Junior Primary Teaching Diploma at a teacher training college and also had an ACE certificate specialising in Special Needs Education from the University of Pretoria.

6.3.1 Developing personal literate habitus

Ntsako wrote only two entries in her English Reflective journal. She made the excuse of time constraints for writing so little. Her first entry in April 2009, painted a poignant picture of her community and she expressed sadness and disappointment at the conditions in the area from which she had come. Ntsako described a lack of resources, motivation and education. From a teacher’s perspective, she commented on the absence of support from parents for the work she did with the children in class, for example, *“Most parents cannot read and write so most of the learners do not have anyone at home to help them”*. However, she changed from being quite condemnatory about parents in the community in this extract, *“Some parents are too ignorant to help their children if they are able to read and write but leave every issue concerning reading and writing to the teachers”* to revealing empathy for their situation:

The lack of support and motivation from home is a big challenge – and as I understand it, it is not because of ignorance, it is just circumstances. It must be so humbling for parents to be unable to help their children. This must complicate issues a lot – I find it so sad.

There were mixed feelings reflected in her writing, namely, frustration, helplessness and sadness. This entry revealed Ntsako’s compassion as she was aware of so many who were unemployed, *“It breaks my heart to read of ‘drop outs’ and ‘failures’ sitting at homes. Each person has something valuable to contribute to the community – if only we could enable them to do so”*. The use of inverted commas around the labels given to these people suggested a refusal on her part to perpetuate these classifications. Instead, she constructed them as having value, which signaled her desire to be an agent of change.

The second entry of 27 May 2009 was about learning literacy in her mother tongue. Ntsako went into some detail about how she had learnt to read in other languages, including English. Reading aloud was focused on, for example, *“how I was to be sure*

of my pronounciations, flow and the use of punctuation marks". As with writing, the emphasis had been on form rather than comprehension, making meaning or critical thinking. Reading also happened in an atmosphere of anxiety, *"I think that fear of punishment also motivated me to continue reading"*. She described loving reading though, *"Reading more books has also increased my love for reading and I continue to grow and love reading books in my M.T. and English"*. Instead of responding to something she had read in the week as I had asked the class to do regularly, she wrote, *"I'm sorry to dissappoint you. I haven't read much this past few weeks except my Bible and school work, so I think you might find it boring"*. There was much implied in these two sentences that was revealing of her attitude to reading. Firstly, Ntsako's cognizance, and perhaps anxiety, that I might have been disappointed by her lack of reading. This was part of her literate habitus, reflecting perhaps the disappointment others had expressed in reaction to her lack of delivery in the past. While fear of punishment motivated her to read at school, there was no sense of that reflected in this extract. Instead, her sense of responsibility to me prompted her apology. She *had* actually read, academic reading and her bible, yet she did not share these readings with me. Although others in the class shared their spiritual readings, Ntsako kept this type of reading separate from what she surmised I would define as "reading". However, it could be that she found the writing of the response too much effort and that this was the excuse she was providing.

There are two major changes in how Ntsako used literacy in her personal life, firstly, in her reading of stories to her own children and, secondly, in her use of writing in her own life. She had two children, a six-year-old daughter and an 18-month-old son⁴² and in her library journal discussed how the Library Science course in 2011 had changed her understanding of reading aloud to children:

But as [my library science lecturer] started talking about the importance of reading aloud to children I thought that I was in the right place at the right time because I started reading to [my children] before bed and after some times my son know when to huff and puff in the story "The three little pigs" and it is so easy to get them to sleep. When we go shopping they are interested in books and we could sit and I read to them. I am also bonding with them and it is a very wonderful experience (LJ, Week 1).

⁴² Their ages as referred to in her 2011 Library journal

Ntsako's reflection contrasted with what was the norm in her childhood, namely, not reading until she went to school, with the shift that she had implemented in the lives of her own young children. It was the experiences in the Library Science classroom at WSoE that had initiated her into the pleasures of being read to. This practice made Ntsako attentive to new possibilities as she tried to put into action the new reading practices of which she was being made aware. She had, in the past, bought books for her daughter but, *"was waiting for her to read it on her own"* (LJ, Week 1). She now recognised the value in reading books to her children and was inspired to look for specific books which the Library Science lecturer had shared with them. Ntsako described engaging with a man, shopping in the bookshop with his son, about the book *'Where's Wally'*, and she related how he had told her that he competed with his children to find Wally. He described a playful interaction, sharing a book with his son.

Ntsako, however, slipped into habitual ways of thinking about reading as her reaction to this was to consider using the book to discipline children, reflecting the link in her literate habitus between reading and regulation. She did, however, immediately rethink this to some extent, *"although not always because all children could do something naughty so that they could go and look for Wally"* (LJ, Week 4). She was still focused on *"naughty"* behaviour and realised the implications her strategy might have had for perpetuating bad behaviour. She seemed unaware of the issues raised by using reading to punish children.

In the focus group held at the end of her time at Wits in 2012, when asked how her reading had changed during her time at university, Ntsako mentioned particularly the influence the Library Science course had had on her and how she bought three books every month as a result, one for herself and one for each of her children and, *"If I miss a month without buying I feel guilty"*. Ironically, guilt was still a dominant emotion in relation to reading. However, Ntsako regularly sought out bookshops and *"sometimes I even sit there and read"*. In this short statement, there was a suggestion of her beginning to taking some pleasure in reading.

In a focus group in 2010, Ntsako described becoming interested in the dictionary, *"Looking at those words and maybe paging through them and reading it for about thirty minutes and then I get to my work"*. She focused on the meanings of isolated

words. For her, the importance of being able to understand what she read was the overriding concern as she wrestled with academic texts:

... because for me to be able to write an assignment in this university and be successful I have to do a lot of reading and sometimes read it once and then a second time and even then a third time and so I gain more understanding and learn the words I don't understand" (FG, 02/03/10).

This was in contrast to how she used to read, *"I see a word I don't understand this word I just pass through"* (FG, 02/03/10). Ntsako appeared to be engaging actively, striving conscientiously, in reading in an attempt to make meaning, however, her procedures did seem to be rather onerous.

Ntsako also took advice willingly and tried things out. I taught the English class how to free-write as a way of generating ideas for their assignments. She described putting this into practice:

Sometimes when I said I want to write something I'll sit and stare at a space and nothing come from my mind but when you said you just do free writing something will come. I realised that it works. It just came from my mind and then I find myself writing and not stopping (FG, 02/03/10).

In the focus group in 2012, she explained how writing had become increasingly important in her personal life:

Sometimes when I'm thinking of something that's sad I will just write and write and write and then tear it and throw it in the bin. It makes me feel lighter. Especially if it's something that I wish I could forget or I wish it could go away

Ntsako's use of repetition highlighted her freely-flowing emotions as she attempted to express her pain. The metaphor used showed the relief she found in writing down her emotions in a way she had never done before. In the same focus group she explained that using writing for record keeping had become more important to her:

I have a book, a diary, where I paste things, like if I've made a payment in the bank, something important. In that way I am keeping my things safe but then before I did not like writing. So I think I am more organised than before. Even when I have to put my photos in it, like when that day it snowed in Johannesburg, I wrote the date like a diary entry.

Writing had become an important tool in Ntsako's life and this had developed unobtrusively and unconsciously. It seemed that it was only because I had asked her specifically to reflect on how her writing had changed, that she became aware of it,

for example, *“I just realise that I have changed and I was not even aware that now I’m trying to keep my things safe in writing. And now I’ve realised that I’m good”*. This highlighted that two positive emotions, confidence and security, were becoming associated with writing, in contrast to the anxiety and guilt shown earlier.

Ntsako appeared to be a doer. She did not sit back nor was she afraid to attempt new ways of acting. This was hinted at when she described her computer skills, *“I don’t have a problem with a computer. I’ve been doing it for years. If I want to learn something, I’ll just sit in front of the computer and I will not leave until I know how to do it”*. The repetition of “I” in such short succession emphasised her self-reliance and confidence. This was in marked contrast to other participants who avoided digital technology because of fear (see Chapter Five Section 5.3.2.1.).

The TE journals were examples of objectified capital and they represented an opportunity for the in-service teachers to scrutinise their teaching practices reflectively with an eye to transforming them (Ward & McCotter, 2004). Ntsako developed quite dramatically in her ability to use the journals as a reflective tool as is shown in Section 6.3.2.

6.3.2 Developing identity as a professional teacher of literacy

In May and October 2009, Ntsako went to the same suburban primary school for her first TE accompanied by Kganya and Masingita. In her TE journal, she described the differences in the buildings and facilities between the two schools and then reflected on these, by emphasising the contrasts, and indicating her realisation that conditions impacted on literacy teaching, *“Our school’s classroom has got no mat, it has a cement floor. We run short of chairs and some classes has got no tables, so learners write on their laps”* (NM, TE, 18/05/09). A few days later she made explicit how the lack of resources impacted directly on how she taught literacy:

We lack a lot of resources in a way that we find ourselves not doing some of the important things that is required for learning. We have a photocopy machine but, we usually use it during exams and during the year our children are not able to do their work on worksheets and thus we deprive them of practicing some of the skills that are important for learning (NM, TE, 21/05/09).

She recognised that the lack of objectified capital in the school was as a result of limited economic capital. For example, the school she had come from did not have

money for suitable furniture and teaching resources. For Ntsako, this lack limited the learners' acquisition of embodied cultural capital. The classroom conditions she described were 'etic' in that they were embedded in the socio-cultural context and the economic context (Bloome, 2012). It could be argued that these practicalities reflected her instructional philosophy or it could be that they actually shaped Ntsako's classroom identity and influenced her teaching. Being in an urban school provided Ntsako with the opportunity of becoming aware of differences between the fields she had come from to those she encountered on TE. She articulated these differences by making clear distinctions between the teaching in the urban schools and teaching in rural schools in terms of economic constraints which impacted on access to resources. It was unclear whether she had become aware of possibilities in this reflection. However, being removed from the game, she experienced how the game could be played differently. For example, Ntsako mentioned simple things she observed in the school in Johannesburg, namely, a library and books for all learners, shelves and cupboards, pictures and posters, noticeboards and flannel boards as well as support staff to assist the teachers. This was in contrast to the school she from which she had come where none of these resources was available and those that were, were often broken or old.

The most important thing Ntsako was able to pinpoint as changing teaching writing practices was how she adjusted from encouraging copying to allowing learners to be creative and to produce their own texts:

I've learned that the children can be creative in their own writing as long as the teacher is guiding them and motivating them and modelling the writing and they could edit their own work so with me I did not know about that – we just – I just let my children copy from the board and most of the time just fill in the word. But teaching them to be creative could just start in the first ...it's one of the most important things I have learnt (FG, 2012).

Ntsako made use of meta-language in this extract, focusing on the teacher's role in modelling and scaffolding writing. She demonstrated a new understanding of her role in facilitating writing in comparison to what she had done previously.

6.3.3 Going back to Limpopo on TE

In September 2010, Ntsako went back to Limpopo to complete her TE in a school there. She did not, however, keep her TE journal up-to-date during that time. It could

be that without the surveillance of a TE tutor⁴³ she did not feel the necessity to write regularly in her journal, as the literacy practice had not yet become embodied. There was a short report from the school on her contribution while there. The supervising teacher commented on three new things which Ntsako had brought to the school, firstly, group work. The supervising teacher wrote “*Learners were excited to work in groups*” (TO, 22/09/10) which suggested that this was not the norm for the learners. I have already discussed how teachers in rural schools generally rely on “teacher-talk” pedagogy (see Chapter One, Section 1.9.1.). The other ‘unusual’ thing that Ntsako did with the learners was to make learning ‘fun’ and to introduce “*the game parts of the lessons*” which the learners enjoyed. The third ‘new’ way of teaching identified by the supervising teacher was, “*They do not usually do worksheets and they copy from the chalkboard, so getting their own worksheets was exciting*” (TC, 22/09/10). This short observation showed that Ntsako showed agency and brought about some changes in how teaching and learning was usually done during her brief time in the school. It also revealed authority and boldness in the way she took steps to do things differently.

6.3.4 Relating to the supervising teachers

Ntsako did not comment on her relationship with her supervising teachers in 2009 at all except to highlight that despite the teacher-students being late on the first day in October because of a taxi strike, the principal welcomed all three of them back warmly.

6.3.4.1 A negative experience

In April 2010, during Ntsako’s second year of being at Wits, she had a negative experience with her supervising teacher. She was placed at a school in a suburb in Northern Johannesburg, a former Model C school. A formal complaint was lodged against her and was outlined in a report to the WSoE TE office:

Ms H complained that [Ntsako] did little more than sit in the back of the class with her shoes off either sleeping or sms’ing. Apparently she taught 3 lessons, substituted for an educator in another Grade 3 class who was absent and was unapproachable regarding input, discussion or assisting in the general running of the classroom or in the supervision of learners on outings –

⁴³ During the TE period in Limpopo, the in-service teachers were not visited by university tutors.

such as their day at the zoo (Report of formal complaint regarding Wits students at Regular Primary School⁴⁴, 2010).

Ntsako's TE journal told a slightly different story. She recorded what she had observed in classrooms daily from 21 April to 7 May. Her observations were fairly detailed but were written in bullet-point form. She described substituting in two classes, firstly, Grade 2 on 28/04/10 and 03/05/10 and described visiting five different classrooms and observing five different teachers. So it seemed that the support she received would have been disconnected and she appeared to have been unsettled. In her TE journal, she described two 'crit'⁴⁵ lessons briefly and also indicated that she taught a numeracy lesson observed by her supervising teacher. During the two full days that she substituted for absent teachers, she would, presumably, have done some teaching. So the claims made about the amount of teaching she had done also seemed to lack substance.

Ntsako portrayed the visit to the zoo quite differently to that asserted in the formal complaint. Her account, though brief, revealed how she was struck by the control and organisation involved in the visit, suggesting that, in her view, there was little need for her to be involved in supervision, since it seemed well-planned, *"It was so impressive how the groups were kept together under the supervision of their class teachers and how they kept their time for lunch and rest"* (TE, 07/05/09). She also mentioned the *"amazing"* presence of parents, so it appeared that there were many adults with the children. The hidden, unspoken rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1991) seemed not to have been articulated to Ntsako, and there was no indication as to whether she had been given a specific role during the outing. In Ntsako's TE journal entry on the visit to the zoo, she associated herself with the children and contrasted their approach to the visit with her own, *"Although it was tiring, I enjoyed every minute of it. The children seemed to have enjoyed it more than I do and they have all the energy to do it"*. A number of participants commented that school outings were not common in Limpopo, so Ntsako was involved in an event which was unusual for her and dealing with the outing would have been a novel experience. She would have been unaware of what was expected of her in this situation.

⁴⁴ Not the school's real name

⁴⁵ B.Ed. students refer to lessons observed by Wits tutors as 'crit' lessons.

Ntsako's final entry for TE in May, 2010 was written in an emotional tone. She used her journal to express her frustration and anger at her treatment by her supervising teacher. In contrast to the other entries during this TE, she wrote complete sentences and used emotive language and punctuation marks to emphasise her annoyance. This was a lengthy journal entry, far longer than any other thus far. Table 6.1 indicates how many words she wrote in each entry in this particular TE journal and it was clear that the account of her relationship with Ms H was the longest, revealing that Ntsako was using the TE journal to defend herself and to express her emotions. There appeared to be a dual audience and purpose in her mind as she wrote. Firstly, the university authorities, who might read this defence and, secondly, herself as she used the genre of the journal to vent her feelings.

Table 6.1: Word count of Ntsako's May 2010 TE journal entries

Date	Number of words in entry
21/04/10	134
22/04/10	95
23/04/10	99
26/04/10	Public holiday
27/04/10	Public holiday
28/04/10	5
29/04/10	363
30/04/10	55
03/05/10	124
04/05/10	0
05/05/10	96
06/05/10	124
07/05/10	• 139 on Zoo visit • 112 on TE experience in general • 486 on relationship with supervising teacher

This is an extract of her account of her relationship with Ms H:

But my dissatisfaction was with my supervising teacher, Ms H. She talks to me like she is talking to her.....maybe "dumb maid" saying ok, all right, understand.....in a very shrill voice. Yes, I understood the first time. She acted as if she could not trust me with her class, that I will not teach them the way she will. I prepared some lessons to go for physical exercises or physical training but she never allowed me to go. This frustrated me a lot... I felt so insulted by this teacher who thinks she is a Perfectionist And because she does not know who I am, she judge me – labelling me as a 'Not good enough for her precious class' – she failed me at the first glance. Everytime she leaves her classroom she locks her door, even if I was around, so I was left

outside with my bags. I was sure that she could not trust me with anything (NM, TE, 07/05/10).

This extract revealed how Ntsako drew on her capital to resist the stereotypical way she had been constructed by her supervising teacher. She had been treated in a demeaning, racialised way instead of as the professional teacher that she was. Her perception was that Ms H has labelled her as *‘dumb’*, *‘untrustworthy’* (both professionally and morally), *‘rural’*, *‘inexperienced’*, *‘not fluent in English’* and *‘not good enough’*. In contrast, Ntsako asserted her identity as a teacher focussing on her cultural capital, concentrating, in particular, on her embodied and institutional capital. This is illustrated in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Ntsako’s cultural capital

Embodied capital	• <i>“we all teach differently”;</i> • <i>“the kids were enjoying the lesson”;</i> • <i>“And concerning my fluency in the Language (English). I speak better than most of my colleagues because of my exposure to drummers [drum majorettes]”</i> (linguistic capital).
Institutional capital	• <i>“I do Drama and movement as one of my major courses”;</i> • <i>“I am a qualified Drum majorettes Adjudicator for SADMA Gauteng Province and Limpopo Province and I have been dancing since I was young and adjudicating professionally since 2005”.</i> • <i>“I am an Accessor [assessor] and I intend to do Moderation, I am also a Special Needs Educator”;</i> • <i>“I am being trained by the best in S.A, those who are in the Hall of Fame and have adjudicated internationally”</i> • <i>“I have undergone a series to oral test, written exams and the whole lot of screening to be where I am today”.</i>

Ntsako’s writing style in this entry was animated and emotional and reflected her determination to assert her professional identity to defend herself. She used the protective stance of her cultural habitus as she focused on the history she had brought into this particular field and linked it with that of her fellow Limpopo teachers, for example, *“she [Ms H] has been teaching for 19yrs (very little and equal to compared to my fellow Limpopo Teachers)”*. Ntsako struggled for her position in this game, and used writing to do so. Unlike Kganya, whose relationship with her supervising teacher had been one of respect resulting in Kganya’s experience of an interruption of a lesson as positive (see Section 6.2.5.), Ntsako felt disrespected by

the supervising teacher, and so she experienced the interruption of her lesson as humiliating:

She [Ms H] stops me during my lessons, and she even do/did the same during my crit lesson in the presense of my university tutor. I felt so humiliated...Tutor was also disappointed (NM, TE, 07/05/10).

Ntsako also felt mortified by being locked outside of the classroom. In both instances, Ntsako referred to her university tutor as an ally and a witness to her degradation, *“So university tutor watched her as she locked her door and they go to the staffroom to talk. I was left outside with my belongings to wait for them”*.

Habitus brings together both the objective, social structure of fields and the subjective, personal structures of habitus, so it was useful to compare this account with the report written by the university tutor. Describing the incident when Ms H interrupted Ntsako’s crit lesson, the university tutor commented, *“I felt that the entire scene was a humiliating one for [Ntsako] and that it was unprofessional and uncalled for on the part of the supervising teacher”* (TE Debriefing, 12/05/10). The university tutor recognised that Ms H’s attitude was *“dismissive”* and that the way that she had related to Ntsako was described as being *“domineering, controlling and perfectionist”* and *“prejudiced”*. The university tutor also commented that Ms H’s actions were *“as a direct result of the supervising educator’s refusal to ‘let go of her class’”* (TE Debriefing, 12/05/10). The university tutor emphasised the challenge that Ntsako faced on TE, *“[I]consider the situation a matter of a poor fit between a mature, already qualified teacher and a young educator who believed the only way to do things in her classroom was ‘her way’”* (TE Debriefing, 12/05/10). There was clearly a struggle for dominance and power in this relationship. Ms H had set herself up as having the rank and dominance and being *“a brilliant teacher”* (TE Debriefing, 12/05/10) and positioned Ntsako as ‘rural’ and, therefore, not competent. However, Ntsako resisted this label, *“Ms H later told my university tutor that I came from the rural area.....Not all of Limpopo is rural and I do not operate from a rural mentality. (This is an insult!)”*.

Ntsako had to reposition herself in this competitive “field of struggle” (Bourdieu, 1990) and her strategy was to resist by remaining passive. She had to contend with the symbolic violence inflicted on her. Within the constraints of her position in the field of this classroom with this supervising teacher, she resisted, struggling for

capital which was appropriate to her station as an experienced Foundation Phase teacher. In this field, and with this particular teacher who set the rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1991), Ntsako's capital was not valued. Despite her years of teaching experience and other achievements she was positioned according to the capital she had, which was not considered useful within the field of the classroom she was in. Ms H drew on static, essentialised categories and stereotypes in her relationship with Ntsako. This was in contrast to the value Ntsako was seen as bringing to the school in Limpopo on TE (see Section 6.3.3.). As a result, Ntsako was engaged in a symbolic struggle, and her disdain for Ms H became part of her bodily hexis (Bourdieu, 1977) as she removed her shoes, closed her eyes or sent an sms on her phone. This indicated her defiance in relation to the symbolic violence that was being inflicted on her by Ms H's attitude, tone of voice and behaviour. In contrast to her passivity in the classroom, Ntsako's writing revealed defiance and assertiveness, *"If I have to go back and teach in her class, I will not go back there again"* (NM, TE, 07/05/10). The resistance she showed reflected her agency as she refused the treatment the younger Ms H meted out on her.

6.3.4.2 Positive experiences

This undesirable relationship was not the usual way Ntsako related to her supervising teachers on TE. Her TE journals revealed a willingness to learn from them and an eagerness to try out the methods she had observed them using and which she considered worthwhile. In September 2011, she described a number of strategies that she had learnt from her supervising teacher, Mrs J, including a ball game and a chart to facilitate oral and mental calculations, namely, finger exercises using toothpicks. The image Ntsako created was of the teacher spending time with her, discussing and explaining these games to her, *"We talk about making a book – each learner write and news page and then a drawing"* (TE, 19/09/11), and *"It is so exciting to work with Mrs J because she always make sure that we go through all the preparations together and advice me on what and how I could teach"* (TE, 27/09/11). Ntsako described being *"fascinated"* (TE, 19/09/11) by what she observed Mrs J was doing and wrote, *"My teacher has got wonderful ways of teaching"* (TE, 27/09/11). This was a relationship where there was mutual respect and Ntsako readily learnt from this supervising teacher, *"After showing me how to do some of this I was willing to try some of the methods"* (TE, 27/09/11). It appeared that Ntsako recognised that

she was gaining capital from spending time with Mrs J. Like Kganya, in this situation she was prepared to take on the role of student because she could see the advantage to her overall learning experience and the capital she was gaining as a result. Ntsako, as a result, was willing to adapt.

Mrs J was teaching and guiding her, and the situation differed from that with Ms H, where the relationship was defined by a power struggle in the game. In fact, Ntsako showed that she improvised on what she had learnt from Mrs J and she had enough command over her teaching so that she even modified what Mrs J asked her to do. Mrs J asked her to teach her 'crit' lesson to another class *"because she thought that it was very good"* (TE 28/09/11). The writing suggests pride in that she had been recognised as having capital of being a good teacher by a professional she admired. Ntsako also showed initiative and changed what Mrs J had asked her to do, *"Even though she asked me to do whole class teaching for the lesson, all the children were able to come in groups and experience with measuring different things"* (TE, 28/09/11). Ntsako resisted Mrs J's instruction to do "whole class teaching". She had been grappling with a consideration of the benefits of group work over whole class teaching throughout her TE journals. As a result, she decided to use group work, on her own initiative, and reflected on how it encouraged participation by all of the learners. It was noteworthy how in this instance, she resisted by taking a positive action as opposed to the negative resistance evident in how she related to Ms H. The respect she was shown by Mrs J seemed to afford her agency.

In May 2012, Ntsako again worked with a teacher who she respected. She commented regularly on what she *"loves"* about what Ms K did in the classroom: her handwriting classes, her questioning techniques, how she encouraged children to make books and how she involved learners in lessons. Ntsako recognised that the two of them had different personalities but this did not deter her hopes of trying to teach as Ms K did, *"I would like to copy how she projects her voice when teaching. Her children respond very well to her actions even before she uses her voice. I would really love to try some of her strategies"* (TE, 12/05/12). Again, it was evident that Ntsako did not evade anticipating doing new things she admired. Her repetition of *"I would like"* and *"I would really love"* emphasised her desire to emulate Ms K.

Ntsako also felt confident enough in the relationship to discuss her teaching with Ms K, *“When I talk to her about it she said it depends and sometime her strategy are not effective and she has to think of something else”* (TE, 08/05/12). Ms K encouraged her *“to be creative and to teach in a playful way so that before the children realise that they were learning it will be too late”* (08/05/12). The things Ntsako especially noticed in her journal indicated a shifting literacy teaching habitus as she developed a desire for the learners to have fun while learning. This seemed to be a noticeable shift in her teaching practices.

She not only noticed and praised what she admired in the teaching she observed, but was confident enough to critique what she discerned in Ms K’s teaching, namely, that she did not differentiate the activities for the children but rather gave the stronger children extra work, *“I am not sure if it will/could work with me”* (TE, 13/05/12). Ntsako also observed that Ms K did not use group work. The pre-service teachers in Grow’s (2011) study relied on prior knowledge to notice and critique what they observed on TE and that led to further development of their identity as teachers of literacy in a circular manner. Unlike Grow’s (2011) participants who noticed by reporting what they saw and not evaluating, Ntsako’s noticing was always accompanied by evaluation and a consideration of her desire to use this practice in her own teaching. Grow (2011) argues that noticing on TE comes from a developing teacher identity. With Ntsako this was different as she was an *experienced* teacher so what she noticed was in relation to an already well-developed teaching habitus. The extent to which she could act on the differences she noticed depended on her willingness to change which she clearly demonstrated here.

6.3.5 Relating to learners

Ntsako was surprised by what the learners she encountered in Gauteng knew and were able to do, *“I did not expect the much knowledge that they have”* (TE, 21/09/11). It was probably this that encouraged her to think about extending the knowledge of learners in Limpopo as is discussed in Section 6.3.6. However, unlike other participants in the research, Ntsako was not intimidated by what the learners knew and was open with them about her limits in comparison to their experiences. This was commented on by her tutor in 2010:

It was very interesting to watch how you handled your own experiences with the advantaged experiences of the learners in the class. You acknowledged up front that you were not well travelled and needed help and you allowed the learners to actively participate in their own learning by sharing their experiences and building on these (TC, 23/04/10).

In September 2011, Ntsako taught a lesson on pirates and, in her TE journal, compared her knowledge to the learners’:

I found I needed more information about the subject. Teaching them about the different parts of the pirates ship was an eye opener. All the children were enjoying and a lot of them seem to have more knowledge about pirates from their (experiences) – (movies, homes etc.). Their inputs were useful especially in helping their peers. (TE, 13/09/11).

In both these instances, along with the surprise expressed at the learners’ knowledge was an attitude showing her willingness to draw on this. She allowed learners to share knowledge around literacy events. Ntsako revealed awareness of this being part of the learners’ identities and histories which were different to hers because of the different fields from which they had come. She did not view herself as needing to know everything and to fill the ‘empty minds’ of learners, but instead Ntsako tapped into collaborative ways of creating knowledge in the classroom. This was in contrast to the teacher-centred education she would have been exposed to in the past, being a product of Bantu education.

Earlier in the year, May, 2011, Ntsako revealed her teaching habitus in her crit lesson. The tutor identified her ‘teacher talk’ as the reason the learners became unruly and restless, “*You cannot teach for 30 mins...when you stand in front of a class for so long you cannot ascertain which learners have grasped the concepts*” (TO 16/05/11). The other contributing factor to the lesson’s failings was her starting it with a song. This was something I saw many of the participants in this study doing when I observed them as a tutor on TE. The song she sang was long and confusing for the learners and they became disruptive. The tutor commented that Ntsako was perceptive enough in discussion to recognise why the lesson had failed, revealing that Ntsako was able to critique her own mistakes. Her journal also showed an understanding of how one should relate to learners and allow them the chance to do tasks:

The space between me and the children must also be considered because it depend on the eye contact the relationship I have with the learners. The

lesson must be more on how the learners could be kept busy and they do their creative activities (TE16/05/11).

This practice continued to be something Ntsako thought about in relation to her teaching, for example, *“While teaching I realise that children get bored quickly if they are not fully involved by questioning and also by doing things”* (TE, 19/09/11). She reiterated this later on that TE, *“many children want to learn by touching and doing things so I need to make my lessons more child centred and more active”* (TE,26/09/11). In her 2012 TE journals, there were eight mentions of “active participation”. It was something Ntsako continued to strive for, not always successfully, but she showed increasing awareness and concern about this aspect of the way she related to learners. She had come from a background where teaching was viewed as the “the lifeless transmission of a reified and imposed culture to passive and apathetic students” (Prinsloo, 2002:297). However, Ntsako was grappling with ways to create a dialogic space where teaching was more than transmission, where it related to learners’ lives and expanded their thinking and concerns.

6.3.6 Going home

At no time in her written journals did Ntsako anticipate going back to Limpopo or relate what she saw and learnt to possibilities of teaching literacy in Limpopo. There was no instance in her TE journals of “anticipatory reflection” (Conway, 2001) in relation to Limpopo, though, as discussed in Section 6.3.3., she used future-oriented reflection in thinking about teaching while on TE, imagining how she would do things differently in imminent lessons.

When I asked her explicitly in the final focus group before she left Wits to consider what she would do differently returning to Limpopo, her answers showed that she had actually given this much thought. Ntsako mentioned three areas in which she wished to make a difference. Firstly, in reading, she emphasised how limited resources had impacted the teaching of reading in the past. Because there were not enough books and *“two children pulling the book against one another because they don’t want to share”* she resorted to *“copy[ing] it on the board so that to let them read”*. As a result children read using “echo reading” (which she had critiqued on TE for its failings) and choral reading with no independent reading happening at all. She

demonstrated growing agency in expressing her intention to change, along with good pedagogical reasons to support her intended requests of her superiors:

I'm going to show my principal that this is what I've done and he must look for books for the children to read because that is one thing that we are lacking. We don't have enough big books; we don't have enough books for guided reading so that the children could be led to their independent reading.

The second important change she mentioned in relation to reading, was that she wanted to help children recognise that reading could be done for a variety of purposes and she mentioned, in particular, reading for information. Ntsako pointed out the contrast between how she used to teach reading and her new objectives. She indicated how she would overcome the material constraints such as access to materials in home language by being proactive, *"I'll write and they will read...I want them to see that there is a lot of value in reading for information one could be transmitted and be changed into print so that they could see exactly that when they tell me something, I could put that in writing"* (EI). Ntsako revealed shifts from being the source of all information, to helping children to recognise the value of having their own thoughts transcribed, helping them to see that they had voice. This was a significant change from teacher-centred pedagogy where she, the teacher, produced a text for the "empty-minded" learners to read, to a dialogic, collaborative process where teacher and learners together crafted a text, creating knowledge together. Ntsako wanted to help children move from text-reception to text-production, from reading and listening to writing and creating by giving her learners voice.

Ntsako recognised that the way the curriculum had been interpreted by teachers in Limpopo limited possibilities for the learners, reproduced roles that were the norm in the community, rather than stretching them to think outside of what they saw in their rural communities:

[The curriculum] will just give us a highlight and we will look at which one is relevant to our children. So when we teach Foundation Phase we deal with topics like food or transport. In transport they never do it in detail. The learners just know 'This is a car' or 'This is a bus'. [We are not] teaching them that maybe they could be engineers; they could be taught the parts of a car, showing them in detail. The car has got an engine that's how it is operating. Another topic like 'Building and Construction' we just teach them 'This is a house' not teaching them the different types; building the models for those things; how they are built; who built them and who designed them (EI).

She demonstrated that she had developed a far more expansive view of education, a desire to convert learners from limited ways of thinking which continued to lead to social inequality; producing adults who had no vision of being mechanical or civil engineers or expanding minds and teaching them about unthought-of possibilities, *“we need to get into details and even doing things like extending them to the space ships – something that they don’t know but we can introduce it to them”* (EI). Ntsako felt empowered to give these children the necessary capital to dream beyond the usual for learners from rural areas.

She felt confident, demonstrated in her use of the imperative, that *“we will make a difference”* because she had social capital, the support of the principal of the school and the Head of Department of Foundation Phase. Ntsako described her colleagues as *“also want[ing] to know what I’ve learnt so I think they are waiting for me and I think they will be interested”*. She mentioned helping them on her visits to Limpopo, with classroom wall displays and by downloading suitable materials and information from the Internet. It was this social capital together with the embodied cultural capital and institutional capital from Wits that enabled her to say confidently, *“I think I will work together with the HOD to make the whole Foundation Phase do the things that I have learnt here”*.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has looked closely at two participants emphasising the gradations of shifts in personal literate habitus and changes in their thinking about and their teaching of literacy.

The analysis of the literate habitus both participants brought with them to Wits revealed some similarities. Kganya had an illiterate caregiver while Ntsako was the daughter of teachers, yet both had a literate habitus that found no pleasure in reading, and both were constrained by conditions in the field. Both participants had limited exposure to different genres of texts. As teachers of literacy, both participants became teachers because of force of circumstances, yet both revealed a passion for teaching and a desire to make a difference in the lives of their learners.

Probably the most important aspect of the stories of Kganya’s and Ntsako’s four-year journey was that both participants showed shifts in their literate habitus. However, it was significant that these shifts did not happen easily. This study showed similarities

with other studies (Abrams & Ingram, 2013; Reay, 2004, 2005; Reay et al, 2009; Stuber, 2006; 2011) that indicate how strong the pull of the old habitus is. However, this analysis was different in that it showed how these vacillations were revealed in the participants' writing about new ways of enacting literacy. It showed how the participants' reflective writing revealed the to-and-fro movement between old ways and new. For example, Ntsako wrestled with views of "reading as pleasure" versus "reading as a regulatory practice". Kganya struggled as a teacher of literacy with issues of discipline, striving to strike a balance between allowing noise as learners participate, and control. These struggles confirmed Bourdieu's claim that the durable effects of one's habitus result in a "cleft habitus" (2007:100) inhabited by tensions and contradictions, as one encounters different social worlds.

The findings suggested the importance of social relationships in the development of and enabling of shifts in their literate habitus. They showed how the infliction of symbolic violence by peers resulted in Kganya denying her sense-of-self (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009) and how conforming to the rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1991) resulted in her compromising her professionalism and not teaching as she knew she should. In a different social arena, in the classrooms in Gauteng, Kganya became aware of professionalism in others that sat comfortably with her sense-of-self and this epiphany helped her to anticipate being the teacher she had always wanted to be. It was a change in field that opened her eyes to the possibility of doing things differently.

Another contributing factor to enabling shifts in habitus was how others in the social fields recognised the participants' capital. Both participants were experienced teachers and in Gauteng, on TE, struggled with being positioned as students, especially when they were treated in a demeaning way. As they struggled in classroom spaces that were not their own, and tried to understand the rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1991), and they both asserted the capital they had in their reflective journals. However, when others in the field, in particular, their supervising teachers on TE, treated them with respect, they both showed a willingness to learn, adapt and shift. This opened up possibilities for change. These findings confirmed the findings in the literature on the importance of the relationship between student teachers and supervising teachers (Astika, 2014; Cohen et al., 2013; O'Dwyer and Atli, 2014). These findings also supported the claim that during TE a complicating factor for

students was managing the dual identity of teacher and student (Schoeman & Mabunda, 2012). Contrary to these studies though, my study dealt with *experienced* teachers working with supervising teachers, sometimes younger and less experienced than they were. It emphasised that there was potential benefit in these relationships if supervising teachers acknowledged the capital the teacher-students brought. This was sometimes difficult in fields where individuals struggled for position and power.

Another important finding from this analysis showed the role awareness played in enabling shifts of habitus. This study confirmed Janks' (2010) argument that in order to change, one needs to become aware of what needs to change. The data revealed that it was by being removed from usual fields of practice and being in new areas of teaching activity that the participants began to notice how teachers teach literacy differently. Janks (2010) argues that in addition to awareness, one needs to have a desire to change and to then participate in regular practice in order to change. This study shows that awareness needed to be accompanied by an ability to articulate what these differences were, in order to reflect on them. This practice seemed to be the value of the reflective journals in that they provided opportunities for the participants to reflect and critique what they had noticed while on TE. In addition to this, it was the regular, actual enactment of new practices that brought about the recognition of the gains to be had by doing literacy and teaching literacy differently.

The literacy capital gained by both participants over four years was reflected in their written and oral expressions of anticipating being agents of change. Both Kganya and Ntsako showed how having been exposed to new ways of enacting literacy and teaching literacy helped them to envisage new possibilities on their return to Limpopo. It was striking that Kganya, perhaps because of her past experiences with the infliction of symbolic violence in her old school, expressed some reservations because lack of support from others. Ntsako, on the other hand, affirmed the importance of social capital in that she felt that she had the support of her principal and her colleagues. Bourdieu's concept of the role of capital in providing the necessary agency for change has been the focus in this chapter. Chapter Seven draws together the threads of the journey undertaken by all 22 participants. It considers the implications of this for teacher education interventions and suggests areas for further research.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

“There is nothing like returning to a place that remains unchanged to find the ways in which you yourself have altered” (Mandela, 1994).

7.1 Introduction

This final chapter brings to a close the description of the four-year journey of a group of 22 practising Foundation Phase teachers from rural areas in Limpopo Province, South Africa. This research sought to explore the literate habitus of this group of *experienced* teachers. It was conducted over a five⁴⁶ year period, 2009-2013 and was done by investigating the effect of a long-term teacher education intervention on the personal, academic and professional literacy practices of this group of teacher-students. This study has been underpinned by Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus, field and capital and has also drawn on other important “thinking tools” from his work, to bring insight to the research questions.

7.2 Drawing together the findings and answering questions

The analysis of the data and the research findings were presented in Chapters Four to Six. In this chapter, I draw the findings together, and answer the research questions posed.

7.2.1 The first research question: Literate habitus of the participants

The first research question asked, what is the literate habitus of the teacher-students in a group of South African Foundation Phase teachers working in township and rural schools in their first year of a B.Ed. at Wits? Using data from various reflective journals kept in 2009, and focus groups held early in 2010, several findings emerged. The data confirmed the importance of fields in affecting the participants’ literate habitus. The data showed how the individual literate habitus of each participant in this study was affected by the conditions of the fields in which he or she grew up, lived and worked. Historically, many South Africans were not able to access the capital necessary to be successful within the meta-field because of the constraints imposed by Apartheid.

This research confirmed, to some extent, what other studies have shown, that the ways in which literacy was practised and valued in rural areas in South Africa was often constrained by material conditions in the field such as limited access to printed

⁴⁶ Some participants took four and a half years to complete their studies

texts, libraries and computers (Bloch, 2009; Fleisch, 2007; Prinsloo, 2002; Reeves et al., 2008; Van der Berg & Louw, 2006). However, the data also showed that despite the constraining material conditions, there were those participants who overcame these by strategising and improvising within the constraints imposed on them from powers in the meta-field. They did this because they enjoyed reading and writing and because they viewed these practices as providing capital. Improvisations, such as using whatever texts and writing materials they could access, were, however, in turn also restricted by the material conditions in the field. The extent to which the participants could see possibilities in literacy and viewed themselves as having agency helped them to overcome the constraints, albeit in restricted ways. These findings offer a nuanced view to counter the tendency to consider literacy in rural areas in terms of deficit by showing that those who valued literacy and could imagine the possibilities that it offered could surmount the obstacles. It was important to note though that these efforts were limited by the field in various ways.

The findings of this research confirmed that family attitudes to literacy formed a foundational layer in the formation of literate habitus and this corresponded with findings from other studies (Fedderker & Luiz, 2002; Van der Berg & Louw, 2006). This study also confirmed the importance of education as an important layer of literate habitus (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). The participants were schooled during Apartheid and their initial tertiary teacher-training was in Apartheid colleges. This affected their literate habitus, for example, there was limited access to a variety of genres of printed texts in their home languages. In addition, access to books, newspapers, magazines, computers and libraries was limited by cost and distance from shops. This was exacerbated by poverty which meant that buying literacy texts was a luxury few could afford. The effect on the way the participants taught literacy is discussed in Section 7.2.2.

The findings of this study also showed how conditions and related attitudes in the communities the participants lived in added another layer to their literate habitus. The data revealed that because of restricted employment opportunities, literacy was not viewed as capital by many community members because the work that was available required physical rather than intellectual ability. Living conditions were such that physical effort was required to meet their daily basic needs and so time spent on

reading and writing, beyond that required for operational needs, was considered wasteful.

Attitudes to literacy in the communities described by the participants were complex. There were competing concepts and perceptions of the amount of “interest” that could be accrued in becoming literate (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). There were also intricate layers in the attitudes to literacy which arose from different positioning in the field. For some in the field, literacy was treated with suspicion. This was complicated by a long history of colonial and apartheid education which, for some, had been imposed on them by “the whites”. Resisting these perceptions could result in symbolic violence being inflicted by those who sought conformity in the field. A key finding in this study was how agency in the participants’ lives was linked to capital. A participant’s view of what constituted literacy capital might conflict with the view of the symbolic capital afforded by literacy that was dominant in the field. As the participants jostled for position in the fields they were in, it was their views of the potential literacy held that motivated them to struggle for education, even if they were “out of step” with others in the field.

The participants described some community members, including themselves who strove for literacy despite enormous difficulties. Those who acted as “literacy brokers” for others were constructed as heroes and as having capital. Importantly, though, these possibilities were constrained by what could be imagined as possible within the constraints of the field. The importance of the affective in structuring literate habitus was revealed by the data presented in Chapter Four (see Sections 4.9; 4.10 & 4.11). Those who felt positive about literacy were motivated to take action to overcome constraints in contrast to those who felt overwhelmed by the constraints and who lacked agency.

The way literacy was valued and enacted was affected by cultural norms and practices. Oral storytelling played an important role in the lives of these participants and its influence on their literate habitus was evident in a number of ways (see Chapter Four, Section 4.8). Story telling (and literacy) was seen as important for passing on values, morals, attitudes and cultural identity from one generation to the next. Stories build relationships and were used to discipline and control the younger generation. What was valued in the oral mode was also assigned to the written.

Committing written texts to memory in order to perform them was one example of this. There was also evidence in the data of how the influence of the oral became sedimented into written texts (Pahl, 2008). For example, the participants used oral story patterns to introduce their writing and to conclude with edifying dictums.

7.2.2 The second research question: Changing literate habitus

The second research question asked whether the way the individual teacher-students *spoke*, *wrote* about and *did* literacy changed over the course of their four years at Wits. The findings of this research showed that despite the fact that Apartheid had been done away with in South Africa, its effects remained and influenced the journey the participants undertook during their time at WSoE. Although the participants did change in terms of literacy, this happened in varying ways and to differing degrees. It was difficult to pinpoint exactly what accounted for these differences. However, some tentative claims could be made for what contributed to shifts in their literate habitus.

The findings from this study show that literate habitus can change but that it requires a *desire* to change and this desire arises from an *awareness* of a need to change or an awareness of the capital that can accrue from change. This awareness needs to extend into meta-awareness about the relationship between old ways of enacting and teaching literacy and new ways of being literate. These considerations need to be accompanied by numerous opportunities to enact literacy and the teaching of literacy differently. Individuals need to seize these opportunities and the decision as to whether or not to do this depends on an individual's perception of capital. An example of this was discussed in Chapter Five (see Section 5.3.1.2) in relation to the participants who wrote in their English Reflective journals regularly and were able to articulate the benefits of doing so. These participants recognised the potential capital inherent in their new practices. However, this process was nuanced in that often the potential in doing literacy practices differently or teaching literacy differently was only realised once the participant had engaged in the new practices for a while.

As much as the affective contributed to the development of literate habitus, the importance the affective played in *change* could also not be underestimated. The data suggested that participants often needed to overcome fear and other debilitating emotions in order to be agential. Supportive supervising teachers and a

group of supportive peers appeared to provide the necessary social capital to enable a situation where the participants could take exploratory steps on a journey to changing their literate habitus. Related to this was a consciousness the participant had of the amount of cultural capital he or she possessed. However, this also needed to be acceded to by those around the participants, for example, their peers and, as this study has found, supervising teachers on TE. In a circular way, this consciousness was related to feelings. If the participants felt the confidence that came from knowing they had cultural capital, they were empowered to influence others in the field. For example those returning to Limpopo on TE felt that they brought capital with them and the ways they experienced being back in their classrooms were different to being on TE in Gauteng.

The participants often conflated literacy with English ability and measured their growing competence in the language as a reflection of their improved literacy. Linguistic capital was linked to literate capital and the acquisition of English was seen as aspirational. The participants' experiences in which they studied and taught in Gauteng further embedded this view as they realised that having "voice" came with this linguistic capital (See Chapter Five, Section 5.3.3.1).

7.2.3 The third research question: Teaching practices

The third research question focused on how literate habitus is connected to the participants' espoused and observed literacy teaching practices? These findings showed that the participants had entrenched ways of teaching literacy that relied on decoding, encoding and teaching discrete skills. The participants taught primarily using the code-breaker role of the reader (Freebody & Luke, 1990). The data revealed that this was how the participants had been taught literacy in both their home language and in English and this had been reproduced in their own teaching practices. Because of limited access to resources, such as text books and writing books, these practices became even more entrenched. Some participants appeared to have no vision of any possibility of teaching differently. There were those participants who had had access to some literacy interventions that demonstrated how to teach differently and which provided materials and support, but these ways of teaching literacy had not been embedded in the structures of their literate habitus.

As literacy was often associated with rules, regulations and conformity, it was difficult for some participants to recognise how it could be associated with pleasure.

Teachers were described in the data as finding reading burdensome rather than pleasurable, so it was unlikely they would foster an attitude of reading as an engaging activity in their learners. There were very few examples of the participants' own teachers sharing their love of reading with learners in the data. However, when a teacher does so, it could result in a pleasurable reading experience as shown by the example of Masingita's enthusiasm for the book, *Xirhalagangi*, which was discussed in Chapter Four (see Section 4.5.2). The participant teacher-students also did not encourage creative, purposeful, communicative writing and this appeared to be reproduced in their own teaching of writing.

The data suggested that it was in becoming increasingly aware of the discontinuities between how literacy was taught in classrooms in Limpopo and how they viewed it being taught in Gauteng was an important step towards change. It was being exposed to new ways of teaching, never imagined before and being able to reflect on these over an extended period of time that appeared to make a difference. Being afforded the opportunity to reflect regularly on one's teaching contributed to the necessary awareness for change. The data in Chapters Five and Six demonstrated how the participants' growing reflective capacity contributed to shifts in their thinking about teaching literacy. There was evidence in the data that despite this awareness and desire to change, the "tug" of the old habitus was strong and that the participants "relapsed" into old, entrenched ways of teaching.

Together all of these findings suggested that the need to take the habitus of teachers seriously when thinking about how to create effective teacher-training interventions. The findings also showed the necessity of changes in field being for an extended period of time in order to bring about change. This was because when the participants' habitus no longer fitted comfortably with the field, they became *aware* of the necessity for change. It took time, awareness and regular practice for new ways of teaching and enacting literacy to become embodied.

7.3 Suggestions for further research

This study is a starting point in examining how deeply-embedded ways of doing, being, believing and valuing (Gee, 1996) impact literacy and the teaching of literacy.

It has raised questions about whether it is possible to shift embodied literate habitus and the importance of time and space in enabling this possibility.

There are a number of ways in which this study could be extended and developed and the two suggestions regarding the development of the literate habitus relating to time and sustainability are those I consider to be the most important.

This study found that shifts in literate habitus were possible and that these were enabled by changing fields for an extended period of time. It has affirmed Bourdieu's (1977:8) argument for the importance of time as an essential element in affecting practice:

To restore to practice its practical truth, we must therefore reintroduce time into the theoretical representation of a practice which, being temporally structured, is intrinsically defined by its *tempo*

The study has also shown how, over time, ways of thinking about doing literacy differently change. An extended period of time in a new field provides opportunities for regular practice of new ways of enacting literacy, for example, as discussed in Chapter Four (see Section 5.3.5.2.2). Elela's desire for *more* time to try out new ways of reading and writing poetry, indicated the importance she placed on time as an element of change, "*I just feel the session was too short because just as I was beginning to get what poems were all about, the session came to an end*" (EJ, 20/08/09).

As discussed in Chapter Five (see Section 5.4.1.4) and Chapter Six (see Sections 6.2.3 & 6.3.3), some teacher-students anticipated going back to Limpopo and teaching literacy differently. However, this study has not adequately addressed the question as to the *sustainability* of the shifts in literate habitus and whether moving back to old fields might result in teachers' resorting to their original ways of practising and teaching literacy. To extend the scope of this study, the participants' construction of themselves as having gained capital; the degree of confidence this brought and whether or not this influenced the fields they returned to needs further examination. Further study is also needed to investigate whether the ways in which the research participants' literate habitus had altered was sustainable on returning to the unchanged fields from which they had come. Although this teacher-training intervention was unique, and to my knowledge has not been replicated, it might also

be valuable to conduct comparative studies, examining the effectiveness and sustainability of other interventions in the light of the findings of this research. This could provide important pointers which could contribute to the development of interventions which could meaningfully influence teachers' literacy practices in the future.

7.4 Recommendations

Based on this study, various recommendations for teacher-training are offered for government departments, organisations and tertiary institutions involved in interventions.

7.4.1 Teacher training

Firstly, teacher-training interventions should not be viewed as quick fixes. They need to provide teachers with *prolonged* exposure to new ways of enacting and practising literacy. They also need to provide numerous opportunities for teachers to “do” literacy differently. This is because, as this study has shown, teacher change involves embodied changes in ways of doing and being that require profound shifts in habitus.

7.4.2 Teacher mentors

Teachers should be provided with mentors who work with them for extended periods of time. These mentors should be trained to treat their mentees with respect and as professionals. The relationship should be one of cooperation rather than instruction and teachers' opinions about their needs should be sought and discussed. Mentors should help teachers on interventions to reflect in meaningful ways. Mentors would differ from coaches or supervising teachers in that the relationship would not be judgemental because the mentor would not be tasked with evaluating the teacher. The mentor should, ideally, be someone older and more experienced who would be able to support them in their professional development.

7.4.3 Teacher reflection

Reflection needs to play an important role in teacher-training interventions. These reflections should not necessarily be in the form of written journals. It might be that reflection would be more successful using other modes, such as the oral or visual, especially with teachers who are more comfortable using these modes. However, teachers should be offered opportunities to engage in new literacy practices as the

findings of this study have shown that it is by doing literacy in new ways that teachers become aware of the possibilities inherent in these practices.

Reflective literacy practices should be scaffolded and teachers should be guided in how to reflect in meaningful ways. They should be helped, through modelling to see the differences between description and analysis. In addition, teachers should be encouraged to reflect regularly in their home-languages. If the reflections form part of assessment, and are to be written in a language in which teachers are not comfortable, mentors should provide a variety of grammatical constructions, sentence stems, to help them structure their analysis and reflection. Teachers should be helped to link theory to practice and to integrate the discourse of the field into their discussions. Teachers should also be encouraged to question their practices and to consider the implications of the pedagogical choices they make. They should then be motivated to reflect honestly on the ways in which they can change, moving from a position of blaming others or circumstances for failings. This study has found that those teacher-students, who were able to reflect in meaningful ways, were able to make shifts in their personal and academic literacy practices as well as their teaching of literacy.

7.4.4 Teacher-education interventions

Those who organise and run interventions and teacher-education programmes generally, need to be aware of and to tap into the cultural practices that exist in rural areas. For example, when working with teachers and pre-service teachers from these areas, programmes should not negate the ways of enacting and practising literacy prevalent in those communities. Instead, these should be built on and integrated with new and different ways of being literate. For example, oral storytelling could be extended from the oral mode into the visual, written and digital modes. Specifically, teachers could be shown how to teach their learners the characteristics of different genres by using the familiar oral storytelling as a starting point.

7.5 Conclusion

In summary, this study has examined the impact of a four-year teacher training intervention on a group of rural teacher-students from Limpopo Province. The findings and analysis presented provide some insights which will be of value for future teacher-education interventions. In a context where there are concerns about the teaching of literacy, particularly at the Foundation Phase level, this research

contributes to understanding the literate habitus of teachers who grew up in and teach in similar circumstances to those of my research participants. It also emphasises that it is necessary for teachers' personal and academic literacy practices to shift to result in a change in their teaching of literacy. Importantly, it demonstrates that teachers need extended time in different fields to become aware of the possibilities that exist in doing literacy in new ways, being literate in ways never imagined previously, valuing literacy in diverse ways and feeling differently about literacy. For new ways of enacting and teaching literacy to become embodied and durable, new inclinations to literacy have to become so entrenched that they "sit comfortably" with a changing literate habitus. For the study, an extended time in a different field brought about a changed literacy awareness or habitus for most of the participants. This change was generative, producing new practices and perceptions which, it is hoped, will become transposable (Bourdieu, 1990) when the teacher-students returned to their familiar fields. As it takes more than a disruption in fields to change habitus, this process needs to be coupled with a sense of agency (capital), reflectiveness and awareness of the possibilities for growing capital that change will bring.

APPENDIX A: THUMBNAILS OF THE PARTICIPANTS

Akani

I am a 43-year-old Xitsonga speaker and I matriculated at 20. I realised there were shortage of professional teachers and decided to be a teacher to bring a change in my society. I trained in Junior Primary teaching at a teacher training college in Limpopo. As a man, I felt a little bit challenge but I love these little lower grade learners. The only books I remember in my home growing up were the bible and hymnbook and there is nothing inspiring there. I still read Christian books, I like them the most, and the newspaper. Writing at school when I grew up was mainly copying off the board. We used to sometimes ignore reading and writing more especially in rural areas. Unlike now we have come to realise that this is serious and we need to be literate as well – everyone needs to be. The only person that introduced us to writing that is you, with the journals. You put us on a certain level whereby we take these things seriously. In my community you don't see anyone reading because I come from an area far away from town. The community must be made aware that they need to start reading but I don't know how we can do it. I think we are here at Wits because the government just brought us here to learn and to feedback what are the things we expect so we can tell them that they need to put more resources. Here I have realised that we are not just trained to teach a particular curriculum but that we are trained to understand how to teach, it's much broader. Even if the curriculum might change, what we have will remain. I found the work at Wits difficult just imagine we are not used to this type of reading now you have this huge mountain of reading and this it has to do with comprehension as well, you need to read with understanding. On TE I saw Grade 3 children reading, doing drama and reading poetry and it gave me a new perception. I never thought of that in my career. I think it's important to us to write the short stories for the children that we teach. That one I think is a matter of giving ourselves time because that will be very important. Stories they teach us a lot. It speaks a lot, inspire and change them. Making the little ones excited in reading it is really important. The things that surprised me on TE was how the teacher is so friendly to her learners and the learners are active during learning. I have learnt that children learn easily when they are actively involved. I enjoyed teaching when the learners were energetic and

happy. The appearance of classrooms also encouraged me. The conditions are different to us in Limpopo they don't value this education. In most cases the little kids are left with the grannies and the parents are not around. I have learned the importance of teaching all learning outcomes, more than one aspect or concept.

Amogelang

I am a 40-year-old Sepedi speaker. I matriculated at 19 and completed a Primary Teacher Diploma. I became a teacher because I have a passionate love of education. I want to impart my knowledge and skills to promote the love and importance of education to the new generation of the new, democratic South Africa. When I was growing up my caregivers didn't really care much about reading. If they saw you reading they would say "Reading is nothing, just come and help us". People in Limpopo did not care much about formal education, they believed that schools are made for the benefit of the whites. Today black people are aware of education. Their children are spread all over the country to be educated so that their future can be good and bright. Education is a key of all doors. I don't remember writing stories at school. The first book that they brought me was Tom Sawyer when I was in Std 6. I just enjoyed looking at the cover and the pictures because I could not read by then, even in Std 8 I was unable to read properly because of the foundation that I experienced from the primary level. Now I like to read the newspaper, City Press. I started in 1994 to buy it every Sunday. I also like to watch programmes on TV about nature because this brings nature and wild life education at home. I'm coming from a very rural area and they don't have enough resources. Because of this, sometimes we fail to teach children what is needed we just say it without showing them something which is more important so we can make the lesson meaningful to them. At the school where I was working the old books were in the strong room with the tools and garden chairs. There was no library. On TE I saw how they arranged the books in the library. When I go back to Limpopo I am going to talk to my principal about what I have learnt. It would be important for the learners to go to the library. I will also talk to my principal about if we can have a librarian. I think it will be very much important for my school. Since I started writing the journals I now have the idea of writing a very short book which maybe I can bring it to you. It gives me a power. A book about myself and where I am from I will start with the small paragraphs, maybe in the afternoon I write two paragraphs and the following

morning two paragraphs until it makes three to five pages. Since I was born I have never visited places like the Market Theatre. I regard it as a good method of making students to understand something quicker than reading. On TE the school admired us because it is their first time of having male Foundation Phase teachers. The school was strict with us and the principal called one student to order for drinking tea during the lesson time. The principal complained that the Wits students were not punctual except the in-service teachers. The question was raised that why we were all called together. She said “You are all from one institution, I must tell you.”

Dineo

I am mother-tongue Sepedi speaker. I learnt pure Sepedi because that was what was spoken in the area I lived in with my grandparents. When I came to live in the village where my parents are, my teacher took me to the Grade 4 class to show them how I could speak Sepedi. My grandfather was a pastor then they gave him these posters and he would teach me about the vessels and then I would draw these dots and colour in. At the school I was attending, my teachers used to make me say my verses to my parents. In those days there were these parents day and you find that I was saying bible verses and bible songs. My cousin taught me to read. He would come with these books and he would just hide the words and say “Tell me about this picture”. At school we just read for reading not having an effect on you and then maybe even after reading and someone asks you what it was just you have read. You were only interested in reading when you were given a task. In our community you find there are posters on the walls at the shops, advertisements and people are interested to know more what they are talking about. People are even organising themselves through posters. For writing the learners do pair drawing or there are competitions organised by the teachers or shopkeepers. In Grade 1 we are starting with this programme, Breakthrough to Learning and every day we are given posters, and every day we talk about these posters. If you are a creative teacher maybe you start something like “A man is running away” “Can you tell me about this picture?” My language is not written in the books so you find that when the children come to school they have a little bit of a problem of translating to the language that is written I didn’t hand in an English Reflective journal. In my TE journal I write about time - the time we arrive, the time for lunch and the time we knock off school. What I liked about TE I saw the teachers ask the children “What did you see when you were

coming to school? And then I saw it is motivating for those learners who are unable to talk because the teacher would just say “Mary what did happen when you come to school?” and even the shy child is able to talk and then it was very unlike when you say to children who come to class you just say: “Good morning” and then you just start with your programme of the day. We didn’t know that this can help the children to become lively and then even there is that other child that does not work well in class if you ask her something related to the home she will give you the answer. I don’t like that every day they learn a new thing. It’s a bad thing because the child in Grade 1 can’t grasp it so quickly and he becomes confused. In Limpopo when you teach about addition or any number concept you can do it for about a week.

Elela

I come from a township in a former homeland. The residents who come from nearby villages are fairly literate because they moved there to earn better salaries. They are mostly public servants. Reading for leisure is mainly for men, they mostly read newspapers. There are government organised ABET classes taught by unemployed educators who, I think, teach only for the sake of earning a salary. At school I used to wish I could write radio stories and I would begin a page or two and then leave it...it was not serious. That was the only writing apart from the schoolwork. My mother used to love reading. She used to buy me books so from early I started to read, it was not difficult for me. I would get hold of anything I could read in my mother tongue but mainly in English. I’m Shangaan and there were many interesting books but now they are no longer there. Nobody’s writing books anymore. I am worried that that culture of writing is dying in our language. I like reading fiction and Christian books and am moved by them, they affect the way I live and the way I understand things. When I buy books I choose novels because I want to relax. My reading is changing here as I am interested in reading about how children learn, before I used to read for pleasure not to help anyone. My view on literacy has changed has changed especially about the introduction of English second language speakers while they are still in their Foundation Phase. I enjoyed the poetry course. When we learnt poems at school it was to memorise and recite them for oral marks. The only poems we attempted analysing were mother tongue poems with a totally different approach to the one we learnt here. I was beginning to love poetry because I realised one can gain great insights and wisdom from them. I also realised that

because of their open endedness they encouraged critical thinking and creativity. I wondered if I can express myself through poetry, unfortunately before I was sure of it, it was over. The Philosophical Thinking course is very interesting and I have read some extracts about it. I realise that this is something we have been doing all along however we were not aware that it is philosophical thinking. I use my cell phone to relax, play games and listen to music. I use it as an alarm and a diary. I know there are many things or other features like E-mail or internet but I am not yet able to use that, but with the computer lessons we are taking now I hope to learn more on how to use it. I enjoyed the journal writing because it helped us to think about something that we did not think about before. It helped us develop our writing skills and our thinking skills - it's a good practice. I felt we didn't do justice to the journals because of the lack of time. I think we have to develop these skills with our learners.

Kemontle

I am a 39-year-old Sepedi speaker. I studied a Secondary Teaching Diploma. I am Christian and I believe in reading the bible most of the time. I use bible stories to mould my own children. They wake up the minds of the children and develop morals and values. In my community literacy is used for women's clubs where they keep minutes and write down the rules. It is also used for giving information in the community. My husband is a clerk at the court and writing is like food for him. He writes beautiful, cursive writing. He is also studying so reads and writes academically. My family value writing and I try and encourage my children to write and I buy little books for them. I like writing in my journal, I used to keep a journal when I was young but my responsibilities have not allowed me to continue. In my journal I write about the emotional pain I felt when my colleague died. When I was young I wanted to write a drama but I took it to my teachers and they are not motivated and that made me discouraged on writing. But now I would like to write little stories for children. I feel ashamed of my bad handwriting. My husband and children write nicely. I like to read magazine articles about fitness, dealing with skin problems and tips on becoming an entrepreneur. I long for a library in our community to motivate the children to read. I was impressed on TE to see how free the learners were to use the library. At Wits it makes me feel respected and comfortable to be able to speak my own language with my peers. My first TE I was scared as it was the first time I have taught in a multi-racial school but I keep my self-

esteem high and I am no more scared. I learn a lot about teaching reading, how important it is to have relevant resources, to use a story frame to help children structure their writing. I also notice about reading aloud, when I read to children they learn new vocabulary and are motivated to become readers, they ask me to borrow the book so they can read it themselves. Editing their own reading motivates them to write. A good lesson is when the children are actively involved. I have also learned that the children ask questions and as a teacher you need to be aware of things happening around. I think through the continuous TE I have gained strength and professionally I have grown up. I think I am ready to go back to my province and implement good strategies that I have learnt. I wish to fly back home to implement what I have acquired here in my classroom with my Limpopo children. Children are no more reading books, but I feel I can motivate them and instil the love of books. I have a passion in teaching young children and in helping them to reach their potential.

Kganya

The literacy mediators are important in my community. There was a good lady who ran a project for over five years with volunteers to help women read and write. Sometimes those who helped the illiterate women were given wrong information, leaked confidential information and some were cruel and wrote wrong information. In my community there are a lot of children who are drop-outs at Grade 9. They don't know how to read and write their mother-tongue. They don't see the importance of education. I tried to even pay school fees to those who said they did not have the money, but peer pressure overcame them. When I was a child I did little reading, mostly the bible and books from school. My mother was illiterate She could read the bible a little bit. There were no books, magazines or libraries where I came from. Methods of teaching in Limpopo encouraged memorisation more than understanding of concepts thus application of new information to real situations was a challenge. Reading was done in bits which led to us not being fluent. Learners will read sounds or syllables instead of words. Nevertheless, we managed to acquire literacy and we are better off than learners of today who are unable to read and write. I started learning English at Grade one, mostly as oral and when I was in grade five all subjects were taught in English. My husband gave me my first cellphone as a present and I felt on top of the world. I receive verses from the Bible

every day. When I read the play we did in class *Love, Crime and Johannesburg*, I annoyed by the swearing words. But at the same time it is so interesting and amusing to read but I wish there was a way to see this play on stage. I like both fiction and real life stories on TV. I love watching wild life documentaries, because they are real and offer me the opportunity that I will not ordinarily see. When I need to flee from real life, I hide in soaps. Now I don't have time so *Generations* is the only one watch daily. I become so emotional sometimes when things do not happen the way I expected in the soapie. I believe I am better person now, than before I engaged in writing a journal. It helps to write things which I will normally not talk about. It is a way of relaxing, refreshing and releasing all the toxins that are built up in my memories. I have to confess that initially it was a burden. I only waited for the last minute and just wrote for the sake of submission. But you put aside time to read and comment in each journal, that has motivated me. If you can read all, then I can write one. I am now able to reflect to something I have read. I can now engage in a text; question it, criticize it or even give an opinion. I cannot say I am fluent in English, but I am seeing tremendous improvements. I hope by the end of this course, I will be able to look back and appreciate what this journal has done for me. I am now able to operate a computer to type my assignments. These days I buy books, mostly religious books. I read mostly the bible, newspapers and magazines. I used to be selective, reading gossip columns, recipes, games for pleasure and entertainment. I lacked motivation to read academically. This changed dramatically with my enrolment with Wits. The few first months were a wakeup call that made me realise that I need to have a mind shift on how to study. I gradually understood what it means to be a student. Now I know that I need to use the resources available - library, digital media for research and study. When I read more, I have realised that I gain more knowledge. As I gain more knowledge I also engage with different academic articles, theories and viewpoints. I can now critically analyse other people's viewpoints and come with my standpoints. I never had this skill (critical thinking) but Wits had developed this skill (though not yet fully developed, is a step in the right direction). I still read for pleasure, but now I can also read for information.

Koketso

I am a 40-year-old Sepedi speaker. I am equally comfortable in Setswana which I learnt growing up in a township near Pretoria. I matriculated¹⁸ and went to a Teacher Training College where I got a Senior Primary Teachers Diploma. I have other education qualifications: ACE in Mathematics Education and a B.Ed.. (Hons) in Maths Education from the University of Limpopo. I also have a Primary Mathematics Education Diploma from Technikon SA. I did not want to be a teacher. I applied at a nursing college but did not receive a reply from them. I enjoy teaching and here I am seventeen years later still happy. When I was a child my grandmother was always reading a bible for me while I was young I could not read but while she was away I would imitate her and just open any page and start reading as if I knew what I was reading. I went to live with my father near Pretoria and he was a policeman. I used to read the case dockets he brought home because I wanted to read so much. There was a dispute between my grandmother and my father. He wanted me to learn Sepedi and my grandmother wanted me to learn Afrikaans. It was difficult for me to learn English in class. It was introduced in third term and we were allowed to talk English in class during the English lesson. I was given books to read because I was performing poorly in both Sepedi and English. This motivated me and I was interested in reading more books in Sepedi and English. When I was in Grade 2, my sister was in Grade 5 and I would take her books and read them and imitate her while doing her recitations. One day I tried to read an Afrikaans book which was a grammar book. My grandmother was so impressed that I can read an Afrikaans book in Grade 2. I use my reading to think about God. I read an article in a magazine about a family who think they are cursed. I believe that God has a way of speaking to us. Maybe God want the family to repent and follow him. I love romantic magazines, Mills and Boone romantic novels and I buy them every month. Literacy is important for empowering people. I enjoyed writing in my journal because it helped me improve my English. I also love the freedom of writing in the English journal, that there is no limitation on what is written. I like that you mark the journal and correct my grammar. I am afraid of being asked a question in class in case I am laughed at. I also am too afraid to speak up in class. I am a responsible person and the workload is sometimes too much. That is why I did not go to the theatre. I also don't get the chance to read for pleasure anymore because there is too much work.

Lethabo

I am 39 years old and I speak Sepedi. I have Senior Primary Teachers' Diploma and a certificate from Unisa specialising in traumatised children. I always wanted to be a teacher and am passionate about my profession. I love helping children learn to read and write. I grew up being cared for by an illiterate grandmother. We were not reading in fact they overloaded us with manual works like cleaning the house, going out to fetch some water, the wood, something like that and at the end of the day we slept, doing nothing. My granny used to tell us stories. I remember one day she was telling us a story about a little girl who did not listen to the parents so whenever there was something she used to talk to us we used to remember that maybe if I don't do this maybe I will land up being the same as the one that I heard in the story. My father would buy me books and help me read and explain what the stories were all about. I gained a lot from those books and I was confident and spoke openly in English. I used to take those books to my friends and read with them too. I felt grateful that I can explain the story to them. My English was good. By the time I was in matric. I was just flowing. Now I feel confident about myself. I'm proud of myself. It was valuable to me. The use of these two languages didn't give me problems ... I remember most of the time I would translate sentences to English. My sister would laugh at me but I did enjoy it. One of the sentences that I liked was "the pot is boiling". I started playing with these sentences and finally I understood what I was saying. I would first phrase a sentence in my mother tongue and then find English words and put them together and make a sentence. I got magazines from my teacher and would always do the word puzzles. I also read the newspaper. I was good in writing I wrote an essay: "The day I shall never forget" (in Sepedi) so I wrote an excellent essay that my teacher took it to the Std 10 and read it for them and I was so happy... I was so proud. The Abet classes have been good in my community because adults are learning to write the community is improving at large. Coming to Wits was a frightening thing. We were not used to this work. We would say to ourselves, there is work I must just start doing it now... so we just waited and waited and we're just having that fear of just starting to write. The way in which essays are written here and that your paragraphs they must join, there must be cohesion – we are not aware of that – we were just writing, writing, writing. Referencing is also new to me. I enjoyed the theatre and saw many new things. I wish to take my family one

day. It means hadn't I got this chance of coming to Wits I would never know about a theatre.

Mamoratwa

Teaching was my second choice of career. My parents could not afford to take me to university also I had a lack of career guidance from my teachers. I am Sepedi speaking and am 33 years old. Where I come from the teachers focus on writing rather than reading. When I came to Gauteng I was surprised that the children can read in Grade one. The teachers in Limpopo don't work effectively as teamwork and are selfish. There are no resources nearby. In my school the staff are older people and you cannot tell them anything. I am very involved at school. In the June holidays I attended a court case of one of our union members who was accused of mismanagement of money. Most of the schools in my area are not doing well. I read *Move* magazine. I read about a family in Britain who live on social grants. I think this is bad because they encourage the youth to become mothers at a young age. I also read about a singer who married a man from Nigeria who was a fake pastor. The foreigners are here for money not for caring about the country. We are not clever enough to make business. I read about the taxi industry strike. It's high time people must stop being greedy and share. There are also thieves on our campus. Stealing does not pay. One day these people will press the wrong people who will pay revenge. I have learned a lot of things at Wits every day we have learned something different from what we learned yesterday. I did not know how children develop at different stages. I have also learned computer skills. I am quite confident that I am going to apply this skill in my classroom. We are living in the world of challenge and people should learn to go with the beat. I was glad to go to the theatre because I feel embarrassed not knowing how theatre look like. I hope to take my family one day. Perseverance is the mother of success. We must change from the past and live the present. I didn't like poetry at school. I will read more poetry in the future. It is very difficult for a woman not being educated. "You teach a woman, you teach the nation". Education is the key to success. When I finished my studies I spent two years taking care of my daughter. The uneducated women said how I have wasted my parents' money. If my mother was educated I would not be where I am now, maybe I would have done something different than teaching. During TE we have learned a lot from the teachers and they have also learned from us. When I came to Wits I thought I

would learn about the RNCS but that is not how they have taught us. The reality is they are trying to equip us with quality of education and to develop us to be creative teachers with different skills giving us a broader knowledge

Mangalani

I am 44 and a Xitsonga speaker with a Junior Primary Teachers Diploma. I also have other degrees: BA degree, B.Ed. and a Further Diploma in Education. I love children because they are just themselves. They have taught me a lot. I'm a very passionate person, a Christian who likes the teaching of the best teacher, Jesus Christ. I read Christian books, TB Joshua is my favourite. Me and my friends send bible verses on our cell phones to each other for spiritual upliftment. Both of my parents were illiterate so I grew up with no reading material at home and only read what was necessary at school. I played teaching games with my friends and remember writing on the ground with stones. I was taught by teachers who were underqualified. The methods used then were teacher-centred, learners were spoon-fed with wrong techniques and therefore the reading and writing skills in our community is still very poor. The first time I did any serious reading at all was when she studied at university. I have got a computer but I do not use it. I only know how to use emails. I pay other people to type my assignments. My daughter laughs at me, "Mama, this is your laptop but you don't know how to use it". I say "Yes, I don't know, my girl, please be patient with me and teach me. I'm learning. I'm still new. Just treat me like a Grade R learner now. Now you are my teacher and she laughed at me". When I was a child I would read and write letters and help adults with banking. I also wrote letters to my older brother who was working in Gauteng. At Wits there is too much work and I do not read a lot. For relaxation I watch the TBN Christian channel on TV. Literacy is changing in my community. When I was at high school as a girl I was in the minority by that time because most of the people they believed in 'girls don't go to school'... they have to be taught to be good mothers and good housewives. Because my parents were illiterate there was no motivation from home to say you can read because they had no idea. Now things have changed in Limpopo because they've realised that when there is someone who can read and write in a family...something changes. And it goes further; when that person happens to be a professional from that he changes the background of the family. I bought encyclopaedias for my children because we know how important it is but it is not like

that with those parents of the children we teach. Reading for pleasure it is not our style. If you want to hide something from a black person you must write it down. In class when you asked us questions, we were just quiet not knowing how to answer you. We were afraid... we know that our English is not good. If we talk to the lecturer with our broken English in front of the other students we will have a bad name. Now I know the important thing is not the language but it is the idea that we have. We are always tired. I wish I can find that time and write my journal being relaxed and stress free, but there is no such time while you are a student at Wits University. I ended up telling myself that since I like writing, I will only submit my journal fortnightly. The workload make it difficult for me to do the things I like.

Masana

I have a passion of working with children because I have learnt that they are not like adults. I was motivated to be a teacher because my Grade 8 teacher was a beautiful and dignified lady. She portrayed herself in her dress and the way she spoke. I was not in your English class but I want to be part of your research. On TE I was surprised to see that everyday they've got a period of reading. They get a story book and they read. What amazed me was also to see the grade three doing mind maps. I started I started only to know about mind maps in your class, being an adult as I am. The way we taught it was not so advanced. In terms of reading and writing since I came to Wits it have changed a lot like when you write an essay like in History, it needs a lot of reading, understanding and research. You've got to go to the Internet so I'll say my reading has improved. We were taught just taught to memorise. We could just recite a rhyme without understanding and pronouncing it wrongly. Now I can see in terms of communication I have climbed a rung on the step ladder but being here has helped me a lot. I enjoy reading for pleasure but presently I just sometimes read *Bona*, *Drum* those magazines. I also like to read romantic novels, Mills and Boone and in the holidays I read Hadley Chase books. Even on Sunday I enjoy reading *The Sunday Times*, I like to read those gossip pages. A tragedy happened to me on Saturday on the computers. I went to type my education assignment on the main campus. I just placed a USB in the slot. I did not know that I have to save it, only to find on Monday when I went to the computer lab, I wanted to print it out there was nothing there. I was devastated but I told myself these things do happen, it's a sign showing me I still have to learn more about computers. In our

school there were computers for the staff to use. Whenever you have time you can come and type. I was not much interested until you gave us the assignment and told us we must type 1500 words! We teachers must emphasise reading and writing the language there and spelling the children use is not correct because of cell phones. In our school we did a lot of writing and reading, there was a project called *Read*. They bought many, many books to our school. Every classroom was having books and they were so interesting. I used to read to my learners. I had a challenge when teaching the learners had to read in the second language because one thing I realised I was doing the same thing as it was done to me by my teachers. They would write for instance “book” on the chalkboard and they say “book” and I repeat after them. So I realised one thing that this is the incorrect way of teaching.

Masingita

I’m coming from rural areas. Many elderly people there are illiterate. The youth and the middle-age can read and write but most of them didn’t finish high school and are unemployed. There is an Abet project, they teach learners up to third level. After that you can apply to do various skill jobs like carpentry, sewing, auxiliary nurse and bricklaying. The challenge facing illiterate people are lack of jobs. Lack of employment opportunities discouraged them to study further, because they know that even if they pass they will not get employment. Many are resorting to liquor to pass time. Some do not care whether they can read or not. I taught at Abet and I have seen the ignorance of people when it comes to education. We are faced with a lot of challenges recruiting learners for Abet. We stay far away from the city. There is no library and no newspaper so people are not encouraged to read. I started school at the age of seven. The medium of instruction was my mother tongue. By the time I was in Grade 2 I was good in writing in my own language. In grade 7 I heard our teacher talking about a certain book called ‘Xirhalagangi’ that it was exciting. Back home I asked my brother about it and he borrowed me the novel. It was short and in no time it was over. I read a lot of things: magazines and comics, I like reading. In grade 8 I read my brother’s novel. They were big books called ‘Xisomisana’. There was a sad Xitsonga story about the main character, she was abducted when she was young and forced into marriage by a man elderly enough to be her father. I was young when I read this book so I cried as I read the suffering she was in. I didn’t miss a page, even on way to school; I took time to read this

book. Fortunately there was a happy ending and I was also happy. In that grade I started experiencing English novels. I gave myself time to read. I read fast and finish and started again for more understanding. I even try to summarise novels which we used at schools. In higher grades I read lots of romance and Hadley Chase novels. I was discouraged to read and study English books when I went to the college. Before I go there I was expecting to be taught English, using English as a medium of instruction. I was taken aback when the lecturer used my mother tongue in an English lesson. I was demotivated and it inhibited my learning. When I came to Wits I was a bit nervous about speaking, even the language I used and writing. It has changed a lot. I used to read magazines like 'Drum' and 'Bona' and the newspaper but not anymore now I'm busy reading academic stuff. Your class was my first time to write a journal. I like writing. I think I was improving in my language when I am writing.

Molebogeng

I am 36 years old and a Sepedi speaker. I completed a Junior Primary Teacher's diploma, and then a Further Diploma in Education Management and an ACE in Life Orientation. I had two teachers who inspired me because of the love and commitment they had for us. I was regarded as a dull child by other teachers because of my background. These teachers saw capabilities in me besides my poverty. They helped me in building and developing my confidence. So I saw the opportunity to do that for other children. If I can help children to have passion of what they are doing then I have achieved my goals. I want to implement what I have learnt at Wits on how to teach. Children know what they want from the teacher even though they cannot tell. On TE I had to read a story they listened attentively and even became emotional as they relate that story with their everyday lives. This small boy taught me how I should pronounce the words correctly. My dream is to write Sepedi literature book about my experience as an adult student the challenges I met after leaving my family to work to become a student. I am a mother of three children, one boy and two girls. Being a student at Wits makes me happy, this is the opportunity of making a mark on my province, school and community. They are all waiting with open arms to embrace me when I finish my degree. Most of the people in my community were not educated, the boys go to school just to pass time until their eighteenth birthday and then they queue for jobs on the mines. One man introduced

the ABET and computer literacy. This had a positive influence on the community. Because it is surrounded by mountains everyone knows each other's good news. News travels fast if the son of so-and-so just completed his diploma in Electrical engineering or IT. Everyone is willing to go to school to be something else now. When I grew up we used to sit around the fire listening to stories narrated by the elders. My grandmother would demonstrate the singing and dancing parts. After narrating the story my grandmother would tell us the moral view of the story. At school our teachers would give us words to read at home, written on the cardboard boxes of soap or cornflakes. We didn't use books and pencils, we used slates and chalk. Journal is a way of ventilating my inner feelings which are in my heart. I have written one before when I was sent by the mine with another teacher to spend time at a school in Johannesburg. The children there wrote journals. One girl gave me her journals to read with beautiful handwriting. She touched my heart because she said she wanted to go to the moon. For me, she dreamed big not like everybody else. So I write stuff in my journal, my feelings, stories about my life and family and my English has improved. Sometimes I need to talk to someone. You know we are adults far from our homes and this journal helps to communicate my thoughts and challenges.

Motle

I have decided to become a teacher because my parents didn't have money to take me to university. When you are literate it will be easy for you to travel anywhere you like - you can do it because you know how to read, you know how to write. My literacy has changed at Wits because now I can discuss using the medium of instruction that is English which at home I was not using. When I was a child there was not a lot of reading and writing. Actually we only focused a lot on writing because for reading there were no resources. We find a book with the teacher only. The teacher must read to you maybe write on the board so that you can follow but we didn't have our own books like children of today have their own textbook to read at home. Our teachers were using pictures and we have to formulate some sentences. You have to explain what is happening on that picture. When we arrive at home we have to play school. Someone was a teacher there and we would write on the ground with a stick or finger. Now I like reading magazines about babies and pregnancy. My children are 12, 8, and 3. Now I am no longer reading magazines

because there is too much work and I just do school writing. At our school there was this project of *Read* with all the resources that we can use to teach the learners to read and write. I was starting by teaching them the sounds of letters, after those sounds, I helped them make words, then sentences. I used the guides that the *Read* project were giving us. There were big books and little books. I take the big book and I read the story first and they listen. I read the story twice when I want to do the shared reading with them. I read the story twice. After reading the story twice, I read the story with the learners after that they will come one by one and read on their own. I was reading in English in my class. We would do shared writing where I write on the board together with the learners and after that when I gave them the learner's book then they write their own exercises filling in the missing words or say the sequence of the story on their books. What I saw on TE that I liked was there was a lot of pictures on the wall that makes the environment of teaching to be easy and acceptable to learners. When I go home I would like my class to be like that one. Stories are important they teach us to show respect to other people, more especially to those who are elderly to us. To become responsible and make decisions in life. My language is Xitsonga and it taught me to speak respect to each and every person I come across, mostly those whom I do not know.

Ntsako

There are no libraries in my community. We only have one place quite far away selling newspapers everyday but few people could afford to buy them. There are many drop outs and illiterate people. Many who have failed matric have not furthered their studies and sit doing nothing. My mum used to teach ABET classes. During ploughing time she knew that class would be empty as women work in the fields. It was difficult because they want to learn but they have other responsibilities and it causes them to drop out. An interest in reading and writing needs to be instilled in young people but poverty is a problem. Those who manage to further their studies enjoy reading because they find a wide scope of materials. Today's youth most can't read and write because they are pre-occupied with computers and cell phones. Most parents cannot read and write so the learners encounter reading and writing at school only and do not have anyone at home to help them. That is not enough to motivate reading for enjoyment or to expand knowledge. Most schools don't have libraries. I grew up hearing my grandmother and my parents reading the bible and I

did not read until I go to school. I started school in Xitsonga, my mother tongue. Learning in my home language has widened my vocabulary and I was able to move from MT to English and Afrikaans. English was also introduced in Sub A; it was songs, rhymes, greetings and naming objects. We started writing English words in Std 1. Loud reading helped me that was how I was sure of my pronunciations, flow and the use of punctuation marks. I think that fear of punishment also motivated me to continue reading. Reading more books also increased my love for reading and I continue to grow and love reading books in Xitsonga and English. To be literate means being able to read and write but there are some subjects that have their own language, so a literate person goes beyond simple everyday language. In primary years I grew up with my grandfather who was a principal and he encouraged us with reading so I enjoyed reading. When it comes to writing I was taught by my grandmother who was also a teacher. She was very good in handwriting that's why I can write beautifully. My father was also a teacher and he bought books and a newspaper and magazines. He encouraged us to read. He had a timetable and would check us. In high school our teachers encouraged us to read. As part of our school work we had to find five novels, read and summarise them until matric, for marks. We grew to love reading and exchanged books amongst us. At Wits I've become interested in the dictionary. I look at words and page through reading it for about thirty minutes and then I get to my work. To be able to write an assignment successfully I have to do a lot of reading and sometimes read it more than once to gain understanding and learn the words. Previously I just read through a book and I see a word I don't understand this word I just pass through but now I look them up in the dictionary. I read for pleasure maybe once in 8 weeks. I read the bible and spiritual magazines for my Christianity. I don't have a problem with a computer. I've been doing it for years. If I want to learn something, I'll just sit in front of the computer and I will not leave until I know how to do it. When our group come to Wits it was so different because it's long since we've been at school and we did not expect such a high standard. Progress is very slow but I enjoyed free writing in our journals. You said we could write anything and I realised it worked. I enjoyed my Library Science class and learnt about the importance of reading aloud to children. I thought that I was in the right place at the right time because I have a 6 years old daughter and an 18 month old son. I have join a Book Club to buy books for them but I was waiting for my daughter to read it on her own. Now I started reading to

them before bed and after some times my son know when to huff and puff in the story *The Three Little Pigs* and it is so easy to get them to sleep. When we go shopping they are interested in books and we could sit and I read to them. I am also bonding with them and it is a very wonderful experience.

Ntsovelo

I wanted to study law but my father persuaded me to study teaching because my parents are both teachers. I enjoy teaching and I have realised I have this calling to be a teacher. I do not regret it at all. I love children and I want to be part of their success. When I grew up I liked reading. I was inspired by my father and there was a library at home, a shelf with many books there, but many were Afrikaans books because by that time, my father, they were learning Biology, Agriculture in Afrikaans. He used to buy text books for us. I remember a novel that I first read in English was *Oliver Twist*. I used to write a lot. There was a chalk board at home. I remember also I used to buy magazines for teachers like *Educama*. I used to just read about teachers. When I was doing my matric the poems were there, all those things. I was exposed to reading a lot of materials compared to my friends I was at school with. These days I am channelled I just read academic things. I am computer literate. I did a course for twelve months and have a certificate. I have my own laptop. Even at school I was the one who would type for them. The principal would rely on me because out of eighteen teachers I was the only one. I said that the SGB must pay me for this or they should get a secretary because it was a lot of extra work. When I went back on TE I told them to get Internet at the school. They said “What is that thing? Hey you like these things!” and I said “Yes it’s because I am young I have to”. Yesterday I was looking for some books at the library. I don’t go there, I just go to ‘Wits Library’ and I find the books and the shelves and I go there and look for the book. Everything I do – I just Google it. I use technology. I demand a lot, the principal knows. I know when the new books arrive at school and I check and record them. Then I take them and share with my colleagues. So I was the one in charge. But even if they supply they send only ten books and so fifty learners have to share. There is no variety of books so the children have only two books maybe the whole year so they end up memorising those books. My classes were competent compared to the others. They would do the story telling and drama, they would write, they would do choral verse, a lot of activities. If we had like a party at school, my

learners, they would have some items there because I would train them and they would just represent the school. I used to write dramas for competitions and my children won. It was at the love and passion. I told myself there's nothing hard with things. For one competition we did *Romeo and Juliet*. That was so fantastic! The costumes, the environment and the mood. Our circuit manager was there. She just cried tears and said "I can't believe these are primary school children acting *Romeo and Juliet*, speaking that English, you know!" I also couldn't believe these kids. Kids are just like clay!

Ntsumi

I did not know about careers except teaching and nursing but now I know that I love to bring a change and impact children's lives. At first I chose teaching just to work and also take care of my child. My father was working in this company and every time he came back home he brought literacy books with bold letters and would ask us to read. I would cry all the time because it was like torture I didn't understand why he wanted us to read. But he did not give up on us and I did not understand he did not even go to school but could speak English so he was speaking to us. He laid a beautiful foundation in English for me and my siblings. Sometimes it was torture. We were just told we were going to Johannesburg and when we arrive he brings the books and he would say "What are you learning at school?" because we couldn't read. My brother was older. I read every book he read whether Xitsonga or Afrikaans. When I was at school rote learning was used to teach English. I can still hear the rhymes that my teacher taught us "As busy as a bee"; "A dog barks". Now I enjoy reading. I read almost every day. I read religious books, the bible and motivational books. If I read a newspaper it's just read the front page, to get the news. I thought I would start writing a book I wanted to write a biography about myself, about the obstacles I came across. I just wrote two pages. Last year I started again and said "I am going to write" I thought December time I am going to write a page a day at least but I am so weak. Our curriculum advisers said there are not many books so she was encouraging us to write books in our classes with our learners as we are teaching them, teach them how to write their own books. I write only one book. There's still a lot of illiteracy where we come from. There are still those who drop out of school or don't go to school. I once asked learners to bring old magazines to class. It was like asking for a TV set. Magazines are not there in the

remote places because everything is very slow. Also magazines and newspapers cost a lot and the chief's kraal is the source of information because it doesn't cost a cent. We try to make sure that those around us they can read especially those learners that are in our classes. I remember in 1998 I had an older student, I gave the others passages while I sat at a table with him. He was really struggling but in two months he could read because I made him passages which he underlined words he could read. I think of all the learners I have helped and those who failed because of the system, lack of parental support. There is still a lot to be done in Limpopo. I am glad I will be part of the solution in my community. I have had a lot of people compliment me for studying at Wits and encouraged me not to quit.

Nyeleti

In my family there was no teacher and my father, who was illiterate, chose teaching for me. I saw that teachers were using the old way of teaching and they resist change so I accepted my father's suggestion so that I could improve the method of teaching in my community. I want to identify the problems that cause the high failure rate and to come up with solutions. When I was in Grade 1 and 2 we were not using books, we used the stones, called 'minyaka'. After school we would run around looking for those stones so that the following day to take to school to write with. We wrote on the floor. I think being literate means more than reading and writing it means to do this with understanding. Those teachers who taught us English were not even sure of the language, they were not qualified enough but expect us to be qualified. It affected us a lot we are still struggling. When we come here, we are not aware that there is an academic language. To us it was all English that's why we used to put every word we think about when we write the essays. Any word that comes into our heads we just wrote it down not knowing that we were expected to write academically. I've improved a lot there. This increased my self-esteem and confidence because now I can talk publically. I know now when we are having an assignment we must analyse to go deeper into whatever it is that we are expected to deeper. When I was at teacher training college it was my very first time to see a white lecturer standing in front of me and the tone was totally different, I couldn't understand because of the way they pronounce words compared to us. I like reading magazines, more especially, *You*. I also like religious books and novels and I also want to see my children being motivated. I have bought a lot of books last year

from the Wits library to start my own library for my kids so that I motivate them to enjoy reading. I grew up liking reading and every time in the literacy period I make sure I read. So it developed to my children in the classroom situation. I wanted them to read fluently. That's what is important in my classroom to make sure that my learners can read fluently.

Shiluva

In my community most people didn't go to school and cannot read and write but now some are going to ABET classes but most of the old ones they say they are done with this, it is not for them. It has a negative impact because if you cannot read you cannot teach the others to read. They say to the children "Hey I'm not the teacher. Go and ask your teacher, this is not my work". They are really not interested in the children's school work. When we talk about literacy in Limpopo we focus mainly on the languages. We did not know that you had to be literate in Life Skills and numeracy. We say you are literate when you know how to speak that language or know how to read and write. When I came to Wits my view changed and I learnt that literacy is more than reading and writing. You can be computer literate. Now I think being literate understanding the usage of something new. From standard three to standard five at school we had Tswana, English and Afrikaans readers so there were books in those olden times. The government used to distribute books to schools so every learner will be having his or her own book. The teacher would read the sentence and we will read after the teacher. Then after reading, the teacher will say a word and goes around asking you to point at the word she said. Now I read religious books. I read Christian books like now I was reading the book *Unending Spring of Joy* by Pastor Anita. She was teaching us that we all have that joy inside even if you are experiencing some difficulties this joy that is imparted inside of you. You don't have to look at the circumstances; even if you are failing the exams you don't have to panic... you have to walk in that joy. I sometimes read magazines like 'Move'. I just want to see the TV schedules. I enjoy to watch TV. I only wrote, I think one article in my English journal. It was a lot of work. My literacy is improving at Wits especially on writing essays. We thought introducing a topic is explaining what that topic is about but now we have known that when we introduce the topic you have specified what you are going to write about in your essay and we can be able to plan what we are going to do in our essay and stick to that plan. The other thing that was

challenging was when they would say: “Use these sources” so it was not an easy thing. It has changed now, it’s better. I enjoyed Library Science. Now I know it is important to read to children from an early age. It’s like I was awakened into reality. But I was still wondering “Is this not the teacher’s work, how can parents take the teacher’s work? It is true. Children cannot be left to teachers alone. They need to be read aloud to, even at home. What a lot I was missing. Children are as human as I am, they need to be engaged. The course helped me to love story books. I have started devoting my time on them I wanted to engage myself on reading them. Children also need to have fun. I think fiction helps in giving children ideas on how to solve their personal problem they will encounter. I was a reader before but I stopped loving to read because after trying to read a certain prescribed book in Std 7. The teacher failed to read it with us so I decided to read it on my own. I could not understand a lot of words. Then I stopped reading stories books.

Tokologo

I am 40 years old and have been teaching for seven years at Foundation Phase level (Grades 1-3). I am Sepedi speaking and I matriculated when I was 30. I have a Primary Teachers Diploma from a teachers’ college and a BA degree which he studied part-time through Unisa. I wanted to do a profession in agriculture but my family could not afford university fees so I became a teacher. I love for soccer and that introduced me to reading newspapers so I buy newspaper almost every day. First I just read the part pertaining to soccer but now I like reading political news. I buy a newspaper almost every day. In my teaching we don’t have reading books so the focus is just on writing. Where I come from the nearest library is 120km away and most people are farmworkers so they cannot read and write so learners don’t have someone to assist them in reading. At school we didn’t write stories, we just copied off the board. We spent most of our time singing, it was our only way of entertainment as youths. To teach reading I just took some papers and write Sepedi words on that paper. The learners have to take those papers back to home so they can go and study. The first time I entered a library it was here. I did my TE in Limpopo so I’ve already started a library at my school in a small classroom. I’ve tried to sort some books so each and every afternoon then the learners go there and read. I’m not sure if the teachers there are following this, but I’ve already started. I also started journals with the Grade 2 class. I asked them to write about a teacher

you like and why. I learnt about the school within a period of two days. I will do it again. I realised in my first winter holidays that my friends thought maybe I was no longer belonging to their class. I told myself that no matter what these are the people I grew up with and would love to spend my life with. So I went to the bush to herd cattle and attended soccer matches and everyone could see that I was Tokologo who they grew up with and not a student of Wits. In my winter holidays I also showed my fiancée my journal that you gave me. She was jealous of it. I started reading *Animal Farm*. It is exciting and interesting. I have learnt a lot at Wits. The importance of critical thinking, how children can be grouped and encouraged to be part of a class discussion. I enjoyed the poetry course. I will love to read more poetry but honestly if I struggle I will just close the chapter about poetry in my life. I want to follow my hero Esau who gave up much to teach literacy to the children in our community.

Unwana

I was forced to be a teacher because my parents were not having money to pay for university. I really wanted to be a social worker. I trained at the same college as Shiluva. We became friends there. We trained to be Senior Primary teachers. When you come new to the school I had to teach the little ones. You won't argue because you want to have a job. My mother-tongue is Xitsonga and at the school there were Tshivenda teachers so they made me teach Foundation Phase because the little ones can't speak Tshivenda. I had to try and learn how to teach them. There were no books for the learners so I prepared my lesson and then selected some words for vocabulary and write them on the board. The whole class must read off the board and then practice writing those words over in their books. When I was asking the questions I would call on the learners to come and write on the board first then they would copy in their books. The classes were big. We had two teachers with one hundred and five children in one classroom. I also used to tell them stories and they would listen and I would ask them questions. My own children went to a private school so sometimes when they brought their work home, I would look at what they were doing and do it with my learners, like acting and songs to learn the body parts in English. When I came here to Wits I felt I knew about reading and writing. But now I see that literacy is much more. When I came here I didn't know anything about a computer. Here I have had to learn about it. At our school there was a certain lady that was hired to use it and we were not allowed to use the computer. My English

has improved a lot here at Wits too because of the English journals. At our school when the OBE curriculum came in the people just threw away the old books. They said they were old fashioned. It was ignorance, a book is still a book. I learnt to read by taking my sister's novels and reading them. Our teacher used to do dictations with us and if we got everything right we got a piece of bread with margarine on it. I was very motivated and got ten out of ten and would get bread. I like to read magazines with stories about the actors. I also read the bible at church. I write to try and improve my English. I won't write one in my home language because who is going to correct me? I only wrote one entry, it was a lot of work. On TE I noticed that the teachers don't sit in their chairs like we do at home they are always busy with their children and in class. And time is short for them and when they are reading the story from the book, after that children are able to write sentences or they write the story in their books or they write sentences using those words from the story. I didn't know before how to do phonics. The teacher on TE helped me pronounce those phonics so that I can teach my children. It's easy for children to grasp after learning the phonics. At our school we used to do creative writing like we would give them the picture like a picture of Nelson Mandela and they pasted it on their books and we said: "Write anything about that". I have learnt a lot at Wits because when I first came and they gave us a topic like your English at first it was a disaster. I complained a lot to my roommate. I say: "Sister, I don't understand the question. I strongly say: "Do an introduction for me... I gave up." And she said: "Wake up, you have to do this yourself" But nowadays at least I know... I understand.

Vuthlari

I was forced by circumstances to become a teacher. As teachers we are able to help our community but without literacy it means there is nothing that we can offer. When I come here for the first time I didn't have that rote knowledge about literacy I was only looking at reading and writing but now I have learnt from communication with others. My literacy in English have improved because at home I was only focussing on my home language because where we stay there is only one group of languages. I sometimes read magazines but I don't like this long article I rather read short article about real life stories. I usually buy *Drum* even maybe twice a month and the part I enjoy is picture puzzles. Sometimes when I am at home when I have time I also

enjoy reading Christian books more especially like the one written by, I think it's Richard Roberts, *The God of the Second Chance*. I used to read it time and again. Every time when I read that book I find something inside that book that encourage me to go on with life because I know that if I make a mistake there is a second chance to make up for that mistake. In my classroom at Limpopo even though I taught only two years in Foundation phase before that I taught the Intermediate phase. So I was still struggling in Foundation phase We were using that method for *Breakthrough to Literacy* (BTL) programme starting with the sentence, then we are going down to teach them words until we reach the sound. I would read to the children calling them to the mats and they will be quiet and show interest in whatever you are doing so they enjoy it, listening to stories. In my presentation sometimes I stop and ask them questions about what is happening in the story so I can make sure my learners are following the story the way I tell it. When it comes to writing we were using that BTL method it was very easy when it comes to writing because that method does not encourage learners to cram. Every day when I start a lesson we have a sentence for the day. I think with BTL when it comes to writing it's easier because the learners know exactly what he or she is expected to write. Something I learned from TE was to give the learners some words on the topic they must write. Where I come from actually there are a lot of people who are still illiterate. They don't see the value of learning because they know that at the end of the day there is no place for them to go and work. To find a newspaper you must find someone who is working at the township so that when that person comes back he can have a newspaper for you to read. In your class it was my first time to do the journals but I found it interesting but more especially because I realise that when you take our journals you give your time to mark it and comment so I was impressed by those comments most of the time and they were encouraging me to write. When they come back I can reflect what went wrong I really enjoyed it

APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT

Dear student

This year, 2009, is the first time that qualified and experienced teachers like you have come to Wits to do a B.Ed. degree. I want to understand the demands that a degree places on your use of language and literacy. I would like to invite you to be part of this research. If you agree to participate, it will not take up much of your time. In order to research this formally and if you choose to take part, I need to ask for your permission to use the following:

1. I will ask you to fill out a short questionnaire which will ask you for biographical information about yourself. This should not take longer than 30 minutes to complete. You may choose not to answer some of the questions.
2. I would like permission to use the information in your literacy reflective journals. You may tell me if there are sections you would not like to have included in the research.
3. I would also like your permission to use your teaching practice reflective journals. Again, you may tell me if there are sections you would not like to have included in the research.
4. Some of you will be asked to be part of a discussion group with me. You can choose whether you would like to participate or not. These discussions will take about 1 ½ hours.

You are assured of confidentiality. Your name and any references that will indicate who you are will not be used in any way in the report on the findings of this research nor in any discussions of this research both in private and in public.

You will not be forced to take part in this research. If you no longer want to be a part of the research you need only tell me. Your decision to participate or not will have no effect on your results in *English in Education*. It will also not make a difference to your relationship with me, your lecturer; I will still do my best to assist you to do well in this course.

The findings of this research will be used for a thesis for a PhD degree. They will also be used in papers for presentation at academic conferences and/or for publication in academic journals. These findings will be made available to you should you want to see them.

If you are willing to participate in this research, please will you sign the letter of consent over the page?

Thanks for your time

**CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH STUDY AND TO THE
PUBLICATION OF THE RESULTS:**

1. I understand that Ms Toni Gennrich is doing research to understand the literacy needs of practising teachers for both present and in-service training.
2. I agree to take part in this research study. I understand that I will complete a questionnaire and that my literacy journals and reflective journals from my teaching practice will be used.
3. I accept that the results of this research will be used for her academic purposes only. The results may be used for writing papers for presentation at conferences or publication in academic journals.
4. I understand that my name, my school, the area I come from and any identifying details will not be used in any report describing the research study or in any discussions, private or public.
5. I agree to participate in this research study but I understand that if, at any point, I change my mind, I am entitled to withdraw my agreement to participate. My decision to participate or not will have no effect on my results in English in Education. It will also not make a difference to my lecturer's relationship with me.

NAME:

STUDENT NUMBER:

SIGNATURE:

CONTACT NUMBER:

APPENDIX C: BIOGRAPHICAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Biographical Questionnaire: Thank you for agreeing to answer these questions. Read and answer in writing the following questions. If you are not sure what is meant by the question, please ask me:

Name:

Date of birth:

Gender:

Number of years you have taught:

Grades you have taught:

Type/s of schools you have taught in. Tick the correct option/s:

Rural

Township

Urban

What is your mother tongue?

What other languages do you speak?

List the languages that you read and write:

List the languages that you teach in:

What is the last grade you completed at high school?

Grade:

Year acquired:

Complete the following table:

Qualifications obtained after school	Name of institution	Town/city where based	Number of years taken to complete qualification

Write a short note on what made you decide to become a teacher:

APPENDIX D: CONSENT TO USE TE OBSERVATION FORMS

Dear Research Participant

As you know, I am currently researching experiences and attitudes and understanding of literacy of the teachers from Limpopo Province who are studying for a B.Ed. degree at the University of the Witwatersrand.

I would like to ask your permission to use the feedback you have received from the lessons you taught on teaching experience. I will access the copies of the feedback from the Teaching Experience office. I will not use your names nor any information that might indicate who you are. Your identity will be protected.

Please be assured that you do not have to give permission to do so. You will not be penalised in any way should you decide not to allow me to use the Teaching Experience feedback for student teachers forms for my research.

If you are happy for me to use these documents, please sign the following:

1. I understand that Ms Toni Gennrich is doing research about the experiences and literacy of teachers from Limpopo Province.
2. I agree to her use of the feedback I have received from teachers who observed my lessons on teaching experience as part of this research.
3. I accept that the results of this research will be used towards academic qualifications. In addition, the results may be used for writing papers for presentation at conferences or publication in academic journals.
4. I understand that my name, my school, the area I come from and any identifying details will not be used in any report describing the research study or in any discussion, private or public.
5. I agree to participate in this research study but I understand that if, at any point, I change my mind, I am entitled to withdraw my agreement to participate.

NAME and SURNAME:

STUDENT NUMBER:

SIGNATURE:

CONTACT NUMBER:

APPENDIX E: CONSENT TO USE LIBRARY SCIENCE JOURNALS

Dear Research Participant

As you know I am currently researching experiences and attitudes and understanding of literacy of the teachers from Limpopo Province who are studying for a B.Ed. degree at the University of the Witwatersrand.

The journals that you have kept for Library Science are very interesting and have much information that would help my research.

I would like to ask your permission to use your Library Science Journals for my research. I will not use your names nor any information that might indicate who you are. Your identity will be protected.

Please be assured that you do not have to give permission to do so. You will not be penalised in any way should you decide not to allow me to use the Library Science Journals for my research.

If you are happy for me to use the journal, please sign the following:

1. I understand that Ms Toni Gennrich is doing research about the experiences and literacy of teachers from Limpopo Province.
2. I agree to her use of my Library Science Journal as part of this research.
3. I accept that the results of this research will be used towards academic qualifications. In addition, the results may be used for writing papers for presentation at conferences or publication in academic journals.
4. I understand that my name, my school, the area I come from and any identifying details will not be used in any report describing the research study or in any discussion, private or public.
5. I agree to participate in this research study but I understand that if, at any point, I change my mind, I am entitled to withdraw my agreement to participate.

NAME and SURNAME:

STUDENT NUMBER:

SIGNATURE:

CONTACT NUMBER:

APPENDIX F: MODULES OF THE ENGLISH COURSE

ENGLISH 2009

ENGLISH IN EDUCATION A

1.	Language and identity	Assignment (Language biography)
2.	Academic literacy	Assignment
3.	Children's literature	Examination
4.	Language and Education	Examination

ENGLISH IN EDUCATION B

1.	Drama " <i>Love, Crime, Johannesburg</i> "	Assignment
2.	Poetry –selected poems from <i>Seasons come to pass</i>	Assignment
3.	Short stories	Examination
4.	Fiction: <i>Cry the Beloved Country</i> by Alan Paton <i>Savannah</i> by Jenny Robson	Examination

APPENDIX G: THREE INITIAL JOURNAL TOPICS

Topic one (26 March 2009):

What is reading used for in the community you come from? Write a short description of your community.

Topic two (21 April 2009):

1. Please explain whether you acquired literacy in your mother tongue or not.
Was this valuable or not for you?
2. Describe how you started learning English.
3. Write a personal response to something you have read this week.

Topic three (28 April 2009):

Tell me about the people in your community who help others with their reading and writing (those who cannot read and write efficiently). What are the circumstances and how is this done?

APPENDIX H: LIST OF PROMPTS FOR ENGLISH REFLECTIVE JOURNALS

Please remember to write a response to do the following every week:

1. Write a response to something they have read in the week.
2. Write the following: Something I have learnt this week that I would like to implement in my classroom or not implement in my classroom

In addition you can choose one of these topics or write on something of your own choice, related to literacy.

1. Television in my life- the programmes I have enjoyed watching and why I enjoy them.
2. What literacy means to me.
3. How I would define literacy.
4. What I currently do in my classroom to promote literacy.
5. The reading I was expected to do at school and my feelings about this and attitudes towards it.
6. The reading tasks I do with my learners.
7. What I do to teach writing to my learners.
8. Literacy role models in my life: Who I have wanted to be like in terms of literacy.
9. Poetry I have enjoyed and enjoy.
10. Magazines and newspapers and the role they have played in my life and the life of my community.
11. What I have learnt from my grandparents.
12. Reading and writing in religious organisations.
13. Books I have read and remember.
14. Writing in societies and clubs in my community.
15. The importance of debating in my school.
16. Games I played as a child and/or games I play with my own learners or children.
17. Idioms, proverbs and riddles- why they are important in my culture.
18. Radio- the programmes I enjoy and why.
19. Family histories in stories and poems: The importance of this in my culture.
20. What I learnt about literacy on teaching practice.
21. The effect on women in my community of not being educated or being taught to read and write.
22. The importance of names in our culture.
23. What do you use reading and writing for outside of the classroom?
24. Discuss gender issues in your community in terms of literacy.

25. What did you read while studying for your teaching diploma?
26. What written materials are available in your mother tongue where you come from?
27. Story time- what it means to me.
28. My cell phone: What I use it for and how I use it.
29. Memorising- what I memorised growing up and why.
30. Community information: How it is distributed to everyone in the community.
31. The role of a library in my life.

APPENDIX I: TOPIC GUIDE FOR FOCUS GROUPS 2010

1. What does “being literate” mean to you?
2. Has this changed during your first year at Wits? How?
3. What kind of reading and writing did you do as children?
4. What kind of reading and writing do you do as adults?
5. When you were teachers in Limpopo, what kind of reading and writing happened in your classrooms?
6. How is literacy viewed in the community you come from?
7. When you were on TE did you learn anything new about teaching literacy?
8. Was there anything you saw that you would like to incorporate in your teaching of literacy when you go back to Limpopo?
9. What was the English Reflective journal writing experience like for you?

APPENDIX J: TE JOURNAL INSTRUCTIONS

Keeping a Reflective Journal during Teaching Experience

1. Use the same A 4 hard-covered lined book, from 1st to 4th year. Take it to school every day.
2. Write regularly in your journal during your TE. Please date your entries.
3. Your lesson preparation *already* describes what you and learners did during the lessons. Don't repeat this in your journal. Use your journal to focus on what you *learn about being a teacher*.
4. Your journal is a conversation between you and your university tutor. It is important for your university tutor to see how you understand your teaching and your experiences in the classroom. At the beginning of "crit visits", give your preparation file and your journal to your university tutor.

Some ideas for your reflective journal

- During the first few days, write a short description of the school. How is this school different from others you have attended?
- All student teachers should be observing your supervising teachers teach. You may see interesting strategies / techniques or ideas that your supervising teachers use. Describe them in the journal, and reflect on why you think they are useful in promoting real learning.
- When you teach lessons, you may reflect on any of the following
 - What did you learn about being a teacher today?
 - How did your lessons go? What specifically made them successful?
 - Think carefully about lessons that didn't go well. What could have caused this?
 - What surprised you during the day or during your lessons?
 - How much new learning did you organise for your learners today?
 - How did your confidence in your content knowledge affect your ability to prepare, teach and deliver today's lesson/s?
 - How did you know if learners understood the work or not? What specifically didn't they understand? How could you help them better next time?
 - If you needed to adjust your lesson while it was in progress, what were your reasons?
 - How have you adapted your teaching / lessons to different classes / to this school context?
 - Describe incidents that provoked a strong emotional reaction within you. What happened, and why did it make you feel the way you did? How did you cope?
- When something interesting happens during a lesson, you may write an incident report. What happened? Why did you find this interesting? What did you learn about teaching / learning / affirming diversity from the incident?
- You may write up case studies. Look carefully at the work learners do / the questions they ask. What does this show you about what they understand / misunderstand? When a learner struggles with their work, why do you think they are experiencing difficulties? What assistance did you offer? How did the learner cope?
- During your TE, you may have concerns, frustrations or questions you wish to discuss with your university tutor. Write these down. Discuss these issues with your university tutor when he/she comes to observe you. Consider discussing them with your supervising teacher or your student peers at the school beforehand.
- Anything else that you think is relevant in helping you become a better teacher.

The reflective journal is designed to help you think about your teaching in a way that helps you learn meaningfully from your experiences during TE.

APPENDIX K: QUESTIONS FOR EXIT INTERVIEW OR JOURNAL

Dear

Thank you for carefully answering these questions for me. These will form the final stage of my research study and as such will be most valuable for me. Please answer them as fully as you can.

1. In your opinion, are you reading and writing differently now, at the end of your fourth year at Wits in comparison to your reading and writing in Limpopo before you came here. If so, how? In your answer, consider what you read and how often you read?
2. How do you feel about reading and writing now? Focus on your emotions as they relate to reading and writing and how you value or do not value reading and writing.
3. How has your teaching of reading and writing changed?
4. How has your view (your identity) of yourself as a teacher changed? Reflect back on your self-image as a teacher when you taught in Limpopo and consider if and how it has changed.
5. Thinking back to your teaching life in Limpopo, think about what was valuable and important there that you would consider important to keep in mind as a teacher when you go back. Focus on what, in your opinion, is **not** valued in Gauteng and/or Wits but is valuable in Limpopo.
6. What do you hope to achieve in your teaching of literacy when you go back to Limpopo? How do you hope to influence the schools that you will be going back to?

APPENDIX L: EXAMPLAR OF SUMMARIES OF DATA

Below is an example of the summary of the data. The others are available should they be required.

Lethabo

English Reflective Journal

7 entries

Describes visit to theatre – the key things that she mentions are: It is her first experience, wants to share it with family and husband, contrasts to Limpopo where there are no theatres. *"It is a shame to know and experience the theatre at my age. It means hadn't I got this chance of coming to Wits I would never know about a theatre."* Raises gender issue – surprise at young lady operating the lighting *"I thought it was a big man who was on the machine. To my surprise it was a young lady and I appreciated that. Most of the time I associate machines with men"*.

Discusses the importance of reading in the community even those who are illiterate work hard at trying to get their children to learn to read. What is interesting in her discussion about writing is that the focus in teaching children to learn to write is 'writing as performance' or 'writing for show'. For example, *"At school educators make sure the learners write legibly". ... "They are encouraged to space their words correctly"*. She mentions the Abet classes and the role they have in her community. *"Because adults are learning to write the community is improving at large."*

On 28 April she discusses gaining literacy in her mother tongue – the focus of her entry is on language. She conflates language and literacy. Describes how she learnt some English words. She becomes sufficiently adept in English so that she translates for her grandmother and negotiates a borehole deal with a 'white man'. English seems to be aspirational *"I remember we would play after school at home imitating our English teacher"*. She describes playing with the sounds of the English sentences before she really understands what they mean. Describes a book her parents bought her (English) which she shares with friends. Sees the value in the book as improving her English in reading and writing. Expresses pride in her English ability. Recounts the story. It is about Jonty and Sipho who foil a diamond smuggling plot.

July 2009 – she describes going home to her baby who she had to leave at 2 weeks of age to come and write exams. Journal used to express feelings. Describes a stokvel meeting where her role is to *"help with the recordings and taking down the minutes for the group."* Literacy as a record keeper. Read an article in *Move* magazine about a robbery. Takes the story as a starting point for a discussion on how we in the community should react (text-participant) *"I think people or the community should stand for themselves. People must help one another and should take full responsibility of their surroundings"*.

July 2009– discusses the role of a cell phone in her life. It is mainly as a tool for communication. She discusses a news story about the municipal workers' strike and is concerned about the effect it will have on the World Cup 2010. She supports their demands and appreciates the role they play but is unhappy about the manner of their strike. Uses journal to express an opinion and backs it up with some evidence.

She writes a summary of her Teaching experience. Comments on cleanliness of school and bad behaviour of the children. Compares them to the learners in Limpopo. She finds the staff helpful but they complain about the principal all the time and want a male principal rather than female. The school is better resourced than Limpopo. She plans to copy some of the things and implement them when she goes back to Limpopo. Anticipatory reflection

Teaching Experience Journal

2009	7 ½ pages
2010	17 pages
2011	13 pages
2012	17 pages

May 2009 – Comments on differences to Limpopo. The educators *"are standing the whole day teaching"*. That this is noteworthy indicates that this is not so in her classroom in Limpopo. Also the integration of literacy, numeracy and lifeskills rather than discretely being taught as is done in Limpopo.

20 May – the library is described.

What is interesting about her September TE discussion is that there is little discussion about pedagogy – one brief discussion about a literacy lesson teaching of phonics. Other than that there is a lot of focus on discipline issues especially the principal's comments to the staff about their own discipline.

2010 May

Comments on the relationship between staff and principal. The differences she notices between Limpopo and E school are not focused on classroom practices: tuck-shop vs buying from shops/hawkers; no teacher morning meetings in Limpopo; children

not being supervised at break in Limpopo; school feeding scheme in Limpopo. These are obviously important to her – issues that would affect her teaching.

She describes an Afrikaans lesson in which the teacher code switches a lot and recognises similarities to Limpopo and the teaching of English, *“I found it the same as what we experience with our learners in Limpopo as we teach them English. They meet English only at school while at home they are speaking the home-language. They don’t get the practice of speaking English”*.

April 2010 she takes a class as the teacher is away. Comments on the difficulty of dealing with five-year olds in class who cannot cope and cry and don’t write, *“We also had this type of a problem in Limpopo. We complained about them but there was nothing we could do because it is the department’s law.”* There is a sense of helplessness, lack of agency, as the ‘law’ imposes certain things on her.

What is quite fascinating about this journal is there is a lot of commentary on the *discipline* of staff and minutiae of staff meetings, even down to listing the absentee teachers (Is this a remnant of her minute taking skills from the stokvel meetings?). In comparison her comments on the actual teaching and pedagogy is minimal- whether it is reflection on the teaching she sees or her own teaching. She comments on a ‘show and tell lesson’ and how she learns about a liger from the learner, *“I was so surprised and impressed”*. Open to learning. Her cultural capital in comparison to that of the learners. She watches a retired principal who is the computer teacher teach in class. However, there is no comment on the actual pedagogy (12 lines in total only). The fact that he is retired and teaching is what surprises and interests her.

May 2010 the journal entry is about a meeting to discuss a white elephant sale, *“At the school where I worked we never had these elephant sales. I hope this helps the school a lot. And I find it good to take it to my school and spread it to the neighbouring schools”*. Anticipatory. Comments on what school is doing in relation to the World Cup celebrations.

September 2010. She is visiting a school in Limpopo where she taught previously. I notice a marked difference in this series of journal entries. There is far more comment on the actual classroom practices and she is able to be critical and far more reflective. She discusses a numeracy lesson and the reason that there is no interest shown by the children, *“They are not learning effectively. They were not responding to the teacher. I thought it was because they took a long time being at home because of the strike but it was not the case. It was a numeracy lesson, the topic was time. There was no relevant apparatus used for the learners. When there was apparatus they were used or handled by the teacher. So learners just looked at it at a distance”*. She makes a telling comment: *“As a teacher who once taught at this school. I can see the mistakes we commit as teachers because of lack of information and knowledge. My heart was sore that I can change the situation immediately but could not happen.”* The distance she has – having been removed from the school creates awareness. Expressed as strong feelings. She describes a literacy lesson in which the learners all have reading books but cannot read. The learners can’t even identify the first sounds of words. Describes social and material lack and how this impacts the learners.

She gets a chance to share with the teachers what she has learnt from Wits, *“I also got a chance to share with them the knowledge that I got from Wits. I shared with them the numeracy focus time, how to teach/introduce numbers, number line, time, measurement. I even showed them the credits file to show them spray cards. Teachers showed appreciation of what I was telling them. They wanted to see me offering a numeracy lesson. They were also taking down notes as I was explaining. I also shared with them how to conduct a reading lesson, considering the fluency level of learners. They were so impressed.”* Capital, pride, she has something to offer. Describes colleagues eager to learn from her. She compares schools in Gauteng and Limpopo focussing on the daily morning meetings in Gauteng compared to monthly meetings in Limpopo. The passivity of the teachers in the meetings is also noted. In both areas when a teacher is absent, learners are divided up amongst other classes. Seems struck by the professionalism and time management in schools in Gauteng in comparison to this school in Limpopo.

She again comments on a numeracy lesson quite extensively. She describes the lesson and then comments, *“I could see how we as teachers make a mistake when teaching these learners. How can the teacher teach how to add and subtract at the same time, and introduce the number line. Multiplication was also included and I could see how frustration attacked the learners. There were no concrete apparatus used. With the new methods and information I got at Wits I could see many mistakes committed when teaching the learners. Even though some (few) of the learners were understanding but most learners were frustrated.”* Insightful, critical, uses the discourse.

Lethabo comments on a Lifeskills lesson and she wants to use words with the new sounds they learnt, *“Learners were unable to formulate sentences. I took it for granted that they are able to make sentences. I gave an example of a sentence so that they can copy it only six learners out of thirty tried to make sentences. The other learners were in the dark. With my help the six learners made simple sentences and others were just looking and listening. I realised that it is the teacher who makes sentences for them and they are not involved in building their own. They are not involved in building their own. They were not aware of the difference between a word and a sentence.”*

Observes a lesson and again is critical of what she sees, and seems to be commenting in the light of her learning at Wits, *“What I learnt is that concrete apparatus are not used and in most cases the learners are not actively involved in the lessons.”*

Describes ANAs and notices how the learners struggle, is able to reflect on some reasons why, *“All grades were writing Literacy. Because learners are very slow they take time writing that is why there was no effective teaching and they started in the morning. I helped my supervising teacher monitor the writing session in grade 2. It was difficult for the learners to understand because they cannot read in the first place. They used the question papers as their answer sheets.”*

She reiterates these problems, it appears that having been exposed to different learners she can recognise possibilities which these learners are not reaching. *"The learners are very slow in writing. Teachers have to explain to the learners until they understood. There is a great difference between learners in Gauteng and learners in Limpopo. The LOLT in Limpopo is their mother tongue, Sepedi but learners could not read for themselves. From my understanding only few learners understood but they were still struggling. The problem that I noticed is that learners cannot read. They cannot pronounce most sounds. But I can see that there is also a problem with teachers. Sometimes methods used are not effective or wrong methods used where learners cannot understand. I found it embarrassing for a grade 2 unable to read and write simple sentences. With the new methods of teaching I learnt at Wits I could see that they could be helpful to learners and to teachers. I could see mistakes made by teachers and how to teach certain topics in the manner that learners will be engaged. Another thing is learners are not given chance to speak. When I asked questions or talked to them they would hesitate even if they had the correct answer they would not speak. This day I asked them to tell their news, they would say what the others are saying not what he did. They are not used to talking to the teacher. I believe when we complete at Wits and come back teaching there would be big changes at our schools. And if teachers cooperate we will have a talking nation as we would do as we learn in foundation phase course".* Aspirational, anticipates making changes, tries to implement things she has seen in classrooms in Gauteng, limited success, but can see why this is so.

She demonstrates a numeracy lesson using focus time and is watched by all of the foundation class teachers. Agentive, has capital. She is proud to do so. They are engaged and ask questions, *"I was happy when they realised that learners can work on their own while the teacher was busy with a group. They asked me many questions of which I was happy about. Questions like: when are the other groups going to learn the new topic? Doesn't the other groups going to relax and watch the teacher guided group?"* Describes questions that seem to be focused on practicalities of what she is demonstrating.

In May 2011 Lethabo completes her TE at P School.

She is far more engaged in these journal entries, describing the actual lessons and the processes followed and her opinion of what is happening in class. She explains the steps in her lesson: *"The children read the passage first alone because I wanted to see if they are able to read. I explained difficult words on flash cards. I was asking question and we read along and they tried to answer them orally. With the activity given very few children did not answer correctly. The problem that I realised is that these children are unable to read and therefore it becomes difficult for them to find answers in the passage on their own. I tried to answer the question with them before writing down the activity."*

Her description of lessons is far more insightful and reflective:

"I offered a lesson on homophones. The children are able to read them and tell that they sound the same but have different meanings. Children were able to give more examples of homophones and giving different meanings and therefore make good sentences. The problem came when in the activity they were to choose the correct answers and they had a problem with spelling. They are able to read the homophones but not aware of which one is correct." She can identify what worked and what did not and why.

Describes another literacy lesson teaching the use of the comma and also tries to come up with a strategy to assist the learners who are not getting it.

Another literacy lesson using shared reading, helping learners make predictions and recognise punctuation marks. *"They enjoyed reading with the teacher and they also joined in without being told"*

In November 2011 Lethabo does her TE at J School. Comments on them learning Christmas carols, *"At our schools in Limpopo we never did this, it was learning to me that it is important for children to learn to sing these songs especially during this time of year."*

"In literacy we revised the /ch/ sound. Children were able to give the /ch/ words. They worked on a worksheet where they were to fill in /c / or /ch/ and most of them confused them. I realised that they can or are able to pronounce the /ch/ words but when mixed with other words it is a problem and they did not know whether to put a /c/ or /ch/ to words." Describes the challenges of dealing with phonics.

The next day they revise the /ch/ words and make oral sentences then write in their books.

Back she goes to P School in 2012 May

She is critical of the fact that children are arranged in groups according to ability. She has enough cultural capital to confidently critique what she observes in the school and to relate this critique to what she has learnt at Wits, using the discourse appropriately. *"I am taught that children should be evenly distributed. I like this evenly distribution because it eliminates copying while ability group promote it. There is no differentiation; all children do the same work on the same worksheet."* She is also critical that focus time is not followed. She is proactive about this. She asks if she can use it but gets the answer that *"it takes time and there is a lot of work to do"*. This classroom is not her space, as a professional, she does not have the freedom to try out new things. This in contrast to the capital she had going back to Limpopo. In her journal she justifies for herself why she should teach using focus time, *"Through the teaching that I received at Wits, I could see that the group teaching/focus time is effective as children get the attention from the teacher. But with the children in class I saw that children's individual attention is not given because slow learners are left out and they are to complete the worksheet and ultimately they do not perform well."* She, and other Limpopo Teachers at this stage can justify choices they make and criticisms they make of what they observe in the classrooms. She uses her journal to express this. She compromises – she realises she cannot incorporate the focus time

but incorporates other skills she has such as phonics and Read aloud. She notices that they use Letterland rather than Thrass. The next day she observes that *"phonics are taught in isolation"*, again critiquing something that goes against what she has been taught. On 08/05 she tries a bulletin board strategy using the whole class. It doesn't work too well as the sentences are too long. She comes up with a solution for next time *"I think in future I will have to make sentences shorter, read through and guide each and every step. The fact that the strategy was new to the children counted a lot but I believe with practice they will do well."* Awareness, proactive.

10/05/12

The entire entry is devoted to a literacy lesson. Shared reading. She recounts the strategies she uses to help the learners remember the words. She has a most successful lesson *"It was the first time for them to do a shared reading lesson as the teacher said they were not able to read and thought of introducing it later."* Asserts what she has done as different to that of the supervisory teacher and hints at herself doing it better.

Critiques what she observes the teacher doing, confident in her professional identity as a teacher of literacy, has concrete suggestions, *"To make the lesson more efficient I think they should have seated on the carpet next to me because I could see that at times some children were not able to see in the book...."* She also discusses how she would get the children more involved.

On 11/5/12 she continues to experiment. She tries a reading theatre lesson which is chaotic. She groups the children *"For a character I grouped children in 8 to read so that those who can read may help those who cannot and I read with them also. I did this so as to involve everybody because those who would not be reading would play and disturb the characters."* She struggles a bit to control who reads where and children don't want to share the scripts. *"It was the first time for both the children and myself to practice it. And I believe with practice children will do better and will enjoy it."* Positive disposition, she is able to anticipate that she will improve with time and practice.

On 14/6/12 she watches an American teacher who is visiting, conduct a numeracy lesson. She comments that she observes her carry out a lot of what she has been taught at Wits. The lesson is hands on and they use concrete apparatus which the children can touch and use. She learns from this observation that *"I will have to come down to the children's level, seat on the mat with them and talk with everyone having the apparatus to use."* Practical observations.

Her Readers Theatre lesson goes much better on this day, *"I realise now that that is why children had to take the script home to read every night with the parent's supervision"*. On 16/05 I see she has written rough notes on a guided reading lesson- it seems that she still is buying into 'writing in neat'.

September 2012- Lethabo is back at P School. She is critical of the numeracy lesson she watches because the children are not actively involved. She uses discourse of the new field: *"concrete apparatus"*; *"New learning was taking place"*. 11 September – she broaches the topic of using 'focus time' in numeracy lessons but is told again, by a different teacher that *"there is no time and groups consume more time"*. I notice about Lethabo's reflections that she is very reflective at this stage. She recognises what goes wrong in each lesson and how she can remedy it in the future. She is not afraid to try out the new pedagogy she has learnt from her time at Wits despite the discouragement she gets from the supervising teachers she encounters on TE.

12/09/12

"The literacy lesson was not successful because I took a lot of time on shared reading and read aloud and therefore the phonic lesson was not done. I took a long time explaining and asking questions and I was slow thinking that I want them to understand. I also pursued to finish the book while the read aloud book was long but simple. Then next time, I'll go for a short book and stop reading if time does not allow. I will also make sure to have 2-3 questions and be brief. The phonic lesson will be delivered on the 13th the following day."

Lethabo's descriptions of the lessons are detailed and she identifies clearly the difficulties the children are dealing with.

She continues to encounter opposition but stands quite firm in what she believes is right. 21/9/12

"We did guided reading on Friday which did not work well. The first challenge that I met was that the orange group found it difficult to unscramble the words. I thought the words were difficult. But they were words of the /tr/ sounds that we treated last week. I showed the teacher and she said the children are not used to this activity because she never gave them. Therefore the children were supposed and came to me one after the other until I released the guided group and started unscrambling with them but with the whole class. And I included other words. Then we started with most simple words like 'tree' 'try'. In the first place I alerted them that these are the /tr/ words that we did together but now they are scrambled. I led them identify the /tr/sound first in the word eg trophies. They write re and then try to find the other sounds. Ophy is left. Then they go straight tr-ophy with tr and then it will make sense. If the word is not familiar or senseless, try the other way round. It means they take the 'tr' sound and start with -ypho, the the word is not familiar then change again to put it in the beginning. We treated many words i.e.unscrambled them. They started to understand but it was tough for them. One child came to me crying because she could not do anything. I realised they were frustrated. Some children were seeing the light but only the top ones and they still need more practice. We will do them again the following day. The other problem was that the children are not familiar with prefixes or beginning and end or suffixes. When the spinner lands down on /ck/ they do not understand it as the last sound. Therefore after spinning they identify the sound then we look at the sound and put it where it belongs to the beginning group and or last part. We did many words as a whole class. Even though they did not understand the sounds on spinners they kept on spinning. They liked using them. It shows the importance of using concrete apparatus. Therefore it is our responsibility as teachers to make sure children have the apparatus and we teach them so that they can work with them. They should use the spinners (apparatus) so that they get used to them. Like the Numeracy, literacy focus time children are not used to them because

teachers do not use them. They find them wasting time. I realised that they make the teacher's life easier. The challenge is they need time and the teacher must keep on teaching children that." I think this is extract is significant in that despite opposition from a supposed 'superior' in the field, she is convinced and so sticks with the pedagogy and also is able to justify why. She moves from being a docile subject to a resistant subject. Has capital and agency.

The next day she does more word unscrambling with the children in relation to a Lifeskills lesson and notes that the children are beginning to get it.

26/9/12: *"This was the day children will not forget. Working at different stations was amazing to them".* A sense of pride at what she has offered the learners. *"There I learnt that I must be strategic when giving instructions. Because when you give them instructions as a whole class, some children listen to many instructions and end up not knowing what is expected of himself. At first they were all over everything but towards the end of the period they were settled and knew what they were to do. The non-fiction strategy was the strategy for the day for me [I am interested in this because of the use of genre and Lethabo is using the correct terminology – in Library journals the Limpopo teachers were fascinated by the issue of genre and non-fiction- not something they were aware of]. "The way children handled the books, opening all the books and put them next to each other was amazing. They worked on one item before they go to the next; e.g. if they were looking at the clouds, they would check for the clouds in all the books and they were able to tell what is found or not found in one book. The experiment was carried out well. The bulletin needed to be adjusted. I saw some of the children were not reading but it was the challenge that the child was unable to read. Therefore I asked all of them to read together. Next time I must use short and simple language. The Enviro –in activity, children had no problem as they had answers which they could see, touch and smell. There was no time on our side as student teachers. I think if there were no disturbances, children would have mastered the strategies much better, even though they would not see them anymore as they are not done in classes. I felt proud of myself when I saw the strategies working that way as it was for the first time to implement. These strategies working that was as it was for the first time to implement. These strategies are working and hope will work as long as teachers are prepared to use them. They would not work out straight away but with practices children get used to them and enjoy learning through them. I am prepared to use them in class next year and I'm sure it is going to be a success. The children wanted the stations the following day."*

Lethabo remains determined and positive. She is putting into practice the strategies she has learnt. She tries them out, when they don't work, she thinks about and is able to articulate the reasons why, *"All in all I learn a lot that nothing is impossible with little children. There would be chaos but will last for some time"*. Her final comment is on the supervising teachers lack of willingness to try out the various techniques because of time pressures. She does comment on the good things she contributed. Her final words in her TE journal *"Children are eager and willing to learn, therefore as teachers we must prepare ourselves, lessons and teaching materials in time so that the strategies can be successful."*

TE Observation forms:

September, 2009: She is criticised for relying on group chorus answers and the mentor encourages her to ask individual learners for answers. She is asked to think more deeply in her journal and to reflect on the teaching and learning processes.

Her next crit: September 2009- again she seems to focus on word sounds but does not push it to the meaning.

May 2010: She is corrected on the genre of the text she is using – she calls it a story in class and it is pointed out that it is an information text. Falls into the trap of not accepting answers that differ from her intended answers. Links to a habitus where classrooms governed by the principle that a single response is seen as correct and appropriate. This improves in the next lesson observed. In the next lesson *"It seemed to me that some learners were chanting from memory rather than reading. I'm not sure why you asked them to read the chart twice."*

Summary: Focus on discipline, shifts quite dramatically in second TE , English valued highly, pride in her English ability, helplessness in face of restrictions imposed by policy, feels like a "fish out of water" in Gauteng, pride in returning to Limpopo on TE, has capital. Fear associated with assessment.

APPENDIX M: EXEMPLAR OF HABITUS TABLES

Below is an example of a habitus table. This was done for all 22 participants. The others are available should they be required.

Kganya

Acting No reading for pleasure when she was at school Read school text books Never went into a library Mother not a reader – only the bible ‘a little bit’ Never read as adult even though husband read newspapers “I would not even one page” In her view – little done in school to develop reading But moves to buying self-help books/ religious books while at Wits and begins reading the newspaper every day. Uses metaphors, plays with language	Thinking “As much as we know that reading forms a fundamental role in the education of a child little efforts are made to develop this skill” (EJ, 2009). Is critical of the way literacy is valued in classrooms in Limpopo: ‘reading taught occasionally and not emphasised or integrated in every lesson’ “Most our children cannot read and thus their learning is hampered”. Explains that writing is done daily but not creative writing or free writing. Teachers ‘cheat’ by giving learners answers to Reading and Writing campaign tests put in place by Minister of education. <i>Literacy is a show</i> – put on for being <i>checked</i> The new curriculum is perceived as <i>too much work</i>. “We hide behind group work while individual learners with learning problems are left behind” Describes how continuous assessment not put into place “because as teachers we do not want to be accountable or we know we did not do enough to teach those learners.” Describes the <i>limitations</i> of her own learning of literacy “nevertheless, we managed to acquire literacy in this manner and we are better off than learners of today who are unable to read and write”. Still voices criticism of how literacy valued currently – children cannot read or write. She chooses to reflect on an article in <i>Real</i> magazine that relates directly to what she has been writing about in her journal. Comments on the fact that pupils in poorer schools “are not convinced that they received a better education than the previous generation”. There are no libraries, laboratories and proper sports field in township and rural schools. She recognises the contrast between schools in Limpopo and Gauteng. Reading in the schools in Limpopo: “Reading activities is a <i>serious business</i> in Gauteng.” This implies it is not so in Limpopo. The difference is that children <i>read every day</i> in Gauteng and <i>have reading for homework</i>. In Limpopo the lack of reading books limits homework possibilities as well and children read individually only once a week. (Sept 2009) Worksheets are described as a “<i>luxury</i>” and are used for <i>assessment only</i> and for putting into the learner’s portfolio in Limpopo whereas in Gauteng the children write on worksheets every day” – <i>writing as display</i> (Sept, 2009)
Feeling Kganya is <i>honest</i> and open and almost <i>confessional</i> in revealing attitudes to teaching and literacy Teachers do not want to be accountable <i>Guilt</i> she feels when she realises how she contributed to fall of the school and how she let the children down. She <i>succumbs</i> to the attitudes and values to teaching in the school “I eventually joined the team – ‘if you can’t beat them, join them!’ “If I was given a second chance to go back to that school, I would do things differently. For the sake of the innocent young lives, who are eager to learn, I will do my best. Seems <i>embarrassed</i> that at her age needs to retrain. Critical of teachers in Limpopo and herself <i>Confident</i> <i>Willingness</i> to change She describes how <i>discouraged</i> teachers become by programmes like “Breakthrough to literacy” (Molteno Project) because of lack of resources. Also because reading is so poor, only those who can read can participate in ‘routine activities’. Homework is also <i>problematic</i> because of the	Knowing Identifies reading, writing and computer literacy as literacies Read school text books only at school. Taught using <i>Breakthrough to literacy</i> starting with sentence and going down to syllables and letters. She is articulate in the focus group about how she teaches. Recognises the failings in the programme as it opens possibilities for memorisation and the necessity for ‘teacher to do perfect work’. Critical In FG recognises the limitations of programme because in her view it focuses on writing in class and in her view limits development of listening, speaking and reading Blames the curriculum and questions whether teachers are trained to implement the new curriculum. “Here we are some of us more than eighteen years of teaching experience to try and improve our knowledge and be equipped to teach this new curriculum”. Wants to move from children sitting passively in class to being more interactive with her as a teacher and with one another (focus group interview 2010)

illiteracy of caregivers at home. A sense of <i>defeat</i> .	
Going back to her classroom in Limpopo: "Well, it seems (looks) a little bit odd to look at the classroom as I am now used to well-furnished classes with colourful laminated pictures. The classroom has very old pictures against the wall which seems not to be educative to the learners. Well, this is home. There is a difference between rural schools and former model C or private schools." The tone here is <i>accepting</i> and there is no indication that she is going to change things here. <i>This is how it is</i> (09/09).	

Summary: lack of reading and development of skills as a child, critical of teachers and teaching in Limpopo and her own complicity in it. She is critical and analytical

Kganya: April 2010 – September 2011

Acting Her journal entries are all written in tricolour! Blue, orange and green pen sometimes brown and purple – writing as display? Looking beautiful. Is surprised by and comments on the computer skills the children have (04/10) Comments on surprise that children reading every day. 20/5 She describes how the teacher helps children learn to write with a picture to help them master it. She criticises the <i>limited approach</i> to reading she observes, "The teacher mainly use the phonic approach which enables children to break down and build words. The limitation with this approach is the limited content and vocabulary and impairs reading fluency and causes inadequate comprehension. The children in this class are from various black language background. I have noticed that words are just written on the chalkboard and just explained in English. Those children who did not understand were not supported." <i>Critiques</i> the approach. 15/9 "The children responded well. For their previous knowledge, they read a programme in their work/text book. The activity was extended with new vocab like 'reporter'. "The new workbooks that the government is providing are so interactive and in line with the new curriculum (CAPS). The workbooks are attracting with colourful pictures and writings that is appealing to young learners. I believe the govt. and minister of basic education are really committed in improving the standard of literacy in South Africa. I hope the workbooks in African languages are as good as those more especially the translations as it most of the time incorrect." Sees value in new materials however is still critically thinking about them.	Thinking She values what she has learnt at Wits as being more than just how to teach the current curriculum but enables her to teach any curriculum. "We are taught how to teach concepts in such a way that children will be able to understand and thus applying the knowledge to real life situations". Sees the value in learning more than operational, discrete skills. 16/5 "It is so interesting to realise that children in the same grade with different teachers can be as differ so much. The handwriting is something I noticed again. In the previous class all the children were neat and tidy but in this class most children struggle with their handwriting". "Being in this class this morning taught me a great deal of 'me' as teacher. The children are photocopies or are like sponge, they suck in as much as you give them. So I learnt that what you 'put in' is what you 'get out'. Being prepared at all times and having a broad knowledge of all concepts you are teaching, you are able to stretch the vocabulary of your children further." Realisation growing of the influence she has as a teacher of literacy. "I feel reading and writing are the primary skills each student should master. As a reader no one can hide information from you. You are able to communicate with others by exchanging ideas, opinion or viewpoints through reading and writing. These skills are valuable tools to be successful in my studies. Writing helps me to express my thoughts and make sense of what I am learning and make connections to my life or others' ideas" (EI, 2012). Reading is valued for more than just decoding and writing becomes far more than just encoding – she is describing her development here. "Reading makes me to make informed decisions. I can read broadly about something and it helps me to feel good about myself. It boosts my confidence and my self-esteem" (EI, 2012). Capital Describes how tests are rigged by teachers so they appear good. Tests are not honest reflections: "Never trust those results. The teachers practice the test with the children. They receive the test before and the teachers practice and practice the test, giving the children the correct answers. When the actual test is written some teachers divide the children into groups and put up on the board sets of answers. Some of them have all the correct answers and one group is asked to put in those answers, another set of answers has a few incorrect answers and those are allocated to another group and a few have the incorrect answers to copy". Elaborate plans to cover up the poor teaching of literacy. She describes this happening at High School level in schools as well: "The same thing happens in High school. The children who excel in the exams are those who have practised the exam endlessly. There is no real learning taking place. Then the children get to university, having got straight As they can't cope at university" (EI, 2012).
Feeling 29/4 Daunted by challenge from university tutor to "come out of the box" in her teaching. "This is a challenge that I really don't know how to face." (30/4). She obviously meets the challenge head on. The only struggle she has is with understanding that children can make 'learning noise' despite	Knowing She describes teaching a RE lesson and because the school is Catholic "there were words that learners mentioned that I did not know. The learners taught me a lot about the Catholic Religion" (29/4) – she appears to be <i>open to learning</i> from the children she teaches

her desire expressed to move students from being passive.

11/5 "I think this routine of reading every morning is really getting the children to be readers. I am going to adopt this method of teaching to improve reading skills in my classroom. *I like the idea that when I look at these children reading they do it enthusiastically.* The children store their reading books in their chair bags. When they have finished doing their activities while others are still busy, they are at liberty to take out the book and read. Reading is made an integral part of their learning process." Seems excited by the possibilities of doing this type of reading in Limpopo.

17/5/11 "The class has reminded me of my children in Limpopo. As I am a grade 1 teacher, I am used to seeing the children who are still learning to write. Some of them are still reversing letters and numbers. I thought that because these children are from Grade R, they will be able to write unlike our children who some of them are not from Grade R. Well I wish I could come here during the second teaching experience to see how they would have improved in the third term" She seems to be *recognising that the problems* she encounters in Limpopo also happen in Gauteng. Reflects back.

Covering up – presenting a *distorted* view of competence – *deceit* in the school she observes on TE.

She describes how the HOD checks the learners' books and that the teacher chooses to send the books of the bright learners. She says they do this in Limpopo as well. She remembers seeing how an HOD chose learners at random at a previous school she visited on TE and thinks this system best, "This gives a true reflection of what is happening in class". She is thinking deeply about the ethical issues involved in assessment.

12/9/11 "I think teachers are *overwhelmed* with a lot of paper-work that *delays valuable teaching* time. She comments on the commitment of the teacher who after the break "continued with lessons as if she was never interrupted. Every minute is spent wisely on the children's work." Impressed by professionalism of teachers.

14/9 "Now that I have been taught how to read different reading using various strategies [*indicates her growing confidence*], I taught a story in a big book. Reading aloud entails reading to children with the aim of developing the love for reading. This is done in a *warm and friendly environment* which engages the learners in meaningful constructive learning without even noticing it". She is aware of shifts.

Desires change.

Confused identity as teachers or students: "Well, it has been an interesting day. In the morning all student teachers were called to the office (principal) to be reprimanded. We were warned about late comings, neglecting playground duties and just sitting in the classroom without helping out." There is no comment about this, whether she was involved, whether she felt this as justified. That was the extent except a comment that their tutor from Wits came and "She explained further what is expected of 'us' as students."

17/9 A really *terrible incident*, in my mind is described. The children write a dictation test of 60 words provided by the department. "*It came as a shock* how badly they performed in dictation." 12/36 pass. A child who the teacher thought was least expected to pass got all the words correct and the teacher, thinking he copied, made him rewrite the words. "This made me *feel so bad*, after accusing him of copying. I *apologised* and the teacher also commented on him. Because children who did well in this test are expected to go and compete with other children at other schools, the teacher thought that he will not make it in the next levels of the competition, so he was excluded. *What a shame man, "self-fulfilling prophecy"*."

A visit from the department representative to discuss '*expected failures*' is described and the process involved is outlined. She compares this to Limpopo. "I have seen in the school that I taught, the principal denying failures because this was not done properly and also timeously. Record keeping is the best remedy. This 'pass one pass all' must come to an end as '*we kill the future of our children.*'"

19/9/11

Kganya does a crit lesson on numeracy. Her tutor is impressed but encourages her to 'come out of the box' and do something 'wow'. The crit form says: "I enjoyed your lesson. I would like to see you move to the next level. Think out of the box." She plans a lesson on a treasure hunt. "Mrs B gave me a book about treasure Hunt. I found it very informative. I prepared the clues that leads to the treasure. I bought chocolate coins and put in a treasure chest. This was an interesting lesson. The learners were so excited and caught up in finding clues. The music in the background made the lesson to be interesting." The crit form is very positive: "They were prompted to *think critically and unravel information*. The group work was excellent and the learners participated eagerly. Remember this is a fun lesson, they are allowed to make a noise [discipline and control issues]. Stay in your role as 'pirate' and they will follow.

"This is a 3D learning on the highest level with 2D and kinaesthetic incorporated. This is a special lesson and will only be done once in a while and can be used as an incentive... This was WONDERFUL- I ENJOYED- THE LEARNERS ENJOYED-WELL DONE!" (quote from TE observation form)

September 2010 she goes to Limpopo to her old school.

"Most Foundation Phase teachers were eager to know what we are doing at Wits. They were so interested to know what will happen to us as National Curriculum is reviewed and a new curriculum is reviewed and a new curriculum is on the way. I explained that, we are not specifically focussing on NCS –LOs but we are equipped to teach under any curriculum. We are taught how to teach concepts in such a way that children will be able to understand and thus applying the knowledge to real life situations". [This is notable in that her colleagues are focused on policy and Kganya is able to recognise that what she is learning at Wits is deeper than that – the skills she is acquiring are applicable in a wide context. She is aware that her learning is 'deep' rather than 'superficial'.]

Comments on the language difficulties faced with children in rural areas who are tested in English but don't have the vocabulary to deal with it. She discusses this with examples and specifics.

In May 2012 she critiques the worksheet bound lessons she observes. Admires the use of group work and questioning.

"The children like giving their own opinions. They participate enthusiastically in lessons and the teacher has created a warm, friendly environment where learners are free to interact with the teacher". This corresponds with her thinking about the balance between control (quiet) and "learning noise".

6/5/ She describes a literacy lesson she teaches. She puts words (phonics) on a transparency for children to complete. She is surprised at how quickly they do it (She struggles with level of ability again) "It was as if they have done the task before." As she marks she realises that many got the answers incorrect.

"The faster learners were fine/ understood. It is very important to ask questions and allow for individual responses. Choral responses might be deceiving." She also comments on the challenges of keeping control over questioning as some children take over answering.

10/5 She comments on learner-centred teaching she observes

11/5. "Repetition is an important strategy used in the classroom. The repetition is done in such a way that it enhances memory and retaining of information. Choral drills are seldom done but children are made to repeat lessons taught in groups individually. The teacher also uses questions to re-inforce concepts of understanding."

On TE Crit – she is criticised because her resources are too small to be seen at the back

19/5 "After so many years of teaching, I still see the necessity of thorough preparation. As a teacher, you become focused and confident at the same time and know that you are positively making a difference in the children. Knowing what you have to teach the children, focusing on the activity outcomes and achieving the outcomes is a fulfilling experience. When the children do not achieve the outcomes you know how to intervene or do remedial teaching in order to mediate them from the known to the unknown." A

To be honest I became a little *bit nervous* when I jumped some of the lesson steps. It does not matter how many times you have been teaching, just a thought of someone sitting and listening to me, *brought some butterflies in my stomach*. The language problem is also an issue. I have been a foundation phase teacher, teaching in my home language all the subjects, the shift of languages is a challenge. 'Lucky' these are mainly black children who have various Home Languages. *Sometimes I wonder if I can cope in an 'All white school'*. Just a silly thought – last year I was at Holy Rosary. I managed to pull it off- though not perfect- *Doubting herself but vacillating*. Nervous in crit mainly because of challenges with language.

20/9 Struggling with identity "In this classroom management is not really a challenge. The children are mostly well-behaved except on one or two occasions where individuals start to misbehave. When I was asking children to give sentences one child said 'The grandmother is cooking in the toilet'. *I sort of lost my cool* and reprimanded him publicly as I thought his behaviour is [un]acceptable.

In most of my previous comments from tutors I am presented as a 'too lenient teacher'. I know this for some reason is true. To compensate for my 'too friendly' behaviour I used to resort to punishment. *I am trying hard to find balance between being too strict and too friendly. All I know is that I am 'good speaker' why take teaching then???*

21/9 Observes the relationship between the teacher and class and this stands out for her – it's what she really desires: "I would love to have a class like this. The children must know when to talk without fear that their 'voices' will be underestimated. This is a result of a warm friendly environment that the teacher has established. She avoids 'verbal abuse'. She only raises her voice when she corrects misbehaviour. This is done with authority but also with compassion"

28/9 She comments on how children in Foundation phase are generally well behaved and that the children in Intersen and FET are more disruptive and this is so in most schools. *"This is my opinion and I am entitled to my opinion."* Getting assertive in her critique of what she sees.

27/9 Though these teachers have a weekly programme, it is a guide of what they have to cover in a specific subject. The teacher is a master of her own class and teaching therefore teachers use own method of teaching. I found it quite interesting how different teachers use different strategies to teach one concept. It will be beneficial though if these strategies are shared among them, for teachers to experiment with various strategies. [critiquing – looking for collaborative team work]

May 2012 Still struggles with discipline and time management and admits to this – *reflective*.

9/5/12 I am grateful to have a supervising teacher like Mrs A who does not just write/observe my mistakes but guides me and tell me what works best. As I said, phonics instruction is a bit challenging.

(There is real *humility* and *no sense of being threatened*. She is open to correction and willing to learn."

10/5/ A day for my crit. I was teaching children about Reader's Theatre. I have been doing shared reading with them on the book: The kick-a-lot shoes. I read with them the book and I discussed new vocab words. I was certain that the children will manage to read when the book is adapted into a play: too ambitious. The children struggled to read the play, I had to try and drag them and it didn't work. The children became so unruly it was actually embarrassing. They barely listened to what I said, no matter how many times I tried to call them to order to stop and let them calm down they just were impossible.

I think that they managed to read the book as they were supported by the pictures, now the text has no pictures, which led to boredom then rowdy. As I realised that I could not go along with this kind of classroom situations, I stopped the reading and let them do an activity in their groups. It became a mess!!! I have never felt frustrated and confused in a class like I did today!! *I even cried before the children, can you*

shift in what she is learning about teaching.

19/5 "Children love to be involved in a lesson rather than being passive spectators. Learning through play is interesting and maintains the children's attention longer. Children would be learning and not aware of it as they might be thinking they are playing. Playing is integral to children's daily activities. So a teacher who uses these strategies is so sure to capture the children's interest in learning." Again shows a change in her thinking about learning and teaching.

She comments on how the teacher has to fill in many ANA forms and so the children are sent out to play for 2 hours.

13/9/11 "In Literacy, English, the teacher uses Top-down model of teaching. The lesson starts with a story- a particular context- then from the story the teacher will describe/explain difficult/new words in the story. The new vocab word is used to construct sentences as children demonstrate their understanding. From the story other language structures are taught. I think this strategy makes learning meaningful. Learners learn language structures connected with real-life situations" She uses the discourse she has been taught at Wits. She makes links between what she observes and the theory she has been taught.

14/9 "Now that I have been taught how to read different reading using various strategies, I taught a story in a big book. Reading aloud entails reading to children with the aim of developing the love for reading. This is done in a warm and friendly environment which engages the learners in meaningful constructive learning without even noticing it. I used the whole class approach and read the big book. When reading aloud, the teacher had to run her fingers under the text while reading. It is difficult to do this while holding the book. It is better to have a book stand to that a pointer can be used. The story is long and reading it all at the same time becomes exhausting. It is better when the story is taught in parts." Real change in how she teaches. Writes instructions to herself on how to do this effectively.

"It is also refreshing to see how learners love to be read to. Their enthusiasm to hear more about the story makes them to be interested in the lesson. Reading aloud is an activity that needs to be done regularly to assist children in being readers themselves". This demonstrates a shift in how she thinks about reading and the teaching of reading.

Critical of teacher: 'I asked the teacher why she prefers whole class teaching than group teaching and she said that children become a little bit out of control more especially if she is with the teaching group on the carpet. I think because she prefers a quiet classroom.'"[This is a gentle critique – she seems to be taking on board some of the comments made in her crits before about noisy classrooms.

14/9/11 She again observes how the teacher revises concepts. "It is a strategy that I will adopt when I go back home (Limpopo). It helps in always revising the concepts already taught". Anticipation.

19/9 Appears to misname what she is teaching "Direct and Passive speech" General confusion about whether it is active or passive. Not entirely on top of the grammar she is teaching –but this is English grammar – a language not her HL.19/9 Her second crit lesson on Direct and Passive speech [I am wondering if it should not be indirect speech, it is unlikely one would teach passive speech and direct speech together. The TE crit form says active and passive] "I firstly had a Big Book to read and then make learners to pretend to be the two characters in the story and say what they think the characters are saying. The children had to write sentences in a speech bubble using inverted commas.

The lesson went fairly well, *but I agree with the tutor that the focus of the lesson was rather vague*. I did not make sample written direct speeches as a point of reference. I only relied on the sentences that the children gave orally. The topic and the activities did not always correlate. [The crit praises her for 'sound knowledge of content' but she seems not to cover Active and Passive speech "What about Active and Passive speech ... teach/ show them what is Active or Passive in a speech and how the punctuation marks are used" (I get the impression that the tutor watching the lesson is also confused.

<i>believe this !!</i> ☹ The other <i>frustrating</i> thing was the use of smartboard. It made matters worse when I could not manage to use it efficiently. The children could have picked up on 'this' and just lost confidence in me. [She appears to lose confidence in herself] I know that, I have been struggling with classroom management as this is a unruly class, but this was extreme. It is <i>challenging</i> to use Readers' Theatre strategy. Recognises that it requires practice and <i>patience</i>. 2012 <i>Frustration</i> in language difficulties "I am a <i>confident teacher</i> now as I have been taught various strategies to teach different skills to assist children to read, write and calculate. <i>Knowledge is empowering</i>, just to know that I will not be using the same strategies everyday to teach but will bring diverse strategies to accommodate different learning styles <i>makes me feel good about myself</i>". Increased capital which she articulates in her journal. Reflects on teaching in Limpopo and her efforts to improve things. Parents appreciated what she did. When she found that the children could not read, she thought that they were just being arrogant and not making an effort. Then she gave the children a dictation and realised that they could not string the letters together into words. They were just writing down single letters and she realised that all 30 children could not read. In rural areas the beliefs are that the children are bewitched if they struggle and the children have no hope because their mothers and fathers are like that. She spoke to the principal about her concerns and persuaded her to start extra classes with volunteers. It didn't last long. She was told 'you are just wasting your time'. She became <i>disillusioned</i> and asked to move to Grade 1 where she felt she could at least make a difference. Eventually she <i>became more and more discouraged</i>. She worked hard and then the children moved to the next grade and then lost their reading skills. She began to feel that her <i>investment was useless</i>. The teachers said to her "We are here to while away time; we don't have graduates from this school." While she was at the school <i>she felt guilty</i> but disempowered and so just joined the teachers and the principal sitting and drinking tea and chatting all day. She would say "Guys this is not good." They would laugh at her and say "Good Luck". How will things be different going back to Limpopo? Will she be drawn back into old ways by symbolic violence of others in the field? She acknowledges that it would be <i>difficult</i> because she has heard from the teachers who are still in Limpopo that "they are waiting for us" and will emphasise "This is how we do things." The majority of teachers there have the attitude that <i>they don't care</i> as long as they get their salaries. They send their own children to former model C schools and approach the rural schools as <i>being a lost cause</i>. Teachers take for granted that the parents of these children are illiterate and seem to <i>equate this with stupidity and lack of power</i> but this is not true. The parents, despite being illiterate know when schools are not working and want better for their children. Kganya understands that <i>it is going to be difficult</i> to make a difference when she goes back and the words "We are waiting for you guys, will you really change this education system?" It is <i>easy to give up</i> and it <i>will not be easy to implement change</i>. <i>She feels alone</i>. She is the only teacher from her district that came to Wits. It will be easy to relax and do things the old way. She feels <i>stressed now</i>. "I want to make a difference but I will be alone and it will be <i>overwhelming</i>." She keeps repeating "I am alone". She describes how in the past the curriculum advisers would come and run workshops which lasted about 2-3 afternoons after school. She explained how they would go and listen and then say to themselves, "She's crazy" and just carry on doing things the way they always did before. "We teachers are masters of disguise. On the surface it looks like we are doing what the curriculum advisers want. Our files are neat, you will be so impressed. If we know that a	I am sure from the description of what she did that the lesson is on direct and indirect speech – confusion all round). "I took for <i>granted</i> that the children will know what I am referring to by direct speech. Next time I will know that I have to stay focused on the topic, prepare resources that will assist in reaching the objective of the lesson." "I also did not follow the steps of the lesson. (This is not reflected on the crit form) Well, I think it worked well though. I changed or alternated the lesson steps responding to the learners' reaction. In the follow up lesson, I will build on what I did in this lesson by giving written examples of direct speech". "This is a reminder that no matter how many years of experience you have, thorough planning is still needed. This will ensure that I keep up with new information and new ways of doing things. The children that I am teaching every year are not homogenous and differentiation in teaching is advisable". Deep and critical reflection shown here. 20/11 "I always like how the supervising teacher comes up with different ideas about teaching a topic. I taught today about 'stretching sentences'. The children were guided to include responses that answers who, ~~what~~ doing what, when, where and why in a sentence. I gave another two examples, working together with children to make stretched sentences. Children came up with interesting sentences". "I have to think of alternative ways to do the same exercise. In the application, when children were writing their own sentences, I observed that one child wrote the sketchy (stretchy?) sentences I used as an example. The rule is: Always explain thoroughly what you expect from children. It is also good to write/model the type of work you expect from children as not all children understand the same." She is working with rules that she sets herself – gives her confidence – sticks too closely to the examples given by the teacher and realises she is 'stereotyping' – flexibility within certain constraints appears to be her struggle. 21/9/11 "Now I know that perseverance and planning will yield good results in the end." "What really 'stands out' for me with these children is their way they interact with the teacher. The teacher has done a good job of developing their communicating and discussion skills well. They are assertive and want to be heard. These are the 21st century skills that 'these [this] generation' need to have. I observed the teacher; she gives her all to these children. She asks open-ended questions and allows children to tell/say their opinions, suggestions and explanations. I would love to have a class like this. The children must know when to talk without fear that their 'voices' will be underestimated. This is a result of a warm friendly environment that the teacher has established. She avoids 'verbal abuse'. She only raises her voice when she corrects misbehaviour. This is done with authority but also with compassion". The things that Kganya observes, notes and admires show real changes in how she thinks about teaching literacy. 22/9/11 She is able to reflect critically on what she did in the lesson and how she would improve next time. Seems to struggle with adapting to classroom challenges and thinking on her feet. "Thanks to the tutor who knocked some sense into my head." 7/5/12 "The children read every day with the teacher and a new reader is given each day. I think this is a short period for the children to get to read a book, and too much admin work for the teacher. I like the idea of reading everyday but to make it meaningful, I will have at least two groups read in a group guided activities and then once a week they read to me independently so that I can change/give the other reader" "What I have noticed about their readers, is that they are so simple for most of them that guided reading is not important. Readers that are used for guided reading should be at an instructional level of the group. The children should be able to read new words with support given by the teacher. Strategies to read new words will be taught to the children.

curriculum advisor is coming, we spend a whole day devoted to making children quickly copy down what they are meant to have done so that we have everything in order."

"We want to look good. One thing we don't want to be is accountable. We sugar coat everything. We are killing those kids."

I discussed this with the teacher and she said this is working for her class. Mostly children just read for the teacher. The books are on their independent level easy to read alone".

Confident enough to critique and to discuss her critique with the teacher. She realises that the children are not used to doing 'guided reading' and this is a challenge for her. She comes up with a strategy – they should whisper Struggling with language still.

10/5/ 2012 Really messes up a crit lesson using Reading Theatre. She is able to think critically about what went wrong and how this can be improved upon.

11/5/12

Kganya describes going to the library.

"What a disaster! I observed last week, but I think I did not get it at all. Children will take advantage when they realise you are not sure of what you are doing. I did not notice that there were children who did not bring their books for a long time and these are the children who wanted to disrupt the process. I had to call Mrs G to come and help. Well, how will I be able to handle 'Library'?" – Out of her depth in dealing with the library. Something outside of her experience.

Struggles with management of different methods of teaching – loses control

The active involvement of children in lessons is what she admires when watching others but is still struggling to learn how to control these activities.

What is really noticeable in Kganya's reflections in 2012 is how comfortable she has become with the discourse.

Discussing the way she is developing questioning techniques:

"Asking questions like 'Why do you think so?' makes children to respond in a way that they give their own opinions and these makes them realise that their opinions are valuable- They also know something- not just the recipients of knowledge but active constructors of their knowledge constructivism."

Discipline is a key theme in her reflections on the Teaching Experience. It is obviously something she is grappling with.

"Child disciplinary problems can be stressful and that is why most teachers use corporal punishment as an easier alternative". She expresses pride in being able to "resist the temptation to use reprimands. I want to focus on positive things that they do...At least I know that I can teach children without corporal punishment. I have been exposed to various strategies or alternatives to corporal punishment."

Exit journal:

"The way I teach reading and writing has changed significantly when I was doing TEs. When I was putting theory into practice, I observed that reading and writing are not separate entities that are taught separately. I used to teach reading separately focusing on phonics and fluency but ignoring the main aspect of reading – meaning. The children would read texts that is meaningless to them as most of the books we had at our schools had no pictures to support the text. I also took for granted that as I am teaching them in their home language they understand the vocabulary".

"I taught writing mainly in grammar lessons and handwriting. Creative writing was not emphasised and therefore limiting the children to develop their creative writing. Children were denied to develop independent writing, in a way independent thinking".

Shows how she has changed over the four years: "I have been taught that reading and writing can be done using different genres. This is a positive move from where I was before I came to Wits. I mainly relied on readers or textbooks provided by the government. I have been taught to develop different scripts like: reader's theatre, poems, advertisements, journals. I will use these genres to teach reading and writing and instilling in children that reading and writing are purposeful. We write for a specific audience and we read for specific reason".

"One thing that I have realised is that it will not be easy to move from my traditional way of teaching to a more active student involved way- where students are also constructively engaged in learning. The theories that we were taught in courses like Studies in Education and School in Context has

	taught me how the children learn and how to manage the classroom effectively and efficiently, understanding the dynamics of student behaviours. In Limpopo we taught children in their Home Language in the Foundation Phase. I think this practice is valuable and will continue to teaching in the Home Language but not forgetting that English is also important. The children will ultimately use English as the medium of instruction, so I will also prepare the children for this transition". "I have seen what works best for one child might not be best for the next child. I intend to put all the efforts in developing the children's literacy skills. There will be challenges, of course, of lack of print-rich environment because of poor family backgrounds of most of the parents but this will not hamper the passion I have developed in making the classroom a print-rich environment to supplement what the children lack". Anticipating: "I cannot achieve this alone, as teaching children requires a team effort of parents and other teachers. I will try and involve parents in their children's education by creating a positive relationship. The parents need to know that they are the primary teachers of their children and the correct way of raising children will enhance the school". "In my quest to try and involve the fellow teachers, I will be an example. As I am a grade 1 teacher, I will first involve the grade 1 teacher, I will first involve the grade teachers, and be careful not to bombard them with too much at a time. Time and again, I will invite teachers to see what I am doing and how I am doing it". She realises now how her teaching was problematic. Her focus was to end every lesson with a written exercise. Watching here on TE she sees that writing in a book is not always done every day. The children are taught the concept and the concept is clarified before moving on whereas she relied on memorisation and there was very little focus on ensuring that the learners understand the concept. The focus of writing was neatness and appearance. Here she has realised that the focus is not on neatness but understanding and correctness. She acknowledges that she is teaching the way she was taught and she was just carrying on what she saw her teachers do. Reading was not done regularly. There were no questions asked of the children. The focus was on fluency and meaning was not important. There also was no focus on giving children different genres of texts to read.

APPENDIX N: EXEMPLAR OF THE FOUR RESOURCES TABLES

Below is an example of a Four Resources Table. This was done for all 22 participants. The others are available should they be required.

Shiluva

Code-Breaker "It's not like the way we used to teach in Limpopo. When we teach literacy we only focus on... it was reading... we only focus on reading ...although we were teaching in the home language we focus on drills... We were not engaging them on communication on discussion we did not engage them on those skills..." "Yes, even in reading... we are not having the materials for each and every learner. So what we used to do, we just write the sentences on the board but mostly we used to write the words and then we drilled them and they must just have to read them after the teacher" isolated, discrete skills "Maybe we were teaching them a 'ball'. They will look at this one, this is a ball and our main focus was not mainly on the... on the sound, we just made them to cram the letters, those letters that forms the word "ball" not made on the sound, how to sound the word, "ball" so it was not easy for them to translate the knowledge to other words (FG, 2010). "Sometimes we did dictation. We dictate the words, we just spell and they have to write... to assess if they know how to write. We spell the word and then they have to write on their own" (FG, 2010). "We say the word, and help them by spelling it. We spell the first letter of the word then they have to write it on their books. That's how we assess if they have passed". (FG, 2010) No reading or writing for fun. Reading is copying after the teacher. The teacher points to each word and says it and the learners copy. TE 2009 observes children copying from the board TE 2010 in Limpopo- confident – emphasises word recognition, reading aloud, dictation - using the discourse learnt at Wits. September 2010 – using phonics Writes sentences on the board for the learners to copy. 2011 – She is criticized by tutor for teaching using "gap fill" techniques which result in children parroting together. This is something she either resists or cannot escape from because this criticism comes up a number of times in her observation sheets. A number of descriptions of her difficulty in teaching English phonics and a lesson on the irregular form of the verb. She does not have the language to explain this "I explained to them that we cannot say, 'I swimmied in the river' as it does not make sense but 'I swam in the river' is the correct form of the verb'. May 2012 – crit lesson is criticised for teaching vocabulary in isolated way – not engaging learners – is reflective that this is a skill she still needs to improve on – also determined to improve her teaching of phonics. Shows a desire to change. Works hard at applying what she has learnt from THRASS – September 2012 – needs the supervising teacher to support her and correct her when she says /sm/ is a sound when it is a blend.	Meaning-Maker Defines literacy as learning to do something new, use it in your daily life (FG, 2010) TE 2010 Limpopo – uses games to make learning enjoyable and effective. September 2010 – helps learners make their own sentences using the phonics sounds they have learnt. May 2011 – realises the importance of active learning and that "they need to be engaged in a lesson" "I also observed a handwriting lesson. I learned and observed that the teacher engages them in a finger exercise through songs and rhymes. I have never thought of this in my teaching. It was a new experience". May 2011- writes that literacy should not be isolated as a skill and confined to one lesson and that it should be taught across the curriculum. Visits the zoo "Children were reading a story book 'At the zoo' so it was important to help them relate with the real zoo and to help them see and know the different animals. Understands importance of helping learners to relate reading to their own lives. Describes the steps she takes in helping her learners write creatively about a visit to the zoo. Is critical and reflective of her lesson. May 2012 – impressed by intertextual work done on the story "Cinderella's dream wedding" how it is related to what the children know. Interested to learn from teacher "How they do make the children able to do task by themselves" She observes it is through reinforcement – anticipates doing this in Limpopo. Comments on importance of allowing children to select their own books. September 2012 – seems more confident in how she is engaging and involving learners.
Text User Describes learning to read and write with no books, learnt rhymes. Said them and acted them out. Teacher wrote on the board. "The government used to distribute books to schools so the teacher would... if it's reading time... every learner will be having his or her own book" (FG, 2010). "The teacher will read the sentence and we will read after the teacher. Then after reading, the teacher will say a word and	Text-Analyst September 2009 TE uses her journal to critique how the ANAs are run (she is on TE in Limpopo). Children cannot read the questions and children are not used to writing on worksheets. She has to teach the children aspects before they write. Critiques what she sees in the school – links it to limited resources.

goes around asking you to point at the word" (FG, 2010). Writes only 1 entry in English Reflective journal. Writes unemotionally, using third person. TE journal entries short and structured in the same way May 2011 – her entries improve in reflection and quality vastly. Is amazed by the learners' ability on computers and what they can do. Is also amazed by their reading ability and what they know "I have only read from the books but the learners have more experience that they have shared to me, as they know the animals, birds and the flower in real life". Becomes increasingly reflective – is able to see what went wrong in an English reading lesson- her pace and the fact that she pitched the lesson at too low a level (this is a common problem she describes and what comes up in crits). May 2012 – continues to blame limited resources in Limpopo as a reason they do not teach as she sees in Gauteng – for example the bringing in of a scale for weighing. By 2012 – her journal entries less structured and extend over two pages. Uses journal to express feelings about her crit lesson which descends into a mess.	

APPENDIX O: A BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR

In June this year (2009) I read a chapter in *Pierre Bourdieu and Literacy Education* (Albright & Luke, 2008.) It was entitled *Pierre Bourdieu: A Biographical memoir*, written by Claire Kramsch. She explained how reading Bourdieu's biography had inspired her to reflect on her own biographical trajectory in the light of his own. She, like Bourdieu grew up in France but she worked in Germany and at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT).

At the time of reading this chapter, I was grappling with Bourdieu's terminology and I thought it would be a useful exercise to do something similar with my own biography. This is my attempt.

I will use Bourdieu's five major concepts – habitus, field, capital, distinction and symbolic violence to frame this discussion.

My interest in Bourdieu began as a result of reading for my PhD. I have been frustrated for a long time with the way that teaching in South Africa seems to be missing the mark. Despite major financial injections and intensive training of teachers, the literacy of learners in South Africa remains at the bottom of the pile (as indicated by the PIRLS, 2006 report).

My work with the group of Limpopo Foundation Phase students who came to study for the B.Ed degree at Wits University at the beginning of 2009 provided me with an opportunity to look at their backgrounds and to examine whether there was some explanation for the poor standard of literacy in the schools. Together with Hilary Janks, I decided to explore their literate habitus. This notion of Bourdieu's theory of practice is key to the work I am doing for my PhD.

Habitus names the way one is socialised. Each of us develops an individual habitus – “a set of durable dispositions or tendencies to think and act in certain ways” (Kramsch, 2008:38). My personal habitus is a result of my family and school and it enabled me to become who I am today. I internalised the values to literacy and literacy practices held by my family and the school I went to. My family was middle class though not very wealthy. I grew up in a small town in the Eastern Cape, Queenstown as a white South African during the Apartheid era. My mother modelled for me the literacy practice of reading books for enjoyment. Every night before I went to bed, she read to me. My favourite gifts were books. I grew to love reading and longed to be able to read. She recounts the story of this being the major motivating factor for me to go to school. I went to school relatively young, at five years of age. On the first day that I got a reading card, I ran into the kitchen full of excitement, plonked myself down on the bin exclaiming: “I can read, I can read,” and proceeded to read the one or two words that I could master. This love of reading for pleasure has continued throughout my life. It is part of my literate *habitus*. I have always had a novel, and sometimes three or four that I am reading at the same time, piled up next to my bed. My children are amazed by me on holiday when I read a book a day!

The literacy practice of writing was another kettle of fish. As much as I loved reading, writing was a challenge for me. My theory, in retrospect, is that initially my fine motor muscles were not adequately developed for me to cope with writing in Sub A (as grade 1 was called then). We were grouped according to colours for writing and I was in the yellow group, definitely the bottom of the pile. Red was the group to aspire to. Writing was an ongoing challenge for me. When we got to Std 3 (grade 5) we were taught cursive writing and I was presented with a fountain pen and an ink bottle by my parents. I had the most appalling teacher who would whack me across the back of my hands (if I was sitting down) or across the back of my knees (if I was standing up at the board to write) because my writing was not well-formed enough.

“Bourdieu uses the term *violence* to designate the symbolic power exercised by those who possess symbolic resources over those who do not,” (Kramsch, 2008:42). In forming our habitus, teachers have symbolic power over us and they exert this in such a way as to affect our dispositions so deeply that it is difficult to change. My poor handwriting deeply affected my sense of self. I was unable to master this desirable “behaviour”, despite my best efforts. For Bourdieu, those who are subjected to *symbolic violence* are complicit in their own subjection. I found myself being forced into a position of not being good enough. The constant negative feedback I got on my poor handwriting, and my inability to form my letters well, contributed to my *habitus* of feeling that I just did not measure up. This was despite the fact that my reading was excellent and way above the standard of the majority of my class. In addition, my spelling was excellent – we had daily spelling tests in those days and lists of words to learn to spell. This was never a challenge for me. *Habitus* unconsciously structures our words and actions (Rowse in Albright & Luke, 2008:237). I unconsciously came to believe that I was a rather poor in primary school. In fact, I was pretty mediocre, and my school reports and marks reflected that.

Like Kramsch, my *habitus* was, as far as I could see, my ‘natural’ self. I acted in conformity with what the norms of my parents, teachers, relatives and friends were. Kramsch describes *habitus* as a “perception scheme” (2008:39) which can be transposed into various different contexts. *Habitus* becomes so ingrained that one reacts instinctively and does not have to think too carefully about how to act and react. Our bodies respond with what Bourdieu refers to as *bodily hexis*. Our bodies take on habitual ways of moving and being which reflect our histories. I had always been taller than the others in my class and part of the embarrassment of being tall and probably as a part of my poor self-image at school I did not walk upright, so much so that a friend of my mother’s offered me “deportment lessons” I diligently went to these every Saturday morning with a friend where I learnt the appropriate way to walk for a “young lady from Queenstown”. In fact, I learnt these lessons so well, that in later years, my music teacher, who was a little strange to say the least, took it upon herself to ‘unteach’ me and to attempt to get me to walk “not so straight and stiff”!

A *field* is a dynamic arena of contestation, in Bourdieu’s terminology. He believes we are all socially constructed and formed within the contexts of the fields in which we find ourselves.

On changing *field* and moving to high school my *habitus* was contested. My high school was a sister school to the primary school I had been at and many of my friends moved along with me. However, in standard 8 I made two new friends. One was new to the school, she was the new principal's daughter and the other was someone who was repeating a year – so they were both new to me and certainly influenced my *habitus*. I suddenly had more social *capital* because I was friends with the principal's daughter. *Capital* is an economic term used by Bourdieu to reflect the knowledge, skills and dispositions that we have through social interactions that carry value (Albright & Luke, 2008: 97). My new friends valued the things I did: Literature, Language and music and we were good at these. We competed with one another in these areas and I found myself excelling and because of this new social network, my *social capital* increased in value.

For Bourdieu *fields* can become a site of struggle amongst conflicting forces. This is because of the different forms of *capital* that occupy a *field*. This was true in my life. I had a group of friends who were part of the field of my church activities. We went to the same church and youth group together. The friends I spent time with in class were not part of the *field* (social) of my church friends. Bourdieu explains how *fields* do not have clearly defined borders, but they overlap and are dynamic. This was true of my friendships from the different *fields*.

Because of subject choices and because of my increasing academic prowess, I found myself in the A class at school. My church friends were in the B and C classes. At the school I went to, academic ability was good *capital* to have. Not only was I now in the A class, but I was also part of the *ad Astra* group. The top ten students in each class were members of this group and were given status because of the way the *social agents* - the teachers and the principal valued the academic abilities of students.

At school I found myself in a field where there was a struggle among conflicting forces. My church friends did not value my academic abilities as highly as my class friends. In fact, they valued sport higher. My abilities in sport were nothing to write home about, so within that *field*, I was viewed as being rather out of place. I struggled for *symbolic power* and found that my musical ability provided me with the necessary *symbolic capital* in this environment. My skills were harnessed in the church and I played the piano in services, for weddings and funerals and thus gained the respect of this group with a different sort of *capital*. In fact this also overlapped into the *field* of school, where I was awarded a music badge – which was actually more of a punishment than a reward as I now had to play in assemblies and important functions. My musical literacy practice gave me status and *symbolic capital* in both *fields*. I developed strategies that helped me “manoeuvre myself into a position of strength” (Kramsch, 2008:40) in the different fields. I capitalised on my musical ability. My *habitus* adapted as a result, I viewed myself as being intelligent and musical and this changed my perception of myself. I gained confidence and my marks at school reflected this. Bourdieu refers to any increase or improvement of one's symbolic position in a field, *distinction*. “A *profit of distinction* is the result of a struggle to be noticed, validated, respected, admired” (Kramsch in Albright & Luke,

2008: 41). It must be noted that this was not a conscious or rational process. My *habitus* adjusted according to the conditions of the different fields I found myself in.

My writing skills (not handwriting I must add – which was termed ‘fiendish’ by one of my teachers) were another way in which I achieved a *profit of distinction*. It was so valued that I was appointed the school journalist! This meant that I wrote articles about the school’s activities for the local newspaper. (Remember we’re talking Queenstown here- a small town- with a small local newspaper, *The Daily Representative*.) However, within the *field* of Queenstown, this was prestigious, so much so that I then determined to go to Rhodes University to study Journalism which I did in 1977.

In the *field* of the university I found that my *cultural capital* was not sufficient for me to excel at Journalism at Rhodes. What was valued on the Journalism course was political and social knowledge which I did not have. I had grown up in a small town, reading only a small daily newspaper and listening to apartheid propaganda on the radio. I was unable to engage in the field of the Journalism department at Rhodes, so much so that I began avoiding lectures. I felt totally displaced. My writing was dismissed as naïve by the *social agents* in that environment. My *habitus* structured my written words and I was unable to change this in the artefacts I produced for the course. I ended up failing Journalism 1. Fortunately, I had also taken English 1 and Speech and Drama 1. These became my major subjects and I found I had sufficient *cultural capital* for these subjects. I had the *legitimate language* and knowledge to gain success in these *fields* whereas I did not have this for Journalism. I had a good grounding in English and had done very well in the subject at school. In addition, I had done Speech and Drama as an extra-mural activity at school and had done the Trinity College examinations; hence I was better equipped with the necessary *capital* to do well at university in these subjects. The university institution shaped my future. Had I not failed in Journalism, my life might have taken a very different path to what it has. My subject choices took me into the *field* of education which has become my passion.

For Bourdieu what we do and how we perceive things is a product of the *relationship between* the *habitus* and fields in which we find ourselves. A major event in my life occurred when in 1993 our young family moved to Germany. My husband was on a contract with Volkswagen and we took with us our two young sons, Dominic, who was seven and Luke who was three. My husband, Matt is German though he grew up in South Africa. I could speak no German on my arrival. It was here that I learnt about the value of *linguistic capital*. Bourdieu explains in *Language and Symbolic Power* (1992) how recognition of an official language is “inscribed, in a practical state, in dispositions which are impalpable inculcated, through a long and slow process of acquisition, by the sanctions of the linguistic market...” (1992: 50). I found myself coming from an environment in South Africa where I was a product of the legitimate language, the powerful, dominant language, English was my mother-tongue and I had been educated in such a way as to speak the “legitimate” form of this dominant language. It was this that informed my *habitus* and gave me sufficient *capital* to function in a particular way in South Africa.

Now, in Germany, I found that my dominant language was not spoken widely in the community in which I lived. I was now a member of a subordinate group. In South Africa my language proficiency had been the *cultural capital* I had. In Germany the *social agents*- those I encountered in shops, at doctors' rooms, my children's schools, my neighbourhood, could exercise power over me because the value of their language was higher than that of my own. The dominant social group, those who could speak German, controlled me and exerted power over me using *symbolic violence*. I was constantly being put in my place or treated with disdain because I could not speak the language, I did not have the necessary *cultural capital*.

"Bourdieu sees *power* as the way people have access to, use and produce different kinds of *capital* within various *fields*. Crucially, such *capital* is not simply something one has, but something that has different value in different contexts, mediated by the relations of power and knowledge in different social fields" (Grant & Wong in Albright & Luke, 2008:176). My way of speaking involved my *habitus*. I came to Germany with a *habitus* that was deeply ingrained, inculcated, structured, durable, generative and transposable. Now I was forced to recognise that I had no *power* within the new *field*. I understood that the *capital* of one *field* was not easily exchanged in another. I had to transform or reproduce my social structure in order to keep my *habitus* intact. I surrounded myself with other South Africans so that I could again have the *capital* which informed my identity. In addition, I found work teaching English to Germans. This enabled me to find myself in the position of power again, as I had access to the *cultural capital* of the powerful language English, which the Germans were aspiring to. Once again I could assume a position of *distinction*- I could now not only feel subjectively superior, but because these were people who chose to want to learn to speak English and especially desired to be taught by a mother-tongue speaker of English, I was legitimised by the institution for which I worked.

This experience and, in fact all of my life experiences (*habitus*) has given me a deeper insight and understanding of the challenges faced by my students who are second language speakers of English. My experience in Germany has added to my *habitus* and given me a stance which I am sure Bourdieu would approve of! He felt that researchers should be reflexive. As an educator and a researcher, I am able to take into account the institutional and political conditions which have contributed to the situation my students find themselves in the social world of university education at Wits. I believe I am more sensitive to their needs than I would otherwise be. I am so conscious of helping my students by demystifying the "power of the dominant genres" (Kramsch in Albright & Luke, 2008: 46). It has made me more reflective on my own practices as an educator and helped me see where I am complicit in perpetuating dominance and hegemony of the institution in which I work. I believe it has made me work with more empathy and compassion.

Reference list

- Abrams, J., & Ingram, N. (2013). The chameleon habitus: Exploring local students' negotiations of multiple fields. *Sociological Research Online*, 18 (4), 21. Retrieved from <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/18/4/21.html>> 10.5153/sro.318.
- Adkins, L. (2013). Practice as temporalisation: Bourdieu and economic crisis. In S. Susen & B. Turner. (Eds.), *The legacy of Pierre Bourdieu: Critical essays*, (pp. 347-366). London: Anthem Press.
- Akbari, R. (2007). Reflections on reflection: A critical appraisal of reflective practices in L2 teacher education. *Science Direct*, 35, 192-207.
- Albright, J. (2008). Problematic and generative possibilities. In J. Albright & A. Luke (Eds), *Pierre Bourdieu and Literacy Education* (pp.11-32). New York: Routledge.
- Albright, J., & Luke, A. (Eds.). (2008). *Pierre Bourdieu and literacy education*. New York: Routledge.
- Andreotti, V., & de Souza, L.M. (2008). Translating theory into practice and walking minefields: Lessons from the project 'Through Other Eyes'. *International Journal of Development Education and Global Learning*, 1 (1), 23-36.
- Angélil-Carter, S. (2000). *Stolen language? Plagiarism in writing*. London: Pearson Educational.
- Appadurai, A. (2004). The capacity to aspire: Culture and the terms of recognition. In V. Rao & M. Walton (Eds.), *Culture and public action: A cross disciplinary dialog in development policy*, (pp.59-84). California: Stanford University.
- Applegate, A., & Applegate, M. (2004). The Peter effect: Reading habits and attitudes of preservice teachers. *The Reading Teacher*, 57, 554-563.
- Aries, E. (2008). *Race and class matters at an elite college*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Aries, E., & Seider, M. (2005). The interactive relationship between class identity and the college experience: The case of lower income students. *Qualitative Sociology*, 28 (4), 419-443. doi:10.1007/s11133-005-8366-1
- Astika, G. (2014). Reflective teaching as alternative assessment in teacher education: A case study of pre-service teachers. *TEFLIN Journal*, 25 (1), 16-32.
- Babbie, E. (1990). *Survey research methods* (2nd ed.). Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Babalola, E. (2002). Newspapers as instruments for building literate communities: The Nigerian experience. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 11 (3), 403-410.

- Backhouse, J. (2009). *Doctoral education in South Africa: Models, pedagogy and student experiences*. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Barber, M., & Mourshed, M. (2009). *Shaping the future: How good education systems can become great in the decade ahead*. Report on the International Education Roundtable, 7 July, 2009, Singapore: McKinsey Education.
- Barbour, R. (2007). *Doing focus groups*. London: Sage.
- Basit, T. (2010). *Conducting research in educational contexts*. London: Continuum.
- Baynham, M., & Prinsloo, M. (Eds.). (2001). New directions in literacy research: Policy, pedagogy, practice. *Special Issue Language and Education*, 15 (2&3).
- Beauchamp, C., & Thomas, L. (2009). Understanding teacher identity: An overview of issues in the literature and implications for teacher education. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 39 (2), 175-189.
- Beck, C., Kosnik, C., & Rowsell, J. (2007). Preparation for the first year of teaching: Beginning teachers' views about their needs. *The New Educator*, 3, 51-73. doi:10.1080/15476880601141581
- Berg, B. (2001). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences* (4th ed.). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Bertram, C. (2008). *Curriculum recontextualisation: A case study of the South African high school history curriculum*. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
- Biggs, J. (1999). *Teaching for quality learning at university*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Bird, C. M. (2005). How I stopped dreading and learned to love transcription. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 11(2), 226-248.
- Bisplinghoff, B. (2002). Under the wings of writers: A teacher reads to find her way. *The Reading Teacher*, 56 (3), 342-252.
- Bloch, G. (2009). *The toxic mix: What's wrong with South African schools and how to fix it*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Blommaert, J. (2008a). *Grassroots literacy: Writing, identity and voice in Central Africa*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Blommaert, J. (2008b). Bernstein and poetics revisited: Voice, globalisation and education. *Discourse and Society*, 19 (4), 425-451.
- Blommaert, J. (2013). Writing as a sociolinguistic object. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 17 (4), 440-459.
- Bloome, D. (2012). Classroom ethnography. In M. Grenfell, D. Bloome, C. Hardy, K. Pahl, J. Rowsell & B. Street (Eds.), *Language, ethnography and education* (pp.7-26). New York: Routledge.

- Bouma, G., Ling, R., & Wilkinson, L. (2009). *The research process*. Ontario: Oxford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1971). Systems of education and systems of thought. In M. Young (Ed.), *Knowledge and Control* (pp.189-207). London: Macmillan.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice*. (R. Nice, Trans.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction*. (R. Nice, Trans.). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1985). The social space and the genesis of groups. *Theory and Society*, 14, 723-744.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J.F. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory of research for the sociology of education* (pp.46-58). (R. Nice, Trans.). New York: Greenwood.
- Bourdieu, P. (1989). Social space and symbolic power. *Sociological Theory*, 7 (1), 14-25.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The logic of practice*. (R. Nice, Trans.). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. (G. Raymond & M. Adamson, Trans.). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1994). *In other words: Essays towards a reflexive sociology*. (M. Adamson, Trans.). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1996). On the family as a realized category. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 13 (3), 19-26.
- Bourdieu, P. (1998). *Practical reason: On the theory of action*. (R. Johnson & others, Trans.). California: Stanford Unity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1999). *The weight of the world: Social suffering in contemporary society*. (P. F. Ferguson, S. Emanuel, J. Johnson & S.T. Waryn, Trans.). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (2000). *Pascalian meditations*. (R. Nice, Trans.). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (2004). *Science of science and reflexivity*. (R.Nice, Trans.). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (2007). *Sketch for a self-analysis*. (R.Nice, Trans.). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. (1977). *Reproduction in education, society and culture* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.
- Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. (1992). *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. (L. Wacquant, Trans.). Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Bourdieu, P., Schultheis, F., & Pfeuffer, A. (2013). With Weber against Weber: In conversation with Pierre Bourdieu. (S. Susen, Trans.). In S. Susen & B. Turner (Eds.), *The legacy of Pierre Bourdieu: Critical essays* (pp.111-124). London: Anthem.
- Brandt, D. (2001). *Literacy in American lives*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3 (2), 77-101.
- Breier, M. (2008). The RPL Conundrum: Recognition of prior learning in a teacher upgrading programme. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.
- Brooks, G. (2007). Teachers as readers and writers and as teachers of reading and writing. *The Journal of Educational Research*, 100 (3), 177-190.
- Burawoy, M. (2010). Eight conversations with Pierre Bourdieu. *Lecture series presented at the University of the Witwatersrand*, Johannesburg.
- Burawoy, M. (2012). Theory and practice: Marx meets Bourdieu. In M. Burawoy & K. Von Holdt, *Conversations with Bourdieu: The Johannesburg moment* (pp.31-46). Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Burawoy, M., & Von Holdt, K. (2012). *Conversations with Bourdieu: The Johannesburg moment*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Cambourne, B. (2000). Conditions for literacy learning: Observing literacy learning in elementary classrooms: Nine years of classroom anthropology. *The Reading Teacher*, 53 (6), 512-515.
- Carnoy, M., Chisholm, L., & Chilisa, B. (2012). *The low achievement trap: Comparing schooling in Botswana and South Africa*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Carrington, V., & Luke, A. (1997). Literacy and Bourdieu's sociological theory: A reframing. *Language and Education*, 11, 96-112.
- Chandler, D. (1997). *An introduction to genre theory* [WWW document] http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/intgenre/chandler_genre_theory.pdf.
- Chick, J. (1996). Safe-talk: Collusion in Apartheid education. In H. Coldeman (Ed.), *Society and the language classroom* (pp. 21-39). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Christie, P. (1991). *The right to learn: The struggle for education in South Africa*. Cape Town: Sached.
- Ciuffetelli-Parker, D. (2010). Writing and becoming [a teacher]: Teacher candidates' literacy narratives over four years. *Teacher and Teacher Education*, 26, 1249-1260.
- Clarke, A., Triggs, V., & Nielsen, W. (2013). Cooperating teacher participation in teacher education: A review of the literature. *Review of educational research*, 84 (2), 163-202. doi: 10.3102/0034654313499618

- Cohen, E., Hoz, R., & Kaplan, H. (2013). The practicum in preservice teacher education: A review of empirical studies. *Teaching Education*, 24 (4), 345-380.
- Collins, J. (1993). Determination and contradiction: An appreciation and critique of the work of Pierre Bourdieu on language and education. In C. Calhoun, E. LiPuma & M. Postone (Eds.), *Bourdieu: Critical perspectives* (pp.116-138). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Collins, J., & Blot, R. (2003). *Literacy and literacies: Texts, power and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Commeyras, M., & Inyega, H.N. (2007). An integrative review of teaching reading in Kenyan primary schools. *Reading Research Quarterly*, 42 (2), 258-281.
- Commeyras, M., & Mazile, B. (2009). On teachers as readers in Botswana. Presentation at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Conco, Z. (2004). *How effective is in-service training for teachers in rural school contexts?* Unpublished masters dissertation, The University of Pretoria, Pretoria.
- Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Number 108 of 1996). South African Government online. Retrieved from www.gov.za
- Conway, P. (2001). Anticipatory reflection while learning to teach: From a temporally truncated to a temporally distributed model of reflection in teacher education. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 17, 89-106. doi:10.1016/S0742-051X(00)00040-8
- Cope B., & Kalantzis, M. (Eds.). (1993). *The powers of literacy: A genre approach to teaching writing*. London: Falmer Press.
- Craig, A.P. (1996). Education for all. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 10 (2), 47–55.
- Craig, A. P. (2001). Education and the question about understanding: What's next: Curriculum 2005, 21, 2005...? *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 15 (1), 25–31.
- Cremin, T., Bearne, E., Mottram, M., & Goodwin, P. (2008). Primary teachers as readers. *English in Education*, 42 (1), 8-23.
- Crossley, N. (2003). From reproduction to transformation: Social movement fields and the radical habitus. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 20, 43-68. doi: 10.1177/0263276403206003
- Curry, M.J. (2008). A “head start and a credit”: Analyzing cultural capital in the basic writing/ ESOL classroom. In J. Albright & A. Luke (Eds.), *Pierre Bourdieu and literacy education* (pp.279-298). New York: Routledge.
- Czerniewicz, L., & Brown, C. (2012). Objectified cultural capital and the tale of two students. In L. Dirckinck-Holmfeld, V. Hodgson & D. McConnell (Eds.), *Exploring the theory, pedagogy and practice of networked learning* (pp. 209-219). Dordrecht: Springer Science and Business.

- Davies, A., & Ritchie, D. (2003). *Teaching THRASS whole-picture keyword phonics: The essential guide to progression and assessment for all teachers of English*. UK: THRASS.
- De Clerq, F. (2013). Professionalism in South African education: The challenges of developing teacher professional knowledge, practice, identity and voice. *Journal of Education*, 57, 31-54.
- Deer, C. (2008). Doxa. In M. Grenfell (Ed.), *Pierre Bourdieu: Key concepts* (pp.119-130). Durham: Acumen.
- Dewey, J. (1933). *How we think: A restatement of the relation of reflective thinking to the educative process* (Revised ed.). Boston: D. C. Heath.
- Department of Education. (DoE). (1997). Language in Education Policy. *Government Gazette*, 17997 (383). Pretoria: Government Printer.
- Department of Education. (DoE). (1998). *Curriculum 2005 Policy Documents: Intermediate and Foundations Phases*. Pretoria: Department of Education.
- Department of Education. (DoE). (2002a). *National Curriculum Statement Grades R-9 Policy: Languages*. Pretoria: Department of Education.
- Department of Education. (DoE). (2002b). *Revised National Curriculum Statement Grades R-9 (Schools) Policy*. Pretoria: Department of Education.
- Department of Education. (DoE). (2008). *National Reading Strategy*. Pretoria: Department of Education.
- Department of Basic Education. (DBE). (2011). *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement Grades 1-3*. Pretoria: Government Printing.
- Dressman, M., & Wilder, P. (2008). *Wireless technology and the prospect of alternative education reform*. In J. Albright & A. Luke (Eds.), *Pierre Bourdieu and literacy education* (pp.136-161). New York: Routledge.
- Education for All (EFA)*, (2005). Global Monitoring Report 2006: Literacy for life. Paris: UNESCO Publishing.
- Education Roadmap* (2008). Midrand: DBSA Retrieved from: http://www.dbsa.org/Research/Documents/education_10%20point%plan_131108.pdf.
- Eisner, E.W. (1998). *The enlightened eye: Qualitative inquiry and the enhancement of educational practice*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Entwistle, N. (1988). *Styles of learning and teaching*. New York: John Wiley.
- Fedderke, J.W., & Luiz, J. (2002). Production of educational output: Time series evidence from socio-economically heterogeneous populations - the case study of South Africa 1927-93. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 51 (1), 165-187.
- Ferguson, J., & Brink, B. (2004). Caught in a bind: Student teaching in a climate of state reform. *Teacher Education Quarterly*, 31(4), 55-64.

- Finch, H., & Lewis, J. (2003). Focus groups. In J. Ritchie & J. Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers* (pp.170-198). London: Sage.
- Fine, B. (2007). Eleven hypotheses on the conceptual history of social capital: A response to James Farr. *Political Theory*, 35 (1), 47-53.
- Fleisch, B. (2008). *Primary education in crisis: Why South African school children underachieve in reading and mathematics*. Cape Town: Juta.
- Fleisch, B. (2012). *System reform: Lessons from the Literacy Strategy in Gauteng*. A paper presented at the Wits School of Education Seminar Series, 25 July, 2012.
- Flores, M.A., & Day, C. (2006). Contexts which shape and reshape new teachers' identities: A multi-perspective study. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 22, 219 - 232. doi:10.1016/j.tate.2005.09.00.
- Freebody, P. (1992). A socio-cultural approach: Resourcing four roles as a literacy learner. In A. Watson & A. Badenhop (Eds.), *Prevention of reading failure* (pp. 48-60). Sydney: Ashton-Scholastic.
- Freebody, P., & Luke, A. (1990). Literacies programs: Debates and demands in cultural context. *Prospect: An Australian Journal of TESOL*, 5 (3), 7-16.
- Freebody, P., & Luke, A. (2003). Literacy as engaging with new forms of life: The 'four roles' model. In G. Bull & M. Anstey (Eds.), *The Literacy Lexicon* (pp.52-57). Sydney: Prentice Hall.
- Gains, P. (2010). *Learning about literacy: Teachers' conceptualisations and enactments of early literacy pedagogy in South African grade one classrooms*. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Gardiner, M. (2008). *Education in rural areas: Issues in Education Policy*, 4, Centre for Education Policy Development: Johannesburg.
- Gee, J. (1989). Identity as an analytic lens for research in education. *Review of Research in Education*, 25, 99-125.
- Gee, J. (1990). *Social linguistics and literacies*. London: Falmer Press.
- Gee, J. (1996). *Social linguistics and literacies: Ideology in discourses* (2nd ed.). London: Taylor & Francis.
- Gee, J. (1998). What is literacy? In V. Zamel & R. Spack (Eds.), *Negotiating academic literacies: Teaching and learning across languages* (pp.51-59). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Gee, J. (2002). Learning in semiotic domains: A social and situated account. *National Reading Conference Yearbook*, 23–32. Retrieved from http://yearbook.literacyresearchassociation.org/51st_Yearbook/gee_51.pdf.
- Gee, J. (2008). Learning in semiotic domains. In M. Prinsloo & M. Baynham (Eds.), *Literacies, global and local* (pp.137-149). Amsterdam: John Benjamin Publishing.

- Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gelfuso, A., & Dennis, D. (2014). Getting reflection off the page: The challenges of developing support structures for pre-service teacher reflection. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 38, 1-11.
- Gennrich, T., & Janks, H. (2013). Teachers' literate identities. In K. Hall, T. Cremin, B. Comber & L. Moll (Eds.), *International handbook of research on children's literacy, learning and culture* (pp.456-468). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Giddens, A. (1987). *Social theory and modern sociology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Gillham, B. (2000). *Developing a questionnaire*. London: Continuum.
- Giroux, H. (2001). Pedagogy of the depressed: Beyond the new politics of cynicism. *College Literature*, 28 (3), 1-32.
- Gouda, A., & Banks, F. (2006). The impact of professional dignity on the development of teacher knowledge. *Progressio*, 28 (1&2), 97-110.
- Govender, P. (2012, May, 27). Suffer the children. *Sunday Times*. Retrieved from: <http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2012/05/27/suffer-the-children>. November, 23, 2013.
- Graff, H. (1978). *The literacy myth: Literacy and social structure in the nineteenth-century city*. New York: Academic Press.
- Graff, H. (1987). *The legacies of literacy: Continuities and contradictions in Western culture and society*. Bloomington: Indiana Society Press.
- Graham, A., & Phelps, R. (2003). 'Being a teacher': Developing teacher identity and enhancing practice through metacognitive and reflective learning processes. *Australian Journal of Teacher Education*, 27 (2), 1-14.
- Grant, R., & Wong, S. (2008). Critical race perspectives: Bourdieu and language education. In J. Albright & A. Luke (Eds.), *Pierre Bourdieu and literacy education* (pp.162-184). New York: Routledge.
- Granville, S., Janks, H., Joseph, M., Mphahlele, M., Ramani, E. & Reed, Y. & Watson, P. (1998). English with or without g(u)ilt: A position paper on language in education policy for South Africa. *Language and Education*, 12 (4), 254-272.
- Green, B. (2013). Literacy, rurality, education: A partial mapping. In B. Green & M. Corbett (Eds.), *Rethinking rural literacies: Transnational perspectives* (pp.17-34). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Green, W., Parker, D., Deacon, R., & Hall, G. (2011). Foundation Phase teacher provision by public higher education institutions in South Africa. *South African Journal of Childhood Education*, 1 (1), 109-122.
- Grenfell, M. (1996). Bourdieu and initial teacher training: A post-structuralist approach. *British Educational Research*, 22(3), 287-303.
- Grenfell, M. (2008). Conclusion. In M. Grenfell (Ed.), *Pierre Bourdieu: Key concepts* (pp.213-218). Durham: Acumen.

- Grow, L. (2011). The identity development of preservice teachers of literacy in field experiences considering their prior knowledge. Unpublished dissertation in partial fulfilment of a PhD. University of Kentucky.
- Hallman, J., & Adam, A. (2013). The role of genre in reflective practice: Tracing the development of a beginning teacher's journaling practice. *The Journal of Inquiry and Action in Education*, 5 (2), 1-18.
- Hammersley, M. (1994). Introducing ethnography. In D. Graddol, J. Maybin & B. Stierer (Eds.), *Researching language and literacy in social context* (pp.1-17). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters in association with The Open University.
- Hardy, C. (2008). Hysteresis. In M. Grenfell (Ed.), *Pierre Bourdieu: Key concepts* (pp.131-148). Durham: Acumen.
- Harker, R. (1984). On reproduction, habitus and education. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 5 (2), 117-127.
- Hartshorne, K. (1992). *Crisis and challenge: Black education 1910 –1990*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Handsfield, L. (2006). Being and becoming American: Triangulating habitus, field and literacy instruction in a multilingual classroom. *Language and Literacy*, 8 (3), 1-27.
- Heath, S.B. (1983). *Ways with words: Language, life and work in communities and classrooms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heath, S.B. (1988). Protean shapes in literacy events: Ever-shifting oral and literate traditions. In E. Kintgen, B. Kroll & M. Rose (Eds.), *Perspectives on literacy* (pp.91-117). Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Heller, M. (2008). Bourdieu and "literacy education". In J. Albright & A. Luke (Eds.), *Pierre Bourdieu and literacy education* (pp.50-67). New York: Routledge.
- Hendricks, M. (2006). *Writing practices in additional languages in Grade 7 classes in the Eastern Cape Province*. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Heugh, K. (1999). Languages, development and reconstructing education in South Africa. *International Journal of Education Development*, 19, 301–313.
- Heugh, K. (2006). Language education policies in Africa. In K. Brown (Ed.), *Encyclopaedia of language and linguistics* (2nd ed.) (pp. 414 – 422). Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Hill, S. (2006). *Developing early literacy: Assessment and teaching*. South Yarra, Victoria: Eleanor Curtain Publishing.
- Hill, S. (2007). Multiliteracies: Towards the future. In L. Makin & C. Jones Diaz (Eds.), *Literacies in childhood: Changing views, challenging practice* (pp.56-60) (2nd ed.). Sydney: MacLennan and Petty.

- Hill, M. L. (2008). Toward a pedagogy of the popular: Bourdieu, hip-hop, and out-of-school literacies. In J. Albright & A. Luke (Eds.), *Pierre Bourdieu and literacy education* (pp.136-161). New York: Routledge.
- Hoadley, U. (2010). *What do we know about teaching and learning in primary schools in South Africa? A review of classroom-based research literature*. Report for the Grade 3 improvement project of the University of Stellenbosch. Western Cape Education Department.
- Hoadley, U. (2012). What do we know about teaching and learning in South African primary schools? *Education as Change*, 16 (2), 187-202. doi <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/16823206.2012.745725>
- Hodge, R., & Kress, G. (1988). *Social semiotics*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Hoffman, J., Sailors, M., Duffy, G., & Beretvas, S.N. (2004). The effective elementary classroom literacy environment: Examining the validity of the TEX-IN3 observation system. *Journal of Literacy Research*, 36 (3) 303-334.
- Holland, D., Lachicotte, W., Skinner, D., & Cain, C. (1998). *Identity and agency in cultural worlds*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Horn, I., Nolen, S., Ward, C., & Campbell, S. (2008). Developing practices in multiple worlds: The role of identity in learning to teach. *Teacher Education Quarterly*, 35 (3), 61-72.
- Horner, B. (2013). Ideologies of literacy, 'Academic literacies' and composition studies. *Literacy in Composition Studies*, 1.1, 1-9. Retrieved from: licsjournal.org.
- Horvat, E., & Davis, J. (2011). Schools as sites for transformation: Exploring the contribution of habitus. *Youth & Society*, 43,142- 170. doi: 10.1177/0044118X09358846
- Hosken, G. (2012, June 1). Education system a 'national disgrace'. *The Times*, p.5.
- Howie, S., Venter, E., van Staden, S., Zimmerman, L., Long, C., Scherman, V., & Archer, E. (2007). *PIRLS 2006 summary report: South African children's reading achievement*. Pretoria: Centre for Evaluation and Assessment.
- Howie, S., Van Staden, S., Tshele, M., Dowse, C., & Zimmerman, L. (2012). *PIRLS 2011: South African children's reading literacy achievement*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.
- Huber, M. T., Hutchings, P., & Gale, R. (2005). Integrative learning for liberal education. *Peer Review*, 7 (4), 4-7.
- Hyslop, J. (1999). *The classroom struggle: Policy and resistance in South Africa, 1940-1990*. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu Natal Press.
- Ingram, N. (2011). Within school and beyond the gate: The complexities of being educationally successful and working class. *Sociology*, 45 (2), 287-302.
- Janks, H. (1995). The research and development of Critical Language Awareness materials for use in South African secondary schools. Unpublished Doctoral thesis, Lancaster University, Lancaster.

- Janks, H. (2004). The access paradox. *English in Australia*, 12 (1), 33-42.
- Janks, H. (2010). *Literacy and power*. New York: Routledge.
- Jenkins, R. (1992). *Pierre Bourdieu: Key sociologists*. London: Falmer.
- John, V. (2013, November 11). Limpopo pupils go hungry for two months. *Mail and Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://mg.co.za/article/2013-11-11-limpopo-school-fails-to-feed-pupils-for-two-months>. November, 23, 2013.
- Kabilan, M. (2013). A phenomenological study of an international teaching practicum: Pre-service teachers' professional development. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 36, 198-209.
- Kerfoot, C. (2008). Transforming identities and enacting agency: The discourses of participatory development in training South African adult educators. *Journal of Education*, 45, 97-130.
- Kosnik, C., & Beck, C. (2003). The internship component of a teacher education program: Opportunities for learning. *The Teacher Educator*, 39 (1), 18-34. doi:10.1080/08878730309555327
- Kramsch, C. (1998). *Language and culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kramsch, C. (2008). Pierre Bourdieu: A biographical memoir. In J. Albright & A. Luke (Eds.), *Pierre Bourdieu and literacy education* (pp.33-49). New York: Routledge.
- Krest, M. (1990). The reflective writing teacher and the application of knowledge. *The English Journal*, 79 (5), 18-24.
- Kwenda, C., & Robinson, M. (2010). Initial teacher education in selected Southern and East African countries. *Southern African Review of Education and Education with Production*, 16 (1), 97-113.
- Lapadat, J., & Lindsay, A. (1999). Transcription in research and practice: From standardization of technique to interpretive positionings. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 5 (1), 64-86.
- Lee, E., & Kramer, R. (2013). Out with the old – in with the new? Habitus and social mobility at selective colleges. *Sociology of Education*, 86(1), 18-35.
- Lehmann, W. (2007). I just didn't feel like I fit in: The role of habitus in university drop-out decisions. *Canadian Journal of Higher Education*, 37 (2), 89-110.
- Lehmann, W. (2009). Becoming middle class: How working-class university students draw and transgress moral class boundaries. *Sociology*, 43 (4), 631-647. doi: 10.1177/0038038509105412
- Lehmann, W. (2013). Habitus transformation and hidden injuries: Successful working class university students. *Sociology of Education*, 87 (1), 1-15. doi: 10.1177/0038040713498777.
- Lin, I.J.H. (2014). Realigning capital portfolios: International students' educational experiences in higher education. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 34 (3), 366-380.

- Little, D. (2011). *Bourdieu's 'field'*. Retrieved from <http://UnderstandingSociety.blogspot.com/2011/02/10>.
- Lodge, H. (1997). *Providing access to academic literacy in the Arts Foundation Programme at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1996: The theory behind the practice*. Unpublished master's dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Loh, C. (2013). Singaporean boys constructing global literate selves through their reading practices in and out of school. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 44 (1), 38-57. doi:10.1111/j.1548-1492.2012.0177.x.
- Long, C., & Zimmerman, L. (2008). Reading beyond the lines: Developing South African Foundation Phase learners' higher-order reading literacy skills. *Teacher Education Research and Development Programme (TEP) Conference 2008. Proceedings of the Conference*. Braamfontein: Centre for Education Policy Development.
- Luke, A. (2008). Pedagogy as gift. In J. Albright & A. Luke (Eds.), *Pierre Bourdieu and literacy education* (pp.68-92). New York: Routledge.
- Luke, A., & Freebody, P. (1997). Shaping the social practices of reading. In S. Muspratt, A. Luke & P. Freebody, (Eds.), *Constructing critical literacies: Teaching and learning textual practice*, (p.460). St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin.
- Luke, A. & Freebody, P. (1999). *Further notes on the Four Resources Model*. Retrieved from <http://readingonline.org/sresearch/lukefreebody.html>.
- Mabasa, D. (2002). *Implementation of Abet policy*. UL Adult Education Series, 6. Polokwane: Lamprint Services.
- MacDonald, C. (1990). *Crossing the threshold into standard three*. Main report of the Threshold Project. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.
- Makalela, L. (2009). Harmonizing South African Sotho language varieties: Lessons from reading proficiency assessment. *International Multi-lingual Research Journal*, 3 (2), 120-133.
- Malan, L. (1996). Literacy mediation and social identity in Newtown, Eastern Cape. In M. Prinsloo & M. Breier (Eds.), *The social uses of literacy: Theory and practice in contemporary South Africa* (pp.105-122). Cape Town: Sached Books.
- Mandela, N. (1994). *A long walk to freedom*. Randburg: MacDonald Purnell.
- Manderscheid, K. (2009). Integrating space and mobilities into the analysis of social inequality. *Distinktion*, 18, 7-27.
- Masinire, A. (2013). *The place of teacher education in rural education: Preliminary lessons from the Bushbuckridge rural teaching experience*. Presentation at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Maton, K. (2008). Habitus. In M. Grenfell (Ed.), *Pierre Bourdieu: Key concepts* (pp. 49-65). Durham: Acumen.

- McEwan, M.J., & Malan, L. (1996). "We are waiting/this is our home": Literacy and the search for resources in the rural Eastern Cape. In M. Prinsloo & M. Breier (Eds.), *The social uses of literacy: Theory and practice in contemporary South Africa* (pp.197-212). Cape Town: Sached Books.
- Merriam, S.B. (1995). What can you tell from an N of 1?: Issues of validity and reliability in qualitative research. *PAACE Journal of Lifelong Learning*, 4, 51-60.
- Molteno Institute for Language and Literacy. (n.d.). *Breakthrough to literacy*. Retrieved June, 10, 2012, from <http://www.molteno.co.za/our-programmes>.
- Morrow, W. (1989). *Chains of thought: Philosophical essays in South African education*. Johannesburg: Southern Book Publishers.
- Motala, S., & Pampallis, J. (2005). *Emerging voices: A report on education in South African rural communities*. Researched for the Nelson Mandela Foundation by the HSRC and the EPC. Houghton: Nelson Mandela Foundation.
- Motala, S., Dieltiens, V., Carrim, N., Kgobe, P., Moyo, G., & Rembe, S. (2007). *Educational access in South Africa: Country analytic review*. CREATE Centre for International Development. Sussex: University of Sussex.
- Moore, R. (2008). Capital. In M. Grenfell (Ed.), *Pierre Bourdieu: Key concepts* (pp.101-117). Durham: Acumen.
- Mouton, N., Louw, G., & Strydom, G. (2013). Present-day dilemmas [sic] and challenges of the South African tertiary system. *International Business and Economics Research Journal*, 12 (3), 285-300.
- Mtika, P. (2008). *Teaching practice as a component of teacher education in Malawi: An activity theory perspective*. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Nottingham.
- Mukeredzi, T., & Mandrona, A. (2013). The journey to becoming professionals: Student teachers' experiences of teaching practice in a rural context. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 62,141-151.
- Muller, J. (1989). 'Out of their minds': An analysis of discourse in two South African science classrooms. In D. Roger (Ed.), *Conversation: An interdisciplinary approach* (pp.313-337). Clevedon, Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters.
- Nash, R. (1999). Bourdieu, 'habitus', and educational research: Is it all worth the candle? *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 20, (2), 175-187. doi: 10.1080/01425699995399
- Navarro, Z. (2006). In search of a cultural interpretation of power: The contribution of Pierre Bourdieu. *IDS Bulletin*, 37 (6), 11-22.
- Nel, N., & Muller, H. (2010). The impact of teachers' limited English proficiency on English second language learners in South African schools. *South African Journal of Education*, 30, 635-650.
- Ngugi, W. (1987). *Decolonizing the mind: The politics of language in African Literature*. Harare: ZPH.

- Norton Peirce, B. (1995). Social identity, investment, and language learning. *TESOL Quarterly*, 29 (1), 9-31.
- Norton, B. (2010). Identity, literacy and English-language teaching. *TESL Canada Journals/Revue TESL Du Canada*, 28 (1), 1-11.
- O'Connell, T., & Dymont, J. (2011). The case of reflective journals. Is the jury still out? *Reflective Practice: International and Multidisciplinary perspectives*, 12 (1), 47-59. doi:10.1080/14623943.2011.541093
- O' Dwyer, J., & Atli, H. (2014). A study of in-service teacher educator roles, with implications for their professional development. *European Journal of Teacher Education*, 38 (1), 4-20. doi:10.1080/02619768.2014.902438.
- Oliver, P. (2010). *Understanding the research process*. London: Sage.
- Pahl, K., & Rowsell, J. (2005). *Literacy and education: Understanding the New Literacy Studies in the classroom*. London: Sage.
- Pahl, K. (2008). Tracing habitus in texts: Narratives of loss, displacement and migration in homes. In J. Albright & A. Luke (Eds.), *Pierre Bourdieu and literacy education* (pp.187-208). New York: Routledge.
- Pahl, K. (2012). Seeing with a different eye. In M. Grenfell, D. Bloome, C. Hardy, K. Pahl, J. Rowsell & B. Street (Eds.), *Language, ethnography and education: Bridging New Literacy Studies and Bourdieu* (pp.89-109). New York and Oxon: Routledge.
- Pahl, K., & Rowsell, J. (2005). *Literacy and education: Understanding the New Literacy Studies in the classroom*. London: Paul Chapman Publishing.
- Parmegiani, A. (2008). Language ownership in multilingual settings: Exploring attitudes among students entering the University of Kwa Zulu-Natal through the Access Program. *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics*, 38, 1-26.
- Perkins, D. (1992). *Smart schools: Better thinking and learning for every child*. New York: The Free Press.
- Pretorius, E. (2002). Reading ability and academic performance in South Africa: Are we fiddling while Rome is burning? *Language Matters*, 33 (1), 169-196.
- Prinsloo, J. (2002). *Possibilities for critical literacy: An exploration of schooled literacies in the province of KwaZulu-Natal*. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Prinsloo, M., & Breier, M. (Eds.). (1996). *The social uses of literacy: Theory and practice in contemporary South Africa*. Amsterdam: SACHED Books.
- Prosser, M., & Trigwell, K. (1999). *Understanding learning and teaching*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

- Purcell-Gates, V., Jacobson, E., & Degener, S. (2004). *Print literacy development: Uniting the cognitive and social practice theories*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Rampedi, M. (2011). Foundational education: Are we building on rock or sand? *Limpopo Leader*, 25, 18-21.
- Rampedi, P. (2009, February 1). State sends teachers back to school. *City Press*.
- Ramsden, P. (1992). *Learning to teach in higher education*. New York: Routledge.
- READ Educational Trust. (n.d.). *Primary school projects*. Retrieved June, 10, 2012, from <http://www.read.org.za/index.php?id=129>.
- Reay, D. (2001). Finding or losing yourself? Working class relationships to education. *Journal of Education Policy*, 16 (4), 333-346.
- Reay, D. (2004). 'It's all becoming a habitus': Beyond the habitual use of habitus in educational research. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 25 (4), 431-443.
- Reay, D. (2005). 'Beyond Consciousness? The psychic landscape of social class'. *Sociology*, 39 (5), 911-928.
- Reay, D., Crozier, G., & Clayton, J. (2009). 'Strangers in paradise'? Working-class students in elite universities. *Sociology*, 43 (6), 1103-1121.
- Reed, Y. (2010). *Mediating knowledge and constituting subjectivities in distance education materials for language teachers in South Africa*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand.
- Reeves, C., Heugh, K., Prinsloo, C.H., Macdonald, C., Netshitangani, T., Alidou, H., Diedericks, G. & Herbst, D. (2008). *Evaluation of literacy teaching in primary schools of Limpopo province*. Report commissioned by the Limpopo Department of Education (LDoE). HSRC in Association with the Department of Language Education at the University of Limpopo.
- Riessman, C.K. (1993). *Narrative analysis*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Ritchie, J., & Lewis, J. (Eds.). (2003). *Qualitative research practice*. London: Sage.
- Rodney, W. (1981). *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. Harare: ZPH.
- Root, R., & Steinberg, M. (1996). *Those who do, can: Teachers writing, writers teaching: A sourcebook*. Urbana, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English.
- Roulston, K. (2001). Data analysis and 'theorizing as ideology'. *Qualitative Research*, 1 (3), 279-302.
- Rowell, J. (2008). Improvising on artistic habitus: Sedimenting identity into art. In J. Albright & A. Luke (Eds.), *Pierre Bourdieu and literacy education* (pp.233 - 251). New York: Routledge.
- Ryan, M. (2012). The pedagogical balancing out: Teaching reflection in higher education. *Teaching in Higher Education*, 18 (2), 144-155.

- Sayed, Y. (2002). Changing forms of teacher education in South Africa: A case-study of policy change. *International Journal of Education Development*, 22, 381-305.
- Schlitz, M., Vieten, C., & Miller, E. (2010). Worldview transformation and the development of social consciousness. *Journal of Consciousness Studies*, 17 (7-8), 18-36.
- Schoeman, S., & Mabunda, P. (2012). Teaching practice and the personal and socio-professional development of prospective teachers. *South African Journal of Education*, 32, 240-254.
- Schön, D. (1983). *The reflective practitioner: How professionals think in action*, New York: Basic Books.
- Sefala, M.J. (2007). *Rules and functions of traditional leaders in developmental local government in Limpopo Province*. Unpublished doctoral thesis, Tshwane University of Technology.
- Serafini, F. (2012). Expanding the Four Resources Model: Reading visual and multi-modal texts. *Pedagogies: An International Journal*, 7 (2), 150-164.
- Shalem, Y., Dison, L., Gennrich, T., & Nkambule, T. (2013). 'I don't understand everything here ... I'm scared': Discontinuities as experienced by first-year education students in their encounters with assessment. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 27 (5), 1081-1098.
- Silverman, D. (2005). *Doing qualitative research* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.
- Soudien, C. (2006). *Enhancing our freedoms: Education and citizenship in South Africa*. Paper presented at the Harold Wolpe Memorial Trust Eastern Cape Lecture Series. University of Fort Hare.
- South African Institute of Race Relations. (2013). *Fast facts*. Retrieved March 10, 2014, from <http://irr.org.za/reports-and-publications>.
- South African Government. (n.d.). *Education*. Retrieved November 12, 2014, from <http://www.gov.za/about-sa/education#budget>.
- Spaull, N. (2013). *South Africa's education crisis: The quality of education in South Africa 1994-2011*. Report commissioned by CDE, Oct, 2013. Parktown: Centre for Development and Enterprise.
- Statistics South Africa. (2011). *Community survey 2011: Basic results*. Retrieved November 12, 2014, from <http://beta2.statssa.gov.za/>.
- Street, B. V. (1984). *Literacy in theory and practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Street, B. (Ed.). (1993). *Cross cultural approaches to literacy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Street, B. (1996). Preface. In M. Prinsloo & M. Breier (Eds.), *The social uses of literacy: Theory and practice in contemporary South Africa* (pp.1-9). Cape Town: Sached Books.

- Street, B. (2001). *Literacy and development: Ethnographic perspectives*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Stuber, J. (2006). Talk of class: The discursive repertoires of white working-and upper-middle class college students. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 35 (3), 285-318. doi: 10.1177/0891241605283569
- Stuber, J. (2011). Integrated, marginal, and resilient: race, class, and the diverse experiences of white first-generation college students. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 24 (1), 117-136. doi: 10.1080/09518391003641916
- Stuckey, J.E. (1991). *The violence of literacy*. Portsmouth: Boynton Cook Publishers.
- Susen, S. (2013). Bourdieu and Adorno on the transformation of culture in modern society: Towards a critical theory of cultural production. In S. Susen & B. Turner (Eds.), *The legacy of Pierre Bourdieu: Critical essays* (pp. 173-202). London and New York: Anthem Press.
- Susen, S. & Turner, B. (Eds.). (2013). *The legacy of Pierre Bourdieu: Critical essays*. London and New York: Anthem Press.
- Swartz, D. (1997). *Culture and power: The sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Taylor, N. (2007). Equity, efficiency and the development of South African schools. In T. Townsend (Ed.), *International handbook of school effectiveness and improvement* (pp.523-540). Springer International Handbooks of Education (17), Dordrecht: Springer.
- Taylor, N. (2009). The state of South African schools. Part 1: Time and the regulation of consciousness. *Journal of Education*, 46, 9-32.
- Taylor, N. (2013). *National Report 2012: Summary*. Pretoria: National Educational Evaluation and Development. Retrieved from <http://www.education.gov.za/NEEDU/tabid/860/Default.aspx>
- Taylor, N., & Vinjevold, P. (1999). *Getting learning right*. Johannesburg: Joint Education Trust.
- Taylor, N., Muller, J. & Vinjevold, P. (2003). *Getting schools working: Research and systemic school reform in South Africa*. Cape Town: Pearson.
- Taylor N., & Moyane, J. (2004). *Khanyisa Education Support Programme: Baseline study part 1: Communities, schools and classrooms*. Johannesburg: JET Education Services. Memorandum (April 2005), 38-41.
- Taylor, N., Fleisch, B., & Schindler, J. (2008). *Changes in education since 1994*. Paper commissioned by the South African Presidency for the Fifteen Year Review. Retrieved from www.jet.org.za.
- Tlhabi, R. (2012, May 20). Education buck stops with officials who are ignoring the poor. *Sunday Times Review*. p.2.

- Thompson, J. (1991). Editor's introduction. In P. Bourdieu, *Language and symbolic power* (pp.1-31). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Thomson, P. (2008). Field. In M. Grenfell (Ed.), *Pierre Bourdieu: Key concepts* (pp.67-81). Durham: Acumen.
- Trigwell, K., Prosser M., & Waterhouse, F. (1999). Relations between teachers' approaches to teaching and students' approaches to learning. *Higher Education*, 37, 57–60.
- Uhlmann, A. (2008). The field of Arabic instruction in the Zionist state. In J. Albright & A. Luke (Eds.), *Pierre Bourdieu and literacy education* (pp.95 -112). New York: Routledge.
- Van der Berg, S. & Louw, M. (2006). *Unravelling the mystery: Understanding South African schooling outcomes in a regional context*. Paper presented at the conference of the study of African Economic, Oxford University.
- Van Zyl, S. (2010). *Interpreting and theorising your results? How to write the discussion section of a research report based on qualitative data*. Presentation at the University of the Witwatersrand.
- Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30 (6), 1024-1054.
- Von Holdt, K. (2012). Bourdieu in South Africa. In M. Burawoy & K. Von Holdt, *Conversations with Bourdieu: The Johannesburg moment* (pp.25-30). Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Wacquant, L. (2006). Pierre Bourdieu. In R. Stones (Ed.), *Key contemporary thinkers* pp.261-276. London, New York: Macmillan.
- Wacquant, L. (2014). Putting habitus in its place: Rejoinder to the symposium. *Body & Society*, 1-22. doi: 10.1177/1357034X14530845
- Walton, E., & Rusznyak, L. (2013). Pre-service teachers' pedagogical learning during practicum placements in special schools. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 36,112-120.
- Ward, J., & McCotter, S. (2004). Reflection as a visible outcome for preservice teachers. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 20, 243-257. doi:10.1016/j.tate.2004.02.004
- Warde, A. (2004). *Practice and field: Revising Bourdieusian concepts*. CRIC Discussion paper, 65. The University of Manchester.
- Wilkinson, J. (2005). Becoming a teacher: Encouraging development of teacher identity through reflective practice. *Asia Pacific Journal of Teacher Education*, 33 (1), 53-64. doi: 10.1080/135986052000341124.
- Wilson, H. (2012). The reading of self-help books by intermediate phase teachers in Gauteng townships. Unpublished masters dissertation. The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Wolf, M. (2007). *Proust and the squid: The story and science of the reading brain*. New York: Harper Collins Publisher.

- Zacher, J. (2008). Social hierarchies and identity politics. In J. Albright & A. Luke (Eds.), *Pierre Bourdieu and literacy education* (pp.252-278). New York: Routledge.
- Zancanella, D. (1991). Teachers reading/readers teaching: Five teachers' personal approaches to literature and their teaching of literature. *Research in the Teaching of English*, 25 (1), 5-32.
- Zimmerman, L., Howie, S.J., & Long, M.C. (2008). *Examining the status quo: A cross-sectional survey of initial teacher education for Foundation Phase reading literacy teaching in South Africa*. Centre for Evaluation and Assessment: University of Pretoria.