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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 REFLECTIONS ON THE BEGINNINGS OF THE RESEARCH

The original idea for this research arose from a number of incidents and nagging questions. These can be traced within the trajectory of embarking on this project, the final product, all neatly bound here, only begins to address these issues, and throws up still more nagging questions. Thus, what is presented here is in many ways a beginning, the first stage of an exploration.

It seems appropriate to set out the incidents and questions that led to this research. Looking back there are three key moments. The first incident had nothing to do with my academic life. I had attended a voice production workshop by Pasty Rodenburg, a well known British voice coach. In it she told a story that demonstrated the connection between the construction of subjects and linguistic habitus (Bourdieu 1992). A young, black male student of hers had been stopped by the police one night and made the decision to address them using Received Pronunciation. He was released after perfunctory questioning. His friends however, whose accents revealed working class origins, were treated roughly, with the insinuation that they were criminal elements.

Throughout the workshop she manipulated our bodies which affected our ability to produce sound. It was here that a real fascination with the embodied subject arose. How, I began to wonder, were the postures we took on revealing of who we were? How did this happen? How much control did individuals have in 'making' and 'unmaking' habitus? What is happening in schools? How are South Africans learning to 'be' in a nation whose history has been marred by violence and lawlessness?

The second moment came when in preparing a Masters poster-assignment for a Critical Literacy course, I encountered the work of educational sociologist Allan Luke (Appendix 1). His sociocultural approach to literacy emphasises how various literacy practices

involve and manipulate the body in a variety of ways that make the body 'literate'. This focused my rather vague interest in bodies and subjects, and I began thinking about how different literacies control, arrange and affect the body, the various 'naturalised' practices children learn through literacy, as well as how pedagogical institutions, work to train and discipline the body. I used photographs for the poster in an attempt to show how this training was operating in a Grade 1 classroom compared to the 'free' bodies of pre-school children engaged in the same activities. In many ways this research is an extension of that initial investigation, and the use of photographs is a key method in attempting to capture this 'training' (see Chapter 4).

The photographs demonstrated how the bodies of the pre-school children were different to those of the school children even though they were involved in similar literacy practices. They suggest that this has implications for society, because becoming a literate subject, a pre-requisite for functioning in this world, implies that one is able to self-regulate. My interest in the part played by schools, particularly in the realm of early schooling in teaching children to become literate and to regulate themselves, grew. This is not to say that other sites in schooling do not play a role in regulation. But, according to Foucault (1977), schools are one of the central institutions that work to regulate society. Using a Foucaultian framework, Gore (1994:3) argues how mass schooling "can be seen to operate in ways that demand individuals' participation in their own subjection, that demand self-disciplining for both students and teachers."

This brings me to Foucault and what was essentially 'the return of the repressed'. My first introduction to Foucault was in a critical theory course as an Honours student. We received the opening section of *Discipline and Punish (1977)* and I was completely transfixed, until I was told I had read him 'all wrong'. What had seemed such a clear description of sovereign power (although I did not know the term at the time) and insight I thought I had gained from the minutiae described, had some deeper theoretical application I failed to see. I dismissed Foucault as beyond my understanding. But it was to Foucault that I had to return and face my fears regarding the formation of literate subjects. An understanding of power and power relations was needed that could explain

how these disciplinary practices worked on bodies. In grappling with Foucault I was also having conversations with teachers about the disciplinary difficulties they were facing in their classrooms. His notion of discipline as a body of knowledge and a means of social control became central to the project (see Chapter 2).

1.2 AIMS AND RESEARCH QUESTION

The primary aim of this research then is to understand the relationship between literacy, power, and the body in Foundation Phase classrooms. Although Luke was instrumental in thinking about questions around literacy, I have used the definition from Barton and Hamilton (2000:8) which describes literacy as "a set of social practices" that are "observable in events which are mediated by written texts", as a way of working with literacy. A related aim is to investigate the literacy practices and literacy norms in a preschool and primary school environment to see how 'ideal' literate subjects are constructed. This requires a comparison between how the ideal literate subject is constructed in policy documents and examples of classroom practice.

The focus on literacy in the Foundation Phase is relevant because literacy is one of the three learning programmes set out in the curriculum, the other two being numeracy and life skills (DoE 2001:7).The use of the literacy lesson is also pertinent for this research because as both Hunter (1988) and Luke (1990) contend, literacy is a key site in which the training of the technologies of the self (Foucault 1988a) takes place. Because this research looks across early schooling, it attempts to assess levels of self-regulation over time.

In order to assess these, this research also aims is to discover how power operates on the bodies of children during the literacy lesson. The Foundation Phase has been chosen because it marks the beginning of children's 'formal training' to become literate subjects, and the beginning of their subjection to the disciplinary power of the school. The Revised National Curriculum (DoE 2001) includes a reception year (which is referred to here as

Grade 0) as part of the Foundation Phase. The government has acknowledged that a publicly funded reception year for all pupils is "essential" (SAIRR 1999/2000:120), but providing access has been slow. Currently, 5000 Grade 0 sites are supposed to be established for 155 000 children by 2010 in Gauteng (GDE 2005:12). The primary school has a reception year in place although this is uncommon for many primary schools. This research then also aims to focus on schooling from nursery school (Grade 00 and Grade 0) to primary school (Grade 1-3) as a way of assessing the transition children make in moving from 'informal' schooling to 'formal' schooling, particularly in relation to how teachers' pedagogies focus on the body in order to regulate children in the process of creating literate subjects.

It is through pedagogy that the literate subject is constituted and regulated and it is the body that is the target of pedagogical power. Foucault (1980:39) has said that disciplinary power functions at the level of the body because it "reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions, attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives." He also points out that where power operates there is resistance to it. This raises the question of how students and teachers negotiate and resist power relations.

1.2.1 Research Question

The central question which this project seeks to answer is:

What is the relationship between literacy, power and embodied subjects as realised in the Foundation Phase of a Gauteng primary school?

This includes consideration of the following questions:

- What is the relationship between reading and the body in the Foundation Phase?
- What is the relationship between writing and the body in the Foundation Phase?

- What are the literacy norms in this phase? Who decides what they are and how are they measured?
- To what extent do practices in the literacy classroom produce self-regulating subjects by the end of the Foundation Phase?

1.3 RATIONALE

In many ways, South African society seems to resist regulation, and self-discipline is often lacking. It is a society whose citizens seem to have little respect for others and their property, as evidenced by our disregard for the laws of the road. The 2005 Road Traffic Management Corporation's report indicates more than 39 people are killed daily in road accidents, with 95% of crashes resulting from traffic offences (http://arrivealive.co.za/pages.asp?=mc=info&nc2005_Stats). This is a society where corruption is commonplace, with the Shabir Shaik and Jacob Zuma corruption scandal a pertinent example.

Crime and violence appear to have become social norms and the recently released crime statistics reflect this. Although there is an 8% decrease across all categories of crime, the statistics are of reported crimes only. Levels of violent crime remain high, and the report notes that "criminals are increasingly using high calibre weapons while the number of criminals involved in individual incidents has increased" (Adams 2006a:5). The murder rate is eight times higher than the international average of 5.5 per 100 000 of the population. In South Africa it is 39.5%, with 50.8 murders committed each day (Adams 2006b:1). Cash-in-transit heists, violent robbery and car-jackings have all increased.

Rape statistics are a matter of concern: from 2001-2006 over fifty thousand rape cases were reported annually (Adams 2006a:5, http://www.iss.co.za/CJM/stats0905/rape.pdf). This equates to 150.4 rapes a day, with 60 of them being children (Adams 2006b). The Medical Research Council believes that incidents of rape and attempted rape could be almost ten times higher than those reported to the police. Shilumani (2004) reports that 80% of all convictions relating to cases of family violence and sexual assault involve

crimes against children. A recent parliamentary debate noted that in the last decade there has been a 400% increase in child rape (http://www.boababconnections.org/new?id=960). Jewkes (2002) argues that political violence, the disruption of families, high levels of poverty and social violence are factors that lead to child and infant rape. This violence is also directed at females because of marked gender inequality, a culture of male sexual entitlement and an environment in which rape is often perpetrated with impunity. If the society that one lives in has little impact in controlling such crimes, what effects does this have on schooling, and what effect can schooling have on it?

It is important to examine these issues from an historical perspective. Because the construction of the subject is a preoccupation of this research, a Foucaultian lens was considered an appropriate way in which to read the South African context. The concepts of government and governmentality proved useful. Chapter 3 presents a general reading of South African subject constructions, as well as subjects constructed in the field of education from the apartheid period to the present day.

This discussion is necessary because in shifting from apartheid education to a more democratic system it is naïve to believe that the problems caused by the one would disappear in the next. The South African education system is often depicted in a negative light, with much talk of a 'breakdown in the culture of teaching and learning'. This phrase can mean many things. The media have used it in a variety of ways over the past few years with stories depicting a system in crisis; giving numbers of truant and underqualified teachers; examining the prevalence of drugs and violence in schools as well as the sexual abuse of schoolchildren by teachers. Over the years various issues have been identified but not necessarily resolved. The Gauteng Department of Education "identified 71 'poorly performing' …secondary schools (out of its total of 453 public secondary schools) with matriculation pass rates of 25% or less" in 1999 (Christie 2001:40). In May 2000, the President's Education Initiative Research Project published a report noting that some schools had, on average, achieved only 21 days of teaching out of a total of 191. The issue of sexual abuse at schools is also serious. In 1998 Vally noted that there were no official figures but anecdotal evidence suggested that it was rife

(1998:18). A 2002 HSRC report later revealed that 43% of all sexual abuse is carried out by teachers. The South African Human Rights Commission organised a national hearing into school-based violence after recent incidents where children were attacked or killed by peers at schools (Sookha 2006, Kollapan 2006). These incidents signal the importance of understanding the kind of practices in schools which lead to violence and abuse (Dixon and Dornbrack 2007).

In *Discipline and Punish (1977)*, Foucault describes the medieval disciplinary measures and control over the populace that relied on punishment as a spectacle, to a shift in the eighteenth century to more subtle forms of control. In many ways South African society contains elements of both old and new forms of power with its surveillance cameras in city centres and its recent history of public necklace murders. The issue of effective discipline in schools is another indicator of this shift of power, with the ban on corporal punishment. In August 2000, the Constitutional Court ruled in favour of this. While the practice of corporal punishment is not to be condoned, its abolition seems to have left a gap in terms of the control and management of classes for many teachers (Hough, O Neill, Matross, Killian, van der Riet 2007). In her study of South African schools "surviving against the odds", Christie (2001:52) notes that a number of schools in the study admitted that they still employed corporal punishment even though it was against the law. A booklet containing alternatives to corporal punishment was launched in October 2000 by the then Minister of Education, Professor Kader Asmal, but its practical effects are not yet known.

Teachers are charged with the responsibility of meeting critical outcomes, often in the face of children's resistance to learning. They are required to produce "culturally and aesthetically sensitive" individuals who are able to regulate their own behaviour, take care of themselves and thus others, by demonstrating that they can "organise and manage themselves and their activities responsibly and effectively", "work effectively with others" and "participate as responsible citizens in the life of local and national and global communities" (DoE 1998:10, DoE 2002). The vision for South Africa is outlined in the preface to the National Curriculum Framework document where changes in education

will "normalise and transform teaching and learning" in order to create "literate, creative and critical citizens leading productive, self-fulfilled lives in a country free of violence, discrimination and prejudice" (DoE 1998:1, DoE 2002). How literate, critical, creative citizens are being produced, if at all, is a question this research takes up.

An examination of the policy documents is then essential in outlining the context in which teachers are expected to work. Policy documents set up normative expectations (Rose 1989, 1998) as well as an ideological vision of the world (Street 1984, Freebody and Welch 1993). Ball (1993a:12) notes that policies "create circumstances in which the range of options available in deciding what to do are narrowed or changed." Chapters 6 and 7 begin by looking at the construction of the literate subject with regards to reading and writing before comparing these with classroom practices across the grades of reading (chapter 6) and writing (chapter 7). Chapter 8 uses Foucault's notion of examination as a central organising principle in which to show how children are made into cases.

Before the more detailed discussions of literacy practices in Chapters 6 and 7, Chapter 5 sets up conditions in classroom environments. It does this by exploring how Foucault's concepts of "disciplinary practices, social regulation and control" (Comber 1996:43) with a particular emphasis on space and time operate in literacy lessons. Underpinning much of my thinking throughout this thesis is Hunter's argument (1994) that "disciplinary practices are essential for the formation of the modern citizen", and that these are not necessarily negative. Pedagogy can be normative without being repressive. The power operating in classrooms is productive of a certain kind of citizen. Foucault (1977:24) has said "power relations have an immediate hold upon it [the body]; they invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs." If the 'inscription' of the body is a key overlooked and undertheorised effect of literacy training as Luke maintains (1990, 1993), then this is a starting point in which to examine the kind of literate subjects produced who are expected to become productive modern citizens. Chapters 5 to 8 trace these continuities and shifts in the early years of schooling. The Foundation Phase was chosen because it is at this stage that children's bodies begin their 'formal' training. Including a preschool was a means to compare formal and

'informal' learning. Children come to school with bodies that have been differently enculturated in homes. Children in the research sites differ in terms of race, languages spoken, and the communities they live in; some come from the surrounding suburbs, others are bused in from outlying areas. These children's Primary Discourses – their ways of "thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and acting" that identify them as a member of a particular social group, and constitute their "first social identity", is often very different to the Secondary Discourse ("discourses that involve social institutions beyond the family") that they acquire at school (Gee 1996:131 -142). Some of these children have spent some time at preschool, while others have not, and thus their levels of acquisition of this Secondary Discourse differ. Diversity has already been inscribed upon these children's bodies and their entrance into school now requires them to function in more uniform ways, a point taken up in Chapter 5.

It is important to note that this research aims to examine the process of self-regulation in early schooling at one private preschool, Acacia Preschool and one state primary school, Southside Primary[1], in South Africa. But, it makes no claims about the process of self-regulation across the board, nor will it be able to gauge the extent to which self-regulation is maintained in subsequent phases in education, nor anything about the children who are lost to schooling. The focus is also not on the connections between the culture of the home and school generally, nor home and school literacy practices. While home literacy practices are important, and have an impact on schooling, it is beyond the scope of this project to investigate these. Rather, the focus is on what is apparent in the classroom, what the children bring with them to school. These are the starting points for teachers in relation to the developmental and disciplinary norms of the school.

Before this focus is explored, a discussion of the methods utilised for this research is necessary (Chapter 4) as well as the literature that informs this project. This is presented in the following chapter.

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[1] These are pseudonyms

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Before beginning this review it is necessary to discuss the choices I have made for including the work that is presented here, and how it is presented. These choices are personal and have been made in relation to theories or research that I feel relate to this project. As such, the areas I have chosen to read in have been the ones I felt could best answer my research questions. This is subjective of course and the ways in which I have utilised them in this thesis results in particular interpretations of the data. The chapter is divided into two major parts; the first deals with theorists relevant to the project, the second with themes directly related to the thesis title and research questions.

Foucault is the theoretical centre around which this thesis revolves. I felt it necessary to have a central theoretical thread running throughout the thesis as a means of maintaining cohesiveness. The breadth as well as the detailed nature of Foucault's work on power, subjectivity, the body and space, allows for a coherent way to deal with the issues that I am concerned about and to find ways to explain their levels of connectivity in the research sites. In keeping with this thinking, my selection of texts was influenced by researchers working within a Foucaultian paradigm.

As the lynchpin for this chapter, the first section in part one explains the important aspects of Foucault's work as used in this thesis. His definition of discipline as both a body of knowledge and means of social control, presented a way to examine how literacy (a body of knowledge) was configured in the classroom in relation to how children were disciplined (forms of social control) to become literate. His explanation of the four ways discipline operates allowed for an in-depth analysis of how power works to construct particular literate subjects through the operation of space, time, regulation and organisation (Chapter 5). In addition to this, the techniques of discipline, particularly examination, provided a means to ascertain how the ideal literate subject was constructed via test taking and report writing (Chapter 8). But, since power operates at the level of the body, it was necessary throughout the thesis to examine bodily configurations in the

classroom setting to establish the type of subject constructions taking place (Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8). This emphasis is narrowed by looking at practical classroom constructions of the reading and writing subject (Chapters 6 and 7). It was also important to set this project within the South African context with a specific focus on how the past has worked to create various kinds of regulated and unregulated bodies. Foucault's work on governmentality and the management of populations provided a way of reading this aspect of South African history which is discussed in the following chapter (Chapter 3).

Foucault is not the sole theorist who has informed this work. Several other theorists are included because of the important ways their work intersects with the aims of this thesis and/or applies Foucaultian theory. The work of Bourdieu provides a way of thinking about the body, and his theory of capital raises questions about the value of the kinds of school literacy children receive. Additionally Allan Luke applies the work of Bourdieu in an educational context with specific reference to literacy.

In the early stages of designing this project I was aware that the spatial would possibly be an important factor. As this project developed, considering data in relation to the spatial began to take on greater importance and the following chapters reflect this influence. Although my reading of space is predominantly a Foucauldian one in keeping with the reasons outlined earlier, this was supplemented by the work of Soja. He argues that Foucault himself was one of the first theorists to highlight the importance of spatial and temporal relations in the West. But, Foucault's space-power-knowledge triad has often been reduced to power-knowledge, and he maintains it should be reinstated.

The second part of the chapter moves away from theorists per se to the key themes: literacy, power and the embodied subject. Following the work of the New Literacy Studies I have worked with literacy as a social practice. This approach to literacy acknowledges the flow of power relations within literacy practices and was thus ideal to investigate the workings of power. The research on power drawn on here is predominantly educational research situated in a Foucauldian paradigm. Finally, if power functions at the level of the body it was important to look at its impact in the construction

of the subject. For the purpose of clarity these themes are discussed separately but are interwoven throughout the thesis.

I now turn to the work of Foucault.

2.1 MICHEL FOUCAULT

Foucault's work by its nature evades neat labelling; he has been described as a social scientist, sociologist, archaeologist of Western culture, a nihilist, and as a philosopher-historian. Foucault is "renowned as an original and provocative thinker, celebrated and criticized, paraphrased and misrepresented" (Smart 2002:13). He viewed his role as an intellectual as one in which he could show "that people accept as truth, as evidence, some themes which have been built up at a certain moment during history, and this so called evidence can be criticized and destroyed" (Foucault 1988b:10-11). Foucault has challenged and undermined many 'commonsense' assumptions within historical and sociological research, for example, that power is held by particular social groups; universal truths can be pursued and recovered; rules about human behaviour can be discovered; hidden meanings can be revealed; there is an essential subjective meaning; history is progress and there are singular determinants of it (Cherryholmes 1988 and Smart 1985, cited in Comber 1996:25).

Using Foucault's work is not without its problems. Commentators on his work have stated that he is not always clear and that there are inconsistencies in what essentially constitutes a large body of work. Gore (1997:216) notes that "selecting only parts of [his work] leaves one open to accusations of failing to take account of his earlier or later works or of his own intellectual roots." Be that as it may, this is not a study on Foucault and thus it is not possible to give his work the attention that it deserves. While Foucault may have been charged with a lack of clarity, some scholars who use Foucault's work in an overly general manner often appear to trivialise or misinterpret his work. In order to avoid this, a small part of his oeuvre is examined in detail and is applied to the data.

McHoul and Grace (1993:1) maintain that Foucault's contribution to the history of ideas involved a rethinking of three central concepts: discourse, power and knowledge. Discourses, for Foucault, are viewed as bodies of social knowledge, which is a move away from language closer to the notion of a discipline. Discipline operates in two ways, so that Foucault's idea of discourse "shows the historically specific relations between disciplines (defined as bodies of knowledge) and disciplinary practices (forms of social control and possibility)" (McHoul and Grace 1993:36). Discourses are historically contingent and subject to change, they also limit the ways certain things can be talked about and by whom. Foucault says that power is exercised locally in institutions like schools, hospitals and asylums. It is through them that modern societies are governed and the knowledges from these institutions "are used to classify and record the individual against specified norms" (Comber 1996:38). Because discourse is linked to disciplinary knowledge and the attached institutions, they provide ways for knowing and managing the population, which is important for this study (see Chapter 3).

The notion of discourse is integral to Foucault's (1978) understanding of power and knowledge; power and knowledge are joined through discourse[2]. Foucault's conception of power is not meant to be viewed as a theory, something that is "context-free, ahistorical, objective description. Rather, Foucault is proposing what he calls the analytics of power, which he opposed to theory" (Dreyfuss and Rabinow 1982:184). In *The History of Sexuality,* and *Discipline and Punish* Foucault introduces several propositions about power. Gore (1995:99) summarises these features of power: power is productive and not solely repressive; power circulates rather than being possessed; power exists in action; power functions at the level of the body; and often, power operates through technologies of the self. It is through institutions like schools and hospitals that modern forms of power operate. In these institutions people become the objects of knowledge as they are observed, judged and recorded. Power then becomes associated with producing and using specific forms of knowledge. Foucault (1977:27) says that

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[2] Although this thesis is premised on the power-knowledge- spatial trialectic, McHoul and Grace's (1993) explanation of power-knowledge is useful. See section 2.3 for a further discussion on spatial theory.

power produces knowledge (and not simply by encouraging it because it serves power or by applying it because it is useful); that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations.

2.1.1 *Discipline and Punish*

Discipline and Punish is essential for this research. In it, Foucault traces the change in penal practices, from one of physical punishment and spectacle to one where the psyche was the target of punishment, although the body remains subject to controls and regulations. Discipline is then a technique of power that "provides procedures for training or coercing bodies (individual and collective)" (Smart 2002:85). The Foucaultian connection between discipline and the body is a key means through which data was read.

2.1.1.1 Docile Bodies

In every society throughout history the body has been subject to limits, taboos and obligations. It was the classical age that "discovered the body as object and target of power" (Foucault 1977:136). Bodies that can be known, used, manipulated and changed are docile bodies. In the eighteenth century a greater emphasis was placed on these "projects of docility" and new elements emerged in already existing techniques. The first is the *scale of control* where bodies are not treated en masse but are targeted individually through subtle coercion aimed at the active body through aspects like movements, gestures, attitudes and rapidity. Second is the *object of control* which emphasises how the body functions in the economy, through the efficiency and organisation of movement via frequent exercise. The third is *modality* where there is constant supervision on the activity rather than the result. It operates "according to a codification that partitions as closely as possible time, space and movement" (1977:137). The implementation of these techniques that resulted in assiduous control of body operations created a relation of "docility-

utility" which Foucault calls "disciplines" (1977:137). At this moment the art of the human body was born that aimed not only to increase its skills and subjection, but as the obedient body's usefulness grew, so was the progressively useful body required to be more obedient. Thus disciplines "became the general formula for domination" (1977:137).

To create docile bodies, discipline functions as a "micro-physics of power" that combines the "political anatomy of detail" and a "mechanics of power", which "defined how one may have a hold over others' bodies not only so they may do what one wishes, but so that they may operate as one wishes, with the techniques, the speed and the efficiency that one determines. Thus discipline produces subjected and practised bodies, 'docile' bodies" (1977:138). As a disciplining institution, one of the roles of the school is to create docile bodies. Foucault outlines four means through which discipline operates: the art of distributions, the control of activity, organisational geneses, and the composition of forces. These four means have been crucial in understanding the working of disciplinary power in the research sites (see Chapter 5).

2.1.1.2 The Art of Distributions

Key to this study is an attempt to understand how the literate subject is produced, how children are disciplined to become literate. We know that power is directed on the body, but takes place in space. Foucault (2001c) states explicitly that in the exercise of power space is fundamental, and he opens this section in *Discipline and Punish* by saying "discipline proceeds from the distribution of individuals in space" (1977:141).The spatial distribution of individuals relies on four techniques: enclosure, partitioning, the rule of functional sites, and rank.

Enclosure as the name suggests, is a place closed in on itself to create a "protected space of disciplinary monotony" (1977:141). Foucault gives examples of the development of secondary boarding schools, army barracks, and factories. The aim of confining an area

limits inconveniences and disturbances and also concentrates individuals so that their progress may be easily monitored. Enclosure is not constant enough as a technique, and others are required in the disciplinary machinery.

Partitioning controls space in a more detailed and flexible way than enclosure. It allocates individuals to their own space, and space to particular individuals, and in this way sets up an analytic space. It aims to eliminate groups, make distribution precise and to regulate movement. It establishes "presences and absences, to know where and how to locate individuals, to set up useful communications, to interrupt others, to be able at each moment to supervise the conduct of each individual, to assess it, to judge it, to calculate its qualities and merits" (1977:143). Disciplinary space is also cellular, although the partitions assigned to individuals can be real or ideal.

The rule of *functional sites* allows a space to have several different uses. Some spaces allow for supervision, halt communications, but are also useful. The example of the factory shows how individualising partitioning became more complex. Bodies and machinery had to be distributed in particular ways to enhance productivity and enable supervision. A grid was created that divided labour processes into stages required for production and the individuals (bodies) that did the work. Work was observed, assessed and related back to the individual who performed it. Thus discipline is also about *rank.*

Bodies are individualised and placed in a system of classification "by a location that does not give them a fixed position, but distributes them and circulates them in a network of relations" (1977:146). Rank is particularly pertinent in the functioning of distribution in the school. Pupils were ranked in rows in classes, ranks were assigned after exams and tests, weekly and monthly performances were ranked. Throughout the time spent at school, pupils moved through ranking based on age, performance and behaviour. It was in elementary education that serial space was organised. By assigning individual places to each child, individuals could be supervised while ensuring the class was occupied.

The organisation of 'cells', 'places' and 'ranks' creates a mixed space (1977:148). The spaces are real: architectural constructions with buildings and rooms and furniture. These fixed spaces allow the circulation of individuals through them. They are also ideal, imbued with values, allowing for a range of assessments and hierarchies, improving efficiency of time and gesture. As a micro-physics of cellular power, individuals can be characterised, while at the same time the group is ordered.

2.1.1.3 The Control of Activity

While the art of distribution is spatial, the control of activity is temporal. It comprises a number of elements. The first is the *timetable;* an element that disciplinary power took over from the monastic community. The function of the timetable is to "establish rhythms, impose particular occupations, regulate the cycles of repetition" (1977:149). The disciplines took this temporal regulation and refined it by breaking time into seconds, minutes, quarter hours. Schools attempt to ensure that time spent is useful through constant supervision, pressure of supervisors, and elimination of distractions. Where the timetable is the general framework for activity, the *temporal elaboration of the act* comes into being where an "anatomo-chronological schema" for behaviour is defined. Time infuses the body as acts are broken down into elements, body parts are positioned, given directions, aptitudes, durations, and an order of succession. Thus there is a *correlation of the body and the gesture.* Disciplinary control is about speed and efficiency and relies on the efficacious relation between a gesture and overall body position. Foucault (1977:152) quotes La Salle's example of this during the act of handwriting:

> Good handwriting, for example, presupposes a gymnastics – a whole routine whose rigorous code invests the body in its entirety, from the points of the feet to the tip of the index finger. The pupils must always 'hold their bodies erect, somewhat turned and free on the left side, slightly inclined, so that, with the elbow placed on the table, the chin can be rested upon the hand, unless this were to interfere with the view; the left leg must be somewhat more forward under the table than the right. A distance of two fingers must be left between the body and the table; for not only does one write with more alertness, but nothing is more harmful to the

health than to acquire the habit of pressing one's stomach against the table; the part of the left arm from the elbow to the hand must be placed on the table. The right arm must be at a distance from the body of about three fingers and be about five fingers from the table, on which it must rest lightly.

Combined with this is the *body-object articulation* where each of the relations between the body and the object utilised are defined. This articulation is coded by separately breaking down parts of the body and the object being manipulated. The two are then correlated by a set of successively required gestures. Power binds the body and the object together when they come into contact constituting a "body-weapon, body-tool, body-machine complex" (1977:153). So disciplinary power functions as a means of synthesis, it is the "coercive link with the apparatus of production" (1977:153).

The final aspect in the control of activity is *exhaustive use*. Discipline works here to extract more moments from time. The example of the mutual improvement school illustrates this – rather than having time used up by the instruction of the teacher, groups were organised under monitors or assistants to complete a number of activities in set times controlled by signals, whistles and orders. "The sole aim of these commands… is to accustom the children to executing well and quickly the same operations, to diminish as far as possible by speed the loss of time caused by moving from one operation to the other" (Bernard in Foucault 1977:154).

It is through this "technique of subjection" that a new body emerges, a body Foucault calls natural: "the bearer of forces and the seat of duration; it is the body susceptible to specified operations, which have their order, their stages, their internal conditions, their constituent elements" (1977:155). As the target of power new forms of knowledge of the body open up, it becomes a body of exercise that can be usefully trained and controlled by authority.

A final point needs to be highlighted which is the privileging of space over time. Along with Soja, Foucault and Lefebvre (see section 2.3), May and Thrift (2001) raise concerns

about the dualistic thinking of making distinctions between space and time in social theory. This results in time and space being treated in isolation, or space being prioritised over time. But, "time is irrevocably bound up with the spatial constitution of society (and vice versa)" (May and Thrift 2001:3). For this research in combination with Foucault's second aspect of disciplinary power, the control of activity, Jenks' (2001) work on temporal relations in school provides a means of working with time without overemphasising space.

2.1.1.4 Organisational Geneses

After analysing space and controlling activities, the disciplines also focus on regulating the relations of time, bodies and forces. This is done in four ways. The first involves *duration* where successive segments of the same time are divided. Training periods have a particular duration, involve particular aspects and focus on a homogenous group. The aspects of training increase in complexity as it proceeds. The duration of *training is set* and is then concluded with an *examination*. This has three functions – it shows if a subject has attained the required level, a standard is set in training and the examination allows for the abilities of each subject to be distinguished. Finally a *"series of series"* is set out where appropriate exercises are assigned according to a subject's level and rank. At the end of each series another series begins, locating individuals in a temporal series that defines them. This disciplinary time influenced pedagogical practice:

> Specialising the time of training and detaching it from the adult time, from the time of mastery; arranging different stages, separated from one another by graded examinations; drawing up programmes, each of which must take place during a particular stage and which involves exercises of increasing difficulty; qualifying individuals according to the way in which they progress through the series. (Foucault 1977:159)

Because disciplinary time is multiple and progressive it creates an "analytical pedagogy" which breaks subjects into simple elements and hierarchises stages of development into steps.

Power and time are connected. Having a series of activities means that there is control through regular intervention like punishment, correction, the elimination of subjects, or subjects can be characterised via the level of the series they are moving through. Time can be linear where moments follow moments towards a stable point which Foucault calls 'evolutive' time. But time is also social and viewed in terms of progress. "The disciplinary techniques reveal individual series: the discovery of an evolution in terms of 'genesis'" (1977:160). The exercise is the procedure that lies at the centre of the seriation. Exercise is the technique imposed on the body of repetitive and different tasks that are graded. Thus the educational programme comes to the fore with regular exercises that increase in complexity until the end of schooling.

2.1.1.5 The Composition of Forces

While discipline distributes bodies, draws and accumulates time, it also has to compose forces in such a way as to heighten their efficiency, so they operate as a machine. This takes place firstly as the "individual body becomes an element that may be placed, moved and articulated onto others" (1977:164). The individual body then constitutes a part of a "multi-segmentary machine" (1977:164). This machinery is run through a chronological series of time.

Thus four characteristics of individuality are produced through discipline. It is cellular from spatial distribution, organic through the coding of activities, genetic via the accumulation of time, and combinatory because of the composition of forces. The four means through which discipline operates here are used as a means of reading how the bodies of children are trained, and the specific school and literate subjects that are created through these processes.

2.1.1.6 Training Bodies: 3 techniques of disciplinary power

Disciplinary power is a "modest and suspicious power" with "humble modalities and minor procedures" (1977:170) unlike the show and ritual of sovereign power or the apparatus of the state (see Chapter 3). It is the fact that Foucault sees disciplinary power thus, that it is possible to examine the impact of mundane school practices. This is also with the knowledge that the 'minorness' of its procedures infiltrate and alter other forms of power. The chief function of disciplinary power is to train individuals who are both its object and its instrument. Disciplinary power is comprised of 3 forms: hierarchical observation, normalising judgement and the examination.

Hierarchical Observation

If the prime function of discipline is to train individuals, then spaces need to be created to in order to manage this training. The layout of the military camp, a prime example, formed the foundation for wholesale observation where "the network of gazes that supervised one another was laid down" (Foucault 1977:171). The camp's design influenced the construction of schools through both its architecture and the appointment of individuals to observe each other. Surveillance is at the centre of teaching as a mechanism to increase its efficiency. Three procedures are thus integrated – "teaching proper, the acquisition of knowledge by the very practice of pedagogical activity, and a reciprocal, hierarchised observation" (Foucault 1977:176).

Hierarchised observation functions as a network of relations that work top-down, and less frequently, bottom-up and laterally, so that the effects of power are constantly reinforced by those supervising and those supervised. Individuals are distributed in this mesh of power. Since an omnipresent gaze is not possible, the disciplinary gaze operates externally on, and is then internalised by individuals.

Normalising Judgement

Along with surveillance, normalising judgement is an essential instrument in the exercise of power. Foucault indicates that this "small penal mechanism" (1977:177) has its own laws, offences and forms of judgement that work to repress behaviour. A broad spectrum of penalties exists for a range of behaviours:

> The workshop, the school, the army were all subject to a whole micro-penalty of time (lateness, absences, interruptions of tasks), of activity (inattention, negligence, lack of zeal), of behaviour (impoliteness, disobedience), of speech (idle chatter, insolence), of the body ('incorrect' attitudes, irregular gestures, lack of cleanliness), of sexuality (impurity, indecency). (Foucault 1977:138)

Failure of observance led to punishment. Punishment draws on a range of actions that make individuals realise their offences for example, physical punishment, deprivation, or humiliation. But discipline has a particular way of punishing that centres on non-conformity – this includes an inability to perform tasks or reach certain levels. The nature of disciplinary punishment is mixed: it operates with an artificial order where a law or set of regulations are laid down, as well as on natural observable processes, like the time needed to complete an exercise. The level of regularity of such operations also function as rules. Thus children are not placed in classes that are too advanced for them but they are required to reach that level during their schooling. Discipline is also about being corrective, and the notion of exercise (and its repetitive nature) is important here, thus "to punish is to exercise." (1977:180). Punishment is not the only aspect of discipline, its other half is gratification. The teacher, Demia notes

> must avoid, as far as possible, the use of punishment; on the contrary, he must endeavour to make rewards more frequent than penalties, the lazy being more encouraged by the desire to be rewarded in the same way as the diligent than by the fear of punishment (in Foucault 1977:180).

Thus within disciplinary penality a continuum operates, straddling the range of positive and negative behaviours. It is through a micro-economy of privileges and impositions that individuals are judged and differentiated. Individuals can then be ranked or graded. Ranking can be something to aspire to, and punishment affected through demotion. Individuals are ranked according to their aptitude or abilities – the level demanded by ranks require a level of constant conformity.

The sole focus of disciplinary power is not repressive, rather it allows individual actions to be compared and differentiated within the operation of a rule. Rules may be the minimum level of prescribed behaviour, or something to rise to. Disciplinary power also operates in quantitative terms, ranking ability, level, and the nature of individuals – through this value it requires conformity. It has a limit "that will define difference in relation to all other differences, the external frontier of the abnormal" (1977:183). The introduction of standardised education saw the implementation of the coercive element of the norm (see Rose in section 2.4.2).

The Examination

The examination combines both hierarchical observation and normalising judgement to create a "normalising gaze" that judges, classifies and punishes individuals (Foucault 1977:184, Smart 2002:86). Power and knowledge are linked by the disciplinary power of the examination. Within the school, the rise of the examination marked the beginnings of "pedagogy that functions as a science" (Foucault 1977:187). Individuals were the subject of unceasing examination and comparison to enable measurement and judgements of their abilities. Foucault remarks on the Brothers of the Christian schools requiring daily examinations as well as monthly examinations (1977:186). Although daily examinations may no longer take place, their overall regularity has not diminished. Examinations allow for a constant exchange of knowledge, knowledge from teacher to students, as well as knowledge of the students reserved for the teacher.

There are three key elements to the examination. The first element is visibility. Disciplinary power is invisible but its gaze illuminates subjects. Thus "it is the fact of being constantly seen, of being able always to be seen that maintains the disciplined individual in his subjection. And the examination is the technique by which power… holds [subjects] in a mechanism of objectification" (1977:187). Secondly, the individual is entered into a field of documentation. Writing is fundamental – individuals are placed in a field of surveillance and simultaneously positioned in a "network of writing" that creates an archive of documents that captures and fixes them (1977:189). A power of writing emerged, in schools "one had to define the aptitude of each individual, situate his level and his abilities, indicate the possible use that might be made of them" (1977:189). Disciplinary writing allows then for classification, category formation, a determination of averages and the fixing of norms. It draws on the small but ubiquitous techniques of notation, registration, the constitution of files and arranging of facts in columns and tables. This form of writing allows individuals to become described, analysable objects. This in turn leads to a comparative system of measurement describing groups, collecting facts, and calculating gaps between individuals. Through these documentary techniques the examination renders each individual into a 'case'. Something to be "described, judged, measured, compared with others, in his very individuality; and it is also the individual who has to be trained or corrected, classified, normalised, excluded" (1977:191). Individuals become the effect and object of power and knowledge.

Foucault points out the importance of the examination as a technique in drawing together all the elements of disciplinary power that work to render individuals docile:

> It is the examination which, by combining hierarchical observation and normalising judgement, assures the great disciplinary functions of distribution and classification, maximum extraction of forces and time, continuous genetic accumulation, optimum combination of aptitudes and thereby, the fabrication of cellular, organic, genetic and combinatory individuality. With it are ritualised those disciplines that may be characterised in a word by saying that they are a modality of power for which individual difference is relevant (1977:192).

This drawing together of the elements of disciplinary power and the inclusion of hierarchical observation and normalising judgement in the examination is significant. The surveillance operating during test taking and through writing reports renders children into cases, and provides a means of assessing what the ideal subject looks like. This evidence can also be compared with practical examples of levels of compliance of the subject (see Chapter 8).

2.1.2 Governing the Self

In his later work, Foucault became more interested in the ways in which people managed themselves. He uses the terms government and governmentality which refer to the "way in which the conduct of groups or individuals might be directed: the government of children, of souls, of communities, of families, of the sick" (Foucault 1983:221). In institutions, disciplinary and normalising practices are all brought together in the notion of governmentality to explain how populations are managed. The theory of governmentality provides a means through which the South African context generally, and the educational context more specifically, can be understood (Chapter 3).

Foucault also began working with "technologies of the self" analysing "the history of how an individual acts on himself" (Foucault 1988b:19). Comber (1996:41) notes that

> Foucault's concept of technologies of the self can be applied to a number of moves in educational discourses which emphasise self-regulation (self-assessment, behaviour management) and self-awareness (metacognition, metalinguistic awareness). In such pedagogical practices the pedagogical imperative is directed at producing particular kinds of self-knowledge and self-control in the student.

One of the areas this study has attempted to address are the levels of self-regulation across the grades as the children become more entrenched in the school system.

2.1.2.1 Writing as a Technique of the Self

As this study undertakes to find the connections between literacy and the subject, Foucault's work on writing and the self is useful. In his exploration of the "arts of oneself" in Greco-Roman culture, writing is seen as a technique of the self (Foucault 2000a:207). Two types of writing are examined – writing to oneself, and correspondence. A central principle of the Pythagoreans, Cynics and Socratics, was that no technique could be mastered without exercise, which included the training of the self by the self. Along with abstinences, memorisations, self-examinations, meditations, silence, and listening to others, writing was also stressed.

Ethopoietic writing (writing to oneself) was influenced by the above mentioned forms and was often associated with the exercise of thought. This manifested itself in two ways: firstly linearly – one meditated on a situation, then wrote about it, and then experienced it in a real situation, "a labour of thought, a labour through writing, a labour in reality" (2000a:209). It could also be circular, where meditation came before the notes that enabled a rereading which reinitiated the meditation. Regardless of the way, writing is essential in the "fashioning of accepted discourses, recognised as true, into rational principles of action". Thus "as an element of self-training, writing has,….an *ethopoietic* function: it is an agent of the transformation of truth into *ēthos*" (2000a:209).

Writing for oneself took place in notebooks to record things that had been read, heard, or thought about, that were to be reread and meditated on. They were not merely memory aids, or personal journals, nor were they confessional. Their content functioned to shape the self. Foucault points out the three ways this operated. The first involves reading. Since it is not possible to know all the principles necessary for self-conduct, it is necessary to read the work of others. Writing is a way to reflect on reading and to compose opinions on work, as opposed to merely reading widely and forgetting one's own views. Alongside this, the content of the notebooks drew on a range of sources.

It is up to the writer to find some unity that emerges from these disparate sources. So the role of writing, along with all the reading done, should constitute a "body". The body is not one of doctrine, but one where the messages are appropriated and made the writer's own: "writing transforms the thing seen or heard…it becomes a principle of rational action in the writer himself" (2000a:213). At the same time the identity of the writer is constituted by remembering what has been said. Thus if children are to become the critical and reflective subjects that the curriculum requires them to be, these forms of reading and writing are important.

Secondly, correspondence functions both as a text for someone else, as well a personal exercise, because the writer reads what he or she writes. Letters contain advice and opinions that can be seen as a part of training. At the same time one presents oneself in a particular way. Thus to write is to

> show oneself, to project oneself into view, to make one's own face appear in the other's presence. And by this it should be understood that the letter is both a gaze that one focuses on the addressee (through the missive he receives he feels looked at) and a way of offering oneself to his gaze by what one tells him about oneself…The reciprocity that correspondence establishes is not simply that of counsel and aid; it is the reciprocity of the gaze and the examination (2000a:216).

Thus a double gaze is present in this form of writing – the gaze of the self, and the gaze of the other that the writer takes into account when presenting him/herself in a way that accords to the "rules of a technique of living" (2000a:221). This relationship is present in varying levels between the teacher who examines and comments on work and the child who shows him/herself.

2.1.3 Criticisms of Foucault

Foucault's work has not been without criticism. Feminist theorists have raised questions about the patriarchal nature of his writing (Bartky 1990). Although Foucault does not offer an account of patriarchal power, his work is not incompatible with feminist concerns: McHoul and Grace note that he does "challenge essentialist notions of patriarchy" (1993:124). Bartky (1988) attempts to deal with this in her work by looking at the ways in which a disciplinary society works to produce docile female bodies. Although gender is not a central focus in this thesis, the application of Foucauldian theory has sometimes highlighted rather than silenced issues of gender.

McNay (1992:44) critiques Foucault's explanation of power saying it lacks differentiation because he fails "to conceive of power in any other way than as a constraining form of corporeal control". The counter argument put forward by McHoul and Grace, I think, rightly states that this view could be better used to explain theories of power which Foucault opposes. There has also been criticism that Foucault's explanations of power/knowledge do not encourage resistance to disciplinary techniques. Foucault's discussion of resistance is subtle and complex. Luke (1990) argues that disciplinary power is not total but diffuse and specific to sites, which is an important point that this thesis takes up. Comber's (1996) work in school shows student resistance, as does this research where there are several incidents of disciplinary power failing with both outright resistance and limited internalisation of norms. Although Foucault has argued that power can be productive, his own work is limited in providing evidence as to what it might look like. But, to repeat the point made earlier, Foucault did not claim a theory of power, rather he provided an "analytics of power" (Dreyfuss and Rabinow 1982:184). Sawicki (1991:65) argues that Foucault's theory is then a "suggestion about how to look at our theories…and the effects of power that theories produce." As Chapter 3 shows, many social norms, routines and rules in school environments were severely affected and even broke down during the apartheid struggles. The consequence of this is that the schooled subject was no longer docile. In their *Alternatives to Corporal Punishment* (DoE 2000) the government shows its awareness of the importance of

disciplinary power that operates through mundane and ordered practices, and a desire to re-establish this through means other than corporal punishment.

2.2 PIERRE BOURDIEU

The body of work of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu is also a large one, but for purposes of this study a few central concepts in his work will be applied. The notion of habitus is useful as a way of thinking about the bodies that are in the process of being transformed into schooled bodies. Habitus is a set of bodily dispositions that incline people to act and react in certain ways. Importantly, these dispositions generate regular practices because they are inculcated during early childhood experiences through the mundane processes of training and learning. Galfasoro (1998:6) explains Bourdieu's theory in the following way:

> Bourdieu's theory of habitus contains the meaning of habitat, habitant, the process of habitation and habit (particularly habits of thought). Habitat is the social environment in which we live. It is the product of its position in the social space as well as the product of the practices that the social beings who inhabit it carry out. The social space is a multidimensional map of the social order: economic, cultural and symbolic capital, education class and historical trajectories are the main axes around which social order is articulated. Therefore, the material, the symbolic and the historical are not separate categories, And also… habitus is several things at the same time: a position in the social and historical trajectory; a practice within that position and trajectory; and a social identity or the habitus of thought, tastes and dispositions formed in and by those practices. The habitus is thus a concept which takes meaning at a number of different levels: it is a metaphor for membership of a community grounded in intellectual and aesthetic considerations. And it is also available as a key to integration into a social net of solidarity acquired in early socialisation.

Combined with this is the notion of bodily hexis, which is the "durable organisation of one's body and its deployment in the world" (Thompson 1992:13). An example of bodily hexis would be the different ways men and women carry themselves, their posture, the

way they walk, talk, eat. Bourdieu (1992:86) also makes the point that "[l]anguage is a body technique, and specifically linguistic, especially phonetic, competence is a dimension of bodily hexis in which one's whole relation to the social world, and one's whole socially informed relation to the world are expressed." At various points in the data, the linguistic habitus of the teachers and children's bodily hexis identifies them in terms of social class and race (Chapter 6).

Bourdieu's notion of capital is also important. Luke (1993:6) says that "as an index of relative social power, [the notion of capital] remains Bourdieu's principle contribution to contemporary understandings of literacy." There are four fundamental types of capital:

economic capital – where resources can be directly converted into money;
social capital – access to institutions or social relations that give recognition like the old boys' network;
cultural capital – consists of embodied, objectified and institutional capital.

> *embodied capital* is the skills, knowledges, practices and dispositions of the bodily habitus.
>
> *objectified capital* is material objects like books, and,
>
> *institutional capital* is the qualifications awarded by social institutions.

symbolic capital – the other forms of capital have no value unless they are recognised as legitimate by institutions or groups or individuals.

For Bourdieu all human activity takes place in socially constructed fields. Fields are semi-autonomous, structured social spaces characterised by discourse and social activity (Bourdieu 1991). As people move through these fields different forms of capital are recognised dictating the position they find themselves in, so what is valued in one field may not be valued in another. Although this research only looks at the school, it is prudent to remember that practices valued in some homes may not be valued at school and some practices at school only have value in that environment.

2.2.1 Allan Luke

Allan Luke's work is important because he clearly demonstrates how the work of Foucault and Bourdieu can be applied to literacy. His paper entitled 'The Body Literate' (1990) was the starting point for this research. Luke proposes a model of literacy instruction as a technology of the self. Pedagogy is for him a form of 'inscription, of body writing, and mapping." He shows that it is through discursive and material techniques within pedagogic discourses that children are constituted as subjects. He deconstructs classroom events to illustrate this. In *The Social Construction of Literacy in the Classroom* (1993), Luke discusses how literacy is constructed through classroom talk, and the 'control' of bodies needed in order for reading to take place. He says that "the earliest language training and institutional writing of a text alike require the co-ordination of appropriate bodily postures, gestures and dispositions" to mark the "acquisition of cultural and symbolic capital" (1996:18). My work allows ways of thinking about the kinds of cultural and symbolic capital children are acquiring in the literacy classroom in South Africa, as opposed to Australia where much of this work has already been done.

Luke is also interested in literacy, equity and the reproduction of dominant practices. He remarks

> each individual's literate practices reflect his or her own cultural and social capital resources and contribute to the further development of habitus and subsequent life trajectory across fields. Participation in the language activities of families and other primary 'fields' entails the acquisition of specific literate practices and beliefs about literacy (1996:9).

He goes on to say that,

> Literacy education, in whatever social context, is thus implicated in the construction of habitus, and by extension, is also implicated in the development and validation of forms of cultural capital. School-based literacy training, further, can be said to equip individuals with

various syntheses of forms of cultural capital: embodied capital, objectified capital and institutional capital (1996:9).

But Luke (1990:4) argues that the "texts, interactional norms [and] literate competences" contained in pedagogies, which on examination reveal class interests, are not distributed equally to all children but merely perpetuate the existing system. Schooling is a system of both exclusion and inclusion with different students being excluded from "discourses, texts and genres" (Luke 1993:12). Within my research sites many of the children come from working class homes, which are culturally diverse. It is important to assess the kind of discourses, texts and genres privileged in the school space, and to assess how this impacts on their subjectivity, and more broadly, how their cultural capital can be extended.

Luke was also involved in compiling the *Education 2010 Strategy* (2000) for Queensland, Australia. Integral to the policy is an emphasis on improved pedagogy. Known as "productive pedagogies", teachers have expanded and flexible repertoires of teaching strategies to match the needs of the curriculum and the type of students they teach (2000:61). This is also to help them deal with rapid social change – where change is not an impediment to teaching but an "object of study and critical analysis" (2000:35).

Contained in the *Literate Futures' Report* is an outline of how literacy is reconceptualised in Australia. There literacy is defined as "the flexible and sustainable mastery of a repertoire of practices with the texts of traditional and new communications technologies via spoken language, print, and multimedia" (2000:3). The emphasis is on students' ability to go beyond mastery of basic skills to expand them for other specialised tasks. Luke stresses the importance of the work done in critical literacy and critical language awareness when he says that "such models do not discard basic knowledge of print codes, syntactic metalanguage, enhanced automaticity of skill, or metalinguistic awareness – but they ensure that they are lodged within broader curriculum contexts that are not anachronistic, disconnected, dated, or simply infantile" (2001:18). This trend in Australian education is mirrored by the South African curriculum's view of literacy as

socially situated rather than decontextualised skills, but, as the findings reveal, meaningful implementation is a problem.

Because literacy is socially situated, the complexity and diversity of communities needs to be taken into account. The aim is to help teachers, students and communities make the transition from "industrial to information-based cultures and economies, and from print-based to multi-mediated education and schooling" (2000:7). One of the ways in which students can acquire a "repertoire of practices" is through the "four resources framework" developed by Freebody and Luke (Freebody 1992, Freebody and Luke 1990, 1998). Students should take on four roles: *code breaker* – 'codes' for written, spoken and visual images can be 'cracked'; *meaning maker* – where cultural meanings are built and constructed from texts; *text user* - how texts can be used effectively in every day situations, and *text analyst* – where texts are analysed, critiqued and second guessed. This framework is a useful tool for analysing the types of literacy that children are engaged in – and the kind of literate subject that is produced.

2.3 A (THEORETICAL) SPACE: SOJA, LEFEBVRE AND FOUCAULT

In the introductory section to this chapter I mentioned my growing awareness during this project of the importance of the spatial. I therefore conclude this section with a discussion of three major contributors of spatial theory, Foucault, Lefebvre and Soja. I begin with Foucault's other writing on space which is not directly related to the use of the spatial as set out in *Discipline and Punish*, before I move onto Lefebvre's criticism of it, and Soja's argument which shows the commonalities between their work and his. But first, a few comments on the 'place' and relevance of social theorising.

Sheehy and Leander (2004) note that both educators and researchers of culture are turning to space as a way to explain socio-cultural practices and processes. Theorisations of space as a "social product and process" (2004:2) have led to a reformulation of space so that it is no longer seen, as Foucault pointed out in the 1960s, as "the dead, the fixed,

the undialectical, the immobile" (Soja 1996:15). Soja (1996) remarks that this thinking about space originated in the work of Lefebvre and also less visibly in the writings of Foucault. But this work, which Soja (1996:11) sees as a "radical critique and disruptive challenge… to restructure the most familiar ways of thinking about space across disciplines and disciplinarities", has only since the 1990s been taken up seriously in the Anglophone world.

The reason for this is also to be found in Foucault's critique of historicism (2000b). The rise and entrenchment of nineteenth century historical and sociological analysis resulted in the "history-society…dialectic enter[ing] the mainstreams of nearly every disciplinary tradition" (Soja 2004:xi). As a theoretical rebalancing, Foucault, Lefebvre and Soja add the spatial to the social and historical. But, Soja (1996, 2004) makes the important point that foregrounding the spatial is a means through which to balance the social and historical, and is in no way a means to replace them.

Although Foucault never developed his concept of space in a systematic and coherent way, his article "Different Spaces" (also translated as "Of Other Spaces") points to his thinking about space through the concept of *heterotopology*. The paper opens with Foucault setting space against the nineteenth century preoccupation with time and historicality. He then provides an historical overview of space from the Middle ages, where space was a "hierarchised ensemble" (2000b:176) of sacred and profane places, protected and open, rural and urban, which could be seen as a "space of localisation". This gave way with Galileo's discovery of an infinite space to space as extension. Today extension is replaced by emplacement which is "defined by the relations of proximity between points or elements…series, trees, lattices" (2000b:176). At the same time space has not been completely desacralised and oppositions still exist between public and private, social and family, cultural and useful, and leisure and work spaces.

Foucault moves on to discuss internal and external spaces. He is however more interested in external spaces:

The space in which we are living, by which we are drawn outside ourselves, in which…the erosion of our life, our time, and our history takes place, this space that eats and scrapes away at us, is also heterogeneous space in itself. In other words, we do not live in a kind of void within which individuals and things might be located….we live inside an ensemble of relations that define emplacements that are irreducible to each other and absolutely nonsuperposable (2000b:177-8).

Two of these spaces are utopia and heterotopia. Utopias are either unreal spaces showing a perfect kind of society, or inverted. Heterotopias on the other hand are more real, "places that are designed into the very institution of society, which are sorts of actually realised utopias in which the real emplacements….that can be found within the culture are…represented, contested, and reversed, sorts of places that are outside all places, although they are actually localisable" (2000b:178). There are six principles of heterotopia. The first is that they are present in all cultures and groups in two possible categories. The first is a crisis heterotopia associated with supposed primitive societies where people experiencing a personal 'crisis', like menstruating women. This heterotopia is being replaced by the heterotopia of deviation, where deviation from norms results in the placement of people in spaces like prisons, rest homes and psychiatric hospitals. Secondly heterotopias can change function and meaning over time. The example is the cemetery that used to be placed at the heart of a city and viewed as a place of sacred resurrection. But, with death later becoming linked to illness, cemeteries have been appropriated into the suburbs. Thirdly, several different spaces can be juxtaposed in one real place. The design of the oriental garden represents terrestrial totality is one place where different spaces converge. Fourthly, heterotopias are linked to heterochronies (slices of time) to enable the full functioning of heterotopias, thus the museum is "a place of all times that is outside of time and protected from its erosion" (2000b:182). Fourthly a system of opening and closing is presumed where entry and exits are regulated. An irony exists because in the illusion of freedom of the openness/openings, closure and isolation are hidden. Pertinent for this study, Soja (1996;161) links this principle directly to disciplinary technologies:

Although not mentioned explicitly in "Of Other Spaces", implicit in this heterotopian regulation of opening and closing are the workings of power, of what Foucault would later call "disciplinary technologies" that operate through the social control of space, time and otherness to produce a certain kind of normalisation.

The final principle deals with the construction of the space of illusion that exposes all other real spaces (as the brothel did), or as a space of perfection that is in contrast to a messy world. The latter are heterotopias of compensation. Foucault concludes by stating that ships are heterotopias par excellence – "a piece of floating space, a placeless place, that lives by its own devices, that is self-enclosed and…delivered over the boundless expanse of the ocean" (2000b:184-5).

Using the spatial to assess issues of exclusion in modern society, Sibley (1995) criticises Foucault for saying that space is being desanctified in modern societies. He argues that ritual practices need to remain as a way of maintaining sanctity in secular spaces. But, depending on the phrasing used in the English translations it could be argued that Foucault merely comments that the desacralisation of space has not yet occurred and that oppositions like public and private space are ones that cannot be tampered with in society. Sibley does go on to argue that social systems and spatial structures are embodiments of power relations. An understanding of power relations is necessary to give meaning to space. Thus the control and manipulation of space reflects power relations. He also points out, of which cognisance has been taken for this project, that for a full understanding of space one must realise that the "relatively powerless ….have enough power to 'carve out spaces of control'" (1995:76) which could include children.

Soja (1996) shows the different positions to space Foucault and Lefebvre work from: Foucault sees power as disciplining space whereas Lefebvre sees power as producing space. Although many of Foucault's interests aligned with Lefebvre and their work often contained similar themes, Lefebvre was critical of Foucault's work. In the opening of *The Production of Space (1991)* Lefebvre criticises Foucault for an inability to explore the collective subject because of an overemphasis on individuality; that his spatial metaphors

obscured the political concreteness of social spatiality; the power/knowledge dialectic did not take into account knowledge that serves power as opposed to knowledge that resisted it; Foucault did not bridge the gap between theory and the practical, the mental and social, or the space in which philosophers worked as opposed to ordinary people. Finally his work was too local and peripheral, without considering the global which made it potentially divisive. This final reason was also taken up by others who chose not to consider Foucault's work.

Lefebvre's theory of space is more comprehensive than Foucault's, and some of his key concepts will be discussed below. Lefebvre comments that there are three fields of space: the physical, the mental and the social, and then uses the notion of social space to show how a trialectics of space functions. This triad is composed of Spatial Practice, Representations of Space and Spaces of Representation[3]. Spatial Practice "embraces production and reproduction and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation", it also ensures continuity and cohesion, and in terms of social space for each member in a society the cohesion implies a level of competence and level of performance (Lefebvre 1991:33). This space is also described as *perceived space* (real) – a materialised, socially produced, empirical space. It is open to accurate measurement and description and the traditional focus of attention for those in the spatial disciplines. Within this realm is also what Lefebvre calls the realistic illusion, or the illusion of opacity that people subscribe to where objective things have more reality than thoughts, and there is a reluctance to see beyond the surface of things. Thus social space is knowable with a focus on material or natural objects, and the imagined and unseen are unknowable. It is this space that Soja describes as Firstspace.

Representations of Space, are tied to "relations of production", the order imposed by them and thus to "knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to 'frontal' relations. This is a *conceived space* (imagined) tied to the order or design they impose. Thus Lefebvre views it as "the dominant space in any society" where in these "mental spaces" the

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[3] The English translation often uses the term Representational Space, but following Soja I also think Spaces of Representation has greater clarity

representations of power, ideology, control, and surveillance are located (Soja 1996:67). A second illusion operates here, the illusion of transparency where space is seen as "luminous" and open to human agency. It is innocent and can be "taken in by a single glance from that mental eye which illuminates whatever it contemplates" (Lefebvre 1991:28). Soja refers to this as Secondspace. Finally Spaces of Representation embody complex symbolisms that are sometimes coded and are linked to the clandestine side of social life as well as to art (Lefebvre 1991:33). These are *lived spaces* (real and imagined), distinct from and encompassing the previous two spaces. It is the Spaces of representation, the lived space, that provides a place from which to encompass, understand and transform all spaces simultaneously, that Soja argues is akin to Thirdspace (see table 2.1). He says

> [the spaces of representation] are also vitally filled with politics and ideology, with the real and the imagined intertwined, and with capitalism, racism, patriarchy, and other material spatial practices that concretize the social relations of production, reproduction, exploitation, domination, and subjection. They are the 'dominated spaces', the 'Third Worlds' that can be found at all scales, the corpo-reality of the body and mind, in sexuality and subjectivity, in individual and collective identities from the most local to the most global. They are the chosen spaces for struggle, liberation, emancipation (1996:68).

Soja argues that in his own way, Foucault's discussion of external space sets aside the double illusion of opacity and transparency. Foucault begins a search for other spaces (utopias and heterotopias) that have "the curious property of being connected to all other emplacements, but in such a way that they suspend, neutralise, or reverse the set of relations that are designated, reflected or represented by them" (Foucault 2000b:178). The heterotopia Soja explains resonates with what he would call micro- or site geography of Thirdspace (Soja 1996:157). But where Lefebvre has a trialectics of space, Foucault conceptualises a discursive triangle of space-knowledge-power to rebalance binary thinking, allowing for a fuller understanding of the relations between space and time and the spatial and historical imagination. Table 2.1 below presents a comparative summary.

Table 2.1 A comparative summary of Foucault, Lefebvre and Soja's spatial theories

Foucault (2000b)	Lefebvre (1991)	Soja (1996)
	Spatial Practice (*perceived*) Process of producing material form of social spatiality, both medium and outcome of human activity *Illusion of opacity* – objective things have more reality	**Firstspace:** fixed on the concrete, materiality of spatial forms, empirically mapped, privileges objectivity
Internal Space: of first perceptions, reveries, intrinsic Definition of **External Space** sets aside (Lefebvre's) double illusion.	**Representations of Space** (*conceived*) Identify what is lived, what is perceived, what is conceived. Dominant space: mental spaces represent power, ideology, control *Illusion of transparency*-space intelligible and innocent	**Secondspace:** conceived in ideas about space, thoughtful re-presentations of human spatiality in mental/cognitive forms. Spatial knowledge produced through discursively devised representations of space through spatial workings of the mind
External Space: the search for spaces that have the property of being in relation with all other sites but can suspend, neutralize or reverse. **Heterotoplogy:** the space in which we live which draws us out of ourselves, in which the erosion of our lives, our time and our history occurs.	**Spaces of Representation** (*lived*) Distinct from and encompassing perceived and conceived. Space from which resistance and change can come.	**Thirdspace:** product of a thirding of the spatial imagination, creation of another mode of thinking about space that draws on both material and mental spaces of traditional dualism but extends beyond them in scope and substance. "Everything comes together in thirdspace: subjectivity and objectivity the abstract and the concrete, the real and the imagined, the knowable and the unimaginable, the repetitive and the differential, structure and agency, mind and body, consciousness and the unconscious, the disciplined and the transdisciplinary, everyday life and unending history. Anything which fragments Thirdspace into separate specialised knowledges or exclusive domains…destroys its meaning and openness" (57)
Discursive triangle: space-knowledge-power rebalances dualism	**Trialectics of Space:spatiality-historicality-sociality**	**Thirding-as-othering**

2.4 MAJOR THEMES

2.4.1 Literacy

Literacy itself is a large and contested area of scholarly endeavour. This research locates itself within a socio-cultural paradigm, informing how the data is selected and analysed. The work of Brian Street (1984) signalled a shift in thinking when he challenged traditional conceptions of literacy by juxtaposing what he called the 'autonomous' model of literacy with his 'ideological' model. He argued that the autonomous model saw literacy as the acquisition of technical skills, which once acquired, affect social and cognitive processes. The mastery of reading and writing are said to lead to logical thinking, critical enquiry and self-conscious reflection, and an ability to distinguish between myth and history, science and illusion, democracy and autocracy, elaborated and restricted codes. Thus literacy becomes associated with progress, civilisation and individual liberty. A divide is also created between oral and literate communities. In contrast, the focus of the ideological model "signals quite explicitly that literacy practices are aspects not only of 'culture' but also of power structures. The very emphasis on the 'neutrality' and 'autonomy' of literacy by writers such as Goody, Olsen, and Ong is itself 'ideological' in the sense of disguising this power dimension" (Street 2001b:434). Research from this perspective shows the variety of cultural practices associated with reading and writing in different contexts; that meanings and practices are contested, that the technical and cognitive aspects of reading and writing are encapsulated in cultural wholes and structures of power, that literacy and orality can be studied together in contexts, and that there are many types of literacy. The significant point is that engaging with literacy is always a social act. From an educational perspective Street (2001a:8) notes that "[t]he ways in which teachers or facilitators and their students interact is already a social practice that affects the nature of the literacy being learned and the ideas about literacy held by the participants, especially the new learners and their position in relations of power". In essence this research attempts to study the nature of the literacy being learnt by children in the Foundation Phase.

Alongside this is the work of James Gee (1990). Gee's corpus of work is vast and influential and could easily have been placed in the first part of this chapter. Gee sees literacy as socially situated and inherently political. In looking at literacy and schooling he draws attention to the fact that school-based literacies hold values that merely reproduce the status quo. Shirley Brice Heath's (1983) ethnographic research is another example of this. Like Luke (1993), Gee (1990:64) makes the crucial point that schools are places where literacy is practised once foundations are acquired, but that they are not good places for those foundations to be acquired. Schools often fail to take the literacy practices of a range of communities into account, or to help non-mainstream students acquire the secondary discourses of school. He says the Discourses associated with schools are "middle-class mainstream", the power and prestige they carry has a gate-keeping function (2001:531).

Gee's point about secondary and primary discourses is also important. A Discourse is an "identity kit" (2001:526), a "socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, of acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or 'social network'" (2001:537). The fact that Discourse goes beyond language into a way of 'being' is based on Bourdieu's notion of habitus (Wilson 2004). This is helpful because the definition is not limited to language but includes bodily dispositions and the construction thereof, which is a key area of focus in this research. So too is acknowledging that one acquires a primary discourse through early socialisation in the home. In the move from the home other discourses are required by social institutions like schools and churches – these are secondary Discourses. One moves through fields and is accepted or marginalized depending on the discourse acquired and the social capital embedded in it. Literacy for Gee is "fluent control of a secondary discourse" (2001:529) which requires meaningful social contexts.

Expanding on this "social theory of literacy" is the work of Barton and Hamilton (1998, 2000:7). They present six propositions about literacy:

- Literacy is best understood as a set of social practices; these can be inferred from events which are mediated by written texts.

- There are different literacies associated with different domains of life.

- Literacy practices are patterned by social institutions and power relationships, and some literacies are more dominant, visible and influential than others.

- Literacy practices are purposeful and embedded in broader social goals and cultural practices.

- Literacy is historically situated.

- Literacy practices change and new ones are frequently acquired through processes of informal learning and sense making.

It is these propositions of literacy that this research draws on. An important distinction also needs to be made between literacy events and literacy practices. Heath (1982:93) describes a literacy event as "any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of participants' interactions and their interpretative processes." Literacy events are observable and often repeated, routine events. These criteria were used as a way of identifying events that were representative of classroom activities. From literacy events literacy practices can be inferred. Street (1993:12) uses literacy practices to refer to "both behaviour and conceptualisations related to the use of reading and/ or writing"— but it is the patterned regularity with which events happen that turn them into literacy practices. Literacy practices also involve what people do with literacy as well as their values, attitudes, feelings and social relationships.

The notion of domain is important as a way of thinking about how school literacies are configured in the school domain, and how the power relationships influence and sustain particular forms of literacy. This includes the kinds of literacy practices teachers inculcate in their classes and those that are required by the Education Department. This raises questions about the social goals and cultural practices children and teachers are exposed to as these have a major impact on the kinds of subjects produced.

One of the aims of this research is to trace the continuities and shifts of children as they move through early schooling. Although working from different angles, several studies of transition in schooling have been useful. Firstly, Hill, Comber, Louden, Rivalland and Reid's (1998) project entitled *100 Children go to School: Connections between literacy development in the year prior to school and the first year of schooling,* which used a case study approach, emphasised the movement of Australian children from home to preschool and then school. The findings revealed most children were on the way to becoming literate before school and could read independently after attending school for less than a year. The situation in South Africa is different – children are only taught to read in Grade 1 and many children enter Grade 1 with no preschool experience. The Australian children's experiences before school were diverse and teachers did not always have the support, knowledge or resources to draw on the community contexts and experiences that are integral to children's lives. Preschools and schools were found to have similar environments but there was a need for preschool teachers to have a greater knowledge of what primary school teachers were doing and vice versa. The move to formal schooling means children have less adult assistance, consequently reduced class sizes are crucial. It is also at this time that, in conjunction with formal literacy learning, "children are expected to learn ways to manage the new environment, and their own time, space, resources and bodies and adapt to the social norms of the school" (Hill et al. 1998:13). Teachers also need to understand the complexities of early literacy development, the life worlds of their students, and they need to receive professional support to help children achieve various literacy goals. These findings are applicable to this study.

Secondly is Margetts (2001) paper entitled 'Transition to School: Looking Forward'. Margetts (2001) deals with elements that make for effective transitions as well as the factors that influence children's adjustment to school. A more general examination can be found in Willes' (1983) *Children into Pupils,* carried out in Canada. Her focus is on the first weeks children spend in school with an emphasis on language, using a sociolinguistic perspective. She deals with teachers' interactions with students who are not mother tongue speakers of English, as well as the operation of the 'mundane' aspects

of schooling that discipline children and enculturate them into the practices of the school, which are relevant for this research. Judith Solsken's (1993) *Literacy, Gender and Work* examines literacy learning from the beginning of kindergarten to the end of Grade 2 in America. She used detailed biographies to show "the way that constructs of gender and work are interpreted and negotiated by children in everyday literacy transactions" (1993:16). She also shows how gender and class are not categories but rather "systems of relations" that have to be negotiated by the children, as well as the continuity and changes experienced when the children moved from Grade 1 to Grade 2.

Although she does not deal with transition, the work of Anne Haas Dyson's has been influential, particularly as much of her work deals with the literacy practices in pre-primary and primary schools (1985, 1992, 1993a, 1993b, 1994, 1995, 2001). She suggests that the "cultural materials of the official curriculum" cannot be of use unless they "engage children with the social and cultural worlds they know best" (1993:28). She investigates how children and childhood are constructed particularly with regards to the 'child writer', as well as ways in which reconfiguring this construction can be beneficial in heterogeneous classrooms (1994). Dyson's work is also interesting from a methodological point of view, and her analyses of the children she has observed reveal the complexity of the literacy practices the children engage in, as well as the assumptions operating in the classrooms.

2.4.1.1 Literacy and Space

Of equal importance to this research is Leander and Sheehy's (2004) collection of articles that locate literacy research in the spatial paradigm. There have been few accounts of spatiality in literacy studies (Leander 2004) and this collection shows explicitly the benefits of thinking about literacy and space. While each article draws attention to the benefits of working in a variety of ways with spatial theory (for example Birr Moje's work on out of school literacy practices of Latino/a youth, Hagood's work on popular culture and subjectivity, see Sheehy and Hirst's work in section 2.4.2 on space and

power), Wilson's work, and Leander's work have particular resonance because they incorporate both space and time.

Wilson's (2004) work on literacies in a prison community draws on Soja's notion of thirdspace, and explores the impact of temporal and spatial relations on literacy practices and the resultant subjects produced. She shows how judicial, incarcerative and 'dead time' exist in spaces, as well as how spaces are influenced and renegotiated by temporal rhythms. Furthermore she argues that it is important to go beyond preconceived ideas, because it is only by accessing the spaces of groups or practices that we can understand them. She illustrates this point by showing the prolific literacy-related activities that prisoners engage in, which is in contrast to conventional constructions of prisoners as having low levels of literacy.[4]

Leander (2004) takes up Soja's historical-social-spatial trialectic. He shows how "pedagogy makes space, how this space making produces social relations and identities, and how these processes are shaped by history" via a classroom literacy event – the Derogatory Terms Activity (2004:127). He traces the racialisation in the classroom by situating it historically over a four year period that includes the inception of an Academy for middle students within a high school, the positioning in this class, the perception of shrinking space of white students when a number of African-American students enter the class, and the discursive constructions drawn on. Situating race and space together provides ways of thinking about these dynamics in the South African classroom.

2.4.1.2 Approaches to Teaching Reading and Writing

Earlier discussions in this chapter tried to establish that literacy studies is both a broad and complex field. Literacy is not merely 'reading and writing', and what counts as reading and writing are themselves contested terms. It is necessary in this section to

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[4] This point is also illustrated by the findings of the SoUL Project (Social Uses of Literacy) within a South African context (Breier and Prinsloo 1996). The articles do not deal with spatial theory but the project does provide insight into the literacy practices of a variety of South Africans in a number of communities.

narrow the focus and discuss approaches to teaching reading and writing because this is what Foundation Phase teachers are tasked to do. Ascertaining how literacy is taught is then a means through which insight can be gained into the types of literate student produced.

Because the subjects of the research are young children, it is important to assert that research on emergent literacy states that children's literacy does not begin at school and that children in literate cultures understand important concepts about print when they arrive at school. Wray and Medwell (1991:68) list six technical concepts children need to acquire in relation to the working of print: book orientation (knowing which is the front of the book); directional rules (reading from left to right, top down); print carries a message; letter concepts (distinguishing upper and lower case letters); word concepts (distinguishing words from each other); punctuation. In addition is an awareness of the function of print, which is manifested in an awareness of print in the environment and children's awareness of language in stories and books (Barton, 1994, Goodman 2001, Wray and Medwell 1991). These insights about reading and writing are dependant on the environments in which children live, which is illustrated by Taylor's (1985) study of highly literate families and contrasted starkly by Purcell-Gates' (2001) account of an Appalachian family where print has practically no role. This is relevant to South Africa where levels of emergent literacy differ due to economic, cultural and linguistic factors and the underdevelopment of indigenous African languages, where, for example, there is little children's literature in Zulu[5]. Stein and Slonimsky's (2001, 2006) research into home literacy practices, and Stein and Prinsloo (2004) and Stein and Mamabolo's (2005) research into early literacy classrooms in South Africa, show these disparities and raise questions about the implications of these practices in relation to the kinds of readers and writers constructed.

One of the approaches to reading children are exposed to is the phonics approach, skills based, or 'bottom up' approach. The process is linear and requires decoding skills (Van

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[5] Personal communication with the Head of African Languages at University of the Witwatersrand School of Education.

Duzer 1999). Children need to be able to discriminate and identify graphemes, identify their phonemes, blend them to make words (Simich-Dudgen 1989). This approach has been challenged (Smith 1978) and one of the salient criticisms made by Hamayan and Pfleger (in Simich-Dudgen 1989) is that English has a small ratio of symbol-to-sound correspondences, with many symbols representing several sounds, and vice versa. In addition, sound-letter correspondences can create difficulties for students who cannot hear the phonemic distinctions because their mother tongues do not contain them. This is compounded by the fact that in South Africa people's accents have an impact on how sounds are pronounced particularly in relation to vowel sound production.

The second approach has its origins in psycholinguistics. Smith (1978, 1982, 1988) posited that the mind operates with one level of interpretation at a time, thus to make sense of a text decoding letters and words was problematic, rather to read with comprehension required focusing on the meaning of the text. His work, together with Kenneth Goodman's (1982) laid the foundation for the Whole Language approach which stressed that past experiences and language intuition are the basis for learning written symbols and reading with comprehension. Phonics and pronunciation can be drawn on if needed. This approach can be problematic for culturally diverse students whose beliefs and values may be different from the texts they are given to read, such that the meaning-making central to this approach fails. The ability to predict texts and textual features is also aided if one is already literate.

More recently, Adams (2001) shows the connectedness of these two approaches. She discusses how technology has allowed researchers to discern that when reading for meaning readers do in fact focus on each content word and process the letters and spellings – but they do this automatically and effortlessly because of a "rich and overlearned knowledge of the language's spellings and spelling-speech mappings" (2001:313-314). In addition, the explanation for the difficulty many children have learning the alphabetic principle lies in fact that the phonemes of one's mother tongue are learnt unconsciously and the difficulty lies in accessing them consciously. Proponents of

interactive approaches have been shown to be more appropriate, as reading is neither a top-down nor a bottom up approach. Rather, as Adams argues (2001:315)

> given an alphabetic system of writing, learning to read depends critically on understanding and learning the phonological significance of its letters and spellings; that in turn, is best developed through reading, and writing, and spelling, and language play, and conceptual exploration, and all manner of engagement with text in relentlessly enlightened balance.

With regards to approaches to teaching writing, these can also be said to exist on a continuum with a skills-based approach on one side and a whole language approach on the other (Gilbert 1989, Simich-Dudgeon 1989). Kress (1982) makes the connection that approaches to teaching reading influence approaches to writing:

> If reading is seen as primarily a decoding skill, then it is quite likely that writing will be regarded as a process of encoding in quite an analogous manner. And indeed, as the heavy emphasis on matters such as letter-sound correspondences show, that has been the case. From this point of view the learning of writing is often regarded as the learning of the mechanics of translating; either speech into writing, or meaning into visual symbols.

He goes on to point out the impact that the production of reading materials have on writing:

> Specific theories of reading leads to the production of reading materials which enshrine the theoretical assumptions of the theories in which they are based. These reading materials constitute one form on which children meet written language….The effect of this can be readily assessed by looking at early (and not so early) Readers, and comparing these (a) with teacher's assumptions of what written language is and her or his expectations of the language which children should be producing, and (b) with what written language is actually like. The models of Readers are positively detrimental to the child learner as models of written language (1982:6).

Two influential approaches to teaching writing which it is necessary to touch on in this review are the process and genre approaches. These approaches are required by the Revised National Curriculum (2002). The process approach has its origins in North America and Britain in the 1970s and 1980s. Graves' (1982) seminal work *Writing: Teachers and Children at Work,* introduced the process approach where language is seen as a personal resource. The emphasis for this kind of writing shifts the focus from a completed text to the processes required for writing. Graves divides writing into several stages beginning with initial discussion and drafting, conferencing, revising, editing and publishing. The approach is child-centred, with the child choosing topics and being guided and supported by the teacher. But this approach has been criticised for not challenging students' writing, particularly in regard to how one deals with stereotypes, racist and sexist content in student writing (Gilbert 1989, Kamler 2001). The approach also does not acknowledge the cultural writing practices and the constructions thereof of different students. In addition, having complete control of topics may mean that children limit themselves to particular topics and genres. Furthermore the development of a personal voice is often subject to teacher's subjective and implicit criteria that often have a middle class bias which are invisible to children.

The genre approach was developed from the work of Halliday (1989, 1994) and his theory of functional linguistics. He argues that there are culturally specific ways of using language and that different contexts are associated with different registers or genres. The condensed and abstract nature of writing requires an awareness of the appropriacy of specific genres in relation to audience and purpose. Children then need to be able to distinguish between procedures, descriptions, reports, explanations, arguments, and various types of narrative (Maybin 1993:193). Teachers of genre teach explicitly. This approach too is problematic. Genre theorists state that children can be empowered because they understand the socially constructed nature of genres and can be given access to genres of power. But social relations require forms of capital that go beyond knowing how to produce a text. Teaching genre can also become mechanistic and teacher-controlled where the choices of genres themselves are not critically interrogated.

2.4.2 Power

Much work has been done that deals with the issue of power using a Foucauldian perspective. The studies included here are limited to those that use a Foucauldian framework in educational contexts.

Ian Hunter uses a genealogical approach in discussing schooling, and the teaching of English as a subject. In *Culture and Government,* Hunter (1988) traces the rise of literary education. He argues that change in the education system in the nineteenth century arose, not through an idea of culture, but rather through ideas about social welfare where pastoral surveillance was "redeployed in a new machinery of government aimed at the moral and physical well-being of whole populations" (1988:ix). He extends this later in *Rethinking the School* (1994) by questioning whether school is "in fact an apparatus for the social domination of subjectivity" (1994:2). Hunter argues that mass schooling is integral in forming the modern citizen and it is through English that the training of the technologies of the self takes place. He explores the operation of power in the classroom and showing how it is exercised directly through "practices of incitement and supervision, self-examination and problematisation" (1994:9). He also argues that power is not "uniformly negative or repressive" but that the "exercise of pedagogical power appears to be productive of human abilities; equipping students with distinctive capacities for ethical self-concern and self-cultivation" (Hunter 1994:9). It is this point that is fundamental to the positioning of this research. The schooling of children is not a decontextualised act because the formation of the modern citizen is embedded in the curriculum, which as a disciplinary technology functions as a means of social regulation (Popkewitz in Cannella 1996). If one desires to function as a society, pedagogical power is one means through which students and citizens are produced. This process begins in early schooling and this research looks at how this happens.

Patterson (1992) examines personal response pedagogy in literature teaching showing how it becomes a site for surveillance and control. Mellor and Patterson (1994) interrogate their previous work on teaching students to read critically. In examining these

lessons across the "commonly accepted models of English" they discovered that these models were not as different as commonly claimed (1994:21). Providing students with 'tools' does not imply that students "produce their own readings, nor does it involve a simple, non-normative transfer of skills" it merely "teaches students how to read in particular ways" (1994:43). This raises questions about the kinds of reading pedagogy that teachers are supposed to embrace in the curriculum. This is further illustrated by Patterson's (1997) examination of 'beginning reading' pedagogy in sixteenth century England. She says "while beginning reading pedagogies are highly effective disciplinary technologies which have functioned for centuries, their interest lies in the means by which they became attached to particular forms of conduct and ability at particular times." This can be compared with McHoul's (1991) work of beginning reading where the beginning reading curriculum normalises individuals to produce certain types of literate subjects. Although this research does not look at the teaching of literature it once again highlights the impact pedagogies have on subject construction.

Jennifer Gore's classroom-based research is directly relevant because she looks at how pedagogical power relations work to construct class, race and gender. Gore (1995) argues that there is continuity in the functioning of pedagogical power relations. She says (1998:278-9),

> Examining power relations internal to pedagogy potentially provides an innovative and systematic way of looking at classroom behaviours, including the way in which such behaviours create social differentiation. Such research which looks at specific practices for their impact on social differences reverses the focus of many earlier classroom analyses (such as many critical ethnographies) which began with questions of social difference rather than questions of classroom practice.

Gore uses Foucault's micro-level techniques of power to see how this operates. These techniques of power are categorised as follows: surveillance, normalisation, exclusion, distribution, classification, individualisation, totalisation, and regulation. These categories were initially useful for thinking about patterns that emerged from the initial research

data. Gore's research (1996, 1998) revealed that the techniques associated with the production of knowledge are normalisation, exclusion and classification, while the production of bodies and relations between people are affected by the techniques of distribution, totalisation and surveillance. She also notes that class and sexuality connected more frequently to individualisation, while race and ethnicity were connected more often to classification.

Barbara Comber's (1996) work focuses on the discursive construction of literacy in a disadvantaged primary school in Australia. She investigated the different discourses teachers drew on and how they constitute literacy and the literate subject. Comber draws attention to the normalising techniques teachers use to discipline children to make them literate. These include "pep talks", monitoring individual students by being "on patrol", and giving continuous running commentaries, "voice overs" (1996:237-264). During the data collection phase of this research these techniques were useful in helping to identify what teachers were doing.

She also worked with the notion of the ideal literate subject, a key issue in this research. She found that the ideal literate student was an "ethical subject who was a self-regulating, productive and socially responsible worker" (1996:iv). The construction of the ideal literate subject in Comber's study was useful to compare constructions of the ideal subject in this research. As an additional means of ascertaining what the ideal literate subject comprised of, Comber (1996) looked at report cards. She comments that reporting is one disciplinary practice that governs the student population. This form of examination not only evaluates children across normalised grids, but reveals the identity of the school as an institution. In order to evaluate how the children are represented in the reports, Comber (1996) did a lexical analysis by identifying lexical chains or content words (Kamler 1994). These classifications reveal both the discourses teachers draw on as well as the norms through which the students are judged. This analysis was utlised to examine the construction of the literate subject in Foundation Phase report cards (Chapter 8).

The impact of the examination on (docile) subject construction is investigated by Meadmore (2000) who explores the Grade 7 Scholarship examination in Queensland, Australia, in the 1950s. Children wrote this exam to gain entrance into high school. She shows how the mindset produced by the exam had an impact on the allocation of bodies in time and space, how it influenced particular pedagogical practices, as well as divided students according to ability. Although power relations were repressive, particularly for weak or working class students, the teachers and pupils who succeeded were cast as successful subjects with promising futures.

Although he does not deal directly with education, Nikolas Rose's work is also significant. He has written what he calls a "genealogy of subjectivity" (1989:vii) focusing on the human sciences, particularly psychology. He argues that it was through the clinic and nursery school that developmental psychology was made possible (1989:145, 1998:110). Through the observation and collection of data of children, developmental norms were established which were premised on the average abilities of children of a certain age when performing certain tasks or activities, rating children on a scale that ranged between advanced, normal and retarded. Normality, Rose notes, appears in three guises: "that which is natural and hence healthy; as that against which the actual is judged and found unhealthy; and as that which is to be produced by rationalised social programmes" (1989:133). Normality is "not an observation but a valuation" (1989:133) and the notion of normality arises "out of a concern with types of conduct, thought, expression deemed troublesome or dangerous" (1989:26). It is these norms from developmental psychology that, in part, inform teachers' understanding of the children they teach, and are contained in reports and dossiers that make students objects of knowledge.

In analysing the operation of examination (section 2.1.1.6) of students, Rose's discussion was crucial in making the connection between the overall governing of subjects and particular construction of the individual subject. Tests and examinations are the instruments upon which reports are based. He argues that they render individuals into objects of knowledge who can be classified, judged and punished. The ritual of the test is

then fundamental to governing individuals. Once the subject has become an object of knowledge, subjectivity can be governed. This management of individuals takes place through the "mundane operation of bureaucratic documentation" (1998:104). Rose points out that this does not mean that individuals are reduced to mindless obedience, where subjectivity is crushed. Rather they have a "moral subjectivity" to which they assess their actions and reform them according to its norms (1998:77-78). This implementation of the "technologies of the self" (Foucault 1988), taught by teachers, managers, social workers and doctors, goes beyond the individual who seeks a form of existence that is not only "personally fulfilling", but also "beneficial to our families, our communities, and the collective well-being of the nation" (1998:78).

2.4.2.1 Power and Space

Even though this section is entitled power and space it is necessary to remember the trialectic, and thus this section begins with Lefebvre's powerful words explicitly linking space, power and knowledge:

> Power, the power to maintain the relations of dependence and exploitation, does not keep to a defined "front" at the strategic level, like a frontier on the map or a line of trenches on the ground. Power is everywhere; it is omnipresent, assigned to Being. It is everywhere in space. It is in everyday discourse and commonplace notions, as well as in police batons and armoured cars. It is in objets d'art as well as in missiles. It is in the diffuse preponderance of the "visual", as well as in institutions such as school or parliament. It is in things as well as in signs (the signs of objects and object-signs). Everywhere, and therefore nowhere…[P]ower has extended its domain right into the interior of each individual, to the roots of consciousness, to the "topias" hidden in the folds of subjectivity (Lefebvre, 1976:86-7 The Survival of Capitalism in Soja 1991:32).

Picking up from this, Sibley (1995) indicates that capacity people have to change their environments requires a questioning of how power is distributed in social systems as well as how spatial structures are embodiments of power relations. Thus "an appreciation of

power relations gives meaning to space" (1995:75) so that the way different spatial configurations are controlled will reflect different power relations. In conjunction with this Sheehy and Leander (2004) point out that when confronting change, which always implies some form of power, it is necessary then for researchers doing spatial research to decide how to examine and explain power. The following examples, drawn from research into literacy illustrate this.

Hirst (2004) uses Bhakhtin's notion of the chronotope, the way in which spatial and temporal realities are represented to examine relations in a LOTE (language other than English) classroom in Australia. She argues that LOTE classrooms are sites for the "contestation and construction of identity" (2004:40). The second language classroom is filled with a variety of discursive practices, with various class cultural interests competing for power. She notes that an "understanding of the discursive and ideological activity of the classroom and the corresponding concept of identity are contingent upon an understanding of the production of both social space and time, and their associated patterns of flow and exchange" (2004:40). In policy documents the LOTE classroom is envisaged as a way for cultures to meet resulting in new forms of understanding. The policy is underpinned by market discourses, and the recognition that a knowledge of Asian languages will have an impact on Australia's economic future. Using various chronotopes a disturbing picture is revealed. Space and time are contested, renegotiated and monitored. The teacher attempts to reconstitute the mainstream space in order to have an Indonesian lesson which is contested. The rules of the classroom are transgressed, and the power of the teacher is undermined both by other teachers and the class who deny him the space to take up the powerful role of teacher through essentially racist acts.

Using Lefebvre's spatial theory (perceived, conceived and lived space), Sheehy (2004) looked at a seventh grade classroom where a teacher attempted to change the production of space. She discusses how students are used to a "thick place" where the boundaries are fixed, including the classroom as a space; here there is limited participation and students are turned in amongst themselves. In this case it was the way IRE (initiation-response-evaluation) worked with a one-dimensional flow of power. Space was experienced

passively and resulted in alienated, disaffected students. In the "thin space", which took seven weeks to create, students were given a project relating to the possibility that their school would be closed down. In it relations were reconfigured with students turning outwards to create their own meaning. The flow of information extended beyond the teacher and student to the neighbourhood and city. Thus power relations shifted as an empowering space was created. The existence of a "thin-space" was not self-sustaining though. Sheehy notes that research into spatial practices is not necessarily an empowering or emancipatory tool. She discusses the difficulty of reconfiguring the spatial relations the entrenchment of the status quo. An important point is made in relation to reconfiguring what appear to be problematic spatial relations: "Teachers are supported with texts, and objects circulate via literacy practices. The manner in which these literacy practices measure time and engage in the production of space cannot be treated lightly. When the rug – objects of study and their textual support – is pulled out from under practice, how do new objects take their place?", because "[m]aterial support is necessary if teachers want to change space, but it is not simply availability of material that matters. Materials have to be part of the logic of space. They have to make sense as objects in the classroom, and students have to trust their circulation" (2004:111-112). In many ways the space of transition is problematic and difficult, and the 'in-between space' links to notions of thirdspace, where new spaces are created with new discourse configurations that impact on appropriate/hybridised identities (Kostogritz 2002, Soja 1996, Wilson 2004). This paper is a reminder of the careful planning that is required to alter the spatial relations in classrooms.

2.4.3 The Embodied Subject

The last two decades have seen an increase in interest in the body within the social sciences and humanities. One of these is the field of anthropology. It was Mary Douglas who pioneered the anthropology of the body with *Purity and Danger* (1966) introducing it into mainstream anthropology. Douglas sees the body as a system of signs carrying

social meaning and symbolism. The body is also seen as a set of social practices – which links with viewing literacy as a social practice. Turner (1996:24) explains it thus:

> This anthropological tradition [expresses] the notion that the human body has to be constantly and systematically produced, sustained and presented in everyday life and therefore the body is best regarded as a potentiality which is realised and actualised through a variety of socially regulated activities or practices.

Bryan Turner (1996) has also noted that although there has been an increase in writings on the body, these are mainly theoretical. Research has largely been confined to three areas: the first is where the body is studied as a system of metaphors, the second studies the body in terms of sex, gender and sexuality, and the third looks at debates in social science with respect to medical issues. Turner (1996:32) argues that while these areas are important, the "mainstream business of the social sciences has not yet been penetrated by an interest in questions relating to embodiment, body and bodily practices….[and] there is a general anxiety that the sociology of the body has been confined to theoretical speculation and elaboration without creating a strong research tradition or research agenda." Although this research is not focused on the sociology of the body per se, it is an attempt to look at the formation of bodily practices in a specific context.

The work of feminists has also been influential in terms of the contributions made to theory – work that focuses on gender, beauty, health concerns, violence, the new reproductive technologies and advertising and the media (Synnott 1993). Relevant to this study is the challenge feminists have made to the thinking that the 'normal' body is the culturally dominant masculine, Anglo, middle class body. This thinking is a "technology for maintaining the dominance of a particular discursive positioning" (Cranny Francis 1995:9). Feminists maintain that this kind of disembodied body needs to be replaced by an embodied body (Braidotti 1994, Grosz 1994). Embodied bodies are not singularly universal but have a range of subjectivities constituted by race, class, religion etc. The classed and cultured bodies that the children in this research bring to school are often in tension with the normatively defined 'schooled' body.

Foucaultian feminists like Bartky (1988), Sawicki (1991), McNay (1992) and Trethewey (1999) have written theoretical accounts of the means by which women's bodies are disciplined and made docile in culturally specific ways. Young (1990) examines how young girls learn to control their bodies in distinctly feminine ways. They learn to throw, sit, walk, stand, and gesture like girls. Moving in a feminine way is more constrained than masculine movements. Race and class also play a role in controlling bodies and learning to be girls. There has also been an increase in the study of masculinity. Masculinity is seen as " a range or a repertoire of possible or actual behaviours, some of which may be approved, some accepted or tolerated if not approved, and others prohibited and/or marginalized" (Buchbinder in Martino and Cook, 1998:138). These behaviours are also culturally specific. While this study does not focus on gender specifically, this work is important in thinking about bodies, and as a means through which embodied subjectivities may be influenced in schools.

A report compiled for the Gender Equity and Curriculum Reform Project in Canberra, Australia, by Kamler, Maclean, Reid and Simpson entitled, *Shaping Up Nicely: The formation of schoolgirls and schoolboys in the first month of school (1993)* combined the work of Bourdieu and Foucault and provides an in-depth look at children entering school. The findings of the report revealed that, "the process of learning to be a schoolchild is a process of disciplining the body and mind into pre-dispositions for behaviour of a larger group, or corporate body" (1993:3). This is important when looking at how bodies are trained at school because the training children receive at home is often at odds with school requirements.

2.4.3.1 The Body and Space

On a smaller scale for this project, a relevant example of the importance of the interconnection between the spatial and the body comes from the discipline of geography. Kenworthy Teather's (1999) collection of articles entitled *Embodied Geographies:*

Spaces, Bodies and Rites of Passage illustrates this well. She draws a direct connection between understanding space and the consequences of bodies in space. She states that "through the body's sensory organs, we perceive the qualities of space; through our cultural baggage we assess space; through a combination of creativity and motor skills we adapt and design space" (1999:7). She also sets up various ways in which space can be understood, underlining the fact that space is not neutral. Firstly it can be a material, grounded locality, a "space of place". Secondly, it is an activity space which comprises of communities of interest that can be real material spaces and conceptual as activities "take place" (1999:2). Space is also positioned this positioning depends on identity and ensuing power relations where we are accepted in certain places and not others. Finally she discusses discursive spaces, which are the mental attitudes and conventions held by people that also have the power to influence. This is not dissimilar to Gee's understanding of Discourse.

While not directly related to education, Jones and Cunningham (1999) explore play and the spatial constraints imposed on children between the years of 8 to12. This work is interesting because it points to the shutting down of spaces as a result of adult fears, the changing nature of childhood and urban planning at a time when children desire to extend the limits of their bodies and increase their independence from adults. In addition, Krenichyn (1999) shows how limited spatial relations at an inner city school in New York create tensions amongst male and female students who have to share the gym hall, the only space available during lunch breaks. The contestation of space reinforces gendered relations as the physical presence and desire for physical activity (in this case basketball) from the male students, reduces the space available for the female students.

Lastly the work of Fielding (2000) is located within the realm of education, where he utilises classroom-based research in a lower-middle class primary school in the United Kingdom. His chapter 'Walk on the left! Children's geographies and the primary school' has particular resonance for this study as he draws a direct connection between what he calls moral geographies and bodily propriety. Much of what he observed in the classrooms was evident in the data of this study. Fielding draws on the work of German

sociologist, Norbert Elias, who connects training and disciplining of the body and self to state formation. Elias' work shows how behaviour is managed by people who internalise prohibitions and restraints. Locating this in the site of the primary school Fielding notes that these social prohibitions are a means through which individuals situate themselves in a social hierarchy. Failure to do so results in exclusion or marginalisation. Fielding makes the important point that it is not enough to acknowledge that children have agency and can negotiate actively in and around space "despite unequal institutional power relations and control" (2000:234). The level of agency is reliant on how the teaching, learning and management are structured in the school which in turn is influenced by the beliefs and practices of principals, teachers, education authorities and the government. In schools where there is a transparent approach to teaching and learning, clear messages are transferred about what it means to be a good teacher or learner and the related social behaviour. In schools where there is ambiguity, the messages become distorted and can be read clearly by the bodily dispositions of the children. It is worth quoting Fielding at length to illustrate these differences:

To follow Elias' ideas about bodily propriety into the classroom, I observed that these moral codes and messages about being good learners were embodied by many children in their day-to-day learning activities. Their body postures infer a willingness to collaborate (they avoid putting their arms across themselves, they sit back and look relaxed), there is very little pointing, leaning over or shouting, there is a greater fluidity of movement around the classroom (of both people and equipment), and a greater amount of 'on task talk' within groups. Likewise, there is an 'effective' moral policing of classroom activity by the children, such as when unacceptable forms of learning or behaviour present themselves. Here, they are quick to find closure with that person…or they negotiate ways through this, by using their bodies to display dismay, by introducing pointing and leaning as they talk with the person and other people on the table, or they then involve other people (such as the teacher) if needs be.

In schools where there appears to be ambiguity in the forms that the delivery of teaching and learning take, these messages become distorted, especially by the children in the classroom. Bodies become more ambiguous as hands and arms are used as barriers around their work, but also to bring people into their work; bodies are turned away from people but later open up to

offer or seek co-operation, volume rises and falls more sharply; classroom movement becomes more disjointed or haphazard and so on. In one school, the class teachers began to present their own moral codes as an antidote to the 'ambiguity of expectation' further up the school hierarchy….Consequently when these came together in collective action…they clashed with each other, both in terms of what the children and teachers understood to be acceptable learning and behaviour, but also how they would 'police' and 'sanction' what they believed to be unacceptable behaviour (2000:234-235).

Although Fielding does not use Foucauldian terminology the connections between power and the body are evident. It possibly also links to Sheehy's (2004) work, mentioned earlier, where possibly the bodily postures of students working in the thin space would reflect those of Fielding's students who had clarity and transparency of the roles required, and a greater number of "negotiated positive expectations" (2000:234) than the disenchanted students located in a thick space who turned in on themselves.

2.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has attempted to 'map' the work and areas that have been influential in thinking through this project. The focus of the study requires that a number of different fields be drawn upon, and while interdisciplinary work provides a richness of dialogue, one of the real disadvantages is that the complexities of the work are distorted. One of the ways in which I have attempted to deal with this is to use the work of Foucault as a way to frame the thesis. The choice of Foucault seemed logical as his work contains ways of thinking through the themes of literacy, power, (discipline) and subjectivity that I was interested in. The resultant choices made pertaining to the literature needed to dovetail with the themes of the thesis and with the work of Foucault.

At the same time it was also important to use work of writers working predominantly in an educational setting as a means of understanding the context of the school. Many writers working in the field of education have used the work of Foucault and it is not

possible to draw on all of them. Finally, in ways that I had not conceived at the beginning of the project, there needed to be a significant place for "space". As a way of showing how the literate subject is produced through relations of power that are directed onto and internalised by the body, it has become important in this chapter that the spatial be foregrounded as a means through which the data can be read in the forthcoming chapters.

CHAPTER 3 GOVERNING SOULS: A FOUCAULTIAN READING OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

Over the last decade South Africa has undergone a myriad of changes as a society. Despite widespread fears to the contrary, it made a (relatively) peaceful transition to democracy. But the political, social, economic and cultural effects of apartheid linger, although attempts are being made with varying degrees of success to reconstruct a society that has been drawn into "cycles of repression, resistance and violence" (Mufson 1991:16). The aim of this chapter is to examine the South African context through a Foucauldian lens. The chapter is divided into five sections. The first looks at Foucauldian understandings of government and governmentality. This is then applied to Apartheid management of populations generally and in relation to education. This analysis moves onto the end of the apartheid era and into the beginnings of the creation of a democratic country. The chapter ends by looking at post-apartheid education and its embedded constructions of human subjects.

3.1 GOVERNMENT

Underlying all of Foucault's work on power is a preoccupation with the subject – how subjects are constructed and construct themselves. In his conceptualisation of power Foucault also introduces the notion of government. The aim of this chapter is to work towards an understanding of how this subject construction happens within the South African context, beginning with Foucault's understanding of government.

Government is a regime of power that underpins modern society. In order to understand the emergence of government as a modern form of power, Foucault (2002a) reverts to the broader sixteenth century meaning of government. He traces the shifts in Western European society where sovereign power is replaced by disciplinary power, which is refigured in the form of government. Sovereign power is characterised by a transcendent

sovereign over his/her subjects in a demarcated territory. It operates under a "state of justice" (Foucault 2002a:221) and "is exercised over… acts, things, subjects…it marks bodies and it commands the labour, products, blood and ultimately the life of its subjects. It is thus a kind of rule over 'things', and assumes that 'things' can be ruled in accordance with the will of the sovereign" (Dean 1999:202).

Disciplinary power, in contrast, is characterised by the "administrative state" which arose during the demise of feudal territoriality in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Foucault 2002a:221). It directs itself onto individuals, their bodies, as well as onto groups. The aim of disciplinary power is thus to control and regulate people within a territory. This was aided at the time by the construction of a new knowledge –statistics.

Modern power signals the rise of "governmental technologies of power" whose aim is to increase political and economic viability through a process of administering all aspects of life (Smart 2002:103). This power is marked by the rise of bio-power, which operates on two axes. The first is an "anatomo-politics of the body" (Foucault 1978:139) which functions at the level of the individual. Disciplinary techniques and methods are directed onto the body in order to optimise its capabilities, particularly its economic utility, while at the same time ensuring its docility.

The second axis is the "bio-politics of the population" (Foucault 1978:139) that operates through the regulation of populations as a means of governing life. It is here that interventions and supervisory regulations are implemented to deal with the problems of population: birth rates, mortality, sanitation, health, life expectancy. Bio-politics addresses the social, cultural, geographic and environmental conditions under which people live. The welfare of the population and its improvement is central to government. Foucault notes the influence of another power that has influenced bio-politics: pastoral power. Pastoral power of the early Christians was underpinned by an inclusive relationship between the individual and community where obedience, duty, knowledge of one's inner life, renunciation and salvation were emphasised. Pastoral power is a fundamental aspect of modern society, but in modern secular states these Christian

principles have given way to reading the individual through a "scientific knowledge of populations" (Dean 1999:76).

Foucault makes it clear that government cannot purely be substituted for the state. Government is not just about political structures or state management, but rather how individuals conduct/govern themselves and how groups may be directed. It is 'the conduct of conduct' (Foucault 1982:220). The notion of conduct works on several levels which inform our understanding of government. Mitchell Dean (1999:10-11) elaborates on these meanings – 'to conduct' is to lead or direct (often with varying levels of coercion, Foucault 1982:220). 'To conduct oneself,' indicates a moral or ethical dimension concerning how one directs oneself in certain circumstances. Used as a noun, 'conduct' refers to behaviour or actions. The idea of self-regulation may be present as when an issue like the conduct of teachers is raised. The combination of these meanings implies that government is a means of shaping behaviour according to a set of norms. Government can then be defined as:

> any more or less calculated activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge, that seeks to shape conduct by working through our desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects and outcomes (Dean 1999:11).

3.1.1 Governmentality

There are two meanings of governmentality. The first centres on the assumption that the ability to direct the conduct of others and ourselves implies a capacity of thought. Governmentality is then about how we think about governing – the mentalities of government. Thinking is not an individual activity but influenced by the bodies of knowledge and belief systems of our communities and societies. All aspects of

government are exercised with an end point in mind, for example the creation of active citizens.

Studies of governmentality examine our "regimes of practices" (Foucault 1991) — the way thought becomes embedded in practices and institutions through which our conduct is shaped. The way we govern is based on what we take to be true, but we also produce new truths in the way we govern.

The second meaning of governmentality is narrower and historically specific. It marks the rise of a new way of thinking in society that is connected to the discovery of the economy. Dean (1999:19-20) discusses four elements of this type of governmentality. Firstly, the object of government is the population, where needs like the health, welfare, prosperity of individuals and the population as a whole need to be met. Secondly governmentality has a relationship with sovereignty and disciplinary power. The object of sovereign power is to exercise power over subjects through the juridical and executive arms of the state. Disciplinary power regulates and orders individuals and groups via administrative and bureaucratic apparatuses. Modern power retains the techniques, rationalities and institutions of these two forms of power, but seeks to "reinscribe and recode them" (Dean 1999:20). Government regards the capacities and abilities of individual subjects as members of a population who are resources to be used, fostered and optimised (Dean 1999:20). Foucault envisages these three modes of power as fundamental to modern authority - "in reality one has a triangle, sovereignty-discipline-government, which has as its primary target the population and as its essential mechanism the apparatuses of security" (Foucault 2002a:219).

Governmentality uses apparatuses of security to circumscribe the population. These are made up of the police force, standing armies, the diplomatic corps, intelligence services and spies. Combined with these are education, health, and social welfare systems, as well as ways with which to manage the economy. These institutions and practices operate to defend and maintain the population. The final aspect of governmentality is the process of the "governmentalisation of the state" (Foucault 2002a:221). This is when the state

controls power relations, governmentalising them by elaborating, rationalising and centralising them either as state institutions or under the control of state institutions (Foucault 2002a).

3.1.2 Authoritarian Governmentality

In his investigation of governmentality Dean (1999) argues that it is not just in liberal forms of rule where governmentality is useful, it can be applied where non-liberal or authoritarian rule is present. He holds that non-liberal means of governing are often contained within liberal rule, a pertinent example being colonial rule. This is an important point because South Africa spent centuries under colonial rule, and much of the colonial 'mentality' was built on during the apartheid era.

Characteristics of authoritarian or non-liberal governmentality, like liberal governmentality, include the combination of bio-political and sovereign power. The ability of sovereignty through its deployment of law and limiting of rights, works to legitimate programmes implemented by bio-politics. Also present is the governmentalisation of the state. In a liberal government the assumption is that people are free and have the ability to govern themselves, and to take part in the collective as responsible citizens. But certain populations, at certain times, are held to be lacking political and juridical responsibility (i.e. women, the mad).

The manifestation of sovereignty and bio-politics in government have particular articulations in an authoritarian government because of their different views on life and death. Sovereign power reserves the right of death. Bio-politics is a power over life – it aims to optimise the life of a population, but using this rationale it has the power to take life. Foucault (1978:137) says "If genocide is indeed the dream of modern powers, this is not because of a recent return of the ancient right to kill: it is because power is situated and exercised at the level of life, the species, the race, and the large-scale phenomena of population." Wars are waged on behalf of populations to protect their interests.

Significant to this chapter is Foucault's understanding of racism in order to explain its functioning in the South African context. What emerges in the last two centuries is a bio-political racism. Its initial function is to decide who lives and dies, who is superior and inferior, fit and unfit (Dean 1999). Dean (1999:140) states that the

series, 'population-evolution-race' is not simply a way of thinking about the superiority of the 'white races', or of justifying colonialism, but also a way of thinking about how to treat the degenerates and the abnormals within one's own population and prevent the further degeneration of the race.

Bio-political racism establishes a link between the right to kill and the right to life. To maintain a healthy population, internal and external threats need to be eliminated.

Foucault's argues that the phenomenon of Nazi racism operated with a version of sovereignty that is founded on the 'symbolics of blood':

When power is exercised through repression and deduction, through a law over which hangs the sword, when it was exercised upon the scaffold, by the torturer and the executioner, and when relations between households and families were forged through alliance, 'blood was a reality with a symbolic function' "(Dean 1999:141)

Combined with this is disciplinary power's concern with the administration and regulation of the population. While the apartheid state may not have formulated a Final Solution, sovereignty's instruments of death, a preoccupation with the management of populations, and a desire for racial hygiene, all permeated it.

3.2 THE MANAGEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICAN POPULATIONS

3.2.1 The Apartheid State

The programmes and legislation of the apartheid state reveal the construction of a bio-political racism whose aim was to segregate populations, and in the case of black Africans, remove them from the functioning of society altogether and reduce the effects of their 'contaminating' the white population. This section is not exhaustive but identifies key trends. There were two types of apartheid laws – those that dealt with the personal, social, economic, cultural and educational status of individuals, and those laws that set up the institutions connected to separate development (Bindman 1988:5).

The key legislation was the 1950 Population Registration Act that conferred a specific racial identity onto South Africans. The infamous 1950 Group Areas Act, the "keystone to separate development" (Williams 1986:35), allocated zones of land by race. The Act had an economic impact; townships were built near industrial areas to maintain a constant supply of cheap unskilled labour. Influx Control controlled access to areas, keeping African population under surveillance through pass books (Bindman 1988).

The second part of Influx control was the homeland policy, built on colonial governmentality of British native reserve allocation in Natal. The 'justification' for this was to give political rights to Africans to practise their own language and culture. But, Africans were not homogenous groups and comprised eight, and later ten different tribal groups (two more were 'discovered' after the initial eight.) The 1951 Bantu Authorities Act, and 1959 Promotion of Self Government Act, were a bio-political means of eradicating a population without violence. In 1978 the Minister of Bantu Affairs stated: "If our policy is to be taken to its logical conclusion…there will not be one black person with South African citizenship" (Bindman 1988:25).

Despite the efforts of the state to construct particular subjects, people resisted them. Forms of identity promoted by government programmes should not be confused with real

subjects. A regime of government does not determine different subjectivities: "They elicit, promote, facilitate, foster and attribute various capacities, qualities, statuses to particular agents. They are successful to the extent that these agents come to experience themselves through such capacities (e.g. of rational decision-making), qualities (e.g. having a sexuality), and statuses (e.g. as being an active citizen)" (Dean 1999:32). The use of resistance tactics changed over time – the non-violent civil disobedience in the 1950s shifted after the ANC and Pan African Congress (PAC) were banned and began campaigns of sabotage.

Resistance increased and became more violent. The bio-political imperative of optimising the lives of one population over other populations had the consequence of affecting the entire population as the state was forced to introduce repressive measures to maintain its policy.

3.2.2 Administering Apartheid Education

For Foucault (2002b:311) the modern state is comprised of two games "the city-citizen game" and the "shepherd-flock game". The former is the administrative state overseeing the well-being of the population. The latter emphasises pastoral governance, underpinned by notions of "life, death, truth, obedience, individuals, self-identity" (Foucault 2002b:311). The state's power is centralised and centralising, and pastoral power an individualising power (Foucault 2002b:300).

Hunter (1994) traces the how these two powers became connected and the impact they had on schooling. Central to the development of the school from an administrative perspective, is the way power combines with the development of new knowledge. New knowledges allow the population to be known and administered. At the same time Christian schools emerged, inculcating spiritual discipline into everyday life and producing self-reflective and self-governing individuals. The practices and techniques of

spiritual governance became unmoored from the spiritual and could be harnessed for governing (secular) school populations.

Hunter (1994:57) makes the crucial point that "the capacities of the reflective person emerge only *after* individuals have been initiated into the arts of self-concern and self-regulation." There are two stages of governing the self. Firstly a 'threshold of interrogation' creating an awareness of the self as the subject of its conduct. Secondly the subject conducts itself so as to be a responsible agent via processes like self-examination.

The 'external' techniques of administrative power and the internal techniques of pastoral power create specific types of subjectivities. Ideally the creation of self-regulated, self-governing individuals would mean an acceptance of subjectivities demanded by the state in pursuing its goals. But in apartheid South Africa practices of the self were used to resist forms of government. Populations were no longer docile, and education was a key area in which this challenge took place.

3.2.2.1 Apartheid Education for Blacks

Educational policies mirrored the segregationist thinking: there were ten education departments in the ten homelands, four departments in the provinces for white children, a cabinet level minister for the education of black children in white areas, a cabinet minister to oversee general educational policy, and ministers of education attached to the Coloured and Indian chambers of parliament (Williams 1986:37-38). The divisions were enlarged through unequal spending, which entrenched class and race differences. (Christie 1991:108, Davenport 1991:534). The 1953 Bantu Education Act entrenched the desire to create a docile and subordinate population by

> prepar[ing] blacks for their special place in society. This involved a differential syllabus with
> greater emphasis on practical subjects, the use of vernacular instruction throughout the
> primary school, and the simultaneous introduction of both English and Afrikaans, not only as

subjects but as media of instruction, in the lower secondary school: in other words, education for subordination in the workplace (Davenport 1991:535).

The Act created a great deal of resistance. Teachers were involved in boycotts. The ANC defied the act by keeping children out of school. They began a 'Resistance Against Apartheid Campaign' in 1954 where education was one of the key issues.[6] As the years progressed opposition to schooling continued. The watershed moment of the 1970s was the Soweto Uprising that led to other disturbances across the country. Kane-Berman (1978) estimates that violence resulted in about 700 deaths, and the destruction or damage of at least 350 schools.

Tension and violence continued into the 1980s. Students complained about unqualified, immoral teachers, the quality of education, educational facilities, insufficient textbooks and costly school uniforms. They called for a single education department, believing it would create equality in the education system.

3.2.2.2 Apartheid Education for Whites

The white education system was tightly controlled by the apartheid state. Funding and provision of resources allowed for a quality of education that no other population group received. The 1967 National Education Policy Act, limited to whites, reveals the vision of Christian National Education. CNE schools started in the early 1900s (after the Anglo Boer War) as a reaction to British schooling and resurfaced with the rise of Afrikaner Nationalism in the 1930s and 40s. A CNE institute founded in 1948 had explicit aims:

We want no mixing of languages, no mixing of cultures, no mixing of religions, and no mixing of races. The struggle for the Christian and the National school still lies before us (SPROCAS in Christie 1991:174).

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[6] The other issues were: the Pass Laws, the Group Areas Act, the Native Resettlement Act, the Suppression of Communism Act and anti-trade union measures. (Christie 1999:229)

White children were classified as English or Afrikaans since those were the two official languages. From this education system 'Patriotic Christians' would be produced. Christian principles permeated through all aspects of schooling. Although education was to "have a broad national character" the notion of the nation was limited to whites, and Afrikaner nationalism (Christie 1991:176-178).

Within schools, two programmes exemplify the subject whose morals and values reflected the teachings of CNE: Youth Preparedness (YP) and Moral Preparedness (MP). YP was heavily influenced by military thinking. The presence of military thinking was not unusual in a country that had to increasingly call on its police and army to quell resistance. A docile, gendered and patriotic subject was constructed who would willingly undertake compulsory national service, protect his country from internal threats coming from the townships and homelands, as well as the perceived external threat when colonial governments fell in all of South Africa's neighbouring countries.

Students attended MP classes where the force of pastoral power was felt. The self was the subject of its conduct, a conduct that required obedience and respect to authority. The conduct of the self was targeted as students were taught to be good citizens.

The effect of bio-power can be seen to operate on the white population. An anatomo-politics of the body was directed onto white children's bodies to ensure docility. The allocation of adequate resources for all aspects of a population's welfare ensured little resistance. Creating and targeting a belief of the superiority of the white race through education created a sense of entitlement and a patriotic subject who would protect his country. This subject construction was not uniform and the historic division between English and Afrikaans remained. The Afrikaans subject emerged as a disciplined and docile subject from the concentrated disciplinary power of three key institutions: the family, the school and the church. Prinsloo (2002) shows the subject construction embedded in Matric exams of an Afrikaner subject whose concerns are national compared to a global English citizen.

3.3 STATES OF EMERGENCY: THE CREATION OF AN UNGOVERNABLE SOCIETY

The 1980s saw the return of organised mass politics and sustained protest. Education virtually came to a standstill. A state of emergency was declared in 1985 in several parts of the country. In the same year the ANC released its slogan "Render South Africa Ungovernable". It called for a "People's War", broadcasting from Radio Freedom in Addis Ababa urging people to fight

> in every way possible using… Molotov cocktails, spears, petrol bombs, and small arms seized from whites….We are talking about rent strikes, we are talking about bus boycotts, we are talking about the overthrow of the township councils of the puppets and the creation of the people's organs of power, the people's courts and so on (Kane-Berman 1993:41-42).

The State of Emergency was extended countrywide in 1986, lasting four years. Despite government tactics, opposition continued. In this opposition the connectedness between sovereignty-discipline-government is evident as elements of sovereign power emerged. Opposition took the form of support for the rent boycotts. It is estimated between 50% and 80% of Soweto householders supported them. Consumer and bus boycotts were less successful than rent boycotts but were no longer voluntary and an element of coercion and intimidation prevailed. "[T]orture as public spectacle" emerged marking the body as the site of punishment (Foucault 1977:7). The public execution did not re-establish justice; it reactivated power" (Foucault 1977:49). From the youth came severe forms of punishment. Informal courts were set up carrying out "summary death sentences by 'necklacing' their victims with petrol soaked motor tyres, sometimes after mutilating them, as a way of combating the activities of informers with a brand of terrorism calculated to outweigh the severity of police inquisitorial methods" (Davenport 1991:440). Necklacing in this country continues – Kane-Berman (1993) reports that by

May 1992 there had been more than 500 necklace victims and reports of necklacing still occur[7]. He says

> It has replaced the gallows as South Africa's main deterrent. The initial investment in terror pays off, because people learn to behave in ways expected of them. Knowledge within the community of what happened in the past is sufficient to ensure compliance in the present, and all that is required is a gentle reminder (1993:36-37).

With such actions came the realisation that movements had lost control of their followers, particularly the youth. Serious question arose as to how a society can be governed when its institutions are powerless and its citizens unregulated. Black writer, Nomavanda Mathiane, wrote:

> Political organisations have created monsters they cannot control. In the interests of mobilisation, they gave the children the power to disrupt life — they used them to enforce boycotts, work stay aways, etc. etc. and having tasted that power, they are not about to give it up. These children are now a threat to democracy (in Kane-Berman 1993:88).

3.4 STATE OF DEMOCRACY: GOVERNING THE UNGOVERNABLE

The 1990s heralded an era of change with the enstatement of F.W. de Klerk as State President and the release of Nelson Mandela. A Government of National Unity was formed to aid the transition to representative democracy. Throughout the process there was an emphasis on proceeding peacefully. But after so many years of conflict, peace would not be easy. The ANC called for the cessation of the armed struggle in 1990, but

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[7] 24 June 2003 *The Star* newspaper reported that five people had been necklaced in the previous four days, 7 October 2003 *The Star* reported again that a teenaged boy was found necklaced in Vosloorus: 30 May 2003 it reported again that two suspected thieves were necklaced and two brothers escaped. 6 August 2004 10 people were arrested for their involvement in the necklacing of three suspected rapists at Jeffery's Bay in the Eastern Cape (http://iafrica.com/pls/cms/iac.page?p).

not mass action. But it was through mass action that the ungovernability campaign was situated, mobilising the volatile youth.

This raises questions of governance in South Africa. When the process of governmentalisation of the state atrophies, and power is contested by various groups, when the population becomes ungovernable, how does one re-establish government? If government is the "conduct of conduct" then the management of the population needs to be reconstituted in ways that optimise the well-being of the entire population. Thus, areas like social welfare, heath, education and the economy have to be reassessed. This is one way to combat the bio-political racism entrenched in apartheid governmentality. But an essential part of government is self-government, where individuals have to lead themselves. A reflective understanding of the ethical and moral norms on which individuals' conduct is based, and an awareness of the appropriate conduct of their roles in society, is required. But if Hunter (1994) is correct, and one has to be initiated into the arts of self-concern and self-regulation first, and schooling is one of the key institutions that works to do this, it raises the question of the levels of regulation of students whose schooling was severely disrupted or whose access to schooling was denied because of their political activities. Luke (1990) maintains that when regulation of the self fails, an external technology of power will assert itself. Today South Africa is in the situation where external controls are often implemented too slowly or inefficiently, undermining their impact.

3.4.1 Regulating Education

The establishment of a democratic state resulted in a single National Department of Education (NDE) being instituted. The presence of one department implementing one education system implies equality in education but deeply entrenched problems in South African society and the education system will take years to address. Many of the most severe problems in education are found in black communities, who had the least access to resources. The political upheaval severely affected schooling in the 1990s with an

estimate that over one million children were no longer attending school (Chisholm 1995). Those who attended school in 1993 lost five months of schooling (Motala and Tikly 2003:35-36). The average 1993 Matric pass rate for black students was 38.3% compared to the 95% pass rate for white students (Greenstein and Mkwanazi 2003).[8]

One way parents countered the educational conditions in township schools was to send their children to white schools when desegregation was implemented.[9] Today ex-white schools are still viewed as being able to provide higher quality education. School desegregation forced changes in policies, and have been met with resistance, with some schools being taken to task for applying discriminatory admission procedures. Unsurprisingly there have also been incidents of racism, some violent, as students come to terms with living and learning together.

One of the phrases often used in educational discourse today is "the culture of teaching and learning." It is used loosely in various contexts to talk about the breakdown or collapse of the culture, the (re)creation of one, or in juxtaposition to a culture of resistance and alienation. Christie (1998:285) notes that

> culture is not the cause of the problems inherent in dysfunctional schools; rather it is the lived experience of them. Talking of the 'breakdown' of the culture of learning and teaching should not in any sense be taken to mean the 'absence' of a culture of learning and teaching in these schools; what is implied, rather, is the development of a school culture which is inimical to learning and teaching.

Creating a 'culture of teaching and learning' implies the reestablishment and/or reconfiguration of bio-power and pastoral power. Providing for the basic well being of the population means the adequate provision of material and social conditions and functioning management structures like school governing bodies. In 1995, the

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[8] The total number of students per race group differed though.
[9] Many private schools did not practice segregation during apartheid but intake numbers were monitored by the government and high fees restricted access.

government allocated R100m to develop a culture of teaching and learning in schools in disadvantaged communities. The main focus was on refurbishing schools in states of disrepair. Many schools lack basic resources like running water and electricity[10] and are thus not conducive learning environments. There are not enough classrooms, furniture, learning materials and stationery. This is coupled with unqualified or underqualified teachers. Basic management of resources is not enough. A mutual interaction between bio-power and pastoral power has to operate. They need to operate in such a way that student and teacher subjectivities can be altered. In Gauteng the Committee on the Culture of Teaching and Learning (CCOLT) was established to look at motivation and attitudes towards teaching and learning in conjunction with the programme instituted by the government. In the foreword to the CCOLT report Mary Metcalfe wrote, "to promote the values of critical thinking, self-discipline, empowerment, respect for the dignity of others, and a commitment to life-long learning, a different culture of learning needs to be born" (Chisholm and Vally 1996:ii).

The operation of disciplinary power is essential if South Africa is to create a successful culture. What leads to loss of control is "a breakdown of rhythmical, disciplined learning and teaching, formally structured in time and space" (Christie 1998: 289, 2001). Or in Foucault's words, it is the absence of spatial distribution, control of activity, organisational genesis and composition of forces (see Chapter 5). It is thus the invisible, mundane disciplinary practices like keeping registers, having timetables, allocated classrooms, maintaining rituals like school assemblies, requiring punctuality and a respect for authority, that need to be actively reinstated in order to control populations and maintain order.

In the case of South Africa it is extremely important that the subject construction taking place at schools results in individuals who can function in a democratic society. This

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[10] The School Register of Needs, published in 1997, stated that one third of all schools lacked these resources. The project was set up as a means of gathering data to find ways of providing equity in education as well as improving the quality of teaching and learning in schools. The Register is a way of providing comprehensive information about schools that was previously lacking (see Motala 2003:391-392). It is also a way of placing schools under surveillance.

means that functional, functioning and disciplined schools need to be established. The issue of violence in schools needs to be addressed. Our history is one where much violence began in schools, but schools also reflect the violence in society.

Schools have to confront intimidation by armed youths, gangs, and crime syndicates who target students. In order to alleviate attacks, vandalism and robberies, the hiring of security guards and installation of security fences has become a necessity for schools across the country. Recently the current Minister of Education, Naledi Pandor, announced plans to increase security measures at what she referred to as "problem schools that need attention". Measures to be implemented include the provision of walls and fences, having registers for visitors entering the premises, counselling services, closed circuit televisions and floodlights (Mail and Guardian 5 June 2006).

Violence also emanates from students themselves: for example, in 1996 at a school on the East Rand in Gauteng, students set the principal's car alight, smashed windows, and vandalised telephone lines after their list of twelve demands was not met. These included disrepair of facilities, sexual abuse, and corporal punishment meted out by a teacher (Chisholm and Vally 2003). The MEC for Gauteng commented at the time:

> These (student grievances) are not the real question. The real question is how do you deal with frustrations. The greatest challenge is to get people to understand the principles of democratic procedure in dealing with conflict. Students and young people are not being actively engaged consistently about appropriate strategies to voice their concerns, We have never had a system of laws and administrative procedures or administrative justice that has deserved respect. (Chisholm and Vally 2003:283)

Ten years later this violence still occurs as indicated by a recent case in Mamelodi East, Tshwane, in May 2006, where students engaged in "running battles" with police. The students from local primary and high schools attacked an alleged rapist of a schoolgirl. When he managed to escape the students went on the rampage ransacking, stoning and looting local businesses (Hosken, 2006 http://thestar.co.za/index.php?ArticleId=3258786)

Creating a new culture that emphasises respect and dignity for others has meant the abolition of corporal punishment. Corporal punishment was entrenched in apartheid law and its effects go beyond education. Carrim and Tshoane (2003) make the point that "Educators and learners come from communities fraught with violence, where the main disciplinary measure used is corporal punishment" (2003:835). They argue that although eradicating corporal punishment is necessary, merely abolishing it in a country where there is a culture of violence will not remove it.

Although principals and teachers know it is unlawful, corporal punishment still continues. The Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention's National Youth Victimisation Study 2005 reports that more than half the children polled were subjected to corporal punishment at school (6 June 2006 http://www.mg.co.za/articlePage.aspx?article= 273761/areas/insight). Part of the problem is that educators felt they had not been consulted in this decision and no alternative practices were provided. It took the department five years to provide educators with a guideline entitled *Alternatives to Corporal Punishment: the learning experience* (DoE 2002). These alternatives aim to allow a non-authoritarian approach by including students in the disciplinary process. The guidelines state that the school environment should be one where "discipline rather than punishment is used proactively and constructively. In such a system learners experience an educative, corrective approach in which they learn to exercise self-control, respect others and accept the consequences of their actions" (2002:9). However guidelines alone will not induce the mind-shift needed to eradicate corporal punishment.

Another serious issue affecting schools is sexual abuse. Sexual attacks are carried out by teachers, other students and family members. The main victims of crime are children and teenagers: "They are two-and-a-half times more likely to be raped, with rape accounting for 59% of all incidents in which children and teenagers were victims" (Chisholm and Vally 2003:282). Recent revelations of the prevalence of baby rape have shocked South Africans. It poses a challenge to create a society where violence, rape, and child abuse are eradicated. Individual and institutional accountability need to be practised. When individuals cannot regulate themselves, institutions need to exert external control, but this

does not always happen. This is illustrated by the case of the Education Department in KwaZulu Natal which has repeatedly ignored reports of child abuse by teachers in its schools.[11]

Compounded with sexual violence is the AIDS crisis. Fifteen to twenty-two year olds have the highest infection rates in South Africa. Ultimately, to ensure their survival students need to self-regulate their sexual conduct. But, the outside forces supposed to be supporting safe sexual practices have been shown to be ineffectual. Research suggests students have knowledge of the disease but this has little impact on behavioural patterns. Large investments have been made to implement intervention models and provide life skills training, but there is little understanding of their impact, or if they even have an impact. "Provinces are starting to shift their models. The GDE (Gauteng Department of Education)…. is placing greater emphasis on pre-adolescence interventions and peer counselling, in the recognition of both the difficulty of shifting adolescent behaviour and the social and cultural barriers that prevent many educators from effectively engaging young people on issues of sexuality" (Porteus 2001:36). AIDS has now been built into the learning programmes for children in the Foundation Phase.

3.4.2 Early Childhood Development

Examination of the area of Early Childhood Development (ECD) is significant the central focus of this research is on young children. ECD strategies are defined as "strategies that meet the basic needs of young children from birth to at least nine years" (Porteus, 2001). The ANC's *Policy Framework for Education and Training* (1995) recognises the importance of ECD as it sees young children as the foundation for a new society and part of a human resource development strategy. It points out that few infants and children receive proper exposure to ECD programmes, or are even catered for at all. Coupled with

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[11] On the 22 February 2004, *Carte Blanche*, an actuality programme on television, ran a story of abuse in schools in KwaZulu Natal. Between 2002-2004 Childline sent 80 reports of abuse in schools to the Education Department, as well as follow up reminders. Up to that point there had been no response from the department.

this is the inadequate provision of health and nutritional services (1995:104). Research shows that the first few years of a child's life are crucial for brain development. The first five years of life show significant intellectual, physical, emotional, social and moral development with the acquisition of skills, concepts and values being formed. In conjunction with this is the effect of the environment on neural development, with early stress negatively impacting on brain development (Carnegie Task Force 1994 in Porteus 2001). If children are to be the foundation of a new society, this impact on children's development needs to be taken seriously. The ANC argued that a reception year with a play and activity-based curriculum needed to be introduced as the first year of schooling. These ideals have still not been fully met in practice. Less than 0.5% of the education budget was spent on early schooling in 2004 (Govender 2006). Grade 1 failure rates are the highest of all grades. In 1998, 70% of the 1.6 million children in Grade one repeated the year, 20% were five-year-olds and 60% were six-year-olds (Motala 2003).

Furthermore, entrance into formal schooling with minimal or no ECD experiences can impact negatively on children. Studies have shown that not attending pre-primary school affects levels of performance and can be linked to school failure, dropout and retention rates (Vally and Spreen 2003, Govender 2006). The implementation of a reception year has been sporadic and controversial. The government's aim is to place 85% of the reception year directly in primary schools. This would mean that ECD centres in existence would have to close if they cannot find alternative funding. Schools would have to build additional facilities to accommodate this extra year. The preschool teacher pupil ratio of 19:1 would rise to meet primary school ratios. Poretus (2001) argues that there are consequences if five-year-olds are moved out of multi-age centres. Children spend about three years in an ECD centre, one third are new each year and another third have been there two years so older children mentor younger children, comparable to traditional community and family contexts. This undermines a strength of ECD provisioning. While this thinking means that more children are under closer state supervision via the institution of the school, it works against notions of community involvement, undermining the contribution many women make in poor communities.

3.5 SUBJECT(ED) TO THE CURRICULUM

3.5.1 The Constitution and the Curriculum

At this juncture I return to the point made by Dean (1999) that subject positions/forms of identity that are promoted by government programmes are not to be confused with real subjects, but that statuses, qualities and capacities fostered by governments can be taken on by individuals (section 3.2.1). The Constitution is a case in point. And, if the way we govern is based on what we take to be true as well as producing new truths in the way we govern, the Constitution represents a rethinking and reformulation of the South African nation and people. The Constitutional vision for South Africa (Act No 108 of 1996) requires a balance between individual and state governance in order to heal itself from the past, and become a democratic society based on democratic values and the will of an (educated, self-regulating) people, providing a good quality of life for all. The operation of bio-power inserts itself with the operation of bio-politics of the population, where interventions and regulations are implemented to benefit the population. Sovereign power inserts itself via protection through law and a desire for social justice and the upholding of fundamental human rights. This has an international impact from the perspective of the global economy - internal balance and stability implies that South Africa can thrive in the international fold.

Additionally, the second element of bio-power is present, the anatomo-politics of the body, where disciplinary techniques are directed onto the body to create a docile but useful subject. The curriculum is fundamental as a means through which individual governance can take place. Popkewitz (in Canella 1997:91) clearly states that "Curriculum is a disciplinary technology that directs how the individual is to act, feel, talk and 'see' the world and 'self'. As such curriculum is a form of social regulation". The educational curriculum reflects a new vision of how individual South Africans are required to view themselves and the world. For example before the 1994 elections, the ANC's objectives for educational change included creating an integrated system of education and training realised through the National Qualifications Framework (NQF).

This comprised of ten years of universal education and lifelong learning entailing the overhaul of early childhood development (ECD), adult basic education, teacher education, curricula and rural and farm school education (Chisholm 2003). All racist and sexist content in syllabi and textbooks were removed until the new curriculum, Curriculum 2005, (C2005), was implemented in 1998. In 2000 a Review Committee was appointed to assess the curriculum, which resulted in a Revised National Curriculum (RNC) in 2002[12].

The South African Constitution underpins the development of the curriculum. The RNC opens by stating that education and the curriculum's role is to realise the aims of the Constitution so that "the full potential of each learner as a citizen of a democratic South Africa" is met (DoE 2001:1). It is through education then that a new national identity will be established.

The role of education in South Africa in an NQF document states:

> The vision for South Africa encompasses a prosperous, truly united, democratic and internationally competitive country with literate, creative and critical citizens, leading productive, self-fulfilled lives in a country free of violence, discrimination and prejudice.
>
> The realisation of this vision requires appropriate Lifelong Learning, training and development to empower people to participate effectively in all the processes of a democratic society and to excel in fields like human and natural resource development, human and natural sciences, the arts and technology.
>
> The primary task of education policy makers is the establishment of a just and equitable education and training system which provides a relevant, high quality education which is accessible to all learners, irrespective of race, colour, gender, age, religion, ability or language. A priority for both national and provincial education departments is, therefore, the creation of a transformative, democratic, open learning system, fostering in all its users a strong commitment to lifelong learning and development (DoE 1997:47).

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[12] Data collection for this research began in late 2002 – as such the RNC is referred to in later chapters where issues related to the curriculum arise.

Notions of democracy, social justice, human rights, non-discrimination, and equality are repeated in the curriculum documents. The notion of democracy is emphasised throughout all the documents, together with the need to create a people who understand, believe in and perpetuate a democratic system. Rose (1998:117) points out that

> to rule citizens democratically means ruling then through their freedoms, their choices, and their solidarities, rather than despite these. It means turning subjects, their motivations and interrelations, from potential sites of resistance to rule into allies of rule. It means replacing arbitrary authority with that permitting a rational justification.

The discourses of rights and equality, the recognition of the desire of people for a better life, and the belief that people are entitled to this, are a powerful means of creating allies in a country of pervasive deprivation. Financial stability is then a central issue. The NQF document acknowledges the importance of an internationally competitive and prosperous country. But there is a tension between providing knowledge, skills and values that promote social justice, equality, co-operation and tolerance, and establishing a prosperous country founded on capitalist competition. Discourses from the global market economy can displace discourses on rights.

Many of the earlier documents on Curriculum 2005 see education as a panacea for all economic ills. Jansen (1997) argues that diversifying curricula has no significant social or economic benefits. What it does do, is mislead teachers. Vally and Spreen (2003) corroborate this when discussing teachers' belief that Outcomes Based Education (see below) will produce skilled, middle class students able to compete in a global economy.

Countering this is the infusion of a human rights discourse. The South African Human Rights Commission was involved in the development of the curriculum, seeing it as a way to develop human rights in this country. Keet (2002:29) says, "The relationship between human rights, education and curriculum is a crucial one. Not only because the attainment of educational rights are crucial for the realisation of most other rights….but because it distributes discourses and meanings about human rights that has a crucial

relationship to the agenda of social and economic justice." If this discourse is to take hold then human rights cannot be seen as an add-on to the curriculum.

3.5.2 Outcomes Based Education

The origins of Outcomes Based Education (OBE) are not clear and have been traced back to a variety of theorists. In South Africa, the impetus came from outside education. The debates around competence in Australia and New Zealand influenced the thinking of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) about training and development, and the subsequent creation of the NQF. The incorporation of education and training into the NQF meant education was influenced by this thinking. The Department of Education replaced 'competencies' with 'outcomes' (Jansen 1997).

OBE reveals a shift in thinking about teaching and learning, with a move from a content heavy teacher-directed approach, to one that directs students to outcomes they must meet. It also provides specific goals in terms of assessment, but specific assessment standards are set for each grade where students demonstrate relevant knowledge, skills and values. OBE is then a means of organising for results where the outcomes to be achieved are based on what is taught (DoE 1997:39). Outcomes based curriculum should also allow different pathways for learning for people in different contexts – adults, out of school youth, children in formal schooling (Christie 1999).

Curriculum 2005 draws on progressive learner-centred education, outcomes-based education and an integrated approach to knowledge (Review Committee Report 2000). Realising that a new curriculum could not be implemented in isolation, the Department of Education incorporated a number of elements in the programme of curriculum reform. Traditional content subjects were replaced by eight learning areas[13], teacher in-service

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[13] The Learning Areas are: Language, Literacy and Communication (LLC), Mathematical Literacy, Mathematics and Mathematical Sciences (MLMMS), Natural Science, Technology, Human and Social Science (HSS), Economic and Management Sciences (EMS), Arts and Culture (A&C), Life Orientation (LO).

training was provided, support material was developed, a strategy to enhance school management was created, and new assessment strategies formed.

This has not been a smooth process. The cost of implementing Curriculum 2005 exceeded monies allocated to it. Requiring that the curriculum be implemented by 1998 (possibly to show educational reform had been achieved for elections in the following year) meant that teachers were inadequately trained, problems from pilot studies were not solved, and adequate materials were not produced and allocated. Information was also minimally disseminated by the government, so educators did not know about changes that had been instituted. Their requests for more time and training were ignored. This led to the Review Committee being appointed to assess the Curriculum to meet the implementation deadline of 2005. In 2000 a Review Committee was appointed to assess the Curriculum. They made several major recommendations (Vally 2003) relating to the design and structure of the curriculum, the overly complex language used, the disjuncture between the curriculum and assessment, insufficient teacher training, the quality and availability of learning support material, shortages of personnel and support staff, and Education departments not placing the curriculum at the centre of their work.

These findings resulted in the rewriting of the curriculum. The Revised National Curriculum was released in 2002. 2006 was marked as the year for OBE implementation in the final phase of schooling (Grade 10-12). Similar problems have beset this phase's implementation.

3.5.3 Subjected to Outcomes

By creating an education system that emphasises outcomes a clear picture emerges of the kind of subjects that are envisaged. The ideal modern South African citizen is no modest construct. Students are required to show attainment of seven critical outcomes and five

developmental outcomes.[14] Each Learning Area also has specific outcomes that must be met.

The critical outcomes (CO) require students to:

1. Identify and solve problems and make decisions using critical and creative thinking;
2. Work effectively with others as members of a team, group, organisation and community;
3. Organise and manage themselves and their activities responsibly and effectively;
4. Collect, analyse, organise and critically evaluate information;
5. Communicate effectively using visual, symbolic and/or language skills in various modes;
6. Use science and technology effectively and critically, showing responsibility towards the environment and the health of others; and
7. Demonstrate an understanding of the world as a set of related systems by recognising that problem-solving contexts do not exist in isolation

The developmental outcomes require students to:

8. Reflect on and explore a variety of strategies to learn more effectively;
9. Participate as responsible citizens in the life of local, national, and global communities;
10. Be culturally and aesthetically sensitive across a range of social contexts;
11. Explore education and career opportunities; and
12. Develop entrepreneurial opportunities.

If one looks at these outcomes in terms of the knowledge, skills, and values that are integral to each learning programme, the subject appears to be a predominantly skilled individual whose knowledge and values are secondary. Subjects are skilled problem

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[14] "The critical and developmental outcomes are mandated by the South African Qualifications Act and apply to all qualifications registered on the National Qualification Framework at all levels of Education and Training" (Prinsloo and Janks 2002:32). No bodies can legally operate without being registered. This has two implications: it sets up a powerful discourse for education to operate in a particular way and produce particular subjects. It also allows the state to govern what subjects must learn throughout their lives, it means that if lifelong learning occurs in a South African context it will not be possible to escape these outcomes.

solvers (CO1), decision makers (CO1), can govern the conduct of themselves and others (CO2, CO3), are effective communicators (CO5), and analytical and critical thinkers (CO4). Where outcomes have displaced content, knowledge appears absent. But content-knowledge facilitates the meeting of outcomes calling for skills. One cannot communicate effectively if one has nothing to say. The specific knowledge required from the outcomes entails metacognition, because students have to reflect on learning strategies explored (CO8). The world is to be viewed as a set of related systems (CO 7) with an emphasis again on problem solving. This emphasis presupposes that problems can be solved, which raises a question of how preset outcomes can allow for uncertainty. Science and technology are privileged disciplines to be used critically and effectively, but other bodies of knowledge are not mentioned. They are to be "used", which indicates an active process.

The values held by the new citizen are of a participatory, co-operative nature. Citizens are supposed to work together (CO 9, 10), the desire for this makes sense in the light of the history of a divided society with unequal access to opportunities. But participating and working effectively with others does not presuppose tolerance, or anti-racist, anti-sexist beliefs. It is surprising that these values are not stated more explicitly when the environment and health get a specific mention. It could be argued that health includes mental and emotional health, so people need to be treated with respect and dignity. Cultures are to be valued by citizens who can appreciate them. This may be undercut by the drive for individual success where the two developmental outcomes dealing with social interaction are overpowered by the desire for economic success.

3.5.4 The Literate Subject

Literacy is central to the Foundation Phase. Initially in C2005, Foundation Phase teachers were expected to teach all the learning programmes, but this was impractical. The Revised Curriculum (RNC) has three Foundation Phase learning programmes: Literacy, Numeracy, and Life Skills. While there are differences in the two curricula, much of the

thinking behind the curriculum has remained the same. In the Language, Literacy and Communication (LLC) learning area the connection to the Constitution is emphasised again. This time the emphasis is on the constitutional advocation of a policy of multilingualism. Schools are required to set up models of additive multilingualism. Children would learn their home language and an additional official language. A second additional language may be incorporated. A child in a multilingual school environment should have an appreciation of their home language and the culture and literacy practices connected to it, as well as other languages (DoE 1998:21). Language is recognised as integral to learning and all teachers are responsible for teaching discipline-specific language. Language is also recognised as shaping identity and knowledge, and has a variety of purposes – personal, communicative, educational, aesthetic, cultural, political, critical. (DE 2002:5). The subject produced here would then be a national, multilingual subject who values languages and the cultures associated with language.

In terms of literacy, the section in C2005 merely gives definitions and examples of literacy:

Literacy: Initially "literacy" was seen as a cognitive process that enables reading, writing and numeracy.

Literacies: Currently the use of the term "literacy" has expanded to include several kinds of literacies. "Literacies" stresses the issue of access to the world and to knowledge through development of multiple capacities within all of us to make sense of our worlds through whatever means we have, not only texts and books.

Cultural literacy – cultural, social and ideological values that shape our "reading" of texts.
Critical literacy –the ability to respond critically to the intentions, contents and possible effects of messages and texts on the reader.
Visual Literacy – the interpretation of images, signs, pictures and no-verbal (body) language, etc.
Media Literacy – the "reading" of e.g. TV and film as cultural messages

Computor (sic) Literacy: the ability to use and access information from computers. (DoE 1998:23)

In the RNC a section is dedicated to each Phase of schooling with an explanation of the approach taken. For the Foundation Phase there is recognition of students' prior home language knowledge. The classroom is envisaged as a place that takes this into consideration. In terms of literacy, the home and its related literacy practices is viewed as important and taken cognisance of, in what the curriculum presents as a balanced approach:

It is balanced because it begins with children's emergent literacy, it involves them reading real books and writing for genuine purposes, and it gives attention to phonics. These are things that learners need to know and do in order to read and write successfully. In reading, this means moving away from the 'reading readiness' approach, which held that children were not ready to start learning to read and write until they were able to perform sub-skills such as auditory discrimination and visual discrimination, and had developed their fine and large motor skills to a certain level (DE 2002:9).

The literate subject in the Foundation Phase is a subject who can read books, write for specific purposes and has been taught to read and write through phonics. The curriculum implies that work on constructing literate subjectivities begins immediately, since a demonstration of sub-skills is not necessary. (However, children are not to be taught to read properly until they reach Grade 1. The most they are allowed is to learn to recognise high frequency words.)

The ideal literate subject can further be explored by looking at the seven Specific Outcomes. In C2005 these are closely linked to the skills of listening, speaking, reading, and writing:

1. Learners make and negotiate meaning and understanding
2. Learners show critical awareness of language usage
3. Learners respond to the aesthetic, affective, cultural and social values in texts

4. Learners access, process and use information from a variety of sources and situations
5. Learners understand, know and apply language structures and conventions in context
6. Learners use language for learning
7. Learners use appropriate communication strategies for specific purposes and situations

The assessment criteria and range statements for the Foundation Phase expand on the outcomes. For the first outcome students have to be aware of cultural and social contexts of meaning, as well create their own meaning, and interpret a range of texts. The second outcome requires understanding language as a construct, both textually and socio-culturally. Specific Outcome three focuses on a critical evaluation of texts by drawing on background knowledge of artistic and stylistic elements, relationships (power), and emotions. Students are required to demonstrate information literacy in the fourth outcome by obtaining information, integrate and evaluate information, and present it in appropriate formats. Grammatical control is the thrust of the next outcome, and the multilingual approach calls for an understanding of grammatical structures across languages. A flexible approach to learning and mastery of metalanguage is demanded by outcome 6. Finally communicative competence relevant to situations needs to be demonstrated.

In the RNC specific outcomes have been renamed and are now Learning Outcomes. The four skills required by C2005 have been integrated into the new outcomes (DE 2002:6-7) with an additional three (viewing, thinking and reasoning):

1. **Listening:** the learner will be able to listen for information and enjoyment, and respond appropriately and critically in a wide range of situations
2. **Speaking:** the learner will be able to communicate confidently and effectively in spoken language in a wide range of situations
3. **Reading and Viewing:** the learner will be able to read and view for information and enjoyment, and respond critically to the aesthetic cultural and emotional values in texts
4. **Writing:** the learner will be able to write different kinds of factual and imaginative texts for a wide range of purposes
5. **Thinking and Reasoning:** the learner will be able to think and reason, as well as to assess, process and use information for learning

6. **Language Structure and Use:** the learner will know and be able to use the sounds, words, grammar of the language to create and interpret texts.

Prinsloo and Janks (2002) note that the RNC's inclusion of skills imply a move to a more communicative mode of teaching as opposed to the socio-cultural emphasis in C2005. This of course also raises the question of the gap between policy and practice, and more so for Foundation Phase teachers required to teach literacy at a time of flux between two versions of a curriculum. An additional complexity is the conventional or traditional methods of teaching during the apartheid era that have been ingrained into teaching practices. As a means of assessing the construction of the literate subject these outcomes will be read against actual classroom practice in relation to assessment via tests and reports in Chapter 6, and then more specifically the outcomes relating to reading and writing are evaluated in Chapters 7 and 8.

3.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter began by setting up and defining the notion of government as a modern form of power by tracing the historical shifts from a sovereign state to one replaced by disciplinary power. Modern power marks the rise of governmental technologies of power that are denoted by bio-power. Bio power operates on two axes – the "anatomo-politics of the body" is directed onto the individual to create an economically useful and docile subject. The "bio-politics of the population" regulates populations as a means to govern life so that the welfare of the population is central to government Foucault (1978:139). This led to a discussion of governmentality, where the end point is to create active citizens. This construction is always influenced by the bodies of knowledge and belief systems embedded in our societies.

This led to a shorter discussion of authoritarian governmentality and bio-political racism. This provided an impetus to thinking about how the population was governed in the apartheid state, primarily through a discussion of some of the key Apartheid legislation.

The operation of bio-power was clear when the education system was examined resulting in a desire to have an obedient, patriotic and docile white population and a docile, inferior labouring 'non-white' population. But, as history and the workings of power relations show, resistant subjects were constructed resulting in violent clashes and a desire to render the country ungovernable.

The legacy of ungovernability is a major problem that South Africa faces. The chapter illustrated some of these problems in charting the issues of a breakdown of the culture of teaching and learning, violence in schools, sexual abuse, and the abolition of corporal punishment. The focus of the chapter then shifted to education discussing early childhood development and tracing the educational developments and curricular change by showing how the vision of a new South Africa, entrenched in the Constitution, is embedded in the curriculum. It explains the shift to Outcomes Based Education as a system where what is taught is based on outcomes to be achieved via learner-centred pedagogies. It examines how various outcomes in C2005 and the RNC reveal constructions of ideal (educated and literate) subjects. But within this discussion is an acknowledgement of the problems of implementation, training, and understanding the curriculum has been beset by, which means the sophisticated vision in the documents may not be realised.

CHAPTER 4 METHODOLOGY

This chapter begins with an overview of and historical background to the areas in which the research schools are situated. It then moves on to provide details about the two research sites, Acacia Preschool and Southside Primary, as well as a justification for conducting this research in the Foundation Phase. The efficacy of multiple case studies as a research design is discussed, followed by data collection techniques utilised, and a description of the research participants. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the methods used for analysing the data.

4.1 LOCATING THE RESEARCH SITE: THE SOUTHERN SUBURBS

The schools chosen for this research are located in the southern suburbs of Johannesburg. Like all the suburbs of Johannesburg, they owe their existence to the development of gold mining in the late 19th century. Johannesburg developed as a city in the triangular tract of land surrounded by three farms: Doornfontein, Braamfontein, Turffontein (van Zyl 1986). Turffontein lay to the south of the new city, and although the farm no longer exists, one of the suburbs and the local racecourse still bear its name. From the beginnings of residential development class stratification was evident. Affluent inhabitants settled to the north of the city in an attempt to avoid the dust of the mine workings (Grant and Flinn 1992:99) and the greater exposure to winter winds. In contrast, the poorer white workers settled south in areas like Jeppe, Fordsburg, Mayfair, Turffontein, Booysens, Troyeville and Vrededorp.

Local residents in 'the south', as it is generally referred to, often joke with people from the northern suburbs about requiring a passport to enter. The erroneous perception exists that it is a place where residents are poor, rough, and fights are common. Although there is no 'border control' it is the gold reefs themselves that create a physical boundary between north and south. Main Reef Road follows the main gold reef in the

Witwatersrand from east to west. Although the south of Johannesburg has the oldest working class suburbs, it also has well-established middle class suburbs.

After the 1994 elections, the administration of the city was decentralised and Johannesburg was divided into 11 regions. Johannesburg South is Region 9. It is "situated in the south eastern corner of the unicity. To the north it meets the Inner city along the mining belt and the M2 [highway]. To the east and south, it forms the boundary of Johannesburg. Its neighbours to the west are Region 10 (Diepkloof/Meadowlands/ Soweto) and Region 11 (Ennerdale/Orange Farm)" (http://www.joburg.org.za/ unicity/index_regions.stm).

Approximately 130 000 people live in Region 9. The population is relatively young with 38% of people being under the age of 25. The majority of people living there are still white (66%). Levels of education reveal a working class bias: 28% of the population here have a matric, and 11% a post matric qualification. Unemployment, although below the national average, is still high at 23% (http://www.joburg.org.za/ unicity/index_ regions.stm). The suburbs where the schools are located have always had a proportion of poor whites living in them.

Region 9 contains 30 primary schools and 99 secondary schools. The majority of the schools are in the older suburbs, as is the case for the research schools. In terms of intake, schools are required to accept children from their local area first, and then, if they have places, accept children from other areas. Schools have to submit their numbers to the Education Department showing that they have reached their capacity. Parents who have not applied to schools timeously find that there is no place for their children, despite living in the area. At the beginning of the year during my observation period, there were several parents at the school trying to enrol their children. Many of the children live in the surrounding suburbs. Others come from outlying areas: Black students come from Soweto, Coloured children from Eldorado Park. Indian and White children appear to live mainly in the area. A small proportion of Indian children attend the school –another local

primary school has a larger proportion of Indian students and a growing Indian community in its surrounding suburb.

During apartheid both schools catered to whites only. In the last ten years the population within the suburb has shifted dramatically, altering the racial demographics at the schools. Christopher (2001) argues that the 1996 census figures show that the outer suburbs of cities in South Africa remained segregated along racial lines. But this is no longer true for the suburbs where the study is located. In fact, Parnell and Webber's remark a decade earlier is more accurate:

> the attractions of a centrally located home increased as the liberalisation of South Africa's racial laws gradually created a more hospitable environment in which public amenities such as libraries, cinemas, parks, restaurants, hospitals and public transport were desegregated (Parnell and Webber in Parnell and Pirie1991:140).

This is true of the south of Johannesburg. Its location and road and rail links mean better access to places of work. For ex-residents of Soweto, the location of the southern suburbs means that the desire to have access to better facilities does not impact on the maintaining of social and family ties in Soweto (http://www.joburg.org.za/unicity/index_regions.stm).

But, despite these advantages, the effect of the severe housing crisis in South Africa plays itself out in the suburb. As a predominantly working class suburb, large areas consist of council flats that have housed lower-income white families for decades. At present there is a list of 190 000 families requiring accommodation in Johannesburg. Residents who earn less than R3 500 a month qualify for a council flat in the area. Because there is such a need, the Region 9 council has compiled waiting lists. But the slowness of the council has been counteracted by incidents of illegal occupation and evictions from the council flats and houses. In some instances self-appointed housing committees have evicted residents and moved other people in. Arguments based on race arise. In one Special Assignment television broadcast investigating housing in this area one woman was quoted as saying, "White people used to have a good life that is all I can say. And now I

think it is our time to have a good and a better life in this new SA….I do understand that I am illegal here, but I am not going to move out of here". Despite the council's goals to maintain the suburbs and services, many people within these residences do not pay rent and have had their water and electricity discontinued. Many of the buildings are also in sore need of maintenance (http://www.sabcnews.com/specialassignment/ paybackscript.html).

There are several reasons for locating this study in the south, and at these particular schools. Having grown up in the south, this research is an attempt to understand and extend the knowledge I have of the practices of my own community, and to share it so that it is of benefit to those working here. As this side of Johannesburg is literally on the 'wrong side of the tracks', it often seems as if what occurs here is marginalized. This feeling was validated when looking for information on the southern suburbs – while there are specific references to development in the north, there are often vague references to the south or none at all.

One of the advantages of my own schooling was children from middle and working class homes were sent to the same schools. What I did not really experience is a desegregated schooling system[15]. I am interested in how change and the reconstitution of the community impacts on schooling, especially now that schools are desegregated. Ten years ago these schools were completely white. Today they are fully multiracial. Choosing a school situated in a suburb such as this one means that the teachers have to confront and deal with a more diverse population.

There were additional reasons for choosing the schools. The preschool is located a block away from the primary school. The preschool is the primary school's feeder school. This was important to me in terms of continuity: if I was to look at schooling in a community without following a specific group for five years, then the composition of children in the preschool needed to reflect the composition of children I would find at the primary

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[15] It was only in the final two years of my schooling that moves were made to desegregate schools and as such there were very few children of other races who enrolled at 'white schools'.

school. A further reason was a practical one. The schools are a ten minute drive from my house. They are conveniently located near the main roads and highway, which meant a relatively short drive to the university after starting my day at school, or if I needed to return to the school after being at the university. I was very lucky in the way that both schools treated me so that I could come and go at my convenience, and I often made day-by-day arrangements to see specific teachers and classes depending on our schedules.

4.1.1 The Schools: Acacia Preschool and Southside Primary

The preschool, which I have named Acacia Preschool, used to be a government school and has since been privatised. It is fully equipped with 5 large classrooms, an administration area with space for a secretary, and a principal's office, a kitchen, storerooms, and a playground with sandpits and equipment for the children to play on.

Southside Primary caters to the first eight years of school. Traditionally primary schools catered to the first seven years of schooling (Grade 1 to Grade 7). Since the government has included the Reception year (Grade 0) as part of the first 10 years of compulsory schooling, Southside added a reception class. The 2002 Grade 0 class was being run for the first time with the sanction of the Education Department. The primary school is divided into a junior and senior section. The junior section of the school contains all the Foundation Phase classrooms (Grade 0 to Grade 3) as well as two Special Education classes. During the study, there were 11 teachers in the Foundation Phase - 3 per grade, and 2 special education teachers. The senior part of the school contains the Grade 4 to Grade 7 classes, the computer laboratory and the library. Children move to high school in Grade 8. Southside is well resourced and has sporting facilities such as a swimming pool and sports fields.

There are many children at the primary school whose parents are unemployed and whose circumstances are precarious. The primary school has a feeding scheme in place so that children have access to at least one meal a day. The pre-primary school also feeds the

children. But, since this form of schooling is not compulsory with fees needing to be paid, parents who have no income cannot send their children to preschool.

4.1.2 Researching the Foundation Phase

There were several reasons for locating this study at the beginning of children's schooling. Before I discuss these a short overview of how the Foundation Phase is constituted is given. The Foundation Phase is made up of the first four years of schooling: a Reception year/Grade 0, for 5 year olds; a Grade 1 year for 6 year olds; Grade 2 for 7 year olds; and Grade 3 for 8 year olds. At present, it is compulsory for children to attend from Grade 1, which is viewed as the beginning of formal schooling.

The Foundation Phase was chosen because it marks children's entrance into formal schooling. It is the first time that literacy learning takes place in a formalised setting and a formalised way. This of course is not to underestimate the impact of home literacy practices. It was also felt that with the new curriculum's emphasis on the type of subject that schooling constructs, it made sense to choose the beginning phase of children's subjection to the school environment. In addition, the Foundation Phase was the first stage of implementation of the new curriculum. Thus these children were exposed to a new system, as opposed to children already in the system.

One of the research aims is to track the level of self-regulation of the literate subject across the Foundation Phase. Thus the notion of transition was central. The study then takes the form of 'quasi-longitudinal' research. I did not follow children from their pre-primary schooling to the end of the Foundation Phase because the focus of the research is not on individuals; rather it is on overall trends. In order to have a means of comparison, the Grade 00 classroom was vital and constituted the first of my case studies (see section 4.2). Located in the pre-primary phase, and the year before children are assessed to see if they are school ready, Grade 00 can be understood to be part of informal schooling where the emphasis is still on play. It presented a means of comparing 'informal' and 'formal'

schooling and the impact this has on subject construction, as well as general patterns of transition from one to the other.

The Grade 0 class provided a more specific focus on transition. Located at Southside Primary it allowed me to see what the particular emphasis was in terms of constructing a partially schooled subject, but also one who is in the process of being prepared for formal school socialisation. I followed some children from Grade 0 into Grade 1. The notion of transition was important to establish the requirements that formal schooling subjects children to broadly, and more specifically, the kinds of literacy practices they are required to master. In order to gain a sense of the kind of disciplined subjects that emerged I then looked at children in Grade 3, which marks the end of the Foundation Phase.

Overall, five classrooms constituted this study: one Grade 00 class from Acacia preschool; one Grade 0 class; 2 Grade 1 classes and 1 Grade 3 class from Southside Primary (see table 4.1). Acacia Preschool also has a Grade 0 class. In assessing which class to choose as the case study class, several factors came into play. The move by government to encourage primary schools to implement Grade 0 classes means that in the future more children will spend their Grade 0 year within the 'formal' school environment rather than at 'play' school. As the bulk of the study centres around the Foundation Phase, being present at the primary school meant that as a researcher, teachers within the Phase had a longer period of time to get used to my presence. In terms of accessing classes, since both the Grade 0 and Grade 3 classes were observed at the same time, it was more practical to choose the Grade 0 class at Southside Primary.

Table 4.1 Classrooms that Constituted Case Studies

Grade	School	No. of Classrooms	Ave Age of children
Grade 00	Acacia Preschool	1	4-5 years
Grade 0	Southside Primary	1	5-6 years
Grade 1	Southside Primary	2	6-7 years
Grade 3	Southside Primary	1*	8-9 years

* Some time was spent in another Grade 3 class to gain a sense of another Grade 3 classroom. This was for comparative purposes and was never intended to be part of the study.

4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN: CASE STUDY

This research follows on from much research on literacy that uses qualitative case studies. It applied a multiple case design because the literacy practices of several classrooms (see table 4.1 above) were studied and compared (Knoebel and Lankshear 1999). What was important is the examination of everyday activities and practices within the classroom. As this research is strongly influenced by Foucauldian thinking, it required a design that would show the mundane practices that take place in a classroom. The focus on "ordinary" and routine aspects of literacy allows the researcher to see, not whether "routine practices 'work' but what work they do and what they work to do" (Comber 1996:54). While an ethnographic study allows for this, the case study is more limited in its scope because it does not require a full understanding of the entire cultural context (Nunan 1992). What the case study does do is allow the researcher to observe

> the characteristics of an individual unit—a child, a clique, a class, a school, a community. The purpose of such observation is to probe deeply and analyse the intensity of the multifarious phenomena that constitute the life cycle of a unit with a view to establishing generalisations about the wider populations to which the unit belongs (Nunan:1992:77).

A positive element of the case study is the benefit it can have, especially for the teachers at the schools where the research was conducted, as well as for the community as a whole. Case studies are

> a step to action. They begin in a world of action and contribute to it. Their insights may be directly interpreted and put to use; for staff or individual self-development, for within-institutional feedback; for formative evaluation; and in educational policy making. (Cohen and Manion 1989:150)

A distinct advantage of the case study is that a range of methods to collect and analyse data can be used.

4.3 DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES

The primary methods used to collect data were participant observation and interviews. This was supplemented by the collection of school reports and classroom artefacts.

4.3.1 Observation

Observation was the prime means of collecting data. For a study that focuses on the connections between children's bodies and the literacy practices they are engaged in, observation is an effective method because it allows for trends in non-verbal and on-going behaviour to be tracked (Cohen and Manion 1989). These trends were also important to track in terms of the transitions that children go through, both across the years of schooling and over the months they are at school. The observations were set up at the beginning and end of school years in order to understand these transitions. Ball (1993b:39) notes that

[I]n the peculiar nature of classrooms, early-year encounters between teacher and students are of special significance. Unusual, unrepeated, and important things happen in these initial encounters. They become part of a rarely referred to, but critical, history for ongoing interactions. Much of the order of classroom life rests upon conflicts and negotiations which take place in the first few weeks of the new school year….. the weekly and yearly cycles of school life also have, contextual and situational effects on joint action. For most teachers, Monday mornings and Friday afternoons affect what is possible in the classroom, and teachers must make decisions accordingly. The end of the semester, the run up to Christmas, and other times in the yearly cycle of schools also affect the course of events.

Grade 00 observation took place at the beginning of the year. Grade 0 observation took place at the end of the year, which marks the end of informal schooling. Observation of the Grade 1s took place at the beginning of the school year as children entered formal schooling, and the Grade 3 observation took place at the end of the school year, to mark the end of children's participation in the Foundation Phase.

The type of observation chosen was participant observation. Robson (1993:197) has noted that children, particularly in primary schools, perceive the participant observer as "something akin to a teacher" and are not surprised when they are asked questions about their school life. This was true of this research: in the Grade 00 class I was called "Teacher Kerryn" or "Teacher" by many of the children. I think that non-participant observation has disadvantages when being with small children. I did not think that it was appropriate to ignore children when they engaged me in conversation or asked for help. The younger children desired affirmation and proudly showed me the work that they had produced; sometime they wanted to talk about it. I engaged them in conversation, and on the occasions that they cried because they had hurt themselves I helped them. The children across the study were affectionate and open towards me. Being cold to them, or not answering their questions as to why I was there, did not seem ethical particularly since they were the focus of this research.

Being a participant observer places the researcher is in a strange position. I am both 'teacher' and 'not-teacher'. As teacher I sometimes engaged in the mundane tasks of

handing out books etc. In one class I regularly drew pictures on the board for the teacher that the children had to copy. I had knowledge to answer questions, reiterate instructions and provide assistance set tasks. The children saw me as someone who could provide additional assistance. This presented its own difficulties in terms of my relationship with the teachers. Sometimes the help was beneficial – my presence meant, for example, if teacher had to leave the class quickly the children were supervised. This of course placed me in the position of disciplinarian. When this arose I would usually keep to the back of the class and watch what the children did without the teacher. If the situation looked like it was crossing the line of what the teacher would deem appropriate then I would step in, although this was infrequent. At other times providing assistance meant that I may have been undermining the teacher, particularly when children wanted confirmation from me. Every time I was not sure what the teacher required from an exercise, I referred the children back to the teacher.

My position in the classroom affected the observed situations. My presence could be disruptive. There were times when children talked to me, or came to talk to me when they were not supposed to. Sometimes they got into trouble for this (see section 7.3.1). I tried not to engage them when they were supposed to be doing something else, and sent them back to their desks when they should not have been near me. These patterns of interaction did stabilise as the children became accustomed to being observed (Robson 1993). Hook's (1989) observation that younger children seem less conscious of an observer's presence than older children, I found to be true. I believe that the children often behaved in ways that they may not have if they knew their teacher was watching (see section 8.1.2).

One of the disadvantages of participant observation is that it can be subjective and idiosyncratic; involvement with the group can affect the researcher's judgement. The time that I spent with the children and learned about them, particularly the children I followed through to Grade 1, meant that I built relationships with them. In order to address these issues I used a 'critical friend' who is an experienced Foundation Phase teacher, to discuss my interpretations of the data.

4.3.1.1 Tools to Record Observations

Field Notes

These allowed for an 'instant' recording of events. Field notes were set up so that events were recorded on the left hand page and the right hand page was left open for comments, questions, connections to theory and interpretation. I began each observation period by taking field notes for several observation sessions. This meant that the teachers and classes had time to become accustomed to my presence in the class before I began filming.

Spatial Maps

These were used to indicate the layout of the classrooms and the spaces utilised. One of the benefits of the maps is that they showed how the layout of the classrooms altered over time. This was particularly true of the Grade 1 classes where the organisation of desks and seating allocations altered. The maps were also used in Grade 00 and Grade 0 where less time was spent at desks, to look at which children interacted with each other, and which spaces were utilised for fraternisation. These maps were drawn in the field note books.

Photographs and Video Tape

As data collection instruments photographs and video were essential. Both can be seen as additional observers. Loizos (2000:103) says "video has an obvious data recording function whenever some set of actions is complex and difficult for a single observer to describe comprehensively while it unfolds". This was true in a classroom where often many things were happening simultaneously. The stop-rewind feature of videos allow for an analysis of specific incidents and their duration (Cohen and Manion 1989). Mehan (1993:103) states that "when we listen to and look at social life closely, which is what a videotape or film record enable us to do, we see and hear a different version of social life than is otherwise possible. We are able to examine more critically the factors which have played a dominant role in explanations of school performance." In addition is the advantage these two tools have for research whose focus is on the body. They can also

highlight the mundane and routine practices in the classroom, as well as the norms that operate. The record of events from videotaping can illuminate practices that often seem invisible.

Hamilton (2000) puts forward the advantage of using photographs when researching literacy practices (see section 4.5). As observable data they capture interactions around texts. However, I found taking photographs more disruptive and intrusive than filming. I used a digital camera, which made a noise each time a picture was taken. The video camera on the other hand is silent. Since photographs capture one moment, sometimes moments just before or after are missed, whereas the video camera allows the entire interaction to be captured. The children were also more likely to ask to have their pictures taken and would often pose for me in contrast they often ignored the video camera.

Since a large proportion of data collection was through videotaping, the choices of incidents filmed needs to be discussed. As the only person in the classrooms collecting data, I needed to consider where the camera would be. I had considered the option of a fixed camera. This was impractical in terms of assembling and reassembling equipment on days when I moved between classes. It also meant that I would have needed a wide angled lens to capture all interactions. This was disadvantageous because it meant that small, mundane or subversive actions from children could be missed. The camera also operated as an additional means to capture artefacts (see 4.3.4). It was not possible to collect samples of work when children were working in books – so by zooming in on children working I could capture the exercise in progress as well as the finished product. This was particularly useful with regards capturing the training of the body during handwriting lessons. But, in making the choice to use a hand-held camera it was impossible to capture everything, and thus as the choices of filmed content is subjective.

Taking field notes at the beginning of each observation session was a means to partially limit this subjective positioning. After spending some time in the classes I had a sense of what the routine practices were. This included general classroom routines and practices and specific literacy events and practices. For example, I filmed the early morning

sessions on the carpet in the Grade 00 and 0 classes which followed a regular pattern. But I also gave literacy events precedence (i.e. children reading aloud to their teacher, rather than the numeracy exercise given at the same time in Grade 1). One of the advantages of observation is that being present in a space allows for the recording of unanticipated events. Obviously capturing these on film comes down to luck, since one cannot anticipate when these will happen, and whether one has enough film or battery life.

My movements also impacted on choices made to film literacy events. When the younger children did exercises on the carpet I tried to position myself in a way that I could capture as many children in the tape without being too obtrusive. Because I also chose to sit with the children at their desks, I could only sit where there were open seats. I also had varying levels of mobility, when children were seated at their desks I often positioned myself in the front corner of the class to capture the entire class working, and then may have moved in to film specific children who demonstrated levels of compliance/resistance. In order to limit the intrusiveness of the camera but still be able to communicate with the children, one of the techniques I used was to film the children holding the camera away from my face. I used the LCD to position the camera to film an interaction and held it. The children could see my face and I could talk to them, but I could film other children in the room. This was helpful in the Grade 00 class where there was a greater deal of movement. Overuse of the LCD could be a distraction when the children discovered that they could watch each other. The Grade 00s were fascinated by it, and after my experience with them I used it in other classes only as a means of positioning the camera.

Finally the videotapes also became records for the teachers themselves. On two occasions teachers that I had filmed requested to see the tapes to watch their teaching.

4.3.1.2 Period of Observation

The overall research period lasted eighteen months from 2002 to 2003. Observation began in Grade 00 at the beginning of 2002. The Grade 0 and Grade 3 classes were observed at the end of the year and the Grade 1 class was observed at the beginning of 2003. The period of time spent in each class varied.

Table 4.2 Overall Time Spent Observing Classes

Classes	Period spent Observing	Number of observation Sessions
Grade 00	21 January – 20 June 2002	15
Grade 0	1 October – 3 December 2002	22
Grade 1	15 January – 21 May 2003	28 (this includes both classes)
Grade 3	8 October – 3 December 2002	21

The time spent observing in Grade 00 was over a six-month period. The observation period began on a Monday and I spent an additional day observing in the first week. It was the only week where I spent an additional day. This was done in order to get a sense of the class. Thereafter observations took place on a Friday morning, with two exceptions where I went in on a Thursday morning. Apart from the first two observations where I was present for the full school day, observations took place for two hours. The children had lunch and an hour play time, with the final hour of school after this.

The Grade 0 and Grade 3 observation coincided and I divided my time between the two classes. The idea was to spend two to three days a week in the class. My observation time in both classes varied from one hour to the whole school day. Initially I observed for the whole day until I got a sense of the class and their routine. Observation times also fluctuated because classes attended assemblies, music, computers, swimming and the library when I was with them. The school was also putting on a concert organised by the Grade 0 teacher, so time was taken from the school day for the classes to practise. Depending on my time constraints that week, sometimes I accompanied the class to other

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classes/activities and sometimes I observed the other class. During my observation I also spent a day with the Head of Department's class in Grade 3. I took field notes but did not film. These notes were strictly for my benefit and gave me a sense of another Grade 3 class.

Initially I had planned only to observe one Grade 1 class. At the suggestion of the Head of Department and with the consent of the two Grade 1 teachers, I observed 2 classes. This was useful because of the focus on children's subjection to formal schooling. I also obtained a sense of aspects of the curriculum the Grade 1 teachers regarded as important, and had access to different management styles. Having two classes to observe allowed me greater access to the children who had moved from Grade 0 into Grade 1. Two days a week were spent at the school. For the first month I spent a day a week in each class. After this I spent two days every second week in each class. Seeing classes two days in a row allowed a sense of continuity in terms of work that was done from the one day to the next, and allowed me to watch changes in behaviour. I also think that two days a week in one class was advantageous because it allowed the children to become accustomed to my presence.

As table 4.3 indicates, by the end of the observation period I had done 103 observation sessions. I had spent 204.5 hours observing the classes. Of this time 35.5 hours were filmed and the rest was recorded via field notes. Not all the activities that classes were involved in were relevant to this research, and they were not recorded. At the beginning of the research I did some audio-taping. I found that filming was a better option because it captured what the children were doing; if the class was very noisy during audio taping it was impossible to hear what was said.

Table 4.3 Time Spent Observing Classes

Grade	No of Times Class Observed	Hour of Observation	Hours of Filming	Hours of Audio Tape
Grade 00	15	28	8	0
Grade 0	22	35.5	5	2
Grade 1	14	50	8.15	0
Grade 1	14	53	9.15	0
Grade 3	38	38	5	1
TOTAL	103	204.5	35.5	3

4.3.2 Interviews

Interviews were conducted to supplement my observations. At the end of each period of classroom observation I interviewed the relevant class teacher. There were two advantages to this. Firstly I got to know the teachers and saw how they worked so that I had some insight into their practice before I asked them any questions. And it meant that I could ask them additional questions about things I had noticed in their classrooms, or issues that had arisen from informal discussions during my observation. For this reason the interviews were semi-structured. For Robson (1993:237) the semi-structured interview can have greater or less structure and allows for a degree of freedom in terms of question sequence, the wording of questions, and the time spent on particular topics. I had an interview schedule of set questions that I asked teachers (Appendix A). These questions related to teacher's views of the curriculum and its implementation; their perceptions of what constituted literacy/the literate student; their expectations for children entering their classroom; disciplinary practices and strategies to deal with homogenous classes. The movement from structured to semi-structured interview fell on a continuum. Some followed the schedule quite closely while others included more questions often based on incidents I had observed, and additional discussion sometimes arose spontaneously as a result of particular answers.

In total I interviewed eight teachers. The five teachers whose classes I had observed and an additional three teachers. The first of these additional teachers was Gail, the Head of Department, who was also a Grade 3 teacher. She gave me an HOD's perspective about

the Foundation Phase as a whole. I also interviewed Leslie who took the Grade 3 class for a week when their teacher was on study leave. She often worked in the school as a substitute teacher and had access to a range of classes throughout the year. She maintained strict discipline so I was interested in her disciplinary techniques. The third teacher was Kirsten, the computer teacher. Apart from the Grade 0s, she teaches all the classes in the school. She had also managed to get good results from some of the 'difficult' children in the school.

4.3.3 Artefacts and Administrative Records

A number of student texts and artefacts were collected. Often the children wrote or drew for me, and some of the older children wrote me letters. Sometimes I asked if I could keep the work they produced, and children 'donated' their work to me. I collected some of their schoolbooks and worksheets. It was not possible to collect all the work the children did because much of the work was done in books that would be needed after my period of observation ended. I often photographed or filmed the work that they did in their school books (see 4.3.1.1). While these pictures of work are not primary sources, the filming shows both process and production of texts.

I also collected some of the children's school reports. I only collected the reports that were issued during my period of observation in the specific grades. These include the year end report for Grade 0 and Grade 3 and the first term report for Grade 1.

4.4 RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

The teachers

As this study comprises five classes, the five teachers were integral to my observation. The principal of Acacia Preschool, Dawn, was also the Grade 00 teacher. She was willing to allow her school to be one of the research sites and have her classroom observed. After

initial contact and confirmation with the principal of Southside Primary, my liaisons were via Gail, the Foundation Phase Head of Department. She suggested which teachers to approach in the Foundation Phase. There was only one Grade 0 class who granted permission to be observed. There were three Grade 3 classes, the first was the HOD's class, the second teacher had been off for a while and had recently returned, so the HOD felt that the third teacher would be the best choice because she had been with her class the entire year.

Negotiating access to teachers' classrooms is not without problems and often teachers feel pressurised to comply with their superiors. I was extremely lucky that that this on the whole was a smooth process. And the observation bore out a perceived willingness to have me in their classes. I had made it very clear to the teachers that my research was not focussed on them, and that if they were uncomfortable or if I was too much of a distraction for them or their classes, they were to tell me. I found the time spent in their classes relaxed, and I became a sounding board for some of the teachers, and was available to listen to what they had to say about the children, their class, various lessons, teaching and their lives. As with the schools, the children and teachers' names have been changed to conceal their identities. Where names reflect membership of a particular racial or ethnic group I have tried to find a similar name. To limit identification between the Grade 1 teachers, where possible I have often referred to incidents without mentioning them specifically, but where I have quoted them from their interviews, the initial from their pseudonym identifies them.

All of the teachers were women. They had come from a variety of backgrounds and their experience ranged from two years to fifteen years. They had also spent time teaching other grades. Table 4.4 is a summary of their backgrounds and experience.

Table 4.4 Teachers in the Study

Name	Grade	Ethnic Group	Home Language	Teaching Experience	Previous Experience	Time Employed at School
Dawn	00	White	Afrikaans	10 years	High School	1.5 years
Lisa	0	White (Portuguese)	English	4 years	3-4 year olds	First year
Catherine	1	Indian	English	15 years	Special Education	4 years
Helen	1	Coloured	English	10 years	High School	2.5 years
Thulisile	3	Zulu	Zulu	2.5 years	Primary School	First full year

The Children

Although each of the classes constitutes a group in itself, I knew that several children would be used to illustrate events that happened in the class. Many of these choices would be connected to the patterns that emerged in the data. Thus each child's parents received letters outlining what the study was about and the fact that their children would be videotaped, samples of their work collected, and possibly discussed as part of the findings.

During the early stages of conceptualising the research I had been influenced by Dyson's (1994) work with focus children in early schooling. I had thought that I might follow this by choosing children to focus on. Although this is a really productive technique to use this was not the reality of my research experience. In the Grade 00 class I realised that, because the focus of my study looks at general practices in the classroom, if I concentrated on a few children, I may have shifted from my initial interest. In addition I would have needed to spend more time at the school. I then looked for routines and noted in my field notes as to which children exemplified 'good' behaviour and those who were resistant. When the children were tasked with individual exercises, I would often sit with different groups taking note of the interactions and conversations. I followed this same method with the Grade 3s, and when children invited me to sit with them, I did. This

means that not all children obviously received the same amount of attention, but I try to place my discussions of them within the classroom literacy practices.

As mentioned earlier on, one of the key issues for me was that of transition. The area in which this was most pronounced in this study was the observation of the Grade 0 class at the end of the year, and the Grade 1 classes at the beginning of the following year. Eleven children, previously observed in Grade 0, were allocated to the two Grade 1 classes I observed. While they could not be called focus children in the sense that all of my attention was directed on them, I had established relationships with them and they were used to my presence. The advantage of following more than one child from Grade 0 to Grade 1 meant that I had a broad perspective on how they were dealing with the shift to more 'formal' schooling. The disadvantage of course is that breadth often does not lead to depth. The result is that the examples used in the data analysis chapters often mention these children because of my level of familiarity with them but my coverage cannot be said to be comprehensive.

The children's backgrounds varied as did their academic abilities. Within this group were boys and girls who were confident and those who were shy, whose proficiency in English was an impediment to learning and those who were proficient, in addition, the composition of children included some compliant subjects as well as some highly resistant ones. Table 4.5 indicates the sex, racial group and teacher they were allocated in Grade 1, and whether English was the home language of the children.

Table 4.5 Children who were Followed from Grade 0 into Grade 1

Name	Sex	Racial Group	L1/ L2	Teacher
Amanda	F	Coloured	L1	H
Polosoa	M	Coloured/Black	L2	C
Jason	M	White	L1	H
Jenny	F	White	L1	C
Claudia	F	Coloured	L1	H
Boitumelo	F	Black	L2	C
Zama	F	Black	L2	C
Tshepo	M	Black	L2	H
Stella	F	Black	L2	H
Vukani	M	Black	L2	H
Faizel	M	Indian	L1	H

4.5 DATA ANALYSIS

In this section I describe the methods I have used to analyse my data. I have chosen to discuss these in relation to the four data analysis chapters which follow, focusing on the key methods used, although several of them intersect. For each chapter I attempted to triangulate the data by drawing on the multiple data sets in various ways. To begin with, the data from the observations needed to be systematised into one data set. To do this all the video taped data was turned into field notes which adds another layer of subjective interpretation. I watched the tapes and described events and gave the gist of verbal interactions. Topics, themes, or exercises could be easily identified but I could return to the tapes for a more in-depth analysis. Each observation session was coded in terms of the grade, whether it was filmed or notes were taken and dated (e.g. GR0FN31/6/02). The same was done with the interviews (e.g. GR0IN26/11/02).

In assessing the impact of space and time on the construction of the literate subject in Chapter 5, the data was read through Foucault's four means through which discipline operates. For the control of activity I constructed tables charting how each day was divided to have a sense of how much curriculum time was allocated to each Grade. I then listed what was taught each day, to have a sense of routines. For the Foundation Phase, I

noted whether lessons were part of the literacy, numeracy, or life skills learning areas, and the times these occurred. I then had an idea of the frequency of literacy events generally as well as the type of literacy being taught. These were compared across the grades. To assess the art of distribution I drew on the spatial maps to show school and classroom layouts, how spaces were constructed and used, and compared them. These maps are reproduced in Chapter 5. I then isolated particular classroom spaces and looked how these were used, once again comparing these across the grades. Organisational genesis and the composition of forces were subsumed under the other two techniques, and can be read as particular means through which the body is trained in time and space.

The chapters on reading and writing begin with comparisons between policy documents and teacher perceptions (from interviews and informal discussion) before I moved on to show classroom practice. Barton and Hamilton's (1998) work defining literacy events and practices was applied as a way of identifying what constituted events and practices in the classrooms. I then identified literacy events for reading and writing in the observation books that I thought were interesting, either because they reinforced a pattern of teaching or because they indicated ruptures. I already had a sense of common practices from the lists charting classroom routines. The events chosen often contained clear indicators of both (expected) norms and the operation of power relations. More importantly, once events were identified I drew on Hamilton's (2000) work showing how photographs can be used to analyse events and practices looking at the setting, participants, artefacts, and activities reproduced in table 4.5.

Table 4.6 Basic Elements of Literacy Events and Practices from Hamilton (2000:17)

Elements visible within literacy events (These may be captured in photographs)	Non-visible constituents of literacy practices (These may only be inferred from photographs)
Participants: the people who can be seen to be interacting with the written texts	The hidden participants – other people, or groups of people involved in the social relationships of producing, interpreting, circulating and otherwise regulating written texts
Settings: the immediate physical circumstances in which the interaction takes place	The domain of practice within which the event takes place and takes its sense and social purpose
Artefacts: the material tools and accessories that are involved in the interaction (including the texts)	All the other resources brought to the literacy practice including non-material values, understandings, ways of thinking, feeling, skills and knowledge
Activities: the actions performed by participants in the literacy event	Structured routines and pathways that facilitate or regulate actions; rules of appropriacy and eligibility – who does/doesn't, can/can't engage in particular activities

Initially I was unsure how to show aspects of the videotapes that reflected embodied subjects. Hamilton's (2000) work was a useful starting point to analyse the videotapes. After identifying a literacy event and re-reading the descriptions I went back to the tapes, watching the event several times. I watched at normal speed and then watched the tapes as they were fast forwarded and rewound. Watching these at higher speeds is often a way to indicate key shifts in movements. The next step was to create 'photo stories'. The event was transferred onto video editing software to break it down into two second frames. These were broken down into smaller intervals if a movement was not captured from one frame to the next. Small movements and expressions which are easily missed by the speed of normal viewing (and fast forward) could be captured. These were turned into a series of still photographs – creating the photo stories. I began with the visual as a way to focus only on the body. Where there was dialogue I 'added' sound by transcribing the verbal interactions, matching the dialogue to the photographs.

The work of Ormerod and Ivanic (2000) also was helpful. They assert that literacy practices can be inferred from texts themselves. By examining children's project work

they demonstrate how the "choice of semiotic resources (verbal, visual or other modes of representation), materials (surfaces, substances, tools) and technologies results in distinctive characteristics, making each project both similar and different from others by the same writer and those by other children: a multi-modal literacy artefact situated textually and materially in the life of the child" (2000:92). Using their framework was beneficial in thinking through some of the data on writing for Chapter 7.

The final chapter returns to Foucault, where examination as a form of disciplinary power is the means through which the data is read. This was felt to be appropriate because it combines both hierarchical observation and normalising judgement. But this is still read in relation to the means through which discipline operates. The three features of examination framed the chapter: Observation and test-taking were discussed in relation to visibility. These were identified across the grades and conclusions drawn about specific norms and degrees of compliance or resistance amongst subjects. Reports were analysed as a tool used to enter subjects into a field of documentation. Frequency counts of terms used, layout of reports, and wording used in reports was a means of ascertaining the type of literate subject constructed in the reports. Finally as a means of creating 'cases' the GDE Learner Profile was analysed with particular reference to the government of populations.

4.5 A FINAL WORD

This chapter has explored the methods utilised for this research. It began with background information about the suburbs the research sites are located in, arguing that there is little information generally on the southern suburbs of Johannesburg. It is important to understand the areas in which the sites are located as they provide insight into the communities that live there. It is also worth noting the changes in composition of the population to areas like this since 1994, and to take this into account. Both Acacia Preschool and Southside Primary reflect these changes. As the Foundation Phase is the first phase children enter it was felt to be an appropriate place to locate this research

because the construction of the school subjects begins here – this could then be compared with earlier constructions taking place in the preschool system. Moreover these children are faced with being educated via the new curriculum which has a particular vision of the subject. Utilising a case study approach meant that the characteristics of "individual units" (Nunan 1992), in this case classrooms, could be observed and compared by examining the similarities and differences found in literacy practices of 'informal' schooling and 'formal' schooling; the move from Grade 0 to Grade 1; and the development in literacy teaching from the beginning of the Foundation Phase to the end. Methods used to collect data for the case study included participant observation, interviews and artefact collection. Drawing on Foucault's work on disciplinary power these methods were triangulated to assess the impact of the spatial and temporal as well as effects of examination on the construction of the literate subject. To ascertain the connections between reading, writing, and the subject, photo stories were created. These were supplemented with artefacts.

CHAPTER 5 THE SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL SCHOOLING OF BODIES

Foucault points out that the history of space is interlocked with time (2000b:176). This chapter argues that an understanding of spatial and temporal functioning as well as the effect of their interlocking is important in understanding how subjects are both constructed and disciplined. The chapter begins by exploring the organisation and operation of time across the grades. It then examines the impact of spatial configurations across the grades, before considering how the spatial and temporal are interlocked in the school sites providing examples of transgressive and docile bodies. It draws heavily on Foucault's four means through which discipline operates (section 2.1.1).

At this point it is important to establish why space and time are central to this chapter. Power is manifested through temporal and spatial configurations that play an important role in constructing a docile body. In describing the origin of the "projects of docility" that emerged with the realisation that the body was both the target and object of power, Foucault describes three techniques relevant to this project: the scale of control, the object of control and modality (1977:136-137). The scale of control targeted a mass of individual bodies through their movements, gestures and attitudes; the object of control was the body: how economically and efficiently it functioned. Modality is where the processes of an activity, not its results, are constantly supervised "according to a codification that partitions as closely as possible time, space and movement" (1977:137). Thus it is not sufficient to know how the scale of control and object of control play themselves out, in this case in the classroom and specifically the literacy classroom, without understanding modality as a technique of power.

5.1 THE TEMPORAL CONTROL OF ACTIVITY

One of the means through which discipline operates is via what Foucault calls the "control of activity" (1977:149). The first aspect of this is the timetable which is a "general framework for an activity" (1977:151) that consists of three methods: "to establish rhythms, impose particular occupations, and regulate the cycles of repetition" (1977:149).

Below is a set of timelines (figures 5.1-5.4) drawn from the daily class routines that establish the general framework within which children (and teachers) operate. They outline the school day with its starting and finishing time, and the distinctions between what Jenks (2001) calls "curriculum time", which is time controlled by teachers, and "play time", which is time perceived by children as under their control. I find the use of the term "play time" problematic as there are several instances in the early years of schooling where "play time" is scheduled into the curriculum and is teacher-controlled. Thus, while the issue of who controls the time is helpful, I use the term free play to indicate that it is child-directed, and on the whole takes place outside. However free play does not mean that it is play without some form of teacher surveillance.

These figures reveal several aspects of the general structuring of time. If one function of a timetable is to establish rhythms it is clear that there is a recurring daily sequence of events. This rhythm, regulated by the bell, (indicated by the black horizontal lines in the figures) marks a major shift in activity from curriculum time to free play or vice versa. The bell is both a marker of time and a signal of authority to which the children need to submit. The signal of the bell to start the day illustrates the second aspect of the control of activity: the temporal elaboration of the act – where an "anatomo-chronological schema of behaviour" functions so that an act is broken into elements, bodies are positioned,

8:00	BELL: DAY STARTS
	CURRICULUM TIME
10:30	
	FREE PLAY
11:30	
	CURRICULUM TIME
12:30	END OF SCHOOL DAY

Figure 5.1 Grade 00 Timeline

8:00	BELL: DAY STARTS
	CURRICULUM TIME
10:00	
	FREE PLAY
10:15	CURRICULUM TIME
11:50	
	FREE PLAY
12:10	
	CURRICULUM TIME
1:00	END OF SCHOOL DAY

Figure 5.2 Grade 0 Timeline

8:00	BELL: DAY STARTS
	CURRICULUM TIME
10:00	
	FREE PLAY
10:15	
	CURRICULUM TIME
11:50	
	FREE PLAY
12:10	CURRICULUM TIME
1:00	END OF SCHOOL DAY

Figure 5.3 Grade 1 Timeline

8:00	BELL: DAY STARTS
	CURRICULUM TIME
10:00	
	FREE PLAY
10:15	
	CURRICULUM TIME
11:50	
	FREE PLAY
12:10	
	CURRICULUM TIME
1:30	END OF SCHOOL DAY

Figure 5.4 Grade 3 Timeline

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assigned directions and an order of succession (Foucault 1977:152). Before the start of the school day at Acacia many of the children play in the classroom. The bell signals that they are to stop playing and tidy up equipment they have been using. They then arrange themselves on the carpet in rows according to the groups to which they have been allocated. There is no prerequisite time limit in which to do this, it depends rather on how much the children have to tidy up and how quickly they do this. In contrast, the entire Foundation Phase at Southside is required to line up in the open area surrounded by the Foundation Phase classrooms. Each class is allocated a particular space with a row for girls and one for boys. This procedure is to be carried out as quickly as possible, and once children are in their place, in silence. They are then given messages or instructions for the day. At the end of line-up children are led off in rows, class by class, by their teachers to their classrooms. The orchestration of the entire phase in this daily routine brings another means of discipline into play, the "composition of forces", where the structured organisation of individuals into classes and grades increases the efficiency of the line up.

The most obvious change across the Grades is the lengthening of the school day and the insertion of additional curriculum time. In Grade 00, of a four and a half hour day, three and a half hours are teacher-controlled activities, with an hour allocated to free play. As will be illustrated in the section 5.1.1, not all curriculum time is given over to formal learning. By Grade 0 the day has been extended to five hours. The organisation of the Grade 0 day mirrors the Grade 1 day. Although the day has been extended, free play has now been reduced to thirty-five minutes and is divided into two 'breaks', one of fifteen minutes and the other twenty minutes. Curriculum time is now divided into three segments. However it should be noted that because the Grade 0 class was located at the Southside Primary, their timetable is directly affected by the rest of the school; had this class been at Acacia Pre-primary, the school day would have the same duration as the Grade 00 class. In addition, the length of the school day indicated here reflects the standard school day, but the school day is shorter for the first month of schooling for the entire Foundation Phase. The Grade 0s and Grade 1s end at 12:00pm for the first month of school, and the Grade 3s at 1:00pm. By the end of the Foundation Phase, although time allocated for free play remains the same, an additional half hour of curriculum time

has been added, with the Grade 3s ending at 1:30pm. Thus in terms of the length of the school day, only an hour has been added from pre-school (four and a half hours) to the end of the Foundation Phase (five and a half hours), but curriculum time increases by an hour and a half. The next time the school day will be lengthened is upon entrance into high school.

5.1.1 Timetable as imposer of occupation and repetition

The general timelines in the section above give the impression of continuity in the move from preschool to primary school. A closer examination of the organisation of curriculum time reveals that there are in fact shifts between these two phases of schooling (see figures 5.5-5.8). By examining additional functions of the timetable, that of the imposition of occupation and the regulation of repetition, this section shows which aspects of the timetable remain, which shift, and how literacy is 'timetabled' into curriculum time.

5.1.1.1 Grade 00

Imposing occupations on children each day, many of which in the preschool are highly repetitive, is disciplinary in nature as bodies are required to spend the appropriate "time on task." Jenks (2001:73) make the point that:

> Discipline it would seem involves a control of a body, or more specifically an activity, and does so, most effectively through a timetable, children are required to eat, sleep, wash and excrete mostly at specific and regular times. For the child then even the most elementary functions are scheduled and play which we superficially regard as free and perhaps creative, occurs in designated spaces in the curriculum.

8:00	BELL: DAY STARTS
	Tidy up Time
	Morning Activities:
	pray, register, lunch book,
	weather and days of the
	week, weekly theme/ interest
	table/show and tell, singing,
	story
	Toilet Time
	Perceptual Activities
9:45	*Lunch Time*
10:30	
	FREE PLAY
11:30	*Story Time*
	(Sleep)
12:30	END OF SCHOOL DAY

Figure 5.5 Grade 00 Routines

8:00	BELL: DAY STARTS line up
	Administration
9:30	*First Ring (Language)*
	Toilet
	Lunch
10:00	
	FREE PLAY
10:15	*Creative Activity*
	Second Ring
11:50	
	FREE PLAY
12:10	*Story Time*
1:00	END OF SCHOOL DAY

Figure 5.6 Grade 0 Routines

8:00	BELL: DAY STARTS
	Administration during first
	class task (Literacy or
	Numeracy)
	Second Task (Literacy or
	Numeracy)
	(Toilet Time)
	Lunch
10:00	
	FREE PLAY
10:15	Class Task (Literacy,
	Numeracy or Life Skills)
	Second Class Task
	(Individual Reading)
11:50	
	FREE PLAY
12:10	Storytime/Play/ Task
1:00	END OF SCHOOL DAY

Figure 5.7 Grade 1 Routines

8:00	BELL: DAY STARTS
	Administration during first
	class task (Literacy or
	Numeracy)
	Additional Tasks (Literacy or
	Numeracy)
	Lunch
10:00	
	FREE PLAY
10:15	Class Task (Literacy,
	Numeracy or Life Skills)
	Additional Tasks
11:50	
	FREE PLAY
12:10	Task/ (Play)
1:30	END OF SCHOOL DAY

Figure 5.8 Grade 3 Routines

The figures above indicate that it is not just learning that is timetabled but the regulation of children's behaviour. What is immediately evident in figure 5.5 of the Grade 00 timetable is how time appears to work as the main organising factor. The day-to-day routine is set and divided into seven clear sections: tidy-up time, morning activities, toilet time, perceptual activities, lunch time, playtime and story time. It is interesting that five of these routines are referred to temporally; giving the impression that time is important. Each day follows the same pattern in Grade 00. After tidy-up time the children sit on the carpet. Requiring children to tidy-up is a means of constructing subjects who have internalised norms about their environment as well as working with others. This task also functions as an immediate disciplinary technique by focusing the children's attention and thus quieting them down, since the play they have been engaged in is often at odds with the docile posture they are required to assume. On average, children spend an hour and a half on the carpet, where the majority of the activities are done orally.

In terms of the literacy practices that take place for Morning Ring, the regulation of repetition is evident in the pattern of events. Dawn does all the reading and writing required, while the children listen and speak. The first literacy practice is the taking of the register where administrative surveillance comes into play. A question-answer format is followed: Dawn asks "(Name of child) are you here?" The required response from the children is "Yes Teacher, I am here". Sometimes children respond with "Yes Teacher." Throughout the course of my observation this routine was enforced by Dawn. When Kedi did not answer one morning when her name was called she was made to repeat after Dawn "Yes Teacher, I am here" (Gr00FN7/3/02). When children answered clearly this practice was reinforced by a compliment like "That's nice answering" (Gr00FN8/3/02). Sometimes this routine was directly challenged. One morning the response from one of the boys was "Yes Teacher Dinosaur". Dawn's response was a mock gasp. The next boy responded in the same way, "Yes Teacher Apple-Dinosaur". There was no direct reprimand, instead Dawn signalled what the normative expectation was when another boy replied "Yes Teacher Dawn", responding that he was a clever boy and at least he knew her name (Gr00VT19/4/02).

Once the register is completed, numeracy becomes both a disciplinary and learning tool. The class count aloud together from one to twenty while Dawn counts the number of children she has marked down on the register and then writes this number in the Lunch Book. The Lunch Book is a means of governing this population in a way that benefits them so that they all have access to food. Counting each morning is a way to learn numbers, but in this exercise the children do not assign a value to the number of bodies present in the class, as Dawn is constrained by the fact that she can only teach the numbers up to twenty. There are more than twenty children in the class. Counting has a disciplinary function. At no time are the children told that they are counting to see who is present. The counting occupies them. On the day the children renamed Dawn the class had become restless with some of them repeating the word "apple". Dawn signalled this was to stop with a sterner "Ok Children, Come, Come" and began counting. Some children chanted "apple" for the first few numbers and then began to count. By the time they had reached twenty the disruption had ceased (GR00VT19/04/02).

The Lunch Book is taken to the kitchen; the child who takes it returns to do the weather. A weather chart is stuck up on the wall at the appropriate height for the children to read and use. They stand in the front of the class and are asked what the weather is like that day. On making a decision the appropriate picture is identified and a marker placed on it. Next come days of the week; the class is asked what day it is and then they all repeat the days of the week. The influence of CNE is still felt through the Morning Prayer. A child is chosen to lead the class in praying for help to be what is an essentially compliant subject. The class is trained to assume the correct bodily position: "hands together, eyes closed." The prayer is the same each morning[16]:

> Thank you dear Lord Jesus for watching over me all night long
> Now in this new day help me to be good and kind
> And bless everyone that I love. Amen.

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[16] The children are also required to pray before they eat their lunch each day.

After this the children sing a variety of songs. Some days the choice of songs is determined by Dawn, at other times children suggest songs or Dawn begins the songs and then lets the children choose their own. There are a number of activity songs requiring movement to correspond with the lyrics. Once again, such songs are disciplinary in nature, the class is controlled via the movements of individual bodies engaged in the task. The individual bodies are controlled via the activity, where the temporal elaboration of the act and the correlation of body and gesture take precedence. Thus, for the singing part of the lesson children know that they need to sing and do the appropriate actions. The power of this technique is evident throughout all the classes; the moment these children's bodies are engaged in movement they are engaged. Disruptions and inattentiveness halts because they cannot move and be inattentive.

During the week there are discussions about the weekly theme where various objects related to the theme are placed on the Interest Table. Every Friday is Show and Tell, where what the children bring may, or may not, be related to the theme. Sometimes the children are also told bible stories. If a child has brought a story book to class, Dawn reads it aloud (see 6.2).

When the activities on the carpet are completed the children are sent to the toilet. The children are being trained so that their excretory processes are brought into line with curriculum time. This is not strictly enforced as there is no rule in this class that children cannot go to the toilet at any time they need to. However, it is still controlled by the teacher because children ask for permission at other times during the day.

Children spend the next hour of the day at their group table. Each group is given a particular task to do. Some tasks deal with fine motor coordination like threading beads, playing with dough, building puzzles; others are more clearly related to emergent literacy practices like drawing, painting, colouring in, cutting and pasting. The fourth element of the control of activity comes into play with these literacy practices: the body object articulation. This is where the children learn "the relations the body must have with the object that it manipulates" (Foucault 1977:153).

Sometimes the distinction between work and play is blurred as a group's designated activity may be to play. Although there is a set time in which activities are done in this space, the time it takes to complete each activity is not highly regulated. When children are finished their task they move to another table – Dawn often tells them where to go, sometimes they move of their own accord. Some children work faster than others and complete more tasks. Sometimes children work a bit, have a 'play-break' and then return. It takes some children a while to settle into this routine. Ideally, once all the tasks are completed the children are free to play by themselves. Dawn believes that the classroom is a space that allows 'free movement' so that the children

> experiment on their own…. Our school is a play school and what we do here is not formal, if they want to walk around and if they want to play you leave them…. life is very formalised, let them play as long as they want to (GR00IN27/06/02).

While this comment may be true to a degree and indicates that time is not so tightly regulated because there can be a blurring between teacher controlled play and free play, time as an element of disciplinary power still operates, as is evident from the comment Dawn made when reflecting on the children's development in six months:

> I can see there's children who wouldn't sit to work that I had to prompt to come to table that are now sitting properly and using the apparatus and they can sit and do a picture. I mean, for instance, Thumi, Thumi if you leave [him] he'll play in a corner and he would never come to the table, but you call them and keep pulling them to the table and he'll actually sit and do a picture (Gr00IN27/06/02).

Children are required to conform to the daily routines; it is through these routines that they learn to be both schooled and literate subjects. It is through the daily inculcation of the routine that behaviour is internalised – thus the emphasis is on the aspects of the control of activity i.e. the temporal elaboration of the act, the correlation of body and gesture, and the body object articulation. At this stage of schooling this means of discipline is central, bodies need to master activities first before they can be performed

within tasks that have a specific duration. It appears that rather than a preoccupation with allocating units of time to prescribed activity, it is the routine that is central. This is important for the subjectivity that is required in more formalised schooling where children are expected to complete tasks. These children are internalising this, and if their development in six months suggests more acquiescence to completing tasks and limiting play, then they are on the way to entering the school as well-regulated subjects.

5.1.1.2 Grade 0

The pattern of regulation of repetition that the timetable provides emerges again in the Grade 0 class. When asked to describe the daily routine of the Grade 0s, Lisa replied:

> Right we come in, uh, what we do is we do register, we do tuckshop, we do all the admin first. At half past eight we do our language ring and with language I bring in numbers, uh, because they are saying the numbers, they're counting from one to whatever they talk about and discuss, we talk about the uh, the theme for the week um we sing songs, so anything they can vocalise we do in the morning, then what they do is straight after that um at about quarter past nine, we go to toilet, half past nine, we eat lunch, that, until ten past ten, first break, they come back at about half past ten, we start our creative activity, after creative act, creative activity we um we have our second ring which is usually at about eleven, half past eleven, um no I'd say about quarter past eleven, half past eleven we start our second ring, which is music or movements or perception or drama, like we did um what's it called Christmas play today. Or whatever the second ring is, or maths ring, that kind of thing then um after that is second break after second break, uh second break's twelve, after second break we go and play on the perceptual playground, so they can use their gross motor muscles until half past twelve, half past twelve we come in, we read a story and then they go home (GR0IN26/11/02).

What is striking about this answer is how the day is organised by time (see figure 5.6). There are eleven references to time as well specific references to sequencing activities. What happens in this class is similar to the Grade 00s. Both days begin with governing the class population through taking the register and organising food (tuck) for those who

require it. In Grade 0 administration is no longer a part of the lesson, it precedes it. The morning activity, Language Ring, contains similar elements to the Grade 00s. As in Grade 00 it is predominantly teacher-directed and operates in the oral mode. A weekly theme remains, as well as an Interest Table to display objects relating to the weekly theme. The level of discussion varies depending on the day of the week. Each day the previous day's work is recapped and new information is added. Lisa starts from what the children know and moves on to give additional information:

> Well I start off with the common, like on a Monday we'll talk about common sense like we'll have a general conversation on the theme. Towards the end of the week we'll talk about the more detailed stuff, so yeah, beginning of the week they basically know everything, everything we're learning about, by the end of the week… they've learned new stuff (GR0IN26/11/02).

The second element pertaining to disciplinary time is organisational genesis through which an "analytical pedagogy" operates in great detail as it hierarchises each stage of development into small steps (Foucault 1977:159). Activities are given a duration –a   set a period of training. This training grows in complexity and at the end of training examination takes place and a "series of series" (1977:159) is created where individuals are given a new series of exercises according to ability. The way Lisa works with the themes mirrors this on a micro level: the duration of each theme is a week. She begins with what the children know, what she calls "common sense" and teaches them new things. Children are examined daily on the previous days' work and assessed at the end of the year in a report. Discussions on themes are expected to be more complex as the year progresses and Lisa knows the level each child is expected to contribute.

An ability to assimilate knowledge is also expected in the way themes can be broken into sub-themes. At the end of the year the children learnt about animals – this was divided into weekly themes that dealt with habitats, insects and spiders, wild animals, and birds (GR1FN1/10/02, 7/10/02, 23/10/ 02, 5/11/02).

The children also sing – action songs are popular and hold attention. Lisa sometimes asks the children to suggest songs that relate to the themes. For example the insects and spiders theme elicited a number of songs: 'Incy Wincy Spider', 'If I were a Butterfly', 'There was a Bee', 'Here is a Bee', 'Little Peter Rabbit' (Gr0FN7/10/02).

The training of bodies through songs is also evident in the numeracy aspect of Language Ring. In a pattern that manifests itself in various ways across all the grades in this study, numeracy is often dealt with in conjunction with literacy. The children are required to count in unison and maintain a rhythm. A typical example of the exercises required in this part of the lesson calls on children to count to twenty and clap, and/or click their fingers, to count backwards from ten first clapping their hands on their thighs and then clapping their hands, and finally counting with a thigh clap, a hand clap and a finger click (GR0FN23/10/02).

Reading is also part of the Grade 0 morning activity. As with Grade 00 classes, Grade 0 teachers do not formally teach children to read. But 'pre-reading' or indirect reading is acceptable. Lisa had taught the children to recognise the letters of the alphabet by using Letterland Letters[17]. She taught them a number of Dolche[18] words on flashcards.

Like the Grade 00s, the Grade 0s also spend time completing an activity at their desks. There are two differences now, one related to time the other to how the activity is organised. In the first block of curriculum time the Grade 0s have only Language Ring, then free play is scheduled after which another hour and a half is scheduled for the creative activity, which is followed by another Ring time. This is in contrast to Grade 00 where the bulk of work is done in the first block of curriculum time which is usually two-hours if lunch and toilet time are eliminated. This is the first indication that the period of time allocated to work relating to the curriculum begins to be extended.

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[17] Letterland is an independent UK publisher that specialises in "child-friendly" synthetic phonics. It uses pictograms to personify the shape, sound, formation, direction of letters, blends and digraphs (http://www.letterland.com).
[18] Dolche words are the 220 most common words used. They are often pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions and verbs that do not follow decoding rules and need to be learnt as sight words.

The whole class is required to do the same activity and no time is allocated (or taken) in which they can stop and return to it. Children are again required to draw, cut out, colour in, stick things on paper, paint. There is no specific time allocated to this activity each day but the tasks are relatively simple so that all children should complete them. Children work at their own pace, and on completion of the activity take the work to Lisa to be marked and sit on the carpet waiting for the others to finish. In the time that it takes the rest of the children to finish children have some free time to play – as long as they do not become too boisterous. Girls often start hand-clapping games and the boys 'play fight' with each other.

Play is often the defining characteristic of the second ring as many of the activities take the form of games. The most popular games are ones that involve music. The class plays Musical Chairs, Musical Statues and Musical Bumps. They also play various memory games like Pick and Mix, where they have to identify the matching cards, or remember which item has been removed from a tray.

Similarly to the Grade 00s the final part of the day is story time. This is popular with both groups, although it is evident that many children are tired by this stage of the day. Another difference occurs here, but one where time is affected by the site rather than practices across the Grades. While the Grade 00s have story time and then wait to be collected by their parents, the Grade 0s have another half hour at the end of the day. Sometimes, along with the story, Lisa schedules an additional period of free play. The children are taken to the jungle gyms outside which are set aside for the Foundation Phase.

5.1.1.3 Grade 1 and Grade 3

The move to Grade 1 heralds a break in the rhythm established via the timetabling of regular cycles of activity in the pre-school (see figures 5.7, 5.8). The blocks of curriculum time and free play in the timetable remain the same from Grade 0 to Grade 3 but there is

no longer a predictable regularity of tasks, although occupations are still obviously imposed.

The first month of school is a time of transition for both Foundation Phase grades, although to a far lesser extent in Grade 3. The first element of this is the shorter school day which allows for a period of adjustment particularly for those children who have never attended school before. The organisation of the day in the first month also reflects this transition from the pre-school timetable. Time is made before the children eat lunch to go to the toilet, and then this routine falls away. Similarly story time at the end of the day becomes less commonplace until by Grade 3 it has practically diminished. During my period of observation in Grade 3 I observed no story time. This does not mean this time does not exist because the Head of Department mentioned it did:

> The story reading between half past twelve and half past one, in the day, you know, it doesn't matter which day, um, it kind of winds them down, and it's a good creative, you know they're …in a mood, they're in a mellow mood, they've had lunch, they've had breaks, they're actually more receptive to it (GR3HODIN6/3/02).

Of interest is the fact that story time takes place at the end of the day, as well as the reasons given for this. By the end of the day the children are tired and have used up much of their energy. The bodily disposition required for story time is a docile one, where children are expected to sit still and listen.

There are several other changes that occur in the way time operates. Elements of the pre-school timetable such as the morning register and general administration are still present but are dealt with in a way that illustrates another conception of time. This goes beyond the administrative only and begins to be employed across occupations and the Foundation Phase. Events no longer operate linearly in time, but several events can take place simultaneously. For example, administration will be done at the same time as the class is engaged in a task. Managing time to complete two activities simultaneously requires a different human subject capable of moving from one to the next – subjects have to be

able to engage themselves in a set task, for example, a handwriting exercise, then break the rhythm of the task to attend to another task like reading aloud to the teacher, and then return to complete the original task.

Another shift occurs in terms of the activities that are prescribed – the morning activity or language ring that involves the whole class in discussion is now superseded by individual tasks. This does not imply that there is no whole class engagement, since the teacher is required to teach or explain what is required to complete the work, but this work is to be completed individually. More time is spent doing set activities rather than together with the class. This means that the time taken to complete activities is highly variable across the class, and as such the situation arises where children can be doing different tasks at the same time. No longer is there time to wait for all individuals to finish a task as in Grade 0.

This leads to the next point – the number of tasks and activities increases in the primary school. But the total number of activities completed in a day varied depending on the day in all three Southside sites. What also varied was the order of daily activities. Although no uniform pattern emerged, it seemed that various forms of writing, especially handwriting, was done at the start of the day, with numeracy taking place at a similar time or after the first free play session. Individual reading takes place between the two free play sessions or at the end of the day. It seems that writing and numeracy are tasks that need to be done earlier in the day when the children's levels of concentration are higher.[19]

In order to analyse the data the number of tasks were labelled in terms of the Learning Area they belonged to. I had assumed since the three Learning Areas would have been timetabled by teachers when they planned their teaching, these would have been easy to

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[19] This piece of information was proffered by an experienced Grade 1 teacher at another primary school who revealed that the frequency of writing and numeracy tasks earlier in the day were not confined to Southside Primary but also operated at her school.

identify. This was not the case. Attempting to code every task done daily as Literacy, Numeracy or Life Skills in the data proved to be difficult, as many evaded easy classification and involved all three Learning Areas. At the beginning of the Grade 1 year many of the exercises the children do are perceptual exercises involving all three learning areas. One exercise that extended over a period of weeks involved all the Learning Areas. Children had the name of a colour written on a page that they had to trace over in the appropriate colour. They then had to find five pictures containing that colour to cut out and stick into their book. The tracing (letter formation) and attempt to instil word recognition are literacy skills, so is finding pictures in magazines – the number of pictures requires a level of numeracy. But it could be argued that the acquisition of these literacy and numeracy skills are in fact life skills (GR1EFN10/2/03, GR1DFN1/2/03, GR1EFN10/3/03).

This timetabling is further complicated by the fact that the school works on a seven day timetable with certain lessons allocated to a specific duration, with changes signalled by the bell[20]. The Grade 1s and 3s have a limited number of periods in this timetable, where they attend a class given by another teacher – computers, music, library. These periods are in fact disruptive to the rhythm of the class. When the bell rings to signal changing periods for the Intermediate Phase these are largely ignored by the Foundation Phase and they continue with whatever task is at hand. The seven day cycle increases the disruption because there is no weekly routine. Thus what frequently happened is that the classes are interrupted in the middle of a task and sent off to another lesson. Or time is wasted as teachers cannot start another task before the class leaves. In some cases the teachers forgot to send their class and had to be reminded by the teacher waiting for them, thus reducing her teaching time.

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[20] This in itself is interesting and points to the arbitrary partitioning of time. Convention dictates that there are five workdays and 2 weekend days, but the seven day timetable shifts this to seven workdays that are interrupted by the 2 weekend days. The justification of a seven day timetable is to limit disruptions and could be read as a means to implement exhaustive use, the final aspect of the control of activity (see also section 5.1.2). Exhaustive use is a way of accumulating time. Often holidays and school activities are scheduled on the same day which means that teachers teaching subjects on those days lose teaching time. The implementation of the seven day timetable negates this problem and the loss of time is more equally shared across teachers, evening out teaching time allocated.

The final point that is related to time concerns play. In the pre-primary school there are places in the curriculum time for free play to occur. Play is also scheduled by the teacher at the end of a day. It serves an educational purpose by developing fine and gross motor co-ordination at a time when children's concentration levels are not high. Free play is not accepted during curriculum time in the primary school, but it has not disappeared. There were occasions when the Grade 1s and Grade 3s spent time on the perceptual playground at the end of the day. For the Grade 3s, reaching the end of the Foundation Phase, this is the last time such play is sanctioned.

5.1.2 Constraints and Possibilities of the Timetables

The final aspect of the control of activity is exhaustive use. Foucault (1977:154) points out that originally it was a negative principle that underlay the timetable – a forbidding of time wastage. But discipline reverses this so that the timetable operates on the positive principle of an "ever-growing use of time". The focus is then on how more moments can be extracted from time. The answer to this lies in the fragmentation of time and a highly detailed arrangement within these fragments, thus:

> the more time is broken down, the more its subdivisions multiply, the better one disarticulates it by deploying its internal elements under a gaze that supervises them, the more one can accelerate an operation, or at least regulate it according to an optimum speed (Foucault 1977:154).

In the case of the classes in this research the principle of exhaustive use does not operate fully. I would argue however that this principle might be in the process of being instilled. These children are beginning their schooling, and the primary objective of preschool is school socialisation rather than formal learning. Children are required to get used to the rhythm of the school day, and have to learn to follow teacher-controlled activities. What the pre-primary timetable with its regular routine allows for is a sense of security – the

children know exactly what will happen everyday. When the routine is disrupted the children are confused. Commenting on this Lisa said:

> Oh yes, and they know the routine very well, and what's funny is if you break the routine,… for instance… we went on an outing we came back and it was twelve o' clock, they wanted to go out to break, they said "when are we going to toilet, to go out for, for first break?" and because they never had their first break (GR0IN26/11/02).

An additional factor is the mastery of tasks. The fact that the timetables are constructed as blocks of time allowing for a level of flexibility to complete a task, is crucial. The skills the children are acquiring in terms of literacy are essential for later on in their school careers as the timetable becomes more fragmented in order to fit in more Learning Areas. Enough time needs to be spent mastering reading and writing so that these skills become habitual.

The primary school timetable is one that has to deal with two different emphases – that which allows enough time for mastery, and the fragmented sets of time allocated to subject periods (like music, computers). For the Foundation Phase teachers the scheduling of subject periods is often a disruption, which indicates the friction between two ways of constructing timetables.

So far the discussion has centred around the impact of school time on children, it has not dealt with how children manipulate school time. Grade 3 is an interesting year in this regard. Although time functions in a way that allows for simultaneous actions, in the primary school classes this is not always the reality. Children who finish their work quickly often have to sit and wait for the others. The time that was open in the pre-school where spontaneous free play happens is shut down. A transgressive body emerges here – one that talks, or moves around, or seeks attention from the other children nearby. Linked to this are children who have realised they can stretch time – making the task they are participating in longer while actually doing very little work, or they are occupied by non-curricular tasks. Jenks (2002:80) makes the point that children's knowledge of

appropriate body posture "may enable them to strategically take control of their own time at school as they pass leisure as work." While looking studious, and hiding paper in books several of the Grade 3s produced letters or pictures for me when they were supposed to be completing set tasks.

5.2 THE ART OF SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION

Space for Foucault (2002c:361) is "fundamental in any exercise of power" and the school is a nexus of power relations. Before examining the impact of spatial relations at the level of the classroom and its individuals it is necessary to examine the school itself as an institutional space that "is dedicated to the control and regulation of the child's body and mind through regimes of discipline, learning, development, maturation and skill" (James et al in Holloway and Valentine, 2000:11). This requires firstly thinking about the school in terms of its architecture, since architecture is a means through which the aims and techniques of government function (Foucault 2002c). This is done primarily using Foucault's first technique within the art of spatial distribution, enclosure. The other three, partitioning, the rule of functional sites, and rank (see Chapter 2 section 2.1.1) are discussed later.

The first technique, enclosure, illustrates something interesting about the school as a whole. If enclosure is "the protected space of disciplinary monotony" (1977:141), a space that closes in on itself, then the schools are literally closed in on themselves, being surrounded with barbed wire fencing and monitored by closed circuit television cameras. This meets the aim of enclosure to limit inconveniences and disturbances. Foucault argues that space can be thought about as real and ideal (1977). On the level of the real, the fencing and surveillance cameras indicate that the space is protected and so disciplinary monotony exists. On the level of the ideal, the school is a protective space. It is important that schools be safe spaces. Recent work addresses a growing concern about the vulnerability of children within public spaces (Holloway and Valentine 2000). For example the work of Walkerdine (2001) and Jones and Cunningham (1999) make the

point that play spaces and children's safety is regulated by adults who overly constrain children's independence because of their fear. This fear is exacerbated by reports of abuse. In South Africa, with child abuse a major concern, this fear is justifiable. Thus a frequently expressed concern of the teachers and principals in the study was that the their school environment be a safe one, particularly when incidents have shown them that the everyday spaces many children frequent, particularly the home environment, are not. But, Foucault (1977) also points out that enclosure is not constant enough as a technique. This was illustrated by the encroachment of a violent society into the space: during the time I was present at Southside, bullets were found on the playground, a Grade 3 boy had threatened his classmates with a knife, and at the end-of-year school concert, in an altercation over seating, parents threatened each other with guns. These incidents are not isolated to this school, and perhaps minor in comparison to other incidents of school violence across the country (see section 3.4.1)[21].

The design of the primary school (figure 5.9) indicates the functioning of partitioning and rank. The office block and school hall are placed at the centre of the school and are indicative of their place as a hub. They also divide the Foundation Phase from the Intermediate Phase (Grade 4-7), thus spatially demonstrating the ranking of children by age and ability. This separation is practical, younger children are not disturbed when the older ones change class at the end of a period. In addition there is less chance of the younger children being victimised. Within the Foundation Phase each grade is allocated a particular space. For example, all the Grade 1 classes are together down a corridor. At Acacia the classrooms run along one corridor with a playground in front of them.

Disciplinary space is cellular and the clearest example of this is the classroom. Groups of classrooms make up partitions where individuals are assigned a particular class and places within it. Partitioning is more flexible than enclosure and children move into and through different classroom spaces throughout the day. Despite this, the allocation of occupied space allows for movement to be monitored and regulated. Although

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[21] At the end of 2006 two children died as a result of attacks by peers at school.

Figure 5.9 Spatial Map of Southside Primary

Tennis courts, Cricket nets

Swimming pool

Parking

Classrooms

Teachers' parking

Gr4-7 classrooms
3 stories

Fields

Hall

Office Block

Grade 1

Grade 2

Line up area

Grade 0

Kitchen

Grade 3

Toilets

Jungle Gyms
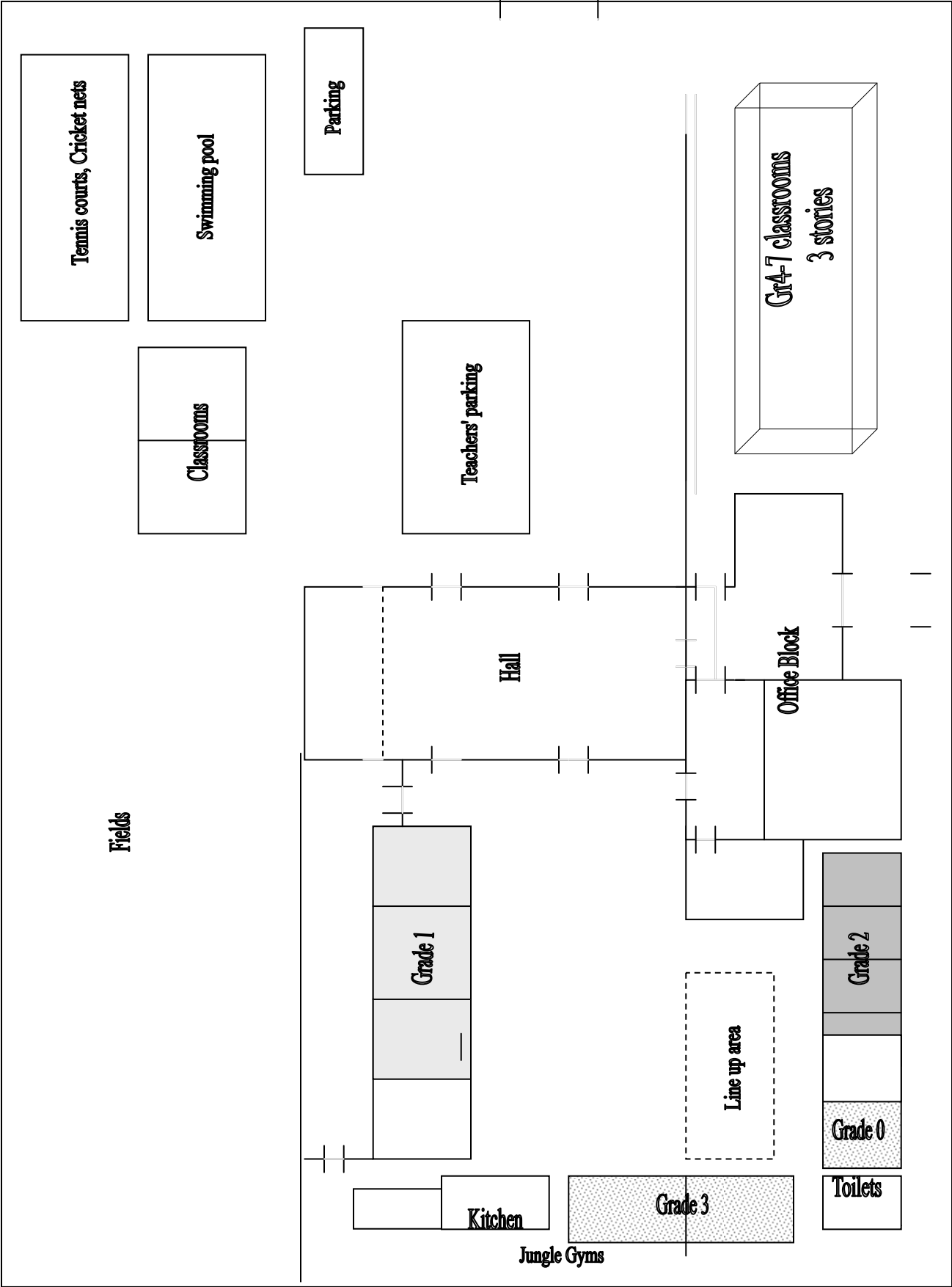
classrooms are multipurpose rooms, I have previously identified four key sites where literacy practices take place: carpet space, desk space, teacher's desk and a reading corner (Dixon 2004). These areas can be read as functional sites because each space can be utilised for a number of purposes. Section 5.2.2 focuses on the utilisation of these spaces in relation to literacy events. In doing so the continuities and shifts of the spatial realm across schooling will be demonstrated. Firstly, with the use of spatial maps, a comparison will be made of the classroom configurations themselves.

5.2.1 Organisation of Classroom Spaces

Each of the five classrooms observed in this study has similarities and differences in terms of their organisation. The most marked contrast is between the Grade 00 classroom and the others. The most obvious reason is the fact that it is situated in another site. The basic layout for the other classrooms is the same across the Foundation Phase and as such differences across these occur in organisational choices teachers make. The Grade 00 classroom is the biggest of all the classroom spaces (see figure 5.10). At the back of the classroom is a door leading to the toilets and lockers. There is also a walk-in storeroom. Dawn's desk is situated at the back of the classroom next to the storeroom. There are five hexagonal tables and one rectangular table that are placed against the wall opposite the carpet. In the centre of each desk is a picture indicating which group of children is allocated to that table. The third space is the carpet space; it is the only space that is literally partitioned into three sections. The top of the carpet nearest the teacher's desk is a play space that, through the use of furniture and equipment, creates fictional places: a shop, a hospital. Partitioning divides this area from the Reading Corner and the Interest Table. Partial partitioning separates the reading corner from the desk space. The rest of the carpet is open space. The reading corner is a cleverly designed space that uses the classroom wall and a partition to create a corner. The bookshelves are designed to display the front cover of books, and there are cushions placed underneath the shelves.
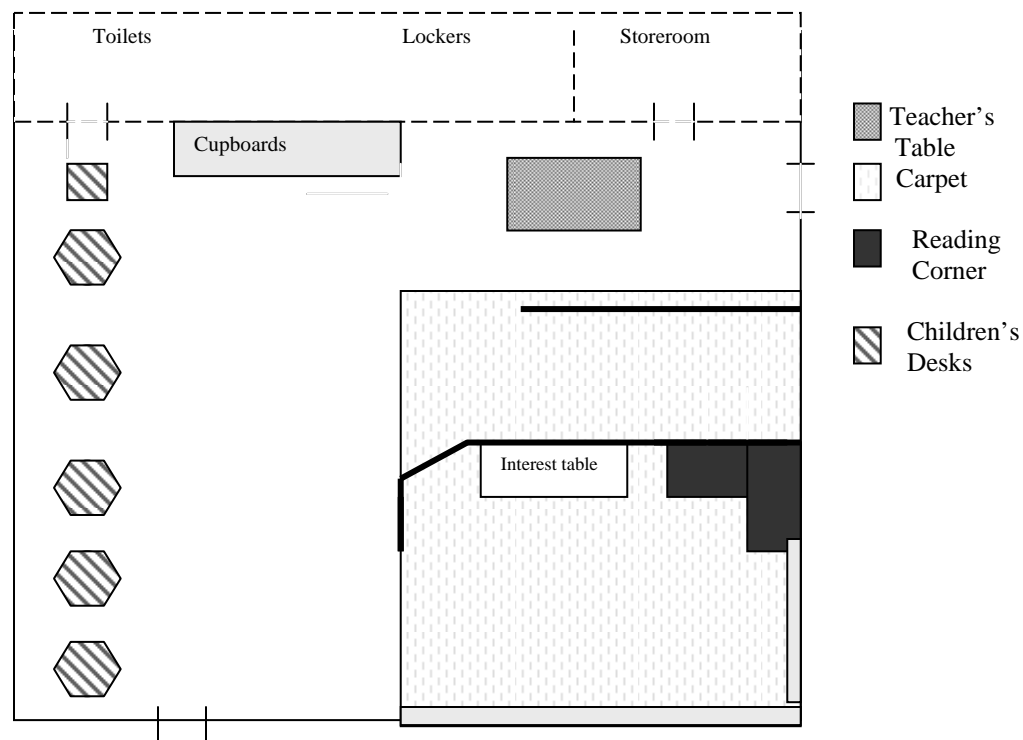
Figure 5.10 Spatial Map of Grade 00 Classroom

All of the Foundation Phase classrooms have a storeroom, sink, and a low wooden ledge of pigeonholes running along one of the walls. The carpets are fixed to the floor underneath the blackboard. Like the Grade 00 classroom, the two Grade 1 classrooms also have toilets. The fact that this is absent from the Grade 0 classroom is because of the recent introduction of Grade 0 into the primary school.

The organisation of the Grade 0 classroom indicates some similarities to the Grade 00 class (see figure 5.11). An Interest Table is also present, displaying various artefacts for the weekly theme. Lisa's desk is at the back of the classroom facing towards the blackboard. At the back of the class is the wooden ledge that functions as the reading corner. Books are displayed upright or flat on the ledge, with additional books being stored in the pigeonholes.
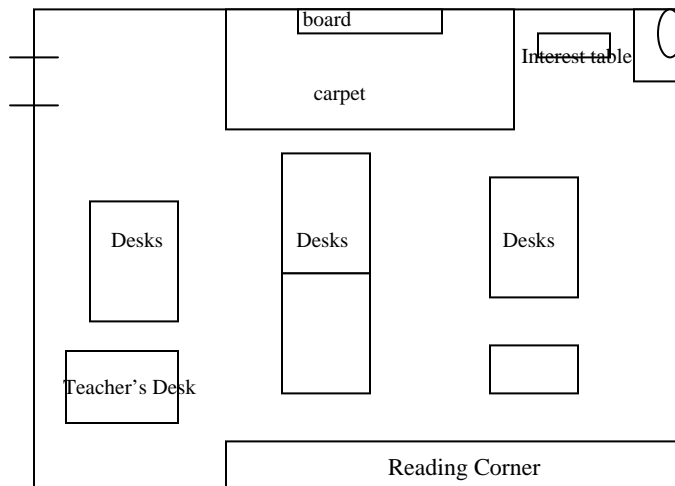
Figure 5.11 Spatial Map of Grade 0 Classroom

The children's desks are between the carpet and Lisa's desk. Each desk seats two. The arrangement of desks creates three groups of children, with the desks organised into a rectangular shape. The group in front of Lisa's table seats eight. The next group seats twelve as the tables form a long row, and the last group seats eight, although there are only six children at it. There are two additional desks behind this group that were not used.

In both the Grade 1 classes and the Grade 3 class (see figure 5.12) the reading corner no longer exists. In its place is a bookcase, which resides either at the front or back of the classroom. The teachers' desks were either at the back of the class or in the front. In Grade 1, the children's desks at the beginning of the year were arranged in rows facing the board in both classes, and were later arranged into groups similar to the Grade 0 configuration. This grouping of desks continued in Grade 3.
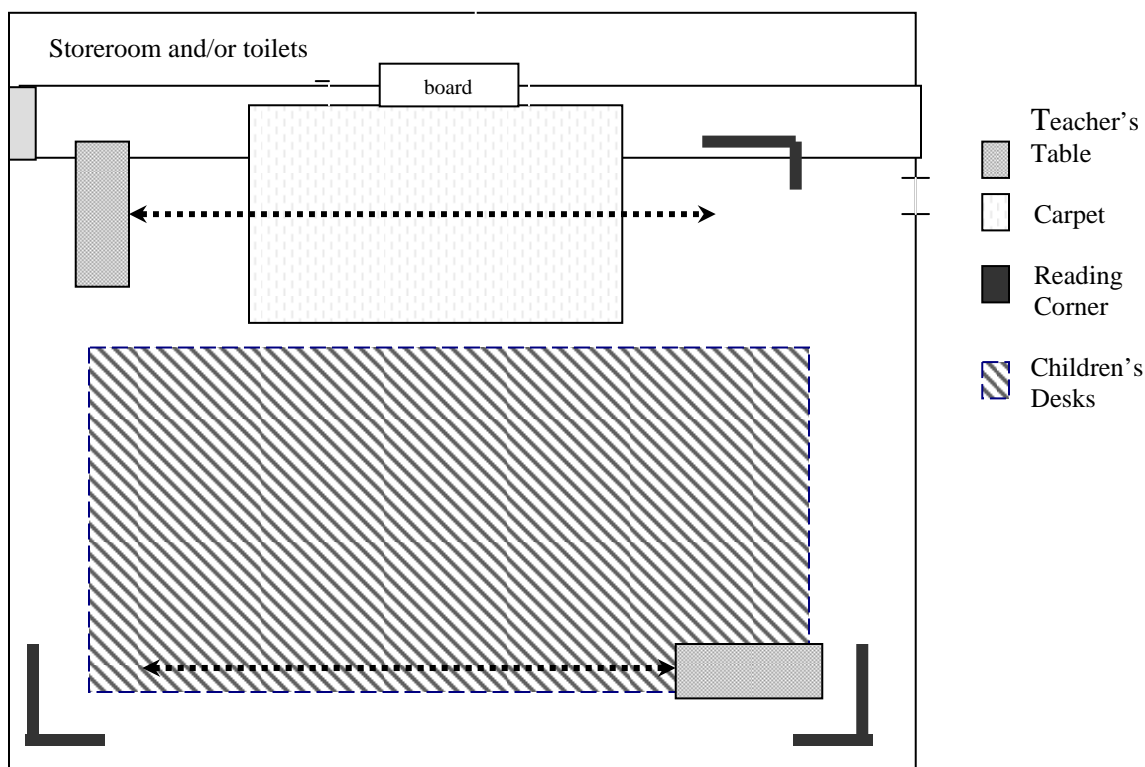
Figure 5.12 Spatial Map of Grade 1 and 3 Classrooms

5.2.2 *Utilisation of Four Classroom Spaces*

5.2.2.1 Teacher's Desk

A clear shift in how this space is utilised is evident. In Grade 00 it is barely utilised at all. It is out of bounds for the children. During class time Dawn herself is rarely there. This lack of utilisation is not surprising. These children need and seek constant attention – the position of the desk at the back of the class behind the partitions does not allow for monitoring the class or giving attention. Dawn spends more time in other spaces and her movements are fluid, influenced by the daily routines of the classroom.

This positioning of the teacher's desk in Grade 0, on the other hand, where there are no partitions impairing vision, allows for unhindered surveillance of the classroom. It is here that the first shift occurs – the teacher's desk as a space is now utilised. Lisa spends time at her desk in the morning when administration takes place and when the children are seated at their desks doing their creative activities. The rest of the time she is usually in

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the same space as the children. Unlike in Grade 00 where the space is restricted, the children enter this space when they have to produce something – either to return a form, hand in money, or to have their work marked. Children are expected to line up to do this and not crowd the space. They are in the space of the teacher, the power relations are clear and behaviour prescribed.

By Grade 1 the teachers spend more time at their desks. While the class is busy with a task the teacher is often working at her desk – this involves marking or preparing books for the next part of the lesson. At the beginning of the year much time was spent cutting and pasting worksheets into books because of the children's limited skills. The desk operates as a site of surveillance. Children have to line up and produce what they have done. The space also operates as a place for individual attention to be given. Children who struggle may be closely supervised by the teacher and receive individual attention. In addition, reading also takes place here – children either line up or are called to read aloud to their teacher.

By Grade 3 the teacher spends more time at her desk than any of the other teachers. There appears to be a correlation between the increased time the children are confined to their desks and the time the teacher spends at hers. One reason is that these children are more independent and do not need her constant presence, so those children who want clarification often approach her. (This is not to say that she spends all her time here – she does move through the class frequently supervising work.) The desk remains a site of surveillance and its placement at the back of the classroom means that the entire class can be surveyed while children get individual assistance. The first shutting down of space is evident here as the fluid movement through the classroom displayed by Dawn slowly diminishes.

5.2.2.2 The Reading Corner

While access to the teacher's desk increases and provides a source of individual attention through reading aloud or assistance, the Reading Corner as a space is systematically shut down across the grades. As a functional site in Grade 00, it is a space designed for children. It is minimally supervised and individuals enter it during their free time. Thus time is the only real factor that restricts access. The cushions on the carpet are bright and an appropriate size for children. The fact that the shelves display the book covers rather than the spines means that children are responding to the visual messages of front covers because they cannot read titles. The books change regularly depending on the theme the class is doing. There are a variety of books – some are children's storybooks with a predominance of print, while others are more accessible for the children to read themselves e.g. short books with colour, shapes and numbers. It is in this space that children begin training their own bodies to become readers through handling the books, learning to hold them, reading the images and telling stories, as well as being aware that they must not "hurt" the books. This space invites an exploratory reader who may be solitary or read with a friend. Although the least amount of time was spent here by the children comparative to the other spaces, it was used. The entry of one child in this space often encouraged others to move into it (see section 6.2).

The design of the reading corner in Grade 0, in contrast, does not encourage reading. Although several of the books are displayed upright on the back ledge where the "corner" is situated, there is no place to sit and read the books. There is no space for an exploratory reader, and during my period of observation no children ever approached this space to take a book. Thus reading in Grade 0 becomes a group activity that is teacher-controlled. But there is space to have a reading corner in this classroom - and homely cushions are not necessary. The unutilised desks at the back of the classroom could have been reorganised to become a reading corner. By Grade 1 the reading corner can no longer be classified as a functional site – it is merely a functional bookcase with prescribed readers. The Grade 3 bookcase had battered books and some children's annuals that were occasionally taken out and read or paged through by the children, but this was infrequent.

Constructing a reading corner in these grades is hampered by the fact that a significant portion of space is taken up with additional desks and children as the class size increased from an average of 25 children to 40. Despite books being accessible, the spatial configurations work against them being properly utilised.

5.2.2.3 The Carpet

The carpet is one of the more interesting sites and, like the reading corner above, is also a site where access is systematically shut down to the children. Of all the sites it is potentially the most multifunctional, open and restricted; it is a space for play and performance, teaching and learning, a space to gather together as a class or in small groups, or it can be used for surveillance and discipline. It is in Grade 00 that is it most utilised.

Sibley (in Walkerdine 2001) has argued with regards to playgrounds that children prefer waste ground and open space to play in rather than formalised playgrounds. I think this argument can be transferred into the classroom carpet space. The partitioning of the Grade 00 classroom illustrates this point – the carpet is divided into a fictional space, the reading corner, and an open space. Of these three spaces the open space is most frequented by the children. In times that belong to the children, like before the school day begins, the majority of the children play on the carpet.

After the bell rings the use of the site shifts, it becomes both a site of surveillance and whole class teaching. The distribution of the children in allocated rows facing Dawn, who sits on a chair, means that she has an unimpeded view of all the children. In this space Dawn's position of authority as the teacher is demonstrated by her control of the class both verbally and physically. The rules for what constitutes appropriate behaviour are most often targeted directly at children's bodies. One of the first things children need to learn is where they situate themselves in this space. It is not enough to know which group one belongs to. Each group has to create a straight line where there is enough space for everyone. This was a hard learned practical lesson for several of the children who

squashed into a space and found resistant bodies, or who were wedged into a space because other bodies moved. What was fascinating was how often the children tolerated their uncomfortable position before they were 'rescued' by Dawn, or literally took matters into their own hands. Verbal commands like "Move your legs, don't sit on Chris", "Sit away from those boys" were a frequent part of the lesson. Opposite to the encroachment of personal space was bodily dispersal, and children were told "you are not in line", "come to your line" which was often accompanied by Dawn physically repositioning whole lines of children as well as individuals. Next, children had to learn how to sit – they were told to sit straight, with their legs crossed, flat on their backsides, and once again personal space was an issue with children told not to touch and hurt each other. Sitting still was another challenge, particularly since attention spans are limited – Dawn spent lots of time telling the children to turn around, so she could see their eyes and not the back of their heads. Even if negotiating space with peers had been mastered, sometimes children's own bodies did not respond to accepted social mores – with fingers having to be withdrawn from noses.

At the end of their time on the carpet children are sent to the toilet and then to their desks. What is interesting about this routine is how the organisation of bodies in these spaces allows for disciplinary control. One of the elements of a functional site is that it allows for supervision. Groups are sent one by one to the toilet, thus limiting disturbances in a confined area. For that moment groups are unsupervised by the teacher, but are subject to peer regulation. The children still sitting on the carpet are subject to supervision by the teacher as well as those returning from the toilet. The control of access to spaces by Dawn creates a minimal disturbance.

The Grade 0 day also begins on the carpet. Children wait there until all the administration has been completed – the functioning of the carpet as a "waiting area" then means that the space around Lisa's desk can be better utilised. This routine also indicates a decrease in the proximity of the teacher to the children. Dawn spends the majority of her time in the same place as the children. Lisa is not always with them. This indicates something about the level of control that is operating – the younger children require assistance that

is often physical. This means that the discipline is often instant and directed to the body. I do not mean this in the sense of corporal punishment, rather the children are told, shown, or moved to where they should be by the teacher. The Grade 0s on the other hand, have a little more space without direct teacher presence. The invisibility of disciplinary power becomes more evident because, although Lisa many not be occupying the same space, they are still under surveillance.

Children's distribution on the carpet is influenced by the first activity, Language Ring with the children sitting on the edge of the carpet to make a circle (although the shape of the carpet creates a slightly 'rectangular' circle). Each child is allocated a particular space within the ring. By the end of the year this routine has become second nature to the children – they move to sit in their allocated spaces. What was striking was how they had internalised what was spatially appropriate for the body; on a day near the end of the year where several children were absent the remaining children sat in their space leaving the absent children's places open – these were not encroached on for both the language ring and later the second ring (GR0FN12/11/02).

The circle as a means of spatial distribution is an effective measure targeting the body in the exercise of power. The fact that the children *are* the circle indicates that in this case hierarchical observation operates laterally as opposed to top down because everyone's gaze is directed to the others because they face inwards. It also means that children are not obscured by others as they might be when sitting in rows or randomly. Although a complete comparison cannot be made because the Grade 00s were at the beginning of the school year and the Grade 0s at the end of theirs, I suspect that there may have been less wriggling and touching of each other had the Grade 00s been in a circle. The closed nature of the circle also works to create a sense of unity. The teacher is both a part of this and above it: her chair indicates a higher level of authority. The circle is also about inclusivity, it is much easier to involve all the children and listen to individual voices. Lisa often went around the circle asking each child to read a word, identify a number, sing a song, or discuss their weekend without the problems of direction encountered with

other spatial formations. The literate subject who is constructed here is one that forms part of a group that learns to work together with the others.

The carpet is multifunctional in this class – it confines and limits disturbances, it allows for surveillance, the circle creates an intimate atmosphere, and it is big enough to play games on. But its openness is also a dangerous space because it invites expansive movement. It invites performance. One incident took place that illustrates how the openness of space can erode order:

The children were waiting on the carpet in their places for the Language Ring to begin when Lisa was called to the office. As soon as she left the children moved away from their places although they were still seated. Then Jason, Tshepo and Keven stood up in the middle of the carpet and began what looked like a gumboot dance, lifting and stamping their feet. The rest of the children who were sitting got caught up in the dance, banging their hands on the floor to create a rhythm for the dancers. The external eye of surveillance was closed with Lisa's absence and the action of the children who broke 'rank' drew the others in, making them all part of the performance. Although not completely installed, the disciplinary gaze had begun to be internalised by some of the children. One of them asked: "Who's in charge?" The reply was "No-one". This response opened up a space for the children to continue their performance because they are not being watched. Then Zama responded: "We must all be in charge of ourselves, then we tell on ourselves" (GR0FN3/10/02). This incident reveals a challenge to the power of the teacher through active resistance via the children's bodies, as well as the operation of power through the technologies of the self in Zama's desire to confess.

By Grade 1 the carpet space begins to be more highly regulated. It is no longer a place to play. If playing does happen in this space it is not sanctioned. The activities that take place on the carpet are on the whole related to literacy: whole class reading, group reading, individual reading and storytime. Alongside this, discussions take place, like Weekend News, as well as the introduction of new letters of the alphabet often accompanied by stories and pictures.

There is a marked difference in the time the two classes spent on the carpet. In the one class it was minimal, with children on the carpet for individual reading. This was done either by the teacher herself or a teaching assistant who moves between classes. On one occasion only did this class sit on the carpet to discuss their Weekend News. They sat randomly. Storytime is a time that usually takes place on the carpet; on the occasions it did occur, the teacher read from the carpet and the children were at their desks.

In contrast, the other class spent more time on the carpet. The Monday morning discussion about 'My News' often, but not always, takes place on the carpet before the children draw their news. The end of the day storytime took place on the carpet. The children are also taught to read on the carpet. This either involves the whole class, or they are divided into groups while the rest of the class is occupied with another task. This organisation reveals a ranking with the groups chosen to read in relation to their abilities, while the spatial positioning of the teacher facing towards the desks allows for surveillance. The children are taught new sounds that are often accompanied by the appropriate Letterland story. In early February when they learnt the letter 'd' they were read the story of Dippy Duck (GR1EFN&VT11/02/03), and a month later were introduced to Clever Cat (GR1EFN&VT11/03/03)[22]. To be on the carpet involves training bodies to behave appropriately. The first aspect is getting there quietly – the children are told to go "on tips of toes" and not to scrape their chairs when they move from their desks (see section 6.4.1). In order to lessen the chaos, girls or boys are sent to the carpet first. The children are also allocated a place to sit. They are ranked according to height and are seated next to the opposite gender in a particular row so that they can all see. This procedure took a while to orchestrate. They were told where to sit on the second day of school (GR1EFN16/01/03); a week later they had forgotten where they were placed (GR1EFN20/01/03) and month and a half later still had to be told (GR1EFN11/03/03). If the children sit on the carpet in a smaller group then they are often arranged in a circle. Once again the shape of the circle enables the systematic orchestration of tasks so that each child participates with the group and contributes as an individual.

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[22] The children are not taught the letters of the alphabet in sequence.

By Grade 3, the carpet is a restricted area. The only time children spend time there as a group, is to eat lunch. At other times it is empty or occupied by the teacher. It functions primarily as a teaching site. On only one occasion, with regards to literacy teaching, did children enter the space to report back on definitions of spelling words (GR3FN8/10/02).

What does emerge by Grade 3 is how the carpet is seen as a site of disciplinary power. Classroom control is, on the whole, managed by the teacher in this site through teaching, giving instructions, and reprimands. Although present to an extent in all grades, by Grade 3 peer surveillance increases in both occurrence and organisation. Children are placed in charge by the teacher to maintain order. The choice of child is random: they may be model students, naughty, have finished their work, or be the first child in view. The first thing they do is to appropriate the teacher's space on the carpet. This is accompanied by a shift in subjectivity as the schooled subject who is supposed to be docile and under the authority of the teacher now gains, although transient, greater power and status as an enforcer of discipline. Their movement becomes freer as they pace along the carpet. In the younger classes the children sit on the teacher's chair on the carpet. Their demeanour shifts – they sit straighter and look sterner; sometimes they point their fingers or talk in a firmer voice (GR00VT8/03/02, GR00VT24/05/02, GR0FN7/10/02, GR0VT27/10/02).

It is in the Grade 3 class that this officially sanctioned peer-regulation occurred in a way that brought together the technology of signs, power and the self (Foucault 1988a). Without fail the Grade 3 'surveillance officer' took their chair from their desk, placed it in front of the blackboard, and stood on it to gain a better vantage point. The blackboard, a traditional medium of literacy, is an implement of the technology of signs but it also represents the power of the teacher. It is the space where she writes, the space where children are expected to look in order to carry out tasks assigned to them. They do not write on it themselves. Being put in-charge means that this sacred space of writing can be commandeered. The board is no longer something to be read, for a short while sanction has been given to produce signs. The board represents both a record of those who misbehave and the success of the watcher. In Grade 3 it is a highly visible record because as the height of the chair allows for the names to be clearly displayed. The presence of a

child's name on the board implies three things – the first is a public shaming, if this does not bring shame, then the threat of punishment when the teacher returns to take control should. These two elements should motivate others to regulate their own behaviour.

But commandeering a space of power does not imply success. Peer-regulation relies on a number of other factors. If discipline is to be successfully enforced then the child in charge has to regulate their own behaviour. The gazer is enmeshed in a network of real and disciplinary gazes. The children often abuse this position by talking themselves, making concessions for friends or being harsher on children they dislike. Once this position is compromised, there is no shortage of children willing to report infractions. Arguments often break out, with various groups presenting their own version of 'the truth'.

The disciplinary gaze in the Grade 3 class is gendered. In this class the gender divide is spatially demarcated – the girl and boy monitor write names on opposite ends of the board (GR3FN10/10/02, Gr3VT20/11/02).

What is essential is that the external control of the teacher is effectively and consistently used. When it is not, the success of peer-regulation is undermined. Children may behave themselves because they are being watched and they fear punishment; if there is no punishment, the behaviour is seen to be condoned. In several classes the taking of names as a disciplinary practice was unsuccessful in maintaining complete control of the class. It seems that when there were no consequences to behaving badly, taking names loses its disciplinary power. This was coupled with the frequency of using peer regulation as a means to control the class. As a technique, this appeared to be more successful when it was implemented less frequently, and the teacher reprimanded the children. The power of this technique is also lessened when the list of names grows. The child put in charge can undermine the success of peer-regulation. When they overstep their authority and assume more power there is almost immediate resistance – and an increase in noise levels. The child is still a peer and not a teacher. When the child keeps complaining to the teacher about what the others are doing it displays a loss of control. This often results in a

reprimand by the teacher. Once the child 'in-charge' is reprimanded power over peers is lost.

5.2.2.4 Children's Desks

The way the children's desks are organised also plays a role in disciplining and constructing subjects. What emerges is how spatial distribution is a means through which the classification of children can be understood. The clearest example of this was in the Grade 00 class. At the beginning of the year five groups were randomly created and identified by colours: pink, blue, purple, white, yellow. But Dawn had expressed a desire for a smaller class, and on the employment of another teacher she reduced her class size and reorganised the groups. This reorganisation illustrates the operation of rank, where bodies are individualised and placed in a system of classification "by a location that does not give a fixed position, but distributes them and circulates them in a network of relations" (Foucault 1977:146). Knowledge of the children resulted in a new system of classification. Four groups existed and were renamed: bees, butterflies, snails and grasshoppers. Children were grouped according to their perceived learning abilities:

> I've got the… butterfly table, I've grouped them as the more advanced group, that's the girls who are quick…and then I've got the little grasshopper group and they are slower….and the snail group is my slowest group… (GR00IN27/06/02).

It is interesting that the group names reflect the children's ability with the butterflies being the 'high fliers', and the snails the traditional representation of 'slow movers'. It is probably not coincidental either that the perceived levels of academic achievement mirror the levels of flight these animals can or cannot achieve. The names of the groups hold within them constructions of the 'quick'/intelligent, average, and slow learner.

This ranking is also practical. In a classroom constituted by children who do not speak English as their mother tongue, as well as children who do, the groups are classified in terms of their ability to comprehend instructions. Each group is seen as a singular entity,

so there are four sets of instructions to deliver as opposed to twenty-four. With particular groups located in specific areas, Dawn has more time to give attention to specific children or activities (e.g. baking, painting) that require her intervention. She says:

> When you give out your instructions you give them to one group, you try to group your children in a homogenous fashion on a table so the instructions going to those children are on one level and when you get your next table for the same activity you give it in another fashion (GR00IN27/06/02).

She communicates these instructions verbally and with her body, demonstrating what the children are required to do.

While this may imply a connection between language acquisition and academic ability, the distinction is not as clear-cut. Gender also comes into play in categorising and classifying the groups. The butterfly table is made up of girls who have been constructed as "quick." Only one of the girls in this group speaks English as her mother tongue. The teacher's observations and experience with children has led her to believe that girls are better regulated subjects than boys. While she was hesitant to make any generalisations about gendered behaviour, the subject that is constructed as "quick" displays a range of behaviour that conforms to notions of a disciplined subject, a subject who has begun to internalise the practices necessary for operating in a school environment. Such subjects "regard their work as more important", "fall into routine faster", are quieter (than boys who are "lively"), and "are better listeners and can concentrate better" (GR00IN27/06/02).

While language acquisition and gender affect how subjects are constructed and classified, it is important to remember that power relations are not unidirectional. Power exists in action, and children are complicit in their subjectification. It is through the actions of the children that space is made in this classroom for re-classification. Thus, as subjects of knowledge under constant surveillance and examination, assessments of them alter. The groups are not rigid and children are moved from groups depending on their performance. The classification of these children is influenced by the discourse of Child Development,

and by the subjective opinions of the teacher. An example of the problems of communicative competence, teacher subjectivity and developmental norms is illustrated by the example of a girl whose abilities came as a surprise, and were duly acknowledged:

> And if you ask me where, what level is that child, or that, at first you make your own opinion of what you think they can do and then they surprise you. Like Thandeka – she hasn't got the language, she didn't have the language at all and I thought her skills were behind and eventually when she got the self-image and confidence and everything to talk to me, her skills went up like this. And, she won the prize for the best colouring-in in my class and the best cutting (GR00IN27/06/02).

In Grade 0 the grouping of children at desks remains (figure 5.11). This layout of desks echoes the significance of the open carpet in this classroom; it is a place for groups rather than the individual. Effective classroom organisation has been linked to achievement. Teachers who organise their classrooms effectively make decisions about grouping children according to their needs and the tasks set (Wray, Medwell, Poulson, Fox, 2002). Although the classification of children via seating arrangements is not as explicit as in Grade 00, a level of ranking still operates. In this class of twenty-six, the girls outnumber the boys by six. Twenty of the children were seated next to a child of the opposite gender, the six 'extra' girls sat in an all-girl group. Placing boys next to girls in a co-educational setting is not unusual, and the accepted wisdom is that girls exert a calming influence over the boys. The choice of the girls in the girl's group was not random. Their placement on the opposite side of the class to Lisa's desk implies a measure of independence. They are still under surveillance, but members of this group were all competent and confident students. This is in contrast to the weakest students who were placed in the group in front of Lisa's desk – she is close to them in order to monitor them and provide assistance.

One of the disadvantages of arranging children in groups is the prevalence of copying. This is pervasive across all the grades. The children have not internalised what is an important aspect of schoolwork – the need to work independently. Lisa says:

But I find what's incredible, is um they, their pictures are, like if I told them to draw a spider web with the spider inside, they can all draw it and that's not because they can all draw it, that's all because they copy each other and that's OBE?…But I wonder how many of them actually knew how to draw it in the first place? …When they bring me their work, their work's done, but how many of them can actually do it by themselves the first time? (GR0IN26/11/02)

The greatest change spatially for the children moving from Grade 0 into Grade 1 is the increased amount of time they are required to spend at their desks. It should also be remembered that for some this their first experience of schooling. Although a fair amount of teaching, listening and discussion takes place at their desks – all of this leads to tasks requiring children to write. This presents its own challenge because children have to position themselves correctly in a desk space:

Sitting at a desk involves a complicated break up of patterns, i.e. flexed ankles, knees and hips with an extended spine and controlled flexion (to look down at your book) and extension (to look up at the board) of the neck. This needs to take place against a background of unconscious postural stability. In addition to this you need to be able to free your arms from your body in order to perform fine motor tasks such as writing, move your eyes independently of your head and to organise your desk. As if that is not enough, the child is also expected to listen to information, process it and remember it. (Parker 2003: no page number)

Thus not only do children spend more time in this space, but the corporeal training required to function here is far more complex than sitting on a carpet. A further complication is that the Grade 1s are required to share a desk. Sitting two to a table involves the children negotiating and organising their space. This proved to be quite tricky for many of them. For the first time they worked in books as opposed to loose sheets of paper. Their books overlapped each other, or they were positioned at incorrect angles, children wrote across and over each other, and pencil boxes were imbued with kinaesthetic qualities. Overall classroom organisation also plays a role in how children negotiate this space. At the beginning of the year both classes had desks arranged in rows

facing the board – this arrangement is beneficial in terms of perception as many children appear to have difficulty transferring information written on the board to their books if they are not facing it. But while the hexagonal tables of Grade 00 and the groups of desks in Grade 0 provide some bulk and stability to limit movement, one table with two children does not. Tables, chairs and children regularly gravitated in different directions, and the Grade 1 teachers spend a large amount of time repositioning bodies and furniture.

One of the important elements of discipline are the ways forces are composed in order to heighten efficiency. Unlike the other classrooms in the study whose organisation did not vary, both Grade 1 classroom layouts, and particularly children's desk space, altered frequently. Field notes and spatial diagrams reveal that although the children in the one Grade 1 class sat in rows until the end of the second term where they were reorganised into groups, the children were reseated on eight occasions (GR1DFN27/1/03, 17/02/03, 03/03/03,17/03/03, 18/03/03, 29/04/03, 14/05/03, 21/05/03). Some of this reorganisation took place during periods when I was present observing in the class; if the class had been reseated when I was not present the new arrangement was noted during the next observation session. Thus it is possible that more incidents of reseating may have occurred. Over the course of two terms this seems to be a substantial amount. On the first day of school the children in this class chose their own place to sit. Two weeks later they were moved – the most obvious ranking once again was that girls were placed next to boys. This was the one constant in the ranking that continued throughout the reshuffling. These changes appeared to arise as a result of breakdown in classroom discipline – when the children were very noisy or disruptive changes came about. There was no set time at which they occurred. The children who sat next to each other at various stages does not indicate the type of classification present in the Grade 00 or Grade 0 classes, or indeed in the other Grade 1 class. In these reorganisations, the teacher was aware of children whose English was limited. Placing children together was a means of providing peer support:

Like children with language barriers…they don't understand what is expected of them, they'll probably just copy from somebody next to them. So then they probably need to talk to somebody….You know to relate to the topic. Even we, adults, if we're in a new place with a

new uh things to be done, like assignments and things like that, we need to liase with other people, you know, to help us (GR1DIN14/5/03).

In contrast, the other Grade 1 class was reorganised three times (GN1EFN11/02/03, 24/02/03, 07/04/03). The reasoning for this reveals the disciplinary practice of classification operating in a far more systematic way. The teacher describes the way the class is organised:

At the beginning of the year I put them alphabetically, usually, but I put them like in rows of four where they're all just facing the front and then after about 2 weeks in which I have watched them do different things then what I try to do is to put the weak ones close to my table, or those that aren't finished their work close to my table … in the beginning of the year I group them according to how they work, like if they work quickly and they know their work they go to one group… and then at least you don't have to waste time…..and then you can spend a bit more time with the others. Then, the second term what I do is mix them, but I still try to keep those that don't finish their work closer to where I am (GR1EIN21/05/03.)

The classroom organisation reflects this. In the beginning the children were arranged alphabetically in rows, with a girl and a boy allocated to each desk. Field notes indicate that in the fourth week of schooling the desks were no longer in rows but rearranged into five groups seating eight children. At that stage children were not ranked according to ability, but rather were grouped from the original alphabetical classification. By moving the desks closer in proximity to each other, groups were created (GN1EFN11/02/03). At the end of the month academic ability was the classificatory factor, and the arrangement of children indicates the weakest group being situated next to the teacher's desk with the weakest girl closest to her (GR1EFN24/02/02). The final recorded organisation took place on the first day of the second term. The teacher's desk was now placed at the back of the class in the centre, flanked by two groups. This placement allowed access to the two weakest groups (GR1EFN07/04/03).

Classroom control is also affected by the distribution of girls and boys. To be able to maintain some order groups are mixed, the teacher is also aware of how seating can affect their equilibrium, and her own:

> I won't put eight girls together, even if they work the best, I will never do that to myself…it's just too much yakkety, yakkety, yakkety, yakkety – come what may. Even the boys, can't put them all together 'cos they all fight. Sometimes the girls are also nasty to each other: 'I don't want to be your friend' and blah blah and then they start crying. But….they do form friendships, I sometimes just put the one on this side of the classroom and the other on that side and then maybe for two weeks I'll decide okay maybe I'll put all the friends together and see how it goes, like give them a chance, even if it's just for a week. Sometimes even just for a few days and then I can't handle it anymore, then I just split them up (GR1EIN21/05/03).

By Grade 3 the children are expected to have sufficient discipline to work properly for an extended period. Incorrect posture was more a sign of resistance to the expected norms than ignorance of what is expected. For the first time in a classroom in this study, one desk was set aside for disruptive children. It was placed in the front of the classroom next to the door. This position, being slightly away from the other groups of desks, signalled its marginal position and implies a sense of isolation from the group. This desk was occupied by two different boys during the term (GR3FN8/10/02, GR3VT1/11/02. See section 8.1.3).

5.2.3 Constraints and Possibilities of Spatial Distribution in Classrooms

One of the areas that struck me most is the connection between the utilisation of space and classroom order. It seemed that many of the disciplinary problems encountered by teachers are exacerbated by a limited understanding and control of the classroom space. On the other hand, efficient use of the space often limited problems. But it seemed that there was very little understanding and reflection from the teachers about the decisions

they made with regards to how they utilised space and distributed subjects within it. Understanding the connection between the constraints and possibilities that classroom space affords, and the impact it has on constructing subjects, is an issue that should be considered with regards to transforming classroom practice.

Obviously each space cannot be utilised in the same way, and has to be analysed for what it offers as well as for the needs of individual teachers. Classroom size is a constraining factor. How space is used in Grade 0 cannot be the same for Grade 3, because although the size of the classroom remains the same the number of children increased by 15. Nine year olds are also physically bigger than six year olds. So it is not surprising that at a greater fluidity of movement was present in the largest classroom (Grade 00), or where numbers are limited (Grade 0). The use of space also reflects a certain mindset. The pre-primary subject is expected to play, and is in the process of learning to spend more time on tasks. Formal schooling requires a far more sedentary subject, that, for the most part, learns alone without the closeness that is established by the morning rings of the preschool.

Despite class size and numbers there is nevertheless a connection between classrooms where there was a greater classroom management and a greater utilisation of space. It may be useful to think about how movement flows through the pre-primary classroom can be effectively implemented in the older classes. The key difference between the preschool and primary classes on the whole is the degree of movement through space – the younger children worked in one space and played in others, they were not confined to one area for most of the day. In the older grades where play is restricted movement does not have to be. The clearest example of this is the one Grade 1 class – the children no longer have a space to play, but movement from the carpet to their desks takes place throughout the day for various literacy activities. The children are allowed to move. As a class they displayed more discipline when at their desks than the other two primary classes. This movement from one place to another is highly regulated with ritual movements. So, these children are subjected to a higher level of disciplinary control as their movements from one space to another are controlled. The positive effects of

disciplinary power can be seen – access to space is controlled and orderly, there is no unknown - children know where they should be and how to get there, no child is forced out of a space. The level of disciplinary control is constant, and thus the subject is under constant scrutiny. Yet, within a more controlled environment these subjects have greater access to space and movement within it (see 6.4.1).

Probably the most important aspect of spatial distribution is the role of functional sites. The above sections have illustrated the numerous ways the carpet is utilised, but it also shows that it is under-utilised across the grades. It does not make sense to confine children to their desks and intensify disruptions when groups can be split and sent to complete tasks on the carpet, thus shifting the classroom dynamic. Alongside this, apart from Grade 00, there are no spatial configurations that actively encourage children to read. There is no rule stating that a classroom, or part of it, cannot be rearranged during the day to do this. Gail, in Grade 3, has desks arranged in rows for the majority of lessons, however when group tasks are required, desks are turned to face each other to create groups. A classroom can become a reading corner for a short time and children can be trained to reorganise their space effectively. When children can find ingenious ways to resist the confinement of a desk while in it (see next 5.3), what kind of possibilities exist when they are allowed to create their own spaces for particular tasks?

There is also pressure on teachers to arrange their desks so that children sit in groups, to reflect OBE teaching. In informal conversations teachers revealed that education officials visiting the school required that the children be arranged in groups. These kinds of demands have led to the perception that OBE can be equated to group work. There are some serious disadvantages to arranging the classroom in this way. From a literacy point of view, when children are learning to write and the majority of work is written on the blackboard for them to copy, facing away from the board increases the probability of making perceptual mistakes. From a disciplinary point of view this configuration can create a number of problems. The first has to deal with inter-group confrontation. While fighting amongst each other is prevalent in all classes, the proximity of sitting in groups can exacerbate tensions which teachers have to deal with. Alongside this is copying, itself

a source of contention amongst children. While there are merits to peer teaching, merely placing children next to each other does not guarantee that instruction will take place. The Grade 3 group that I spent most of my time with are a case in point. There was no real peer teaching; Travis who was academically the strongest child, was annoyed by the demands for help made by the others. It may also have been a reason for working exceptionally fast, and often untidily, so his books could be handed in to be marked (this is raised in section 7.5.2). Sitting in groups can also increase the noise levels to the point where teachers resorted to whistles to regain control. It seems that the consequences of arranging children in groups need to be carefully thought out. Having desks in rows, or another configuration that creates some distance between individuals, may be more helpful for inexperienced teachers in maintaining initial control of a class. Moreover children need to be trained to sit together in groups for the positive elements of this configuration to work.

5.3 BODIES IN SPACE AND TIME

The operation of the spatial and temporal appears to move in opposite directions across the grades. While space systematically shuts down, limiting children primarily to their desks by Grade 3, time opens up. The control of time through daily routines recedes as the impact of a timetable intercedes. In this moment when the day is not completely controlled by either of these mechanisms the emphasis is on learning to master reading and writing. This greater fluidity of time is restricted by spatial distribution since children's access to classroom space is limited. This apparent opening of time appears to be because of the transition children make from informal to formal schooling – once children enter the Intermediate Phase time becomes more tightly regulated because of scheduling of additional learning area periods.

This interrelationship between time and space also impacts on the subject. Thus to discipline the body to become a literate subject requires blocks of time and a realisation that children will attain different levels of mastery. In conjunction with this the amount of

time children spend in school along with their socialisation into its routines affects spatial distribution. Teachers and students no longer share the same spaces. Surveillance does not decrease but teachers do not micromanage children's bodies, the primary school subject is presumed to have a greater level of independence and there is a physical withdrawal by the teacher. This separation also reflects a different conception of time, where multiple tasks can be undertaken as opposed to the whole class being involved in one. Subjects are now required to manage their time in such a way that they can move from one task to the next as well as deal with interruptions to work.

Understanding space and time in relation to Foucault's understanding of power reveals several aspects of classroom dynamics. Where there is power there is also resistance and children exploit both time and appropriate space. At the sign of resistance teachers discipline children's bodies so that time can be efficiently used in tasks they have set. Jenks (2001:81) argues:

> Although children's activities are momentarily punctuated in time –they are made to stop work and sit still – the intention of such commands is to instruct them about the way to proceed more efficiently and to make more efficient use of their time through adapting more disciplined behaviours. It is thus, through punctualising children's time by imposing a particular bodily order that the connections between continuity and curriculum time are restored and enabled.

These commands become part of the schooled subject's habitus. In photograph 5.1 (GR1PH8/6/03) the children demonstrate a number of postures that are indicative of an attentive and docile child. In this instance the intercom went off in the classroom. Both children and teachers are supposed to listen carefully to these messages. The bodies of several of the children indicate postures that reveal acquiescence – they either have their arms folded, hands on their heads or fingers on their lips. This is not behaviour that is demonstrated by the entire class – several of the children in the background are still cutting out pictures. While they engaged with the task set by their teacher and as such could be considered compliant, the moment in time the intercom comes on the power

relations shift, the teacher is no longer the highest authority in the class. The movements of the children should demonstrate this. Of course the children still engaged in the task may be listening, but the fact that they are involved in something else indicates that their attention is elsewhere. At the same time, taking on the expected posture does not automatically guarantee attention either.

The children in photograph 5.2 are on task (GR1PH6/6/03). But the fact that there are fewer children in this group means that it is easier to organise their space. Compare this to photograph 5.1 above where the children are working in bigger books and magazines on their desks. This can result in a lack of control over what is a limited space, resulting in regular forays around and under desks to recover objects that have fallen, as in photograph 5.3 (GR1PH8/6/03). A docile and disciplined subject not only has control of her/his body but control over the objects within the space.

Children challenge teachers' spatial organisations and their accompanying behavioural norms as they recreate the space they are in. Two boys in Grade 1 demonstrated this aptly by revealing how space is a mixture of real and ideal, and how effortless this transition is (GR1PH18/3/03). In this case, space functioning as an ideal supersedes space as real. The two boys move from the real space of the classroom where they are involved in a set task to a new space, an ideal space, where they reconfigure their identities as 'gangsta' rappers and perform with each other. In moving to this space of performance they transgress, because they are no longer schooled subjects. Their entire body language changes as they recite the words of a popular song, mimicking the actions of rappers. Their transgression begins with a probable awareness that what they are doing is not appropriate; their hands are in their laps and their gestures are contained (photograph 5.4). As they begin to get into the performance their hands are lifted above their desk until finally they break free of its restriction and stand to perform (photographs 5.5, 5.6). They also mark themselves as different by adjusting their school uniform – the knitted 'beanies' they wear as part of a winter uniform are pulled over their faces and become balaclavas. Although the boys are 'playing rappers', the use of the balaclava carries the threat of violence and gangsterism. Walkerdine (1997) has argued that, in the case of girls, explicit lyrics are closely

connected to working class culture and identity. This performance is probably an indication of this, but with gangs both existing and forming in areas these boys live in, the performance and emulation of a genre full of male violence reveals the taking on of an alternative identity.

5.3.1 Jason and the Sex on Hands Incident

Jason was one of the boys I followed through from Grade 0 to Grade 1. In Grade 0 he was considered a behavioural problem and was on daily report. This meant that he was under closer surveillance than the other children. Captured in a network of writing (Foucault 1977), his teacher would write a comment about his behaviour at the end of each day that was sent home to his parents. The problems continued into Grade 1. This reporting to his parents was problematic for the teachers – there were indications from Jason that reports of bad behaviour resulted in corporal punishment from home. Jason is a loud and exuberant child whose behaviour was often considered wild and disruptive – he would shout out, have loud conversations, not sit still and would often start fights with other children. Despite this, Jason fully and eagerly participated in lessons, seeming relatively unfazed if he answered incorrectly.

One incident in Grade 0 that captures some transgressive behaviour I refer to as the 'Sex on Hands Incident' (GR0FN2/10/02). Although Jason was not the only one involved in this incident, when children were in trouble he was most often at the centre of it. In the controlled space of the Grade 0 classroom children's behaviour was carefully monitored and, on the whole, the children's interactions with each other were respectful with few comments or actions that could be construed as bullying. In the space outside the classroom the situation differed. Leaving the protected space of the classroom to play in free time is both a time of freedom and the entrance into what can also be a dangerous space for Grade 0s who share the playground with all the other Southside children. At the end of one break Jason and three of his friends returned with a commotion from the other Grade 0s that alerted Lisa. Written in thick purple khoki on their hands was 'sex'. Lisa

was very angry with them and asked them if they knew what was written on their hands. None of them knew. They also could not tell her what sex was when she asked them. In conversation with Lisa afterwards she explained why she was so angry. It worried her that the boys had allowed someone to write something on them that they did not understand. She felt this left them open for other forms of abuse. If they let this happen what else would they let people write on them? She wanted to protect the children by teaching them to protect themselves by being aware of what was done to them so they could say no.

The incident reveals the boys as illiterate subjects – although they knew the letters of the alphabet and could work out some words by blending the sounds, they were unable to do this with the word 'sex'. They had consented to this word being inscribed on their bodies in ignorance. While Lisa's concerns are valid I think something else is revealed about their emerging literacy. There is something powerful about letters and words. Many of the children were beginning to display a great interest in writing and were trying to form letters although this was never a formal part of any lesson. They had to wait until Grade 1 before the secrets of writing would be revealed. As such there was probably a fascination with a child who could yield a pen and write for them. On the playground their bodies became a canvas – but for someone else. While the motives of the writer will not be known the innocence of the boys is clear – the word was written on the top of their hands, in clear view, and not hidden. It is also highly probable that 'sex' caused all the consternation. If the writer had written the boy's names on their hands it is possible that Lisa's reaction would not have been so strong.

5.4 CONCLUSION

Underpinning this chapter is the notion that an understanding of spatial and temporal organisation is an important means to understand how subjects are disciplined and constructed. From an analysis of the structuring and use of timetables a clear shift emerges between the preschool and the primary school. The focus in the preschool

classes is on routine. It is through the internalisation of routines that children learn to be both schooled and literate subjects. Emphasis is on the aspects of the control of activity i.e. the temporal elaboration of the act, the correlation of body and gesture, and the body object articulation. The preschool timetable's regularity allows for a sense of security – the children know what will happen everyday. The move to Grade 1 heralds a break in the rhythm of these regular cycles of activity. Although the blocks of curriculum time and free play in the timetable remain the same from Grade 0 to Grade 3, there is no longer a predictable regularity of tasks. As the number of tasks increases, their completion is no longer sequenced linearly, rather several tasks are expected to be completed in a period of time.

One of the key points to make about time is that although the preschool routines diminish, the blocks of curriculum time remains. These blocks allow for a level of flexibility needed for children to master tasks. The literacy skills children are requiring are fundamental for later schooling, as they will be required to read and write quickly in shorter timetabled periods. Enough time needs to be spent on these skills so they become habitual.

Another shift that takes place is the move from a community where instruction is oral and whole class, to that of the individual. The interlocking of time and space are present because although the time seems to be more open, the spaces utilised in these times are limited. Once again there is a shift from preschool to primary school. The preschool children spend much time on the carpet, where through verbal commands, they internalise the norms demanded for the schooled subject. The majority of these commands are directed at the body. The use of a configuration of a circle on the carpet allows for a subject who is cooperative and part of a collective group. But the openness of the carpet allows it to be a multifunctional space – it can create a sense of cohesiveness and unity, be a site of surveillance, or it can invite transgression.

As the children move through the grades they begin to spend more time at their desks. The fluid movement in the Grade 00 class is slowly eroded. Sitting at desks requires a

particular kind of corporeal training which includes the organisation of possessions by the subject. The various arrangements of bodies into desks reveals the classification of children most often in relation to gender and academic ability. An interesting correlation was noted between the increasing time spent by children at their desks, and those of the teachers. Part of this is an increase in the amount of texts produced by children that teachers need to manage. But it also points to a conceptualisation of the subject as more independent and thus the proximity between the teacher and children decreases.

In terms of literacy development and the construction of the reading subject, a disturbing trend was detected via the disappearance of the reading corner. The presence of a reading corner allows for the development of exploratory readers who are enticed to read books of their choice. Its open space also allows for books to be shared with others. The presence of a book corner is hindered by growing class sizes across the grades as well as issues of storage of prescribed readers. The reader that emerges in the later grades is a far more restricted subject than that allowed in Grade 00, as the next chapter demonstrates.

A final word on the spatial is the connection between space and classroom order. Considering some of these connections has potential for transforming classroom practice. While the number of children in classes is a constraining factor, the trained and disciplined bodies of children in the one Grade 1 class demonstrates how flows of movement can be orchestrated through the class with minimum distractions. An irony exists in having a controlled environment that allows subjects greater access and movement in space. In the seemingly popular move to place children in groups at their desks, issues around noise levels, copying, and conflict need to be assessed alongside classification and ranking.

An examination of the movement flows in classrooms and the times these are framed in are useful in ascertaining the development of the schooled subject, and in this case, the literate one. Too much locking down of space and children within it may create less docile subjects and classroom order.

CHAPTER 6 THE READING SUBJECT

A number of researchers have looked at school literacy practices and focussed on various aspects of reading within schools (Barton, 1994; Heath, 1986; Prinsloo and Stein 2004; Wray and Medwell, 1991). This chapter focuses on the corporeal training undertaken in the construction of the reading subject. The opening section addresses what constitutes reading by examining how reading is defined in the Revised National Curriculum (RNC), and compares this with teachers' understandings of literacy. Curricular and personal understandings of literacy, whilst influencing practice, are also often at odds with what happens in classrooms. The chapter then moves on to examine routine literacy events in the preschool setting. This sets up what is the central focus of the chapter – an examination of how reading is configured when children enter formal schooling in Grade 1. It ends by looking at the shifts that have taken place at the end of the Foundation Phase.

6.1 WHAT IS LITERACY? CURRICULUM AND TEACHER VIEWS

The view of literacy as set out in the RNC is one that attempts to incorporate the shifts that have taken place in thinking about literacy. It reveals a move away from viewing literacy as purely something skills-based and decontextualised to one that acknowledges the importance of the social context in which reading and writing are situated. It acknowledges that literacy does not begin at school but emerges from early home and social interactions with texts. Children's literacy learning has a strong social basis that takes place through regular, repeated activities and active participants. The knowledge of these interactions is internalised and built upon (Barton 1994). Literacy teaching at school is supposed to support emergent literacy. The RNC defines emergent literacy as:

> a child's growing knowledge of the printed word. Children see print in the environment and begin to understand its purpose. They may have stories told or read to them and they learn how stories work and what books are. So even before they come to school they often know a

lot. They may try to write their names using their own ideas about letters and spelling (i.e. emergent spelling), and they may try to pretend to read a book (i.e reading-like behaviour). This is the beginning of children's literacy (DoE 2002:137).

The curriculum defines its approach to literacy as a balanced one:

> It is balanced because it begins with children's emergent literacy, it involves them in reading real books and writing for genuine purposes, and it gives attention to phonics. These are things learners need to know and do in order to read and write successfully. In reading, this means moving away from the 'reading readiness approach', which held that children were not ready to start learning to read and write until they were able to perform sub-skills such as auditory discrimination and visual discrimination, and had developed their fine and large motor skills to a certain level (DoE 2002:9).

The influence of 'reading readiness' and skills approaches to reading has been pervasive in teacher education and informs the practice of many South African teachers (Prinsloo and Stein 2004). In contrast, this balanced approach takes three elements of reading into consideration – it "begins" with what children already know and then "involves" them in reading and writing for specific purposes, and "it gives attention to phonics". But, the placement of "and gives attention to phonics" at the end of the sentence emphasises the teaching of phonics – something that has been common practice, rather than teaching literacy using a wide reading approach or from a sociocultural perspective, by drawing and extending on cultural contexts of students.

It seems that though the approach to literacy sets itself up as balanced there is no explicit statement requiring these three elements to be integrated. Phonics teaching is still highlighted, the next section in the RNC entitled "Encouraging Practice" states:

The curriculum says that it is necessary to:
- Encourage and support learners to do wide reading
- Give learners frequent opportunities for writing and for developing their vocabulary and language use, and

- Help learners to discover techniques and strategies that unlock the code of the written word, for example:
  - The development of various word recognition and comprehension skills such as phonemic awareness (sensitivity to the sounds of language)
  - Knowledge of letter-sound correspondences (phonics) and
  - Knowledge of blending (the putting together of two or three letters to make a sound) (DoE 2002:10)

When wide reading and reading and writing for specific purposes are two practices that have had little to no exposure in many classrooms and may be entirely new concepts for some teachers, it seems strange that phonics teaching is explained here in more detail. Nevertheless, there is a definite move away from a narrower definition of literacy that does allow for more holistic approaches to teaching.

The data from the interviews with the teachers yielded relatively conventional views and in some cases limited views of literacy. It appears teachers do not have a coherent understanding of literacy as there is often a mismatch between what they believe literacy to be, and what they do in their classrooms. I begin by discussing the two preschool teachers' definitions of literacy. Dawn says:

Preparation for reading, that is my main concern and language as the most important issue for learning – that is literacy in my view. In the Grade 00 class ……. we regard that as very important and it's preparation for reading and learning. The new curriculum asks us to um implement recognition and um of the symbols for reading, getting 'a' for an apple, but we don't teach it we just introduce it (GR00IN27/6/02).

Lisa says:

Literacy for Grade 0, um I'd say teaching them how to use proper sentences instead of

because they go from baby language in Grade 0 to speaking fluently so using correct

pronunciation that that kind of thing um in general teaching them about everyday life, so it's

general knowledge.... generally for me is when you're communicating with kids, and with teachers, adults GR0IN26/11/02).

For Dawn in Grade 00, the constraints of the curriculum are felt. Although there is a supposed move away from a reading readiness approach, the fact that she is preparing children for reading and cannot teach them to read in any formal way, implies that learning to read for these children can only happen when they are older and 'ready'. This preparation is underpinned by phonics, since children are taught to recognise the letters of the alphabet. Although Dawn's definition of reading is influenced by curriculum requirements, her practice is broader than this and comes close to a balanced approach to literacy.[23] Of all the teachers in this study, it is in this classroom that there is a space for wide reading that is child-driven. This is also underpinned by posters and the availability of books that change regularly and build on children's emerging literacy.

One of the common threads that runs through the majority of the teachers' understandings of literacy is its connection to language. For several teachers literacy and language are conflated, or language teaching is a subset of literacy. This is understandable when, for many teachers, what used to be language teaching, has been renamed the Literacy Learning Area. This conflation reveals an implicit understanding of the point that Barton makes when he explains that literacy is a communicative system with specific ways of representing the world (Barton 1994:43-45). In addition, different literacies are often conducted in different languages (Barton and Hamilton 1988). The teachers are aware that the reading and writing practices of early schooling are conducted in English, which is not the home language of many children. For many in the preschool this is the beginning of their acquisition of English. So it is understandable that one of Dawn's main concerns centres around language acquisition, and that Lisa reveals a preoccupation with language (speaking fluently, pronunciation, proper sentences).

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[23] At the time the Grade 00 class was observed the RNC had not been published and notions of what was expected was in flux.

Lisa also comments on the connection between literacy and "everyday life" where context comes into play. Although the themes that are discussed are chosen by her, she does attempt to draw out what the children know and to extend their knowledge. While the social aspects of learning are highlighted in Lisa's explanation, a substantial amount of time spent on literacy in her class is skills-based, with a strong phonics emphasis. What is absent from preschool discussions around literacy is writing. If the children are not supposed to be formally taught to read, the implication is that they are not to be writers either.

By Grade 1, writing is mentioned as part of literacy and Catherine gives the conventional definition of literacy:

It's to do with language, and the understanding of the English language. That's what I understand literacy…to be literate, to read and write (GR1DIN14/5/03).

Helen's understanding of literacy appears to be more nuanced:

Literacy for me is learning to read and write, um its comprehension. Like they must be able to understand what they're reading, they must um, identify their different sounds, there's something else I wanted to say. It's reading, writing communicating orally and they need to communicate orally, so for me once a child by the end of the year, by the end of the third term this child that has come to school and hasn't understood anything I mean if you give it instructions and the child just looks at you and smiles and by the third term they can do what you ask and I mean they don't speak English at home for me that's excellent so I feel that we've achieved something along the lines in literacy. Literacy is just for me communicating through reading, writing, spelling, things like that (GR1EIN21/5/03).

For the first time literacy is set up as a meaning-making exercise integral to communication. Although children "must be able to understand what they are reading" this understanding is the result of skills-based instruction because the children must "identify their different sounds". Helen acknowledges the impact of learning in English.

In this Grade 1 class discussion is encouraged when the children are learning new concepts, and thus the communication feeds into the reading and writing they are expected to do. Helen's final comment that literacy is communication through "reading, writing, spelling" also reveals a particular conception of literacy. Her inclusion of spelling, which is only one aspect of learning to be literate, reveals a clear connection between what types of knowledge are privileged in the teaching of literacy and the perpetuation of social norms. Clark and Ivanic point out that "the insistence on 'correctness' in spelling, punctuation and sentence structure has a disciplinary, normative and discriminatory role in social life" (1997:187). This construction can also be applied to Lisa's concerns about correct pronunciation and use of proper sentences. Thus, what counts as literacy in the move from Grade 0 to Grade 1 is underpinned by standardised notions of correctness transmitted through repetitive skills (see Chapter 7).

This preoccupation with spelling continues and re-emerges in Grade 3. Thulisile's understanding of literacy is also connected to issues of language proficiency that go beyond the school. But her specific example of competency revolved around spelling:

> To me, I think it's to try to learn to communicate because its about the language if you don't have enough language you can't communicate so I think its very important because they have to communicate with me and even outside the school, so I think its language
>
> What do you teach for literacy?
>
> Like the spelling part last week we… it was about real life it was Usher is coming to SA and stuff about J. Lo (GR3IN27/11/02).

This spelling lesson reveals an attempt to make aspects of the children's life worlds relevant. In this Grade 3 class popular music was an important for many of these children but rather than work from this interest into new spellings, the spelling lessons and words were already decided upon and the children's interests are grafted on to it.

Grade 3 signals a move away from skills based approaches to learning. The Foundation Phase HOD who teaches Grade 3 talks about "creative literacy". In discussing literacy with her, a more detailed picture emerges about how she conceptualises literacy teaching:

> Well literacy is your entire language programme, poetry, writing, creative. As you know I did the stories of the [inaudible] and that was the creative literacy. You teach the grammar you teach the rules of spelling but in a creative way its not just that's the rule and you learn it. You try and implement it and get them to implement it in their own writing and that forms the whole holistic child.

> Grade 3 specifically is the creation of their own work…. It's then trying to formulate their own opinions, write their own decisions, debating. Grade 3 literacy is exciting because you're actually taking the child and making them form their own decisions and then writing it down, so it is not, you're not giving them the point of view, you are telling them what do you think and they have to form their own opinions (GR3HOD6/3/02).

Gail's emphasis is on writing. The reference to "creative literacy" is a project her class undertook at the end of the year where children made their own books, writing and illustrating their stories. Gail spent time with the class emphasising the features of books because many children had limited access to books. Literacy in this example goes beyond skills and includes an application of spelling and sentence construction, knowledge of the genres of stories, and the design features necessary to produce a book. Literacy becomes a means of empowering students where they are able to take on the identity as makers of knowledge and makers of books. There is also an assumption operating about the developmental level of Grade 3s who are now able "to form their own opinions" and transfer this into the written form.

As it stands the interviews indicate that, while there are various elements of a balanced approach to literacy, none of the teachers' explanations reveal that their teaching is based on this approach. There is a preoccupation with issues around language and basic communication. There is also a shift in what is emphasised as literacy teaching across the

Grades. In the preschool the emphasis is on preparing children to read rather than, or in conjunction with, writing. In Grade 1 both reading and writing are important elements of literacy with the teaching being underpinned predominantly by a skills approach. By Grade 3 writing is foregrounded with the assumption that reading has been mastered sufficiently. This of course is not to say that reading does not take place during teaching, but rather, its absence reveals a shift that prepares children for Grade 4 where the majority of the reading done will not be for pleasure but for information related to the new learning areas they will be introduced to. What is significant is that none of the teachers mention using books in the teaching of literacy (although they do) and apart from Gail, there is no mention of reading and writing for specific purposes.

6.2 GRADE 00 READING CORNERS, READING BODIES

There are an abundance of texts in the Grade 00 classroom. The class is full of the children's artwork, symbols[24] on the walls and desks, and posters. Children are exposed to a number of reading practices each day with Dawn reading their names from the register, the staff in the kitchen reading the lunch book to provide the correct amount of lunch, notes from other teachers and books. The children are often read to. Dawn uses a children's bible to tell bible stories on most mornings. Although it is a children's bible the language is often complex for the children and Dawn both reads and paraphrases the stories for the children. She also makes space for the children's own books. When a child brings a book from home she reads it aloud to the class. Thus an unwritten assumption operates that if a child brings a book to school it will be read aloud. As mentioned in Chapter 5, this reading takes place on the carpet and involves the whole class.

In the next section I want to examine in detail one incident of reading that took place in the reading corner without any teacher supervision. It is interesting for several reasons,

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[24] Because the children cannot write they are each given a symbol (e.g. mouse, dice, doll). These symbols are photocopied and cut into small squares which the children stick onto each piece of work they do. See section 7.2.2.

specifically in this case as to how the children's positioning of their bodies reveal their understandings of literacy. In order to analyse this incident Hamilton's (2000:17) framework developed for analysing literacy practices and events from photographs was useful as a way to read the body in relation to the setting, artefacts and activities. I want to begin this section by first setting up, as way of a contrast, how story time as a teacher-directed activity operates.

All reading takes place on the carpet. When reading is teacher-directed the children are required to sit in their rows and listen. The children are also being disciplined to sit still, listen and participate in particular ways. An example of this was early in the year when Dawn read *The Gingerbread Man* to the class (Gr00FN21/1/02). The children are required to sit in rows, but shortly after the story began they moved out of them. Perhaps sitting up straight in a prescribed space is at odds with something that is told for pleasure. This echoes Lisa's comment that during story time in Grade 00 the children sit where they prefer. By the end of the story, and school day, several of the children are lying down listening. Dawn reads the story aloud to the children and after each page shows them the pictures, drawing them in by asking questions about the pictures and the story and recapping what has happened before. Because questioning and labelling pictures in this manner is a middle class practice (Heath 1986) that is probably unknown to several children in the class, and incomprehensible for those with limited English, there are no reprimands for incorrect answers. As the children's English improves so do the levels of their responses to the stories. The majority of the reprimands centre around children talking. The children also become distracted by external factors, as is illustrated by Dane who excitedly shouts out to his mother when he sees she has arrived to fetch him. His childish impatience to move on is revealed at the end of the reading by his politely phrased, "Thank you for the story, I need to go now."

6.2.1 The Reading Corner

In contrast, the unsupervised reading has a very different pace and regulatory feel to it. The following literacy event was video taped (Gr00VT17/5/02). I had initially moved from the tables where children had been painting to watch the boys who were involved in an active session playing on the carpet with cars. It was then that the scene in the reading corner unfolded. There was a clear gender division as remarked on by Williams and Gregory (2002) as the boys preferred to play while the girls read. Although there was some dialogue between the girls, the noise from the boys often drowned out what they were saying. This lack of a clear verbal transcript was helpful in focussing on the message the children's bodies were communicating. I have chosen to examine this particular incident because this was the first time I had seen more than limited interaction in this space and able to capture it on film. The discussion of this interaction is accompanied by a photo story. I believe that this interaction reveals a fluidity and openness of space not present in the other classrooms, and allows for the children to negotiate their reading space and the reading practices on their own terms that is revealing of the kind of readers they are learning to be. There are a number of reading interactions that took place as different children entered and exited the space. This interaction involves five girls. Ntombi, already in the Reading Corner is joined by Nomfundo who is then joined by Thandeka. Nomfundo leaves and Lungelo arrives. Ntombi leaves and Thembi arrives. The incident ends with Lungelo and Thembi reading. Both Thandeka and Lungelo arrived at the beginning of the year with a limited knowledge of English and this interaction also serves to illustrate their growing acquisition of the language.

The first part of the interaction begins with Ntombi sitting on a cushion with crossed legs, her back facing the shelves with an open book on her lap. Nomfundo stands in front of her with two books tucked under one arm, while she leans with the other arm on a cupboard next to the Reading Corner watching Ntombi, possibly waiting for her to move (photograph 6.1). Ntombi is engaged in her book. The book is an illustrated book for early numeracy. Each double page depicts what appears to be a country scene with small

pathways and hills. On the left hand is an object (e.g. trees) and printed on the right hand side the number of objects that can be counted in the scene. As the book progresses the picture become fuller, incorporating the objects from the previous pages. Ntombi's engagement with the book is indicative of several of the elements Snow and Ninio (1986) mention in what they call the "contracts of literacy" for emergent readers: Firstly Ntombi is acquiring book handling skills. Her turning of the pages is clumsy – she holds several pages up and then tries to turn them from this position so that sometimes more than one page is turned and she has to page back (photograph 6.2). The content of the book leads the reading event, and the reading in this case is about counting. Ntombi clearly demonstrates her ability to make meaning from the text – she stops at the number four, pointing and counting on the page. One of the elements of an emerging reader is repetition; Ntombi repeats her pointing and counting for the number four. This episode also reveals directionality as another aspect she has learnt even though her page turning is not perfectly sequenced, she counts the objects from left to right.

Nomfundo then sits down opposite Ntombi, her books still tucked under her arm, and leans forward to join in Ntombi's reading. She points on the page with Ntombi, then takes her finger away letting Ntombi count, nodding her head as Ntombi says each number aloud, mouthing them quietly with her (photograph 6.3). There is something wonderfully tactile about this experience. Nomfundo is interested in what Ntombi is doing and Ntombi lets her into the reading space she has created. Nomfundo then leans back, says something to Ntombi, streches her legs out and crosses one over the other. The books are on her lap and her initial gestures suggest she will begin reading. The interaction shifts from reading that is shared between the two girls, to what would have been individual reading, when Thandeka enters the reading corner. She leans across Nomfundo and takes another book off the shelf, off camera she opens the book on the title page (photograph 6.4). Nomfundo takes the book out of Thandeka's hands and says, "I want to", places it on her lap, and keeps it open and looks at the title page (photograph 6.5). Thandeka makes an aggrieved sound, closes the book Nomfundo is now holding and tries to take it from her. She fails and then leans right over so that she lies on Nomfundo's legs and takes another book entitled *My Book of Colours* off the shelf. This book is also

set out with each page depicting a specific colour with objects representing this colour. At this moment there are no books left on the shelf, they are on the floor or being held by the girls. A tacit rule has been played out about access to the books. Ntombi who was in the reading corner first is not challenged for her book, or her sitting space, but Thandeka has arrived after the other two and thus they have first choice of the books. But the fact that Thandeka has not fought over the loss of her first choice gains her entry into the circle because Nomfundo then says something to her and smiles. At this point Ntombi draws Nomfundo's attention to something in her book and both girls look at what she points at.

Thandeka demonstrates her understanding of reading. She opens her book, sits on her haunches and begins to read aloud (photograph 6.6). This action reveals several things. Firstly that her book handling skills are not consistent, while she opened the first book on the title page; this book is opened randomly on the "Orange" page with pictures of a cup, carrot and orange. I would argue that the fact she sits up on her haunches and reads aloud are linked. She reads in quite a loud voice. Thandeka's reading behaviour demonstrates an understanding that stories are things that are read aloud. I would argue that she has modelled her reading behaviour possibly on what she has seen Dawn do. But the situation shifts from what Dawn does because there is no audience that she is reading aloud to – she is reading for herself. Furthermore she reads aloud in English:

  "One day, the carrot, the apple, and the cup…"

Stories in the class are read aloud in English and Thandeka demonstrates Barton and Hamilton's (1998) point that different literacies take place in different languages. The girls communicate with each other in Zulu. Storyreading for Thandeka, whose English proficiency is limited, is a predominantly English activity. This is further illustrated by the mistake she makes by identifying the picture of the orange as an apple. She also demonstrates an understanding about the structure of stories and their concomitant linguistic patterns by beginning her story with "One day" and turning the apple, cup and carrot into characters. But, since this is a children's book as opposed to a children's

storybook[25] and Thandeka, lacking possible the vocabulary and ideas because the layout of the page represents only objects, cannot continue as she began. Barton (1994:145) points out that children's first books often have no story "and are often just pictures and first story times may consist mainly of the adult naming unconnected pictures." This would indicate that Thandeka's interactions with and handling of books for children have been limited. It may not be an incorrect assumption to make that the naming and labelling of these "unconnected pictures", identified as middle class practices, are something Thandeka has not had exposure to at home. It also points to a limited knowledge of the different genres that can be represented in books.

Thandeka then moves to sit next to Nomfundo and leans against the cupboard with her legs crossed. Nomfundo is reading her book with her legs raised and the book propped up on them. Ntombi has changed posture by this stage as well and is sitting on her haunches with her book in front of her, half on her legs, and half on the cushions, bent over the book looking closely at the pictures, involved in her counting. The girls change postures sitting in ways they find comfortable to read the books. Thandeka's reading triggers a response with Nomfundo who opens her book on the last page and also begins to read aloud and begins her story with "One day" in English (photograph 6.7). By this time both girls are reading aloud and the noise from the boys behind make it difficult to hear what she is saying but her gestures in themselves are extraordinarily expressive and indicate that Nomfundo takes on the identity of storyteller. With her book propped up on her legs and anchored by her right hand she gestures with her left. Her identity as storyteller is further reinforced by what appear to be performative gestures that take on elements of characterisation. It appears that she is telling a story about a mother and baby. She lifts her hand to her head on the first page as if to say "Oh dear look what has happened" as she reads (photograph 6.8). She pauses, turns the next page and begins again with "One day". This time she lifts her hand again which is accompanied with a "wooo" and opens and closes her fingers as she continues, moving her body and head. It almost seems as though Nomfundo's hand becomes one of the characters, moving with the dialogue as a

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[25] Barton (1994:141) makes the distinction between "books for children, books to read to children and books for children to learn to read".

puppet would. The cadence she adopts clearly mirrors that of a conversation between two characters as opposed to an extended piece of story, which is indicated by her reading of the third page (photographs 6.9 – 6.13):

> Play for baby.
> No I am not playing for baby.
> PLAY for baby!

Just before she begins this page she moves her head sideways to Thandeka and quietly tells her, "Thula" (keep quiet) as she is laughing loudly at what she has just finished reading in her own book (photographs 6.14, 6.15). Thandeka's reading indicates that reading in this space is a pleasurable activity. Nomfundo's quiet reprimand is one that does not remove the pleasure, but merely serves as a reminder that there are other readers present. Nomfundo's reading is brought to a halt as Dawn calls her to ask if she has painted. She shakes her head and gets up.

This is fortuitous, for Lungelo has arrived and moves to sit between Ntombi and Nomfundo. There are no books left and she tries to take Ntombi's. Ntombi refuses. Thandeka replaces the book she read back on the shelf - a regulated subject who has internalised the rules of the Reading Corner. Ntombi leaves and Thembi comes to sit next to Lungelo who has chosen a book. When she is finished with the book she replaces it on the shelf and takes the book Ntombi had. Thembi and Lungelo sit quietly on the cushions looking at their books and then Lungelo moves off the cushions to lie down. As Thembi sees this, she moves over Lungelo's legs to lie flat on her stomach to look at her book. They continue reading by themselves (photographs 6.16, 6.17). In this moment the space of the reading corner is extended into the more open carpet space, and the children's bodies reflect reading postures associated with reading for pleasure as opposed to the disciplined posture of the child reading aloud, or reading for information that the other children in the study display. The following sections will deal with this.

6.3 GRADE 0: INDIRECT READING

Activities relating to reading in Grade 0 are still located on the carpet, and although they share some similarities with the Grade 00's in relation to the end of the day storytime, the first major shift is evident in terms of how reading is controlled and the impact that this has on children's bodies. It is only at the end of the day that children move from their allocated places on the carpet to sit close to Lisa for the story. This is encouraged by Lisa (Gr0FN1/10/02). This rearrangement of the children that results in a greater proximity to the teacher, and each other, can be seen to work to create a more intimate environment which points to Lisa's understanding of how storytime should operate. Storytime at home is often a time where children and adults sit in close proximity to each other and it is possible that Lisa is drawing practices of the home domain and transferring this to her classroom.

At the same time this level of intimacy cannot be replicated with an entire class and storytime also contains a level of discipline. In two incidents of storytime Lisa's storytelling was interspersed with comments all directed to the children's behaviour and by implication to undisciplined bodies:

> "Sit flat"
> "Sit. If you carry on talking I am not reading."
> "Do you want to get out?"
> "It is always the same children who are naughty during storytime." (Gr0FN1/10/02)
>
> "Stop picking your nose."
> "I am not going to ask you questions because you are not listening."
> "Sit on your bum, fold your legs."
> "Put your shoes on." (Gr0FN27/10/02)

The general rules for sitting on the carpet apply, even though story time is supposed to be a more relaxed time. Children have to sit properly and not move around. While this is

important to allow everyone enough space to see the book when Lisa shows the pictures, it still has a regimented element. The prescribed dress code is maintained the entire day. This is different to the Grade 00 class where both Nomfundo and Thandeka were wearing their socks in the reading corner. Reading is no longer an activity where one can lie back and kick off one's shoes. It has become more serious. The most important rule for this literacy activity is to listen and not talk. Storytime is about listening well so that one can demonstrate through answering questions that one has remembered the story. It is interesting that Lisa sets up the asking of questions as a privilege that can be taken away if the children do not listen.

The second shift is a far more explicit pedagogical practice in preparing children to read. Instead of just exposure to print in the classroom environment and some lessons on letters of the alphabet in Grade 00, 'indirect reading' takes place everyday in Grade 0 as part of the first ringtime. Since my observations of this class took place at the end of the year, the children had already been introduced to the letters of the alphabet and were currently learning two and three letter words. The texts that were used for indirect reading consisted of Letterland Letters, stuck up below the blackboard as well as the Dolche words that children were learning at this time. The placement of the letters and words was at an appropriate level for the children to read when they were sitting on the carpet. Lisa also had flashcards. Children were introduced to a new word each week. The reading approach in this class is a bottom up one (Levine 1990, Jackson 2000, Wray and Medwell 1991) and Lisa is attempting to teach the children to "unlock the code of the written word" (DoE 2002:10) by creating a phonemic awareness through repetition of the letters of the alphabet. Sometimes the children also sang along with the Letterland tape. She makes the link between letter-sound correspondences and blending of words as prescribed by the curriculum.

How is this type of reading lesson organised? There are two classroom arrangements depending on whether Lisa uses the flashcards or the words/letters stuck below the blackboard. Because reading is a part of the first ring, all the children sit around the edge of the carpet with their legs crossed. When they have to read, the girls sitting on the

carpet next to Lisa move to sit in front of her so that they can see. Reading is no longer the tactile experience as evidenced by the Grade 00 Reading Corner – Lisa controls the flashcards, and the letters on the wall are only to be looked at. Reading is predominantly about memorisation and testing.

The following is a typical reading lesson reconstructed from field notes (Gr0FN7/10/02):

> The children read the words stuck up on the wall as a class.
>
> Lisa introduces a new word and asks if anyone knows what it is. This day it is *pot* and Tshepo puts his hand up and identifies it correctly.
>
> She sounds it out, "*p-o-t is pot*" and the children repeat after her. She makes some attempt at defining pot by saying: *"Mommy cooks from a _____, Daddy eats from a _____",* the children respond with *"pot".*
>
> She then goes around the class showing flashcards of the following words that each child has to read: *on, at, us, up, as, if, in, it, is, am.*
>
> Lisa tells the class that if they get all the words correct they will get a star. When children do read all the words correctly the class claps for them. The first seven girls read the words with little trouble.
>
> Vukani then makes one mistake and Lisa announces that he will also get a star because he only got one word wrong.
>
> Busi is told to take her hand away from her mouth when she reads. She makes a mistake reading *it* as *at*. Lisa questions her about her sounding out: " '*i' – 't' says at?*" But the class is told to clap because she has tried.
>
> Faizel who reads well, reads his words very quickly and receives an overenthusiastic clap.
>
> Before Zama reads Lisa compliments her on her new earrings asking if everyone has seen them.
>
> Damon, who battled with two words, but eventually got them is annoyed that the class did not clap for him and demands that he gets his clap.
>
> After getting halfway through the class the children become restless. From this point on until she finishes Lisa keeps having to reprimand them: *"Will you stop*

moving now?" "Nicci do you have ants in your pants", "Right, fold your arms.
You are distracting her. Dipuo what does it say?", "Fold your arms", "Tshepo
do you want to get out?", "Fold your legs", "Talk now and see what happens".
She sends Damon who is habitually restless to stick up a picture that has fallen off
the wall – but he begins to chat and is told to *"shush"*. Towards the end of the
lesson she says, *"I know we are restless but the others have been good at waiting*
for you."

The last child to read is Jason who has to sound some words out. He struggles
with *at* and uses the Letterland names *"Annie Apple says 'a', Ticking Tess says 't'*
– [long pause] - at."

The children who got the words right are given a star and told to flatten them on
their foreheads. Nicci makes a suggestion that the other children should get a star
for trying hard. Lisa gives another 5 stars out and these are stuck on their hands.

An examination of this example reveals how a particular conception of reading impacts
on the construction of the Grade 0 reading subject. The most obvious is that reading
functions not as a meaning-making exercise but a demonstration of decoding skills.
Choosing to focus on decoding skills may in part account for Lisa's emphasis on
pronunciation – the children need to sound out letters correctly so they can be blended
and then read "properly". This impacts in several ways on the bodily disposition of the
children. Reading is a public act that takes place in front of peers and a teacher. A reader
reads aloud and the enunciation of each world should be clear. What counts as enunciated
clarity and projection are of course culturally loaded concepts further complicated by the
speaking habits acquired by other languages, moulding the speech organs. Sometimes it
is the body itself that works against enunciation. At the time of this study Jake had lost
his front teeth and had a great deal of difficulty pronouncing words with the letter 't'. 't'
is a lingua alveolar consonant where the tongue is placed on the upper gum ridge but the
teeth may help support the tongue on the gum ridge and the absence of teeth may impede
pronunciation.

Other issues around children's ability to decode are also raised as Jason's attempts to work out the word *'at'* illustrates. He goes back to naming the appropriate Letterland letters, indicating that he has worked out the sound–letter correspondence, but naming the letters as Annie Apple and Ticking Tess makes blending them an arduous chore. With the Letterland characters devised as a memory aid to learn the alphabet, they present a barrier to sound out words.

English is both of these children's home language, but for the children who speak other African languages using phonics to teach reading can present serious problems. For example there are a number of sound-letter correspondences that differ between English and isiZulu. Since the letter 't' was problematic in both these examples I will illustrate my point using it. The letter 't' is an ejective plosive in isiZulu. These are voiceless consonants and affricatives whose sound is shorter and sharper than in English. The sound does not occur in English. It could be compared with the final sound in "that" but is not aspirated (Taljaard and Bosch 1988). A transfer of this knowledge can result in mispronounced words. Possibly more confusing is [th]. In English [th] as in "that" is a voiced continuous lingua dental consonant. But in isiZulu it forms part of a group of aspirated consonants which are voiceless lingua alveolar plosives "which are followed by a short period of voicelessness before the voicing of the vowel starts" (Taljaard and Bosch 1988:8). Distinguishing the ejective from the aspirated 't' is crucial for meaning: *tuba* means to soften but *thuba* means to become darkened (Doke 1990:10). For children encountering English for the first time producing the correct sound-letter correspondence and then blending them correctly can be a bewildering experience. Thus Busi's mistaking *it* for *at* may in fact be influenced by how she hears the English vowel sounds.

Although the spatial arrangement of bodies in a circle does go some way to creating a unity within the class (see section 5.3.2.3) – individuality is still stressed as the majority of the time spent on indirect reading focuses on individuals identifying letters and words. In addition there is also a subtle message that operates as to what constitutes reading that the children will encounter when they reach Grade 1. Reading aloud involves reading longer pieces of writing, rather than just identifying one word. When the children are

required to read a list of words they stand. A standing body clearly marks out levels of competence. In another lesson the class was made to stand and on correctly identifying the word they sat down. By the end of the round the children left standing were the ones who did not know their words and did not get a star (Gr0FN5/11/02).

The rewarding of stars is another element of how the body is literally marked as a reader. Giving stars to children is an outward sign of their competence. Although the children use their bodies through clapping to encourage and acknowledge success, the sounds fade, but the materiality of the star carries with it more significance. It is a reward from a teacher, not peers, and thus holds greater symbolic value and reveals a compliant subject. The placement of the stars on the forehead is a clear indicator that success has been achieved and indicates a body that performed a school task very well. Nicci's desire to recognise the work of her peers appears on the surface noble, but it also indicates a realisation of hierarchical power relations. By asking for the stars for these children to be placed on their hands, which is not nearly as visible, she maintains position as one of the clever and favoured children.

In what becomes quite a time-consuming lesson for the children, Lisa has to spend her time disciplining the children which she does by directing her comments at children's bodies. To stop the movement which results in general noise and talking, she reminds them where to place their arms. If their arms are folded and their legs are already crossed the body is unable to move in ways that indicate restlessness. She also threatens to relocate children – spatial relocation is a means of punishment. When she says "talk now and see what happens", having no recourse to corporal punishment the next disciplinary tactic is to move the children. Sometimes she sends the children outside the classroom. She does relocate Damon, who could be very restless if not occupied with some activity, subtly in this lesson by giving him something to do.

This indirect reading routine was added to on only two occasions when the children worked with magazines (Gr0FN13/11/02, Gr0FN14/11/02). On both days the usual round of flashcard identification of letters and words preceded this task. The magazines were

then fetched from the back of the class and handed out. On the first day the children were asked to identify the letters 'o' and 's' (or in Letterland terms, Oscar Orange and Sammy Snake). The children were excited by this task and shouted out when they found the letters. They were reminded to put their hands up. To execute this task the class spread out on the carpet, leaning in various directions to read their magazines. Lisa walked around the carpet to check if they had identified the correct letters. The second day the children were asked to identify the first letter of their own name and then the first letters of various children in the class. These exercises were short but the children seemed excited to flick through the magazines. Although they were still code-crackers (Freebody and Luke 1997) this exercise moves away from decontextualised reading as such an interaction with the magazines creates a way for children to become more print literate. This engagement can create an awareness of the design features of magazines for example, different fonts can represent the same letters, letters can be represented in either upper or lower case. Considering the limited interactions with texts, this kind of exercise could be expanded upon, and children could even have looked to see if they could identify any of the Dolche words they had learnt. This would have expanded their understanding that printed words are connected in longer pieces of writing as opposed to being discrete entities.

Reading in Grade 0 is then teacher-regulated with limited tactile experiences with texts. It is associated with a demonstration of individual decoding proficiency that will be a common practice in Grade 1. Children who demonstrate proficiency wear their 'badge of competence' by being awarded stars on their foreheads. There is limited meaning associated with texts, and even during storytime children are closely controlled.

6.4 GRADE 1: READING BODIES READING DUCKS

There is continuity in the way reading is taught from Grade 0 to Grade 1 because of the emphasis on phonics. But there is also a broadening of what constitutes reading. The literacy event that follows demonstrates a move from the 'indirect reading' of Grade 0 to

an understanding of reading that merges phonics with texts, story and discussion. At the time of this event the children had been at school just under a month. The time is significant because it demonstrates that this approach begins early on in the school year and, also, how reading stories and learning phonics can run alongside each other. Each week the class is introduced to a new letter of the alphabet, its corresponding sound and related handwriting exercises. New words are introduced and built from the letters the children learn that they can sound out. At the same time they were also introduced to what would be their first reading book, entitled *Mo the Monkey*.

In learning to read it appears that an Interactional model (Jackson 2000, Wray and Medwell 1991) of reading operates. Children learn to read *Mo the Monkey* firstly by being introduced to words and sentences displayed in flashcard form that their teacher reads aloud to them which they repeat (e.g. "Mo the Monkey." "Look. Look." "Look Mo Look." "Mo can play" Gr1FN20/1/03). Then they are given their own copy of the book to read from. The story is simple and repetitive and children (ideally) should recognise common words and be able to read these in the rest of the text. The underlying assumption is that the children need to understand the concept of print and make the connection that letters make up words, so that the patterns of letters can be recognised and decoded. At the same time, the fact that the children's knowledge of phonics is being built up means that they can also draw on this understanding to decode words.

While a particular notion of reading emerges from the following videotaped interaction, a careful analysis of it reveals the symbiotic relationship between learning to read and the disciplinary techniques that target the body to enable a particular form of reading to take place. In order to analyse the interaction to demonstrate both of these concepts a transcript of the verbal interactions of the incident was made off the videotape. Then the videotaped incident was broken down into a frame-by-frame sequence. Where the frames did not match up to events or gestures relevant to the transcript, the intermediate frames were examined. Relevant frames were then selected to represent patterns of bodily interactions, instances of compliance or resistance, that demonstrate the disciplinary techniques integral to this reading lesson creating another photo story.

From this event 5 forms of disciplinary control that target the body can be extrapolated:

- Spatial relocation and distribution of bodies
- Disciplinary control signalling an introduction or shift in content
- Reinforcement of appropriate responses/behaviour
- Training of the linguistic habitus
- Signalling behaviour of participants of "the Literacy Club" (Smith, 1988)

These five forms of control are not exclusive to Grade 1 and are present in various forms in the other events in the Grades examined in this chapter, but this Grade provides the focus for a detailed discussion of reading.

6.4.1 Spatial Relocation

Chapter 5 dealt with spatial distribution in general terms across the grades – this section focuses in detail on one event. The pattern of reading on the carpet in the preschool grades continues here. But, because the day is structured differently, the children's earlier activities take place at their desks and Helen has to relocate them. The children need to learn to get to the carpet in an orderly manner and where to distribute their bodies. Relocation begins at the children's desks. The children are told to clear their desks in preparation for the numeracy task they will do on their return. Helen tells them:

> Pack away please I don't want anything on the tables….Now I am asking you again -
> Come to the mat but you are going to do it quietly – uh, uh, go back.

The act of packing away involves children having to be retold to put their things in their chairbags, and the move to the carpet is far from orderly, as the children do not move together (photograph 6.18). They also do not move in the same way. Amy takes the opportunity to add a performative aspect in the moving from one space to another. In the relocation, Helen's attention cannot be focused on every child and thus surveillance is limited; in this gap another space is created as Amy's body is no longer a schooled body

but reflects the body of a ballet dancer. As she moves to the carpet her carriage is upright and her arms reflect the arm positions of ballet dancers (photographs 6.19 – 6.20).

While Amy is in the process of seating herself, Helen's attention is on the opposite side of the class where the children have distributed themselves incorrectly (photograph 6.21). Before she can begin the lesson she has to reorganise several children (photograph 6.22):

> What is the matter here? It is supposed to be boy-girl. Why do you sit like that?……. Move up Vicky. Move up Vicky. More Vicky. Where you (inaudible) You are at the top of her ….. Move a little forward. Kim where are you supposed to sit? Is she supposed to sit there, Steve? Is she supposed to sit near Stephanie? Who must sit behind you?
>
> I don't think you're supposed to sit there Tshepo because you are not supposed to be anywhere near Vukani. Now move a little bit back please Steve. …. Bongani come and sit in front of Tshepo please. Move back a bit Steve.
>
> You guys move up there, space yourselves out please. Lungelo skyf [26]a little bit shiver, shiver, shiver, come a little bit forward here. Move back James. MOVE BACK JAMES. A little bit more James. More. Thank you. Tshepo are you sitting nicely? Are you sitting nicely? Bongani, cross those legs. Khanyisa are you sitting in the right place because I know you are taller than Andre?

Sitting on the carpet for reading means that everyone sits in an allocated place, from shortest to tallest in each row, with boys alternating with girls. There also needs to be enough space for everyone which Helen communicates in a variety of ways: in English, Afrikaans (skyf), with repetition, varying levels of volume. Children also need to "sit nicely", which translates as sitting with crossed legs.

With Helen's attention on reorganising the class, the close proximity in which the children find themselves can be both frustrating and also very tempting. Throughout this event there was shoving and pushing and hitting as children got too close to each other, venting their frustration when they would not be seen. Nqobi, sitting behind Claudia,

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[26] Skyf is Afrikaans for move

succumbed to temptation by leaning forward while Helen was busy, to poke her in the back (photographs 6.23 – 6.25). The result is a public reprimand, and Nqobi's body language indicates the public shaming through the means of sexual innuendo:

Claudia: Miss, Nqobi is poking me on my back.

Helen: Nqobi, is Claudia your wife? (He puts his head down and shakes it) Is she your child? (shakes his head) Is she your girlfriend? (shakes his head again) Leave her alone please.

6.4.2 Getting Attention

Signalling that a lesson is to begin or a new element added is often conveyed verbally by teachers. This may be accompanied by a change in the teacher's body language, by clapping her hands, using a whistle, or moving to the front of the classroom. In this Grade 1 class gaining attention involves controlling the bodies of the children before the lesson can either begin or resume. In this event it is the control of bodies that operates as a structuring element as the lesson shifts from one text to another.

Helen gains the children's attention by signalling with her body. She lifts her hands so they are just below shoulder height and keeps them open, then she closes them to make a fist. This is the signal for the children to repeat the rhyme she has taught them – that will also allow for the final element of what constitutes 'sitting nicely' – folded arms. Once she has caught several children's attention she begins the rhyme – the class joins in and follow her actions (photographs 6.27-6.30):

Open them shut them, open them shut them. Give a little clap and fold them in your lap.

She then introduces the class to the letter 'd' and reads them the Letterland story about Dippy Duck (photographs 31-32):

Right I am going to read you a story about a friend of mine who wants to come and visit you guys. Do you think we should let my friend come and visit you? Do you really think so?….You must listen carefully to the story.

At the end of the story there is a question and answer session relating to the letter 'd', the pictures in the book and words that begin with 'd' (see section 6.4.5). When Helen has finished talking about Dippy Duck she then moves on to talk about *Mo the Monkey* with the class. Once again this shift is accompanied by drawing attention to the body in moves reminiscent of the game 'Simon Says' (photographs 6.35 – 6.42). She makes the children copy her movements, even using the commands of the game "do this", "do that". The focus is not just on the children responding, but responding correctly, particularly to the movements that require fine motor co-ordination:

Right I want you to put up your hands. Uh, uh No don't make that noise

Sit down my dear.

I'm not holding my arms so wide. I'm not holding my hands in her face.

No, (to Kumo) you are going too far…..Do this (movement) and that (and that) and down and up and up …...I'm not moving my arms I am moving my hands.

The children's movements are not a perfect mimicry of Helen's as several struggle with them. Photographs 6.35, 6.38 and 6.39 show the overextended arms of one child. Photograph 6.40 shows Helen correcting another child's gestures and the final two photographs (6.41, 6.42) indicate that the children are a second behind Helen's gestures: they still have their hands on their heads whilst her arms are raised.

6.4.3 Reinforcing Behaviour

Throughout the interaction Helen reminds the children how they are expected to behave. Once again these are directed at the body. The reminders are directed to the whole class when she knows there may be an over-enthusiastic response:

Right, don't shout at me – I want you to tell me what colour is Dippy Duck? Vukani?

Or to individuals:

And Bongani cross your legs please. Where did you see the dragonfly Bongani?

That's lovely Vicky but put your hand up hey.

Everyone is pinching you today. What's wrong with them?

These comments serve as a gentle reminder of class rules. The use of "please" and the follow up question to Bongani, and the reinforcement of Vicky's answer mean that the discipline is not foregrounded, rather the children's interactions with the text are.

When the interaction does not centre on the text, the reminder is forceful and disciplining of the class foregrounded. During the discussion another teacher walks into the class. Helen prompts them to greet her and the class responds to her cue. While her attention is focused on the other teacher the character of the class changes. The noise level does not alter significantly but the relative docility of bodies alters rapidly to encompass a variety of movements that involve rocking against each other, hair pulling and hitting. A comparison of photographs 6.33 and 6.34 demonstrates the point. In the first Helen is reading to the class and the children are sitting still, listening. In the second picture, the scene has changed. Front left of the photograph one girl is leaning back into another. This girl's hair will be pulled by the girl sitting behind her. In the middle of the picture a boy is headbutting the boy in front of him. This boy's head, in turn is pushed back to touch

the 'headbutter's' head. On the far right of the picture two more children are smacking each other. I think that it is necessary to point out that while some of these engagements are a result of anger or frustration, some are merely physical games the children are indulge in without malice. Touching one another is more a desire for acknowledgement than anything violent.

Helen's response, on the other hand is forceful. Her tone changes completely and she demonstrates the power of a panopticon – even though she was not looking directly at the class, she has seen them. They are all in trouble and individuals are picked out. She brings their bodies back into line, literally and figuratively with her final comment:

> Right – No I am not happy! I am not happy with your behaviour! Bongani turn around and face the front. Tshepo move back please there is enough space. But you want to sit right up against him. Put your hands on your laps.

6.4.4 Linguistic Habitus

An area of competence these teachers assess in reading is pronunciation. For a phonics-based programme to work, children need to produce the correct sounds. Helen goes beyond making the connection between the letter-sound correspondence but also demonstrates how the sound itself is produced. When asked to identify something else in the picture, other than Dippy Duck, one girl points to a capital D. Helen immediately distinguishes between the sound of the capital and lower case letter by asking what sound Dippy Duck makes. She asks Kurtis, who struggles to identify the sound, and so she emphasises it for him:

> Oh, the capital letter D ('dee') – Dippy Duck's door. Right. But what sound does Dippy Duck make? Does she say 'dee'? What sound does she make Kurtis? 'd' -ippy 'd' - uck What sound does she make?..... When I say Dippy Duck what sound do you hear? I know ducks make quack, quack but Dippy Duck is special like Annie Apple. Can apples really talk? (class shakes their heads)

Once the sound is identified Helen makes the class practise it. She makes the class listen to the sound as she models it, emphasising the plosive nature of 'd' for the class and then they repeat it. She also draws their attention explicitly to how this consonant is produced:

Helen: Listen, listen 'd'. Listen, listen 'd'. Say it

(Class says 'd' several times)

Helen: When you say 'd' where is your tongue?

Claudia: On your palate

Helen: Yes it is on your palate at the top of your mouth. It's just behind your teeth. Put your tongue there, 'd', no, no, like that straight up you must feel it press up 'd', 'd', 'd'.

(Class makes d sounds)

Helen: Wow, so many dippy ducks. Thank you

'd' is a lingular alveolar consonant, but Claudia produces an impressive technical term that Helen does not discredit as incorrect but refines her answer by adding "It's just behind your teeth", but in doing so she also provides information as to how the sound is made.

In the previous sections (with the exception of 6.3), the disciplining of the body has primarily been associated with the body in general. But here training of the linguistic habitus is taking place. Bourdieu (1992:86) points out that language is a body technique that has a marked impact on how one negotiates one's way through the world:

The sense of acceptability which orients linguistic practices is inscribed in the most deep-rooted of bodily dispositions: it is the whole body which responds by its posture, but also by its inner reactions, or more specifically, the articulatory ones, to the tension of the market. Language is a body technique, and specifically linguistic, especially phonetic, competence is a dimension of bodily hexis in which one's whole relation to the social world, and one's whole socially informed relation to the world are expressed.

The teachers in this study have their own linguistic habitus tied to their identities beyond the school. An example of this is reflected in the pronunciation of the word "says". In extended utterances Helen pronounces "says" with a short vowel sound [s ɛz] but in shorter utterances and most noticeably in sentences like "Dippy Duck says …" says is pronounced with a diphthong [s eɪ z]. The use of the diphthong indicates a dialectal variety of English rather than Standard South African English pronunciation. At no time did any children in the class question this pronunciation, and, when repeating after her in the reading lessons, all the children copied her pronunciation. I do not want to argue that all the children in the class will take on this particular pronunciation because that would be dismissing the influence of children's linguistic communities at home and their peer group. Some children will take this speech pattern on because it is reinforced outside of school, and for others it may be a speech pattern related to school practices.

6.4.5 Joining the Literacy Club

Frank Smith (1988) argues that for children to be competent readers and writers they need to belong to a community of language users that he calls the "Literacy Club". He details seven characteristics of learning through participation in the club, namely that learning is: meaningful, useful, continual and effortless, incidental, collaborative, vicarious and free of risk. While much of this learning takes place outside of the school, teachers have a role to play. He writes:

> Teachers should facilitate and promote the admission of children into the literacy club. Children who come to school already members of the club, who regard themselves as the kind of people who read and write, should find expanded opportunities in school for engaging in all the activities of club membership. Children who have not become members before they get to school should find the classroom the place where they are immediately admitted to the club (Smith 1988:11).

I think the notion of the literacy club is a helpful one that also resonates with what Gee (2003) has described as affiliation groups and networks that people join and learn through. What is important here is the recognition that some children have already joined the literacy club, and others are introduced to it at school. I think the way this reading lesson operates is that whilst there is formal instruction, these children are introduced to a notion of reading that goes beyond word recognition. What I would like to argue is that the body is incorporated in particular ways as a means through which children are invited to participate in the literacy club.

Being a member of the literacy club in this class requires that certain content be mastered. Rather than just teach letters and sounds, a story is incorporated to help facilitate this learning. Not only are children in the process of learning to read, they are also being read to. This implies that stories can function as both a pleasurable and a learning experience. All the aspects of story time and books that the preschoolers learnt in story time are reinforced, or for those who have not been to preschool, introduced for the first time. Smith's (1988:11) assertion that stories should not be viewed as "extras, rewards or frills" in classrooms but rather integrated as meaningful reading activities is present here. In terms of facilitating a growing understanding of texts Helen also explicitly indicates the metaphorical level that stories work on by drawing the children's attention to the fact that Dippy Duck is a fictional character. As such Barton's (1994:81) assertion that "one of the most important aspects of learning to read is the spoken language around a written text" is realised.

Helen also does something interesting: she works out levels of participation and understanding of the children in the literacy club by asking them what they know.

> Helen: Who knows Dippy Duck? Do you know Dippy Duck Khanyisa? Hey? Have you seen Dippy Duck before?
>
> (Khanyisa answers in the negative.)

Helen: You haven't seen Dippy Duck. Who else hasn't seen Dippy Duck. You haven't seen Dippy Duck Maxine? Hey shame. That's so sad. OK, I am going to show you. Put your hands down; close your eyes so that everyone can see at the same time. Close your eyes. OK open your eyes (She turns the books around to show the class the picture). Right, can you see Dippy Duck?

Class: Yes

Her understanding is informed by the children displaying how much they know via their bodies; they raise their hands – several have never been introduced to the letter 'd' or its concomitant character Dippy Duck. She indicates that this is a sad state of affairs, but it is not shameful. Her use of "Hey shame" is a colloquial indicator of sympathy. The fact that the children raise their hands to admit their ignorance is an indication that the reading environment is a safe one. As an experienced member of the club, Helen can alter this for them. She does this in a collaborative way by involving the whole class. She makes them close their eyes so that they can all meet Dippy Duck together, although the learning experience may be new for some or reinforcement for others. Making the children close their eyes adds an element of excitement to the event and emphasises the power of the visual in stories.

Texts in this class can also be a springboard for affirming children's life experiences and adding to their knowledge. The initial exercise after Helen has read to the class involves identifying pictures from the book – while it is a labelling exercise it is also an exercise in application. Can the children do more than recognise and say the letter 'd', can they work out the initial letter in words? Once the word has been identified Helen asks the children to talk about their interaction/experience – in this case dragonflies. Elwin's answer creates an opportunity for incidental learning as she tells the class why a dragonfly's habitat is aquatic.

Helen: In the tree. Let me see there is someone else I wanted to ask - Elwin have you seen a dragonfly before? Hey? Have you seen it, where did you see it?

Elwin: By my cousin

Helen: By your cousin, where was it (jokes) on your cousin's hair, where? (touches her hair)

Elwin: By the river

Helen: By the river Ok. Put your hands down guys. Let me tell you, dragonflies love to be around water. Cos you know why?

(Vicky says something about eggs)

Helen: That's lovely Vicky but you put your hand up hey. They lay their eggs in the water. They live by the water because that's where they catch a lot of their food, OK, by the water some of the insects fall down there on the water and the dragonfly zooms in (Helen makes a sucking sound) and he (continues making a sucking sound) it up. Hey Kumo. Ok what else do we see in the picture, Adam?

This interaction is playful as well as instructive as Helen uses her body to become a dragonfly, swooping down on Kumo sitting in the front row to demonstrate how a dragonfly finds its prey. Stories can be a springboard for validating experience, additional instruction, and play. Helen further reinforces the latter by drawing in the whole class by physically demonstrating another word that begins with 'd'.

Helen: Ja we've got daisy. Something that your body can do

(She starts to dance)

Student: Dizzy

Helen: Diz – oh you can also get dizzy (she demonstrates with her body). What else can your body do? What am I doing?

Class: Dancing

Helen: Can you do…. (class begins to dance)

The class giggles as they do this, finding a rhythm and enjoying themselves (photographs 6.43, 6.44). I think this interaction demonstrates Helen's understanding of who the children are in her class. The majority of these children come from cultures where dance

is an important element of identity and cultural expression. Reading is not something divorced from who these children are, but a way into this knowledge, and a validation of it. Reading, like dance, involves a particular set of bodily postures that convey pleasure.

In all these interactions no one stands or moves away from the carpet – it is a big enough space to contain the expansiveness of the movement while also clearly demarcating the boundary in which it can exist.

Beginning to read in Grade 1 can be a learning experience that includes a knowledge of texts and how they function. Reading can go beyond decontextualised words to include discussion so learning can take place around texts. Alternative embodied subjectivities can exist together with and enrich the reading experience. But if lessons like the Dippy Duck lesson are infrequent, and traditional methods include no discussion, the reader that is created is a limited one. These two approaches exist side by side and in tension with one another as the following incident demonstrates.

6.5 GRADE 1: THE RELUCTANT READER (A PHOTO STORY)

The Grade 1s read aloud relatively frequently and were listened to either by their teacher or a teacher's aid several times a week. The procedure for reading followed the same pattern. Groups of children were called to sit on the carpet and wait their turn. The groups consisted either of the rows or groups the children sat in. The children brought their homework books and readers with them. On being called to read for the teacher they would stand at her desk. She would take their homework book and open it to the back where a page was stuck in with a record of the title and number of books each child read. This was to be signed by both the teacher and parent each time the child read to them. The school called this a Fun Reading programme to encourage children to read more. The child who read the most books by the end of the year was rewarded.

After observing several of these reading aloud sessions, I would not characterise this form of reading as 'fun'. What was fun was what happened on the carpet while the reading aloud was in progress where children talked, read, or played with each other. Essentially the focus of this section is to establish what counts as reading aloud and how bodily postures reflect whether there is submission or resistance to this. It is important to note that there are changes over time in how the children respond to reading. A comparison of reading aloud after a month of schooling and again at three and a half months is an indication of this (Gr1VT11/2/03, Gr1VT29/4/03). There are several shifts, for example after being at school for a month, several of the children pointed with their fingers at each word when they read aloud. While this may have been permissible at this time (there were no comments from the teacher to indicate otherwise), this is a reading practice that works against fluency. After three and a half months of school this practice stopped. Engagement with the pictures in the books was halted and reading centred around the text only. Several children also revealed limited book-handling skills by opening their books upside down or on the wrong page – for example during one reading lesson Calvin did not make the association between reading and print as he covered the words with his arm (GR1VT18/2/03). Three and a half months later children displayed more control of their texts even if they were not competent readers. The clearest visual indicator of a competent reader was where they held their book. Good readers held their books up to read while children who struggled still placed their books on the desk so they could acquire assistance from the teacher.

The following pictures chart Melany's experience of reading aloud (photographs 6.45 – 6.53). Her body language expresses very clearly how she feels about reading. She does not know how to read in a way that is required, and thus her resistance may stem from a lack of understanding. On her arrival at Catherine's desk she takes on the appearance of a reader, holding her book up, but when asked to begin she remains silent. Her book is then placed on Catherine's desk. While she looks at the pages her hands, first occupied with her nasal orifice, indicate a lack of engagement with the text (6.45, 6.47). At no time does she really touch the book; Catherine turns all the pages for her. Her hands are either up, or blocking her body (6.48, 6.51). At one point she reads with her fingers in her mouth

and is told by Catherine to take theme out (6.49, 6.50). In the third last picture she has her hands clasped and the expression on her face is one of distaste (6.51). In a moment there is a disturbance behind her she quickly turns around to see what is happening (6.53). To end the ordeal she repeats after Catherine, but indicates no ability to decode the words she is reading. Each page of the book reads: "Is it in here?" "No". Until the final page of the story where "it" is found. When Catherine is silent waiting for Melany to read by herself after several prompts, she remains silent. Apart from her body language indicating resistance, Melany's gaze also reveals this. While she looks at the book, she does not look at the words she is supposed to be reading.

Catherine's actions, whilst meant to support Melany's reading, undermine it. She controls the text and thus pace of the reading, turning the pages herself (6.46). She also demands a particular response from Melany – that Melany repeat what she reads aloud for her on the page as she points at each word with her pen (6.47). Reading is about word recognition. Reading aloud also requires clarity, and she both physically and verbally indicates to Melany that she cannot read with her fingers covering, or in her mouth. Although she points out to Melany that the words are the same on each page, this is as far as the interaction with the text extends. Thus reading is a teacher-controlled activity with no sense of individual ownership until one can demonstrate enough competence to stand back and hide the printed word, relaying it orally. The book being read is predominantly visual, with the pictures spread across two pages. The visual is clearly laid out to support the text, and some engagement with the visual may have facilitated Melany's entry into this text. This kind of discussion is time consuming if it has to take place with a number of children, but not impossible. In an earlier chapter I mentioned that in the other Grade 1 class reading often took place in small groups that had been ranked according to reading ability. In this sort of situation reading in small groups in the beginning of the year where some discussion can take place to facilitate the reading process, may be far more beneficial to children. It also constructs reading as a different activity that does not require only a performance of decoding skills but is a means through which an entire text can be engaged with on a meaningful level.

6.6 GRADE 3: SANCTIONED AND UNSANCTIONED READING

I have traced some of the most prevalent reading practices across the preschool grades
into the formal schooling of Grade 1, and the final section of this chapter examines
reading practices as found in Grade 3 at the end of the Foundation Phase. There are
several key shifts, the most obvious one being the limited amount of time spent on story
time. On an average day in Grade 00 the possibility existed that several stories might be
read to the class. By Grade 0 story time is a daily event and by Grade 1, although the year
began with time for stories, it diminished until Grade 3, where it almost ceased to exist.
The Fun Reading Programme remains, which is monitored by the teacher listening to
individuals reading aloud. However, the frequency of these events also diminishes. There
is no wide-reading programme that would complement the thinking behind the Fun
Reading programme as children do not choose their own books to read. At the same time,
several practices that have been set in place from Grade 0 continue. This is demonstrated
by the kind of activities that are undertaken by the Grade 3s. By this stage the assumption
is that children should be more proficient readers and thus frequency of basic phonics
instruction emphasised in the earlier grades decreases. But, its influence is still felt in
work around spelling where the choice of words is decided by more complex sounds.
Thus, improving and building a working vocabulary is incidental. Spelling words in one
week were words with the 'bossy r' in them, like card, star, starts, harp (Gr3FN10/10/02
see figure 6.1 below) demonstrate the influence of phonics:

10 October 2002

<u>Bossy r-</u>

Fill in the missing words

1. I received a birthday _____ as my present.
2. She was playing a _____ with her fingers.
3. The learners thought the sums were very _____.
4. A _____ was shining at night.
5. The school _____ at 8h00.

     star, starts, hard, card, harp

Make your own sentences with

tart dart farm yard

Draw a beautiful card

Figure 6.1 Grade 3 Spelling Exercise

By Grade 3, since reading aloud is limited and there is no reading for pleasure, what kind of reading takes place? This can be partly answered by looking at the type of texts used in the classroom. Exercises are often written on the board or on overhead transparencies (as was the case with the Bossy r- exercise). The only books that were regularly used were the children's schoolbooks, in this case a literacy and numeracy book, and on one occasion, dictionaries. The most prevalent of all texts were worksheets. These were handed out several times a day to children, and, once marked, filed by individuals. This predominance of the worksheet is an effect of OBE thinking. When OBE was set in motion and material from the previous curriculum deemed inappropriate, there was limited material available for teachers. Several workbooks were put together for teachers, with material appropriate for the learning areas. The downside to this was an over reliance on worksheets whose pedagogical soundness was variable. The reliance on worksheets is not limited to the Grade 3s only or to this school in particular.

While it may not be the case in every class or every school day for that matter, working with loose worksheets has the potential to undermine discipline in the class. This can be compounded by the types of worksheets that are utilised. What observations from this study have reinforced is the commonsense notion that there are less likely to be disciplinary problems when children's attention is engaged. A key difference between working in a book as opposed to off worksheets has to do with pace. Once one piece of work is completed, a turn of the page is all that is needed for the next piece of work. But, access to worksheets is controlled by the teacher. The worksheet is not owned in the same way as a book is. It is not packed, carried around and taken home – it is filed away and left in the classroom. When worksheets are handed out discipline can slip. Since worksheets are handed out to each individual and requires the teacher to walk around to achieve this, it means that there is time that children are not engaged with any task and thus their attention is not focussed. Rather, the attention of forty children is focused in forty different directions, and the knowledge that surveillance is lowered invites children to talk, move and play.

This brings me to the second point about the kinds of worksheets chosen. Below is an example of a phonics worksheet dealing with the sound "ph" (figure 6.2). Children have to write the correct word next to pictures and then fill in the missing word. As is clear from Charmaine's answers, she has not read with any meaning at all. Next to the picture of a photograph she has started to write "elephant", but the number of letters in elephant do not fit the lines so she ends with "oph" writing "elephanoph" – a nonsense word. She already has "ph" from elephant so why end the word with "oph"? My answer to this would have to do with classroom layout and the fact that she probably copied the end of the word from one of the other children in her group. What is more interesting is that the "fill in the words" exercise requires that one read for meaning. Both the sentences and the words to be filled in have to be understood, as well as how an exercise like this operates. Charmaine demonstrates that this is a meaningless task for her – she copies the words she must fill in, in the order in which they are presented creating, meaningless sentences.

I think that worksheets have a place, but in using them excessively they create a limited reader. Using worksheets means that reading is never an extended exercise. It involves limited problem solving and the ability to read instructions to decode what is required. They also do not require any real discussion or engagement, which returns me to my point about sustaining attention. It is obvious from being in any classroom for a short period of time that children do not work at the same pace and some children might finish worksheets like these very quickly, while others plod on, distracted by those who have finished. Working pace is a general problem, but one I believe is exacerbated by worksheets.
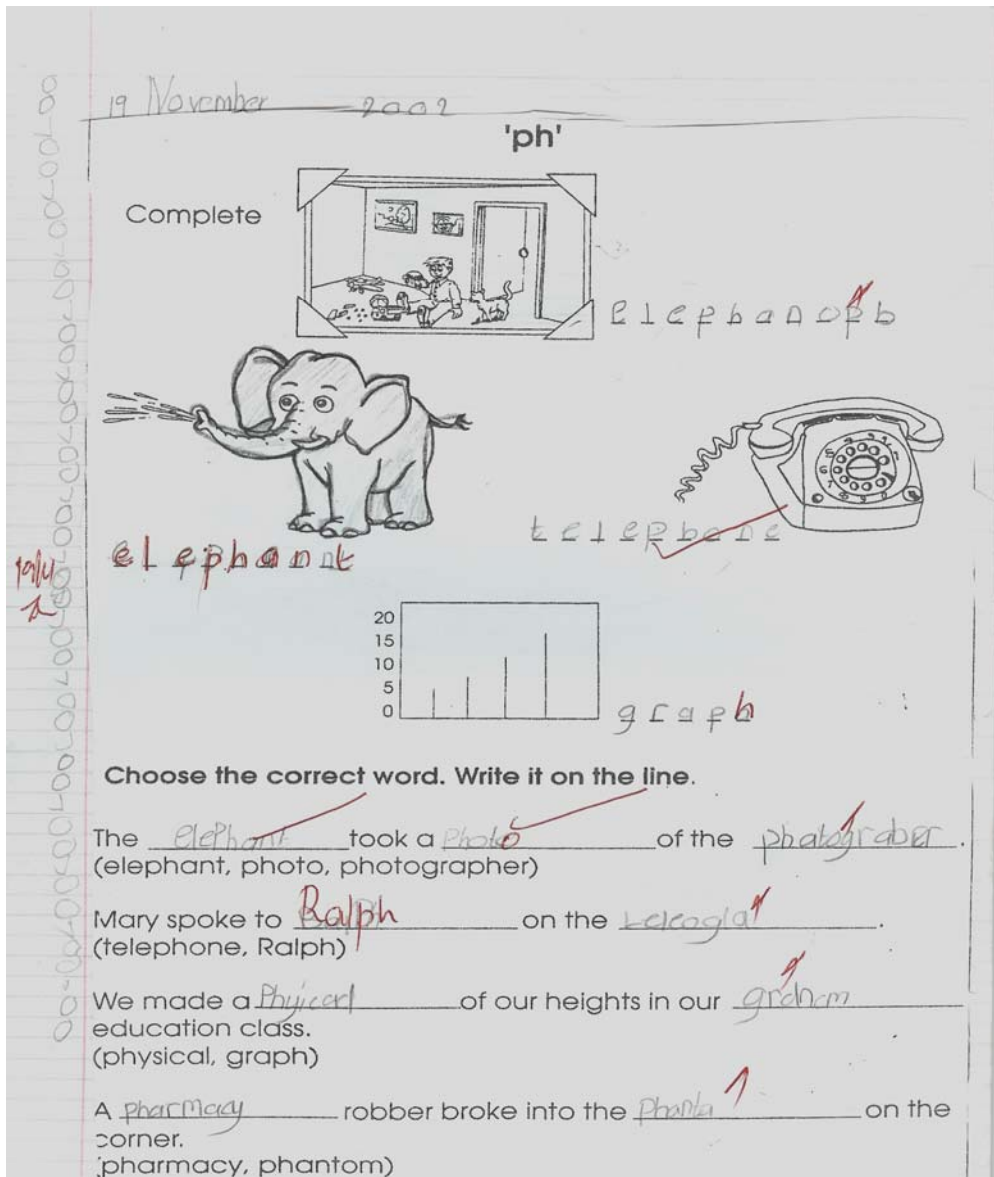
Figure 6.2 Grade 3 Phonics Worksheet

In the gaps between worksheets and completing formal work in Grade 3, two boys demonstrated that other kinds of readers exist. The first boy sat at his desk reading a magazine. Unlike the surreptitious reading of magazines that often takes place in classrooms, this was clearly displayed on his desk. Unfortunately it was impossible to see what kind of magazine he was reading. The fact that this magazine was clearly displayed was odd, given that no-one else in the class had any reading material on their desks. The question to be asked then is why was it openly displayed? The answer lies in part in the lessening of controlled spatial distribution. The movements of the Grade 1s are more

tightly controlled, and as section 6.4.1 demonstrates, the artefacts left on, or cleared away on children's desks is regulated. In Grade 3 there is less regulation and there is also less regulated control over distribution, so children manipulate this. Movement needs to appear purposeful so they 'work' the system: trips to the dustbin to sharpen pencils, borrowing stationery from friends across the classroom, going to file worksheets. In these moments when several children are moving through the classroom, a child sitting at their desk reading is hardly going to count as a disruption.

The second reader is also interesting, Nhlanhla is a boy for whom 'purposeful' wandering around the class is a well-acquired skill. Nhlanhla sat in the middle group of desks in the front of the class. During the class he wandered around and while Thulisile was at her desk he lay down on his back on the carpet, propping his head up on his schoolbag, and had what can only be referred to as a rest. But he also had with him several pages of full colour advertising that had come from a newspaper. He had folded up the pages and they also were on his desk. Several times in-between his wanderings he pored over the pictures of goods that were being advertised. This was not some casual reader paging through adverts, but a close reader who was reading with a purpose and possible pleasure (desire?). It is possible his fascination with these pages was elicited because it was nearing Christmas and he was scouring the pages looking for presents he would like to receive.

In thinking about the Grade 3s, I recall how the Foundation Phase teachers talked about them. At the end of the year they noted how difficult the Grade 3s could become. The assumption was that they had reached the end of the Foundation Phase, were tired of being the babies of the school, and impatient to move on. This chafing was evident in the frequent disruptions of lessons, the noise and movement. I wonder how much of this desire to move on to a new experience was also fuelled by boredom with the materials they were required to complete.

6.7 CONCLUSION

I would like to end this chapter with a comment made by Freebody and Luke about reading models:

> Models of reading have been based in models of the social order and how the literate person can and should fit into that order. Ways of reading are not neutral but are indeed correlated with issues of identity and cultural and political power, access to capital, and contemporary configurations of gender, ethnicity, class, and citizenship in the late capitalist societies….Reading practices that are developed in schooling contexts are not accidental, random, or idiosyncratic. Rather they are supportive of the organisational needs of schooling and the stratified interests within social organisations (1997:191).

The possibility exists in the literacy interactions described above for several types of readers to exist. Ultimately the reader who has control over texts – to examine, learn and own them, emerges only in small gaps in the classroom, and is replaced by a reader who is focussed on small task-based exercises where the direction of the interaction is controlled by the text and teacher. Access to multiple texts in classroom time becomes severely limited and readers move from open spaces to more tightly controlled ones where exercises are pre-selected.

This is not to say that reading is not done for specific purposes, but these purposes are limited and fall clearly into notions of school knowledge. An analysis of how reading lessons can be 'read' through the body is a move away from what teachers do, to the literal construction of classroom reading that children are engaged in. Readers who are open to multiple possibilities can exist in the relatively unregulated space of the Grade 00 class or the tightly controlled Grade 1 phonics lesson, but, readers can also be limited by fixed notions of what constitutes reading and the performance of it as in the Grade 0 class

and reading aloud in Grade 1 as well as by the limited range of texts Grade 3s are exposed to.

CHAPTER 7 THE WRITING SUBJECT

The previous chapter examined how the reading subject is constructed in the Foundation Phase, and the focus now shifts to writing. The organisation of the chapter is similar to Chapter 6. It begins by comparing teacher's views of writing with the curriculum. This is followed by an examination of classroom writing practices, with an emphasis on the continuities and shifts across the grades. In order to illuminate the interplay of power relations in constructing embodied subjects via the medium of literacy, data for this chapter will be read specifically through the notion of the spatial. Writing is tightly connected with the spatial, and Kress (1997:17-18) notes that, because writing is a visual medium the emphasis is on space and spatiality rather than temporal sequencing, its internal logic is guided by spatial arrangements. Thus it is through an examination of spatial relationships that an analysis of the construction of the writing subject is located.

This chapter works with space in two ways. It looks at the physical configurations of space, returning to some of the arguments raised in Chapter 5. It asks how space is organised, and how bodies are trained to write in these spaces. The chapter also looks at space on a more metaphorical level by examining the spaces created for writing. If writing is "never a skill but deeply constitutive of subjectivity" (Kamler 2001:54) then what kinds of subjects are created in the writing tasks set up in the classroom?

7.1 WHAT IS WRITING? CURRICULUM AND TEACHER VIEWS

Luke (1993:2) has noted that literacy training is a matter of "how various theories and practices shape what people do with the technology of writing." He goes on to point out that the history of literacy education is about power and knowledge; this is played out in the modern state by the choice of who will be placed in "a privileged position in specifying what will count as literacy". This seems a useful place to begin this discussion on writing: In a state-constructed curriculum, what counts as writing?

The previous chapter has already explored notions of literacy in relation to reading. The focus here begins with the fourth learning outcome, dealing specifically with writing as set out in RNC. The outcome states:

> The learner will be able to write different kinds of factual and imaginative texts for a wide range of purposes" (DoE 2002:11).

Since children in this phase of schooling have not mastered writing, a further explanation is given:

> In the Foundation Phase, learners work towards this outcome. They learn that writing carries meaning, and that they themselves are the authors of meaning. They develop their handwriting skills to be able to record their thoughts and ideas so that they and others can read them. They learn how to use writing conventions such as spelling and punctuation to make their writing understandable to others. They learn that writing is a process that includes pre-writing, drafting, revising, editing, illustrating, publishing (DoE 2002:11).

This view of writing is quite broad, and in order to meet this outcome children need to understand or master three things: writing as making meaning, writing as process, and writing as mastery of skills and conventions. This view also recognises the two aspects of writing that are contained in the word 'write': scribe and author (Barton 1994).The writer as scribe has to master the mechanics of writing, having control and mastery over the implements used. This mastery is achieved through tasks like tracing letters and words, copying and reproducing texts, being taught to write between lines of varying sizes, even writing out lines for punishment. The author, on the other hand, is a composer, someone who uses writing to make meaning, to communicate a message, to use writing to think, to express themselves. While form and correctness are important they are not central. It could be argued that writer as scribe and author operate on a continuum – a certain level of technical mastery is needed to make meaning. The levels of meaning-making will vary. Writing for record keeping, or for copying notes may have a scribal element if they are not used further, but if they are used to produce another text then the scribal aspects of writing become integral to the process of composing.

Thus when children are required to understand that meaning is embedded in writing and that certain conventions need to be mastered in order for this meaning to be conveyed in an understandable form, both forms of writer are contained here. One of the important aspects of emergent literacy is that children realise symbols (letters) represent meaning. They then need to master the production of these symbols and the conventions that go along with them (scribes) before they can make meaning (authors) in an understandable form. Writing has a communicative function whether it is to oneself or others. It is important to make the point that one does not have to have full scribal mastery to make meaning. Kress (1997:9) states that "in learning to read and write, children come [to school] as thoroughly experienced makers of meaning, as experienced makers of signs in any medium that is to hand".

In learning to be meaning-makers who can communicate for a "wide range of purposes", the implication is that children need to be aware of a number of genres and their concomitant structures. This indicates the influence of the genre approach to teaching. Arguments in favour of this approach centre around issues of unequal access and ways of providing marginal groups access to genres of power, which has resonance because of the history of stratified and low quality education in South Africa. With regards to subject constructions, Luke (1993:6) states that the subject produced by the genre approach is "one with enhanced individual agency in mainstream institutions of the polity and culture, asserted through enhanced lexicogrammatical 'choice' and 'control' of the discourse technologies of disciplinary knowledge". But the explicit pedagogy used to teach the different genres does not necessarily lead to critical appraisals of them.

The third approach set out is the process approach to writing. With the emphasis on process as well the finished product, this approach requires the writer to be both scribe and author. But its focus on the individual and the individual writing voice is problematic. The subject that is produced can also remain limited to their own experiences, and uncritical of their assumptions.

Although historically these approaches have been set against each other there is an acknowledgment that both are valuable (Kamler 2001). It is perfectly possible to utilise a process approach within the genre approach. If children need to write factual and imaginative texts for a range of purposes then access to both of these approaches should in theory be beneficial in creating writers. But a knowledge of how best to implement these approaches, and an understanding of their limitations, is needed by teachers who, on the whole, have had little exposure to them. Without it teachers revert back to what they know. Kress (1997:9) reminds us that "lettered representation" rather than broader forms of meaning-making are often the primary focus at schools. If this becomes the emphasis, then the writer is predominantly a scribe.

An examination of the assessment requirements per grade reveals an attempt to set out examples of tasks to meet the outcome. The RNC says that the outcome is met in Grade 0 when the learner:

Experiments with writing:
- creates and uses drawings to convey a message, and as a starting point for writing;
- forms letters in various ways (e.g. by using own body to show shapes, writing in sand);
- understands that writing and drawing are different;
- 'writes' and asks others to give the meaning of what has been written; talks about own drawing and 'writing',
- role plays 'writing' for a purpose (e.g. telephone message, shopping list);
- uses known letters and numerals (or approximations) to represent written language, especially letters from own name and age;
- 'reads' own emerging writing when asked to do so;
- shows in own writing attempts, beginning awareness of directionality (e.g. starting from left to right, top to bottom);
- copies print from the environment (e.g. labels on household items, advertisements);
- makes attempts at familiar forms of writing using known letters (e.g. in lists, messages or letters);
- manipulates writing tools like crayons and pencils. (DoE 2002:18)

The word "experiments" and the presence of the word "write" in inverted commas (4th bullet point) reveals a particular construction of the Grade 0 subject. These suggest that children of this age do not do 'real' writing. Rather they are being prepared for writing. But this preparation acknowledges both aspects of the writer. The writer is a composer (writing for a purpose, can 'read' their own emerging writing) and a scribe (manipulates tools, forms letters, is aware of directionality).

The number of assessment standards increase in Grade 1 and 3. As scribes, Grade 1s are assessed on their ability to write with increasing legibility. This includes manipulating writing tools and developing letter formation through tracing and full letter formation. Writing also needs to be understood through the use of writing conventions (basic punctuation, spacing between words, knowledge of directionality required for writing), alongside the building of vocabulary and ability to spell. As authors, the process approach is adopted as children are encouraged to do pre-writing using drawings as a starting point for writing. Writing has a communal aspect as well; drafting and revision are required to take place through group stories as well as on an individual level. An introduction to genres allows children to write for different purposes by making texts such as lists, labels, birthday cards, recording information and organising it with simple graphics (DoE 2002:40-45).

There are several minor shifts from Grade 1 to Grade 3. The scribe remains. Grade 3s must write legibly "with ease and increasing speed as a result of frequent practice" and "complete a writing task within a set time" (2002:45). The tasks required of the writer as author become more complex. Pre-writing no longer uses drawings as a springboard, instead children are expected to brainstorm, free write, discuss and plan their writing.

The third Grade 1 criterion, "Writes for different purposes", is rephrased as "Drafts a piece of writing for different purposes" and the fourth criteria changes from "Drafts and revises" to "Revises own writing" in Grade 3 (2002:41, 43). It seems strange that in Grade 1 writing for different purposes is set up with no mention of drafting. When drafting and revision is mentioned it is set up solely around story writing: "contributes

ideas to a group writing a story (initially with teacher as scribe)" and "revises a draft of the group's story to be clearer and more interesting" (2002:42). Rather than use the process approach in conjunction with the genre approach, the stereotypical separation of genre as 'skills' based, and process as 'creative and expressive' writing, remains.

The assessment criteria in Grade 3 set up drafting first, then revising, which is followed by the fifth criterion – "Publishes own writing". There seems to be an assumption about what children are capable of, and rather than inculcating a culture of drafting, revising, and publishing for all forms of writing, this only takes shape in Grade 3.

The building of vocabulary and extending knowledge of spelling remains, and an additional criterion is included "Uses appropriate grammatical structures and writing conventions". The inclusion of this criterion also seems strange. The Grade 1s are expected to use writing conventions, and it stands to reason that the knowledge of such conventions would develop across schooling. Another odd overlap occurs here with regards to using appropriate grammatical structures when an entire learning outcome is dedicated to this. Outcome six for the entire Literacy curriculum states: "the learner will be able to use the sounds, words and grammar of the language to create and interpret texts" (DoE 2002:12).

Despite some of these oddities there does seem to be a development of the writer. The technical aspects of writing increase in complexity and, as authors, children should have an understanding of different genres used to write various texts, be practised in redrafting rather than producing stand alone final copies, and have space to do their own free writing through narratives.

7.1.1 Teachers' views on writing

The preschool teachers do not teach writing formally. The focus in Grade 00 is on drawing and developing fine motor co-ordination. As such, Dawn talks about how cutting

out and playing with dough are important because they develop fine motor skills. She also mentions monitoring children's development in terms of drawing and requirements for colouring in:

> At first they just scribble…..they only draw you the head and feet; as they develop they get arms and legs and toes and hands but then they haven't got a baseline…as they develop they make a little ground or grass for the man to stand on….my whole goal with them is to use the whole page….they just draw with one crayon they don't mind the colours then you get Lungile, she uses the whole page and never stops colouring and it just flows.

> You can't tell a child to colour but we try and teach them to stay in between the lines and colour in one direction but they don't cover the whole picture they just start up in the corner and then they carry on (Gr00IN27/6/02).

The argument has been made that the roots of writing lie in drawing (Barton 1994), and Levin, Both-De Vries, Aram and Bus (2005) argue that scribbling can be the starting point for both drawing and writing. Drawing continues to be an important feature in Grade 0, with free drawing and set tasks along with pre-writing exercises. Lisa also uses drawings to assess the children's maturity through the representation of body parts and presence of a baseline. The pre-writing exercises she does fit the assessment criteria that revolve around letter formation:

> We'll do perceptual worksheets, for instance, drawing lines from the left side to the right side, drawing lines from up to down, doing dot to dot, um, you start…left top hand corner and go down….always from up, up to down um things like the patterns….zigzags and twirly whirly patterns, drawing the patterns…spirals (Gr0IN26/11/02).

Once again there are restrictions (real or perceived) about what it is appropriate to teach. The children are taught how to write their names but are not formally taught letter formations because "the Grade 1 teachers show them the letter formation, how to write letters correctly" (Gr0IN26/11/02). The influence of reading readiness approaches

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impacts on teaching writing – although the curriculum refutes that there is a reading readiness approach, teachers' mandate is only *to prepare* children to read, and no mention is made of encouraging those who express a desire to read in Grade 00 or 0. Both preschool teachers expressed a reluctance to do more. Similarly, Lisa comments that the children all want to write, and are displaying varying levels of emergent writing ("they squiggle from the left to the right" "he had a big sheet of paper with a whole thing written on it", "they'll write different letters next to each other, even on top of each other (Gr0IN26/11/02). The illogical question emerges, if the children are not supposedly ready to be taught to read, how can they be taught to write? It is then the Grade 1 teachers' job to teach writing 'properly', and encouraging children to write is overstepping the invisible barrier of what a Grade 0 teacher is supposed to do. This thinking constructs pre-school teachers as limited in their ability to teach literacy.

This kind of contradictory thinking also reflects a level of uncertainty. OBE thinking encourages children to work and develop at their own pace and levels. But implementing this creates problems when children arrive in Grade 1, where some children can read and write and others are encountering these skills for the first time. Children who have had access to preschool, or come from homes where parents teach their children to read and write, are at an advantage. For the children who have not had this exposure, 'catching up' can be an issue. Alongside this are also notions of correctness, that children who display what amounts to a precocious desire to read and write are not taught 'properly', and it is Grade 1 teachers, not parents or preschool teachers, who can teach 'proper' reading and writing.

There is some continuity between the preschool and Grade 1. The emphasis on developing fine motor co-ordination and muscle strength to write remains. As such the tactile experiences of playing with plasticine and sandpaper writing are seen "as an extension of pre-school" (Gr1DIN14/5/03). Drawing is no longer as central; children should be able to talk about their drawings, and teachers expect some development in drawing over the year which meets curriculum requirements. Drawings are also still used as indicators of children's emotional maturity and well-being:

> If somebody's like very deviating from what they are supposed to be drawing, I mean we had an incident with him who we shall not name, when he was drawing other parts of the body and then I spoke to the parents and they told me why (Gr1INE25/05/03).

It is not the focus of this chapter to analyse children's drawings from the perspective of developmental psychology and make judgements about their abilities or levels of maturity. However, these pictures were disturbing and raised the question of abuse, which was confirmed by the parents. Although most teachers are not trained psychologists, their ability to interpret the drawings of children becomes really important. It is through drawings that the literate subject begins to represent him/herself. These texts are subject to the gaze of the teacher, who gains knowledge about not just the child but the family background and circumstances.

What emerged strongly in the interviews was a focus on writing related to a mastery of skills. One teacher summed up what was important when assessing writing in the following way:

> If they are writing on the correct lines, the size of the letters, if they are writing the correct word, the word is not misspelt, or turned…reversed. They usually write the 's' the other way round, or the 'b' and the 'd'…yes, correctness in the letters, the size of the letters, the lines they write on (Gr1DIN14/05/03).

Kress' (1997) comment about the spatial arrangements required to write resonates here and reveals a preoccupation with correctness. The fact that the curriculum explicitly states that the fourth outcome (learning to write for different purposes) is something that is worked towards, rather than met, means that the curriculum can be interpreted as one where the technical aspects of writing are taught and mastered first before writing as a meaning-making task is taken into consideration. This thinking is reflected in the three elements related to writing that are assessed in the school reports: spelling, sentence construction and presentation (see section 8.2.2). This is proof of Barton's (1994) contention that there is a huge temptation to assess writing through identifiable aspects like spelling and neatness rather than more 'intangible' aspects. This thinking is worrying

because as Clark and Ivanic (1997) point out, 'skills' is a prescriptive term and creates a deficit notion of individuals who need to acquire specific desired technologies. A focus on skills mastery also potentially constructs mindless subjects whose bodies mechanically complete tasks.

This also has other implications, since writing seems to be defined in Grade 1 as predominantly handwriting. Clark and Ivanic (1997:187) state that "handwriting is the most physical part of writing, the most connected to the body rather than the mind of the writer. It is consequently what Bourdieu (1977) calls the 'habitus': the bodily disposition of a person." The construction of the habitus takes place through disciplining a body, and already the kind of writing subject that is constructed in the Foundation Phase is evident.

This construction continues into Grade 3 where writing continues to be interpreted as handwriting. When teachers were asked what activities are set for writing, their answers were limited to the cursive and print exercises set for handwriting. Children begin the year writing in print, and by the third term are expected to have mastered cursive. Writing is also linked to spelling words linked to the letters and sounds learnt in the week.

> We use spelling words…applicable to the sound and the letter that they're doing. And then they only use the texts once they've done the entire alphabet and they are applying the knowledge of their writing skills. They either write their news, copy a text, copy writing cards, so that's how they apply it (Gr3IN06/03/02).

At the same time the choice of spelling words has a strong basis in phonics, reaffirming the impact of reading approaches on the teaching of writing. Grade 1 sets the pattern for the Foundation Phase. The Grade 1 process of learning to write letters follows a regular pattern – after the letter-sound correspondences have been made explicit, practise in letter formation begins with numerous tracing and copying exercises until letters are clustered together to form words.

The alterative subjectivities set out in the curriculum appear to be overshadowed in practice by classroom approaches where writer as author is subsumed by a "technocratic

skills model" (Luke 1993). There is a close connection between the type of reading subject that emerges and the writing subject. Kress (1982:5-6) argues

> If reading is seen as primarily a decoding skill, then it is quite likely that writing will be regarded as a process of encoding in quite an analogous manner. And indeed, as the heavy emphasis on matters such as letter-sound correspondences show, that has been the case. From this point of view the learning of writing is often regarded as the learning of the mechanics of translating; either speech into writing, or meaning into visual symbols.

7.2 FROM DRAWING TO WRITING: LESSONS FROM GRADE 00

Research done on emergent literacy frequently stresses the connections or links between the drawing and writing of children through the combination of scribbles, letters and representational drawings (Barton 1994, Grundlach, McLane, Stott, MacNamee 1985, Kendrick and McKay 2006, Kress 1997, Levin et al 2005, Yang and Noel 2006). Clay's (1975) classic study identifies the stages children pass through when working out the aspects involved in writing that require complex understandings of the functioning of sign systems. This section examines emergent literacy from a slightly different perspective by looking at the possibilities the classroom environment creates for children in relation to the training they undergo as emergent writers. It was felt that setting up the practices of 'informal' schooling provided a means of showing which practices continue, alter, or disappear as the children move into the Foundation Phase.

Whitehead (1990) discusses how the presence of gestures, language and make-believe play in young children signals their ability to represent thought symbolically. She goes on to state "early mark making is highly dynamic and shaped by bodily exploration of space and the possibilities of materials….This total bodily involvement is often accompanied by vocal sounds, single words or a brief explanatory narrative" (1990:143). The connection between language and production is most noticeable in the Grade 00 classroom by the constant levels of egocentric talk (Vygotsky 1962). Much of the

background noise in the class is of children playing; emergent social talk is constant as the children talk to themselves alongside each other. They talk to each other about what they are doing; they make repetitive and rhythmic noises and even break out into song. It is only when the noise level rises and affects children's bodies, making their movements more exuberant and moving them from the confines of their desks, that they are reprimanded.

Drawing and writing takes place at children's desks, or in this case, tables where groups of children sit together. In working with literacy from a sociocultural perspective it is also important to take note of the technical aspects of writing, which are embedded in socio-economic relations and influenced by ideology (Ivanic and Clark 1997). The use of materials and technologies contribute to an understanding of literacy practices (Ormerod and Ivanic 2000). In the preschool the children do not have books. The majority of work is produced on loose sheets of paper, be it photocopied worksheets, scrap paper, or clean sheets. In the Grade 00 class all materials are provided for the children – each table has the necessary equipment for the particular task for the day: glue, paper and scissors, khoki pens, newspaper, paper, paint, paintbrushes. There is also a sense that material can be recycled and children can transform everyday objects creatively. In terms of writing implements, the ubiquitous grey lead pencil is absent – the children colour in and write with wax crayons or khoki pens. While khoki pens are often 'controlled substances' in classrooms because of the permanence of their ink, these children manage them with impunity. The presence of the khoki pens reveals that children are not engaged with or being trained in the technical aspects of writing (pencils), but that they are capable of handling implements that are viewed as 'dangerous'.

There are several kinds of activities Grade 00s carry out when at their tables. These fall into two distinct categories, the first are tasks are set up by the teacher which can be perceptual or prewriting exercises that are sometimes an extension of the class theme. (There are a number of perceptual tasks related to improving fine-motor coordination in anticipation of the more formal kinds of literacy that children will be engaged with – like playing with plasticine, threading beads, making patterns with pegs, puzzle building.)

The second task is free-drawing where children determine the content of their pictures. Each child in the class is expected to complete various tasks set for the day. The exercises set around themes obviously are not daily occurrences but coincide with the weekly theme that is discussed during ring time. Three literacy events will be discussed that reveal the typical tasks around literacy that children are involved in, and they reveal different aspects of the literate subject.

7.2.1 Literacy Event 1: Implement Mastery

The first two literacy events are related to perceptual or prewriting tasks. The first event, although not dealing with drawing or writing specifically, is interesting because it requires implement mastery. For this task children were given a photocopied picture of a frog and were required to glue polystyrene chips onto its back (to show the "rough skin") and then paint it (Gr00VT7/3/02). This event was analysed from videotape with little transcription, partly because there was interference from background noise –several children were playing nearby that day. And because the focus of this section is on what children do, rather than what is said.

This task was connected to the weekly theme where children were learning about the lifecycle of a frog. In order to complete the task, children were given a pot of liquid glue and glue sticks – wooden sticks with a hard plastic brush at the end with which to smear the glue. A great deal of control is needed for this exercise – the   right amount of glue is needed, each polystyrene chip has to be glued with the brush and then stuck down. This was not completely mastered; several children put too much glue on the brushes which fell onto their fingers or the newspaper-covered table (photographs 7.1, 7.2). They then moved onto the painting table. A similar amount of control is needed here in judging the correct amount of paint needed for application. Although the grip used for a paintbrush, gluestick and pencil differ, I would argue that an important learning process takes place here with similarly shaped implements. Children experiment with and master the different movements required to successfully manipulate all three objects. At the same

time the stick-like shape of each implement requires fine motor movements that need to be practised in order to attain mastery. In addition, as literate subjects these children are exposed to different mediums in which to make meaning.

The spatial organisation of this activity lends itself to controlling what could be a messy exercise. Two tables next to each other are set out – the gluing table and the painting table. This limits the movement (and potential levels of distraction) from the first part of the task to the second. It also means that a limited number of children will be engaged with gluing or painting, allowing for closer teacher supervision. The children are not free to do what they like but are disciplined to follow the exercise to its conclusion in preset steps that prefigure tasks they will encounter later in their schooling. Thus, several norms need to be internalised for the task so that all the children working at the table can use the materials; there is enough for every child, and that the space is clean enough when the next group arrives. All the containers and brushes are placed in the centre of the table so everyone has easy access to them. The children's actions display an attempt to follow these norms – they tapped excess glue or wiped excess paint from their brushes. They replaced them in the containers when they had finished using them. The closer supervision of the teacher means that children are reminded of these norms ("use a little bit of glue at a time"), and that correct use of the implements is modelled for the children. Lesego is an example a child who needed support. He sat at the glue table watching the other children carefully. Dawn, seeing this, then demonstrated what he should do: she took the brush from his hand, showed him how to apply the glue to the polystyrene chips and gave him the brush to try himself (photographs 7.3, 7.4, 7.5). At the paint table he again seemed unsure where he should paint or how to angle his paintbrush. The photographs show him move his paintbrush over the frog before he begins, watching the girl next to him carefully (photograph 7.6, 7.7, 7.8). The shape of the tables allows for learning through observation of peers who have mastered tasks.

7.2.2 Literacy Event 2: Perceptual Worksheets

The Grade 00s are also given perceptual worksheets as preparation for writing. These include join-the-dot exercises as well as drawing various straight and wavy lines to ready them for letter formation. In one task children were given a page with animals on the left hand side and the food they eat on the right hand side. These were joined by 'paths' of varying degrees of curviness that connected the animal to its food (Gr00VT8/3/02). The photographs in this section are not as detailed as the others in containing a continuous visual narrative, rather they point to key moments of the event.

In Grade 0 and Grade 1 these perceptual tasks are often the focus of a lesson and are carefully explained, but in Grade 0 the same seriousness does not accompany the task. Children are given the worksheets which may be explained to them, but the fluid movement between tables does not guarantee that every child is told by the teacher what to do. This could imply that general exposure to these types of exercises is more important than the highly supervised way they are dealt with in later years. The focus then is not on correctness but preparation for what will be encountered in primary school. Development over time is then also important; through exposure to structured tasks children's bodies (and muscles) become used to completing them in the correct order or stages, thus preparing them for writing. The other implication to the way these tasks are set up in Grade 00 is that because there is less supervision, children are not always sure how to complete these tasks. This is not necessarily problematic because as emerging writers, learning to control their muscles, and using writing implements to form shapes means the children are provided with a space to learn and problem-solve at their own pace.

This point can be demonstrated by analysing the perceptual worksheet of the animals and their food, and the children's interaction with it. In order to complete the pre-writing task children first have to be able to read and decipher the task. This ability to read is not about deciphering the print, but having a knowledge of what this worksheet requires. The children who were videotaped seemed unsure what to do. They spent a lot of time

sticking their symbols onto the page (symbols are used to identify children's work because they cannot write their names yet), and choosing khokis and tentatively colouring in parts of the pictures. On the whole, most children usually began tasks quickly once at their tables. It is possible that the organisation of the class explains this 'enthusiasm' – children who were not interested in a task, had lost interest, or needed a break, left the tables to play on the carpet. Then they returned to the tables to 'work'. This uncharacteristic slowness may indicate children working out what they are required to do. I think the space that children have here in which to make meaning of a text is of crucial importance. Correctness is not the issue, rather there is an independence where children can decide what they will do with the worksheet.

Alongside an ability to infer some form of meaning, children learn to work out issues around directionality that are essential for both reading and writing. The body is integral to this. In order to write, the body needs to control writing implements and position itself in such a way that there is consistency of movement. Children also need to decide on the spatial arrangement of the page – portrait or landscape. These children have internalised a school literacy practice where dates, names and titles are written on the top of the page because they place their allocated symbols in this position (see figure 7.1 in section 7.2.3 for an example). They arrange their pages to suit them – sometimes the pages are landscaped, sometimes they are portrait, but the symbol is consistently placed at the top of the page. Kedi begins with her page in landscape position and then repositions it after sticking her symbol on the page (photograph 7.9). Thandeka on the other hand seems confused – she spends a long time looking at the page and gluing her symbol, which she elaborately places on the bottom corner (photograph 7.10, 7.11). She appears to be unable to make sense of what she must do with the worksheet. She then repositions the page so it is in a landscape position. She reveals an understanding that spatial repositioning may make the meaning-making process clearer. As part of being literate subjects we constantly reposition upside down or back to front pages to make meaning from them. Thandeka's final repositioning of the text is not correct but it indicates she is able to draw on previous knowledge of how such texts should be completed and she begins to trace over one of the lines she is supposed to trace in-between (photograph 7.12). The first

level of such perceptual worksheets that prepare for letter formation are scaffolded so that children trace on the lines.

7.2.3 Literacy Event 3: Free Drawing

Free drawing is a daily literacy event that has several important functions. To illustrate this, two drawings done on the same day by two boys working at the same table will be compared (Gr00FN10/5/02). The first picture of a figure of a woman was drawn by Don (figure 7.1), the second (figure 7.2), is drawn by Mick. Mick's picture reveals an attempt to draw a similar figure to Don's, however it is out of proportion – the head is too low on the page and too big for the body, the nose is too big, the eyes are not level and there are two lines for legs that are at odds with the head. In comparison Don's spatial arrangement is more sophisticated – he has used the whole page but has not represented the entire body, stopping at the waist but keeping the proportions correct. While his one ear is larger than the other he has included ears with earrings that represent the gender of the figure. Mick was taken with this representation of ears, and he has redrawn the ears that are the circles drawn around the top of the head. He diverges from Don by adding a spider in the middle of the configuration of ears. While this picture could be judged to be more immature, Don had a tendency to scribble or paint over his pictures. Once again the spatial configuration of the classroom allows for peer learning and teaching, even if it is not explicit. Don's influence helps Mick learn to draw (Anning 1999). The fact that the children are allowed to draw what they like allows a space for experimentation and learning how bodies and objects can be configured in the white space of a page. At the beginning of my observation period Mick's pictures began as the stick figures common of children's early pictures, but exposure to Don's drawings reveal a more sophisticated rendering of how, in this case, the human body can be represented.
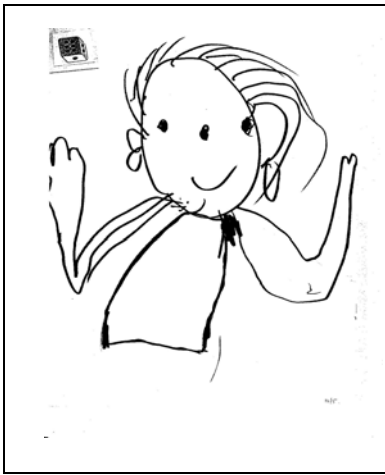
Figure 7.1 Don's Picture
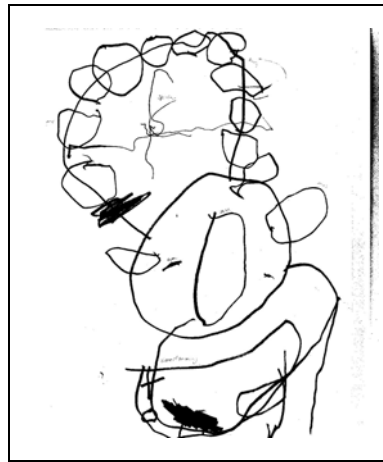
Figure 7.2 Mick's Picture

The last comment I want to make about these events is that this is a rich environment children are immersed in. There are very few reprimands for the noise children make – unless it is loud and obvious that they are not 'on task'. Thus there are lots of conversations amongst the children both about what they are doing, and other issues related to their personal lives. These conversations take place in a number of languages and seem to be dependant on who the conversants are. Speakers who have the same mother tongue use it, or switch to English with the English speakers. In this multilingual classroom code-switching appears for the most part to be co-operative and about accommodation rather than exclusion[27]. The close proximity of small groups of children at the tables generates conversations in which a vast amount of learning takes place.

General requirements for acquiring literacy are subtly reinforced and the children have access to a number of materials to experiment with, as well as the rules that accompany the use of the technologies of production (literacy event 1). They are also given access to the genre of the worksheet which they will encounter throughout their schooling. These operate directly on the body as children's fine motor movements are guided in anticipation of letter formation required to write (literacy event 2). In addition, and in combination with implement mastery, free drawing allows for experimentation and

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[27] Unfortunately it did not seem that the English children learnt African languages in this context as most of the switching was done into English by the children speaking African languages to accommodate them.

creativity (literacy event 3). The children are also prepared for the practices around which formal school literacy will centre: time on task, the rules for using the technologies of production, spatial organisation of the body and technologies of production in confined spaces. It seems that these children have a level of control over their emerging literacy because they are provided with the space to experiment, create, and most importantly to make meaning of the literacy events they participate in. One could not call them writers – they are not authoring stories, but they are being prepared as scribes.

7.3 LESS EXPERIMENTATION, MORE STRUCTURE: GRADE 0

There is a sense of continuity in the move between Grade 00 and Grade 0, as many of the activities in Grade 00 are replicated. Prescribed activities are still related in some way to the weekly themes. But the kinds of perceptual activities increase while free drawing decreases. The majority of tasks are perceptual and pre-writing exercises where implement mastery is implicit. Basic numeracy tasks are also included, e.g. count and colour the number of fairies in this picture (Gr0VT31/10/02).

The Grade 0 children also do not have books and work on loose paper. This work is collected over the year and filed in A4 files that are stored at the back of the classroom. At the end of the year the children have a record of their work that they take home. Not every piece of work children completed was filed; some of it was taken home. But, as an archive of Grade 0 school literacy, the choice of work included in the file is revealing of what is considered to be important by the teacher and the kinds of literacy that is valued (Ormerod and Ivanic 2000).

All the children had the same work in their files. At the end of the year Amanda volunteered her file for me to use. An examination of her file reveals a collection of fifty-seven pieces of work. The pieces were not dated but filed in what appears to be roughly chronological order, with the early pieces at the back of the file and the later ones in the front.

From the examples in this file a clear shift emerges. All the exercises in the file have a specific purpose. There are no examples of free drawing in the file and minimal opportunities for individual expression that were not guided by the set task. There are only four examples of work where children were asked to draw their own pictures (a spider's web, a spring day, a form of transport, an octopus) guided by topic. A large number of pictures are present that children had to colour in, which probably originated from colouring-in-books (e.g. giraffe, a see-saw, a rocket). The majority of exercises in the file that did not involve another medium like paint, required some colouring in. Many of these focused specifically on colouring-in particular sections of a picture in different colours (e.g. a striped dress, a striped beach ball). This aligns with the emphasis in the class where instructions about colouring-in between the lines and distinguishing different segments in pictures were given. It is tempting to argue that this emphasis on colouring in between the lines leads to conformity and does not allow for creative expression or individual exploration, especially since some exercises prescribed the colours to be used. But while there is a definite shift to formal work with precise procedures, there was space for free drawing and individual expression. These pictures were sent home and not filed. What is significant is the decrease in free drawing from Grade 00.

The majority of the exercises in the file are perceptual exercises aimed to prepare children for the task of writing. These tasks were also more dominant in the early part of the year. The type of tasks included improving hand-eye co-ordination by completing a number of join-the-dots exercises. Identification exercises were also prevalent: identifying similar objects, looking for differences or absences, foregrounding objects superimposed over each other, matching objects by drawing lines. A number of exercises drew attention to the body and body parts. In one exercise children were given a blank face and had to place the eyes, ears, mouth, nose etc in the correct place. Later they were required to draw in the missing facial features of a clown. They did handprints and foot prints in paint. The presence of body parts in these texts is representative of a general concern for the body. During language ring children were frequently asked to identify parts of the body, sing songs about the body, and practise crossing the midline. This attention on the body is important because it is not only about naming, but it also draws

attention to the body generally, and its parts specifically and how they function in the classroom space.

The increase in formality is evident in how literacy events located at children's desks are structured. The fluidity of movement in Grade 00, where children shift from one desk to another and often took up a half-sitting-half-standing posture to complete their tasks gives way to allocated seating that restrains movement. This function makes possible "the supervision of each individual and the simultaneous work of all….It [makes] the educational space function like a learning machine, but also a machine for supervising, hierarchising, rewarding" (Foucault 1977:147). Children become this learning machine – a composition of forces obeying a system of command that requires them to complete the same exercises together. The filmed exercise to identify and count fairies exemplifies this practice (Gr0VT31/10/03). Lisa began the lesson by miming locking her mouth and throwing away the key which the children copied (photographs 7.13, 7.14). The class was told that they could not talk and work at the same time. Tasks that involve drawing or writing no longer have an element of classroom community but focus on the individual, as photograph 7.15 illustrates.

This can also be seen in terms in the distribution of materials. In the Grade 00 class all materials are communal; they belong to the class and are shared by them. In Grade 0 children are required to have their own stationery with which to work. It is kept in the storeroom in the back of the class and children need to collect their equipment for 'writing' lessons. Children are then required to manage their own material resources properly, like packing pencils away, and replacing products like glue when they finish. Once again, one of the elements of a literate identity in school focuses around responsibility. The shift in ownership of material resources from class to individuals prefigures Grade 1 classroom practices, where materials for drawing and writing are not shared. Thus individually owned resources are used for individual writing tasks completed in silence, in contrast to the shared conversation and shared materials of Grade 00. The identity of a writer then is also bound up with individually owned equipment. This practice is subverted by children who resort to borrowing, which breaks the spatial

separation enforced by allocated material and seat space. This classroom practice has an impact on identity formation of children. Toohey (2000:92) points out that:

> These classroom practices, so commonplace as to be almost invisible, contribute to instantiating the notion that the children's individuality must be established, reinforced, protected. Children sit in their own desks, use their own materials, do their own work and use their own words. Knowing and staying in one's place, having good materials in one's own place, keeping track of and taking care of them oneself, having one's own 'things' to write and draw and say, establish each child as an individual, who on her own, negotiates classroom life.

I have argued earlier that overall there appears to be a pattern in the preschool classrooms of focusing on group relations (working and learning together and sharing) which shift to a focus on the individual in the primary school. The spatial configurations of these preschool classrooms reflect this, with children spending more time at ring times on the carpet than locked into their desks. It does appear that this overall pattern begins to rupture in Grade 0, when one examines writing practices where the focus is on individual mastery. This rupture, which breaks with preschool conceptions, is in fact the precursor to the next twelve years where children will sit at their desks completing tasks as individuals.

7.3.1 Commandeering Fieldnotes: writing for a purpose

This section draws attention to child-writers in the Grade 0 class who reveal a broader understanding of the functions of writing that go beyond decontextualised prewriting exercises. In her interview, Lisa, echoing the words of Graves (1982), states that the children want to write. Yet in this class, writing is constrained by prescribed views whose focus on skills and mastery imply that writing is a serious endeavour where one strives for correctness. Yet writing is also creative; the act of writing (and rewriting) is a sophisticated meaning making process (Kress 1997) that involves both a mastery of skill

and exploration of identity. Several of the children demonstrated this exploration by writing in my fieldnotes.

A short explanation is necessary as to how this came about. During every observation session, even those that were videotaped, I had an A4 notebook and pencil. This practice of note taking was observed and commented on by children in all Grades of this study. As such, a particular kind of writing was being modelled to the children. For the Grade 0s, who were discovering writing and exploring their own writing abilities, the presence of a 'writer' in their class was of interest. They would often cluster around to see the fieldnotes. Several children wanted to know what I would do with my notebooks. I told them that all this writing had a purpose. I was a student at university and I had to do a project so I could pass. To do the project I needed the notebooks as a record of events because I could not remember everything that happened. When I had finished all my observations I would read the notebooks from all the classes and I would read some books. Then I would make more notes. Finally I would use the ideas from the books and notebooks and write a thesis.

The children were interested in several aspects of the writing process, which reveal a number of things about their knowledge of writing. Firstly they were interested in the 'tool' used for taking fieldnotes, in this case an inexpensive plastic clutch pencil with an eraser at the top. This innocuous choice on my part was a source of amazement for many children in the study. The Grade 0s wanted to see this pencil, hold it, try it; they were confused that something which looked like a pen wrote like a pencil. It did not need to be sharpened and by pushing the top, very thin lead emerged from the bottom. And it had another function by turning the pencil over mistakes could be rubbed out. There are two points to be made about the 'clutch pencil phenomenon'. I was initially surprised that these children had never seen a clutch pencil before, but came to realise that it raised questions about the economic circumstances of these children. Also this lack of materials at home had nothing to do with lack of interest in writing. The Grade 0s were interested in the technologies of writing and what writing could be used for. In the Grade 0

classroom where writing tools were restricted to pencils and wax crayons, the grey lead possibly held the promise of what they would encounter as writers at 'big school'.

Several pages of fieldnotes are covered with a number of the Grade 0's drawings and writing. In-between tasks, or when waiting for a new task to begin, a group of children would sometimes cluster around me and ask to draw. The organisation of tasks and greater freedom of spatial distribution are two conditions of possibility that allowed this to take place. Although the Grade 0 day is more organised than Grade 00, if children completed their tasks quickly they went to sit on the carpet. The open space of the carpet allowed for greater movement, and moving from the desk to the carpet could entail a 'detour' past the fieldnotes. Interestingly the 'good' children would come to draw even though they knew they may be reprimanded, and both girls and boys wanted to draw.[28]

Ormerod and Ivanic (2000:98) make the statement that "while writing is always a physical act, it can take very different forms, leaving different kinds of physical evidence". With this in mind I want to look at what the physical evidence left by the children in the form of drawing and writing on one page of fieldnotes reveals (figure 7.3) (GR0FN5/11/02). Seven girls either wrote or drew on this page (the boys arrived later and their writing is on another page). For ethical purposes I have edited this page so that none of the children can be identified. The girls show a preoccupation with writing their names, which is not uncommon in this age group (Yang and Noel 2006). Kress (1997) remarks on the fascination and mystique that writing one's name has for children, and stresses the sheer creativity of the activity. It also signifies a sense of self worth and place in the world (Whitehead 1990). Studies indicate that learning to write one's name may promote the development of writing in general, because a knowledge of letter-formations, letter names and letter-sound correspondences are learnt (Levin et al 2005). The children asked me to write my name, which they copied. Next to my name are the names and ages of one of the girls, her brother and cousins. There are also four female figures. They reveal several interests of the girls – fashion, jewellery and hairstyles. The figure at the

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[28] It is important to note that the children did not write in the fieldnotes everyday. I was also aware that this interaction was unsanctioned and could provide a distraction to the other children, and teacher.

top is wearing a crucifix around her neck and the bottom left picture has earrings on. Both figures have boots on. The girl who drew the top picture often included details like drawing boots with high heels, which the others tried to replicate. The bottom right picture also shows attention to clothing where the skirt is patterned through the use of diagonal lines. The girls have also all paid attention to the hairstyles that range from a bob to long hair.
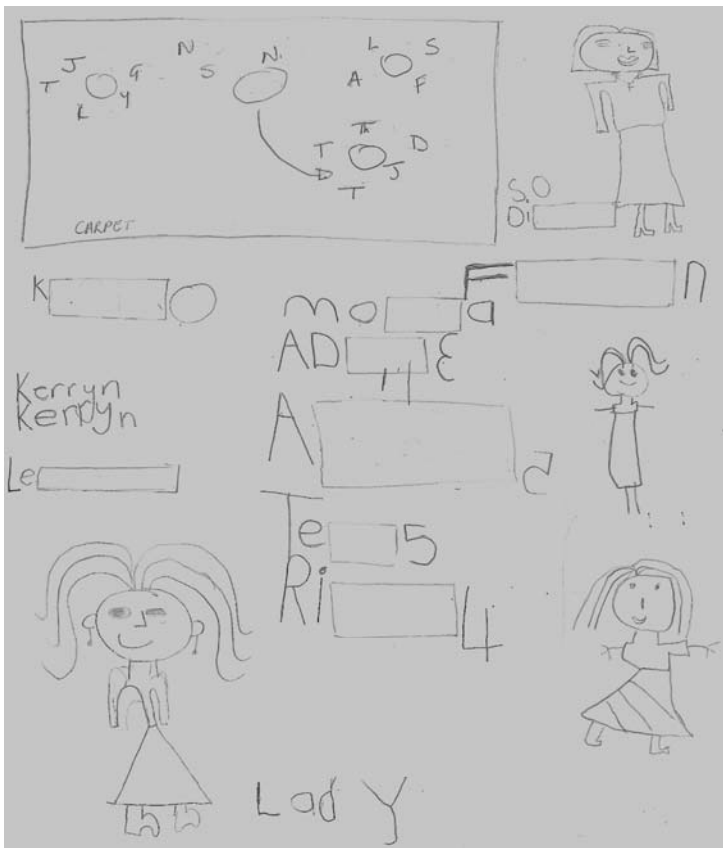
Figure 7.3 Grade 0s Writing Fieldnotes

There are several fascinating things happening on this page. This is a communal space for expression rather than the individual class writing tasks they are given. The children were happy to share this writing space and talk about what they were going to draw or write, and they had conversations about what they were doing. This harks back to how writing operates in the Grade 00 class. What surprised me greatly was their patience in using limited resources. There was one book and one (albeit rather prized) pencil. As the owner of the pencil my word was law, and what emerged was a general rule that one's writing

turn was dependant on when one joined the group. Apart from 'reminders' to me that they were still present and should not be forgotten, the turn-taking was orderly. Although this class was well disciplined and understood the principle of sharing, the children also knew we were doing something that was not officially sanctioned, and that this pleasure could be removed if they were not compliant. This may also have contributed to the way these interactions took place. This notion of a shared writing space is demonstrated by the word 'lady' written next to the bottom left hand picture. The picture has been labelled in a manner that is consistent with school exercises, but the writer is not the one who drew the picture. The writer is identifying in print that the other girls have represented in their drawings – these are little girls fascinated with women ('ladies'). These pictures are not representations of themselves. They are fascinated with beautiful and fashionable women, and western representations of women. None of the girls who drew on this day are white. One is Indian and the other three are Black. Apart from the Indian girl who had long hair, the other three girls had short hair and at this stage of the research were not wearing their hair in braids. When the girls in this class drew females they were distinguished from males by long flowing hair as opposed to short, curly, African hair.

At this point I want to make a comment by comparing the interest the Grade 0s showed around the fieldnotes with that of the Grade 3s in terms of literate subject constructions. The Grade 0s were interested in the act of writing and producing something meaningful that incorporated their social worlds. They took on the identity of emerging writers, discovering and exploring how they could make meaning. On the other hand no Grade 3 asked to write in the fieldnotes, rather they were fascinated with my perceived writing skills. Much of the discussion was not about what was written but *how* it was written: in cursive, with speed, a large quantity was produced. They looked at my sloping, messy cursive script, at odds with the carefully formed cursive they were learning. They did not try hard to decipher it – they asked what I had written and took me at my word. The contrast is stark. The Grade 3s by this stage have mastered the basics of the writing system, and are more proficient readers than the younger children, but their understanding of writing and who they are as writers seems to be narrowed to viewing it as a skill. The fact that I wrote because I wanted to, that I kept a record because I was

interested in what I saw, that I found pleasure in writing, that the fieldnotes were not monitored or marked, that they were not a final product to be handed in, seemed to be an alien practice to many of these children.

7.4 HAVING A HAND AT WRITING: GRADE 1

Twenty years ago Grundlach, McLane, Stott and McNamee (1985:40) noted that literacy skills were mastered through didactic instruction where "literacy equals the sum of the individual mechanical skills that go into putting words on paper" rather than it being a "meaning making and meaning sharing activity". In many ways this sums up the approach to teaching writing in the Foundation Phase. The result is that transcribers, not composers, are produced and that the body that takes the full impact of this kind of training. Although mastery of these skills is vital and has an important place children are not incapable of understanding and applying highly sophisticated writing techniques. Riley and Reely's (2005) study of children between the ages of five to nine were taught to write argument, shows this. Using excerpts from a transcript of a handwriting lesson which is supplemented with photographs, this section explores the intensive training that the body undergoes with this approach, and the need for high levels of teacher surveillance.

The lesson, taped at the end of the first month of school, began with several body exercises (Gr0VT28/1/03). These exercises are used to refocus attention for the start of a new task (section 6.4.2), but they also work to prepare the children for the rigors of writing. Control of the body is fundamental in learning to write, and this lesson begins with children being made to cross the midline[29]:

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[29] The inability to cross the midline is often reflected in children's handwriting where they begin writing with a level of control but on reaching the mid-point of the page (or sometimes the right hand page) the writing deteriorates. See 8.2.1 for Grade 0 teacher's comments on crossing the midline in relation to assessment.

Helen: Put your hands at your sides…Lift your left shoulder up….Take your right arm and touch your left shoulder. Let your right arm touch your left ear…Stand next to the table. Don't lean on the table. Put your right elbow on your left knee.

Quick exercises to get the children's fingers moving and flexible were also practised. Children were told to play the piano, flick their fingers to imitate the hazard lights of a car, make tight fists and shake their fingers and hands. Observing these exercises is revealing – children who struggled to maintain their balance, or whose movements are uncoordinated, struggled with their writing. This includes the general transfer of information from the board to their books, the spatial arrangement of information as well as letter formation. The harnessing of the entire body through these exercises and the focus on the hands has an important role in helping children who are unused to writing.

The children are then told to sit down and take out their pencils. These are thick triangular pencils aimed at aiding pencil grip for greater control. I have a sense of unease about these pencils and question them – not in terms the efficacy of their function – but rather the impact that they have on how writing is viewed. The Grade 00s and Grade 0s managed a number of writing implements. The writing the Grade 0s did with the clutch pencil is neat and controlled (7.3.1). These fat triangular pencils are not used in most homes. But when children get to Grade 1, in order to learn to write they are given a special pencil. This implies that school writing is something difficult that requires special equipment. The implements children have used to write with at home and preschool are 'incorrect' which implies there may be something faulty with what has been learnt. If, as Goodman (2001:319) notes that children as young as three "express the fear that learning to read and write will be very hard and can only be learned at school", then the use of specific writing implements may play into this perception.

Nevertheless, fat pencils in hand, the children are given instructions from their teacher, who also demonstrated on the blackboard what they had to do:

Helen: Ok open your book to today's work….You see the four dots?

Class: Yes

Helen: And today's date is the 28th of January. See where I write January – the capital letter goes over two spaces Grade 1s, alright?

Class: Yes

Helen: Now you may start, you may write the date. I only want you to write the date nothing else. (murmuring from class) And when we work we work quietly. Maxine face the front please. Quietly Grade 1s, no talking please. And try to remember to touch your lines. Just start with the date. Please touch the lines.

The four dots referred to are placed in the margin of each child's book indicating where the children should be writing. For this exercise the children are practising the letters 'a' and 't'. Depending on their level of mastery some children just have dots, other have letters written next to the dots that they will trace over. Photographs 7.16 and 7.17 show Jason's previous writing attempt and the scaffolded writing where he has to trace over the teacher's writing. The following photograph (7.18), indicates the first dot for this exercise which signals where the date should be written, the second dot indicates where the letter 't' should be placed, the third dot indicates the place for the letter 'a' and the final dot is for writing the numbers 1 and 2.

The transcript also reveals the structured nature of writing lessons. Structure is evident in the spatial arrangement of letters and words, the date is written in a specific place and the layout of the page is predetermined and marked by symbols (the dots). It is in these lessons that school writing conventions are internalised until they become invisible practices of habituated writers.

The teacher's comments work to regulate the pace of the lesson as children are only allowed to write the date. This reflects back to Grade 0, where class tasks are meant to be done together, and also to the pacing of the Grade 1 reading lesson in section 6.4. Helen reminds the children to control their bodies generally (by being quiet, facing the front) and gives specific reminders about forming letters between the lines. The relaxed atmosphere of the Grade 00 class has been eradicated. Once the date has been written the

internalisation of bodily routine 'kicks in' as most children place their hands on their heads to wait for the next set of instructions. These are to write a row of 'a's and then a row of 't's . After writing this row the children are given guidance in placing two letters together to form a word:

Helen: (on her way to the blackboard) Wonderful – some people are using two fingerspaces, some people are not using a fingerspace at all. Right, now that was the 't' sound. What sound was that? And this word is written in your book already. I wonder who can tell me what this word is? Yes Amanda -

Amanda: at

Helen: at. And what sound is this, where do we get this sound from, who is this –

Class: 'a'

Helen: in Letterland

Helen: Who is this?

Class: Annie Apple

Helen: What sound does she make?

Class: 'a', 'a'

Helen: 'a'. What sound?

Class: 'a'

Helen: Again

Class: 'a'

Helen: Tina sit nicely dear, put your feet in front of you. And who is this again from Letterland?

Class: T/t/Ticking Tess

Helen: Again

Class: Ticking Tess

Helen: Ticking Tess. Feet together please Bongani, feet together. Bongani put your feet together. (His one leg is stretched out in the aisle) Thank you. Right so we first write our

Annie Apple, but remember she doesn't start on the line she starts below the line, she goes up, around, she touches the line, she closes and comes straight down (she writes 'a'). And next to her (continues writing) we are not going to make a big space, we write Ticking Tess.Trace over what is in your book. And we have your word: at.

Claudia: Miss must we write 'at' on the whole line?

Helen: Yes

Helen: (walks around the class checking the children's work) We go up, around, close her and come straight down….Carry on you mustn't lift your hand you must go straight down to the line curling like you did the others. Ok. Yes. (Back at the board) Now we are going to make the fingerspace – your two fingerspaces – make Annie Apple around, close Annie Apple, do the 't' and we have our word at…..(she walks around giving help to children struggling)….

Helen: (at the blackboard) There are two numbers you must touch your lines remember that. Kumo! You've got one, number one and a small little space and number two, right? You are going to trace over those and then you are going to start again, number one, number two. I only want one fingerspace between those, one finger not two. Then do a number one and a number two. Start. Remember number one is a straight line and you start at the top of the line and then you write down. These spaces are far too big Vukani….(to class) Straight line down for number one, number two goes up, around, across and straight…. (to Xolani) Where is your fingerspace Xolani? (photograph 7.19) Put your finger on, next to the number, no, no, no, where's your finger? Use the left hand (photograph 7.20). Put your finger down, use your left hand, no, no, no, you are to write with this one. Put your finger like that (photograph 7.21). Put it next to the number, make a dot, make a dot, alright (photograph 7.22). Very good, now take your finger again, put it next to the number, right, now write number two, number two – this is number two, this one (photograph 7.23). Uh uh you are making it a back to front Sammy Snake (photograph 7.24). Do a finger space next to the number, next to the number do a dot and write number one. Wonderful.

The phonics approach to reading influences the writing lesson—reading the word 'at' and identifying the letter-sound correspondences. The choice of letters introduced are influenced by the blends so that words can be produced by such a combination. This is illustrated by an exercise children had to complete. When they had learnt 10 letters (s, a,

t, m, h, d, n, p, r, g) they had to combine them to write words they knew (Gr1FN10/03/03).

In terms of training bodies to write, the transcript and photographs reveal an attention to detail on the part of the teacher that is labour intensive. The primarily oral interactions that characterised reading is supplemented with increased bodily involvement on the part of both the teacher and students. The training required to produce correctly formed letters means that it is essential for the teacher to move around the class giving both oral reminders and showing children where to place and move their pencils to form letters. She has to both observe what all the children in the class are producing, and how they are producing letters. Then she has to move into the space of those who need help and physically reposition them. At the beginning of a year when most children have a limited knowledge of writing, this can be a challenge in a class of forty. Thus it is necessary for the children to be located in one space (their desks) and have their movement highly restricted. These practical issues may also indicate the constant underscoring of completing tasks as a class, one piece at a time. The danger of this is that children do not work at the same pace, and the time it takes for the teacher to 'get around', the class also creates empty spaces that children fill with their own activities (talking, moving, playing). While intense observation is required on the part of the teacher, the children are required to watch and listen as she demonstrates and explains the movements required to write ("Annie Apple…starts below the line she goes up and around, she touches the line, she closes and comes straight down"). Then they have to transfer what they have observed into their books. These instructions establish a norm that there is a correct and incorrect way to form letters. Forming letters as required by the teacher, and using her handwriting as a model to trace over (as Jason's book indicates) can have a homogenising effect on the subjects targeted. Clark and Ivanic (1997:192-3) argue that "over-frequent insistence on neat handwriting – and sometimes on a particular style of handwriting – is in danger of having an homogenising effect on the population and creating docile citizens: a political objective to which nobody would want to admit."

This is a powerful argument to consider particularly if (neat) handwriting is the only means through which writing is assessed (see sections 7.5.1, 8.2.2). At the same time children need to be introduced to standard writing practices. Barton (1994) points out that young children's (experimental) writing often indicates a number of viable hypotheses: they may write in columns, or with no spaces between words, from left to right and then right to left. What children do eventually take on, through explicit instruction, are the norms of a particular system of writing that indicate membership of a specific society (Jones 2000). A norm that appears to provide difficulty for a number of children is the spatial arrangement required to leave the correct amount of space between letters, words and numbers. As the photographs of Xolani reveal, this is a complex task that involves careful co-ordination of the body (photographs 7.19 – 7.24), knowing how and when to use, in this case, the left hand to make fingerspaces and when to reposition it to give the right hand support to write. The finger provides an initial scaffold, helping the eye and the hand to judge the gaps so that they are uniform, until making spaces between words becomes part of the writing habitus. If writing is a technique of the self, then children are being managed so that they in turn manage their own writing.

Neatness is also a reflection of register revealing how the writer perceives him/herself as well as the reader (Smith 1982). Giving children access to 'correct forms' is then important, since what they produce will later also be judged outside the confines of the school. At the same time, despite the initial tracing over teachers' words and letters, children's handwriting still develops its own individual characteristics[30]. "Where there is power there is always resistance" (Foucault 1978:95), and subverting culturally accepted

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[30] In South Africa handwriting can sometimes be a means through which race and class can be identified. This group handwriting is not unusual as Thornton (2001) points out in her investigation of the types of handwriting taken on by classes in colonial America. From a South African point of view it links back starkly to the connection made earlier by Clark and Ivanic (1997) that the insistence on a style of handwriting can have a homogenising effect by creating docile citizens. They argue that it is a political imperative that is not admitted. I would argue that during apartheid South Africa this was admitted. Many Africans who had been subjected to schooling in the era of Bantu education emerged with a distinctive style of handwriting. A handwriting that identified a particular subject. This does appear to be changing as a general observation of university students' assignments and exam scripts indicate. This is possibly also because of the greater access to private and Model C schools where the approach to teaching handwriting may be different. It may now be a marker of class rather than race as children educated at township or rural schools retain this style of writing.

writing norms such as teenage girls' penchant for drawing hearts over the letter 'i' instead of dotting it, may be signs of resistance to the power of the school and teachers.

7.5 'NEATNESS, FORMATION AND SHARP PENCILS' OR A TECHNIQUE OF THE SELF? GRADE 3 WRITING

As is to be expected, Grade 3 is a culmination of trends and thinking displayed in the previous grades. The writing subject who has been carefully trained in a skills paradigm remains within it. Although writing takes precedence in this year as the means through which tasks are completed, there is no writing for specific purposes or even for pleasure. The drawing and colouring prevalent in the preschool become marginal and are additional rather than meaningful in and of themselves. The majority of time is spent on worksheets (see section 6.6). There are few opportunities for children to express themselves in writing. The genres available to them are constrained. Creative writing is almost non-existent. As the work becomes more formal and controlled, handwriting remains a constant. Each child has an A2 book with Irish lines specifically for handwriting. The children have moved onto writing in cursive. Access to the tools of writing is decided via levels of mastery. Thus the children who write neatly are allowed to write in pen, and those who do not retain their pencils.

It seems that writing in pen is a symbol and acknowledgement of a level of 'maturity'. The child who writes in pen is no longer the 'baby' of the school, stuck at the lowest rank (the Foundation Phase), but is able to take on the responsibility of producing indelible ink marks. This child is also ready to take on knowledge in its discipline-related forms. Denying the Grade 3 child access to writing in pen because they are not deemed ready is in fact counterproductive. Entry into Grade 4 demands pens, it would seem to make more sense that children who struggle need less practice with pencils. Thus the use and choice of writing tools are wielded as weapons of control and power and are inextricably tied up with judgements about individual subjects.

The focus up until this part of the chapter is on spatial organisation and its connection to training bodies to write. At the end of the Foundation Phase this training, while still present, is less important. The focus now shifts to looking at space on a more metaphorical level by examining the spaces created for writing. It works on the notion that writing is constitutive of subjectivity. It does this in two ways, firstly by examining sanctioned writing through teacher comments in handwriting books. This is set against the writing of a boy who finds ways to insert his identity into both sanctioned and unsanctioned acts of writing.

7.5.1 'Your work is untidy': handwriting books

A sample of six handwriting books was examined (four boys and two girls who ranged in academic ability). At the end of the year children had the option of keeping their books or giving them to me. These were some that I was given. The format of the handwriting exercises over the year is uniform; what differs is the letter being written. Each exercise is dated and then begins with a line of a specific letter in upper case, the following line repeats the letter in lower case, the third combines upper and lower case, and the final line consists either of words or a sentence beginning with that letter. Finally the children copy a pattern to complete the exercise using coloured pencils (figure 7.4). Handwriting is done twice weekly, on the first day children write in print, on the second in cursive.
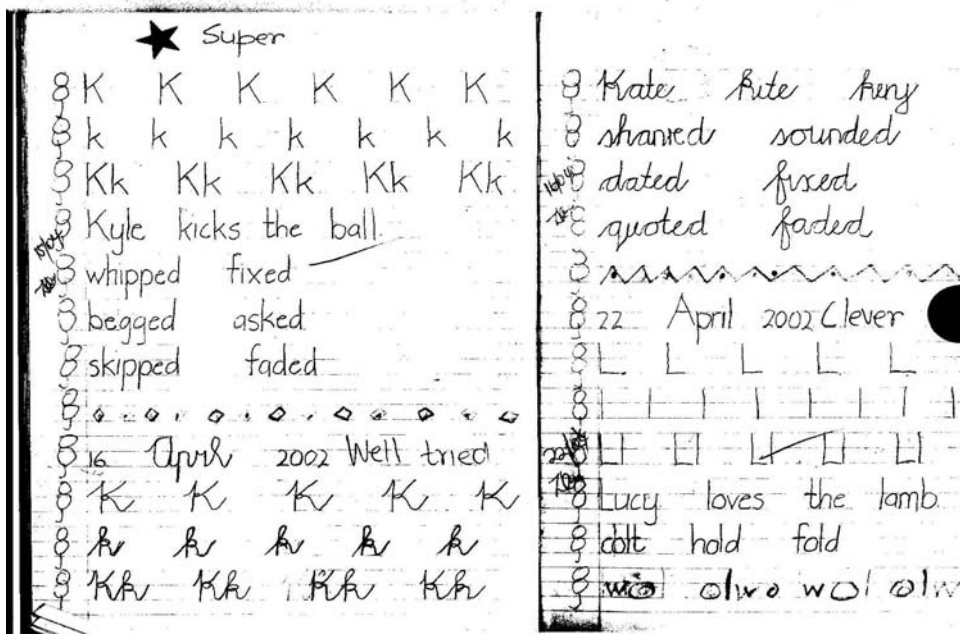
Figure 7.4 Sample from a Grade 3 Handwriting Book

What is revealing about these books is the interaction between the teacher and child writer. Foucault (2000c:277) considers writing to be a technique of the self which is "frequently linked to the techniques for the direction of others. For example if we take educational institutions, we realise that one is managing others and teaching them to manage themselves". In his examination of writing as an element of the "arts of the self" in Greco-Roman culture, Foucault discusses two types of writing, personal journals and correspondence (2000a:209). I want to talk about the latter – correspondence entails writing for someone who will read and respond to the writing. The writer also presents him/herself in a particular way. Although Foucault specifically mentions the content of letter writing, the representation of the self is not solely communicated through content, but, as is powerfully shown by Thornton (2001), also through handwriting. Thus while the work presented in the handwriting books of a group of nine year old children does not have the same philosophical purpose as the writings of the ancients, it is work presented to another. This other is the teacher who comments back on the work produced. The fact that some form of writing has been produced and receives a written response in return, I believe, is a form of correspondence. When this occurs a double gaze is present – the gaze of the self, and the gaze of the other that the writer takes into account when

presenting him/herself in a way that accords to the "rules of a technique of living" (Foucault 2000a:221). In this case the rules are those that have to do with the school as educational institution. In the contested space around handwriting, a link is made between handwriting and moral character. Handwriting reveals "good work habits, respect of persons, an attention to detail and generally a 'proper' attitude to life" (Clark and Ivanic 1997:192).

Of the six books analysed, there were forty different comments made by the teacher. They were presented in three different modes: handwritten messages in red pen, stickers with a picture and message, stamps with a picture and message. Each piece of work was signed and dated by the teacher. A frequency count of each comment showed that of the seven most frequent comments five contained the verb "try". The most frequently written comment was "tried" (22 times), followed by "well tried" (18 times), "try again" (15 times), "keep on trying" (10 times) and "keep on trying from [teacher's name]". The use of the work "try" varies in meaning depending on what it has been combined with. When it is paired with "to" specific characteristics of the writer are stressed: "try to improve", "try to be neat", "try to concentrate on your work". Thus constant concentrated effort appears to be of prime concern. The good writer strives to do better, pays attention to detail and presentation, and is focused. Put this way, the message indicates that there is room for change as opposed to the statement "your work is untidy" which signifies a relational process. In this way many of the messages written by the teacher are encouraging, implying an understanding that attaining mastery is a process. This is in contrast to comments like "tried", "good try" and "well tried" where the past tense nullifies this process. However, these comments do acknowledge effort. But the comment "try again" is a euphemism for work that is below standard.

Neat handwriting is linked to intelligence as figure 7.4 illustrates. This child was one of the more competent writers in the sample. For each exercise the teacher has written a message. The first comment, "Super", with a star next to it compliments the writer's mastery of the exercise. The next piece of work receives "Well tried" – which is not as good as "super" but acknowledges effort. These two comments exemplify a pattern

across all the books where children are more likely to receive positive feedback on the printed exercises than they are on cursive ones. On the whole children's printing is neater than their cursive, which looks laboured. The final comment is "Clever", which points to the intelligence of the writer. But the exercise requires no application of intelligence, only an ability to copy.

The comments appear to have been internalised by the children. The compliant subject whose handwriting receives praise and thus validation from an authority figure does not want to slip in his/her teacher's esteem. When the writer of figure 7.5, whose overall feedback was positive ("wonderful", "excellent"), received a strongly worded negative comment ("I am not impressed") it seems the criticism was taken seriously. The exercise after this comment reveals a return to his usual standard of work which was praised as "wonderful". This pattern is also present in weaker students' work. Marcus was a student who resisted daily class routines by being disruptive. It therefore would not be an incorrect assumption to make that he would find the repetitive nature of the handwriting exercises cause for further resistance. But throughout his book messages of "try again" are followed by "well tried". Granted, the constant reminders to "try again" imply incomplete internalisation of the requirements of handwriting – especially since he had a propensity to disregard fingerspaces at this stage in the Foundation Phase, but there is evidence of improvement in his work.

While the gaze of the teacher falls on the work of the students each week, the choice of message and mode are revealing. The choice of stickers creates an anthropomorphic identity for the teacher that is subject to the gaze of the child (and in this case the researcher). Many of the stickers used by the teachers are personalised. They are white squares with an animal and a typed comment. The messages on the stickers either begin with the personal pronoun "I", or take on the genre of a letter by making a statement and 'signing' it with "from [name of teacher]". The teacher takes on a variety of identities through these stickers. In one she is represented in the form of a bulldog (figure 7.5). It has heavy jowls and what look like a number of medals (representing victims?) attached to its collar. The message serves as a warning and contains undercurrents of force and

violence – this is an attack dog. Thus the message is threatening and raises the question: Will the teacher, who has taken on the identity of an attack dog, use force if provoked? Another sticker, in contrast to the first, trades on guilt and manipulation (figure 7.5). Children have a strong desire for validation and the sticker operates on this assumption. It depicts a small mouse holding a handkerchief and crying. The message reads: "I'm so sad that your work is untidy from [name of teacher]." Rather than make her angry and 'bite back' the work is hurtful. The untidiness is linked to a lack of respect for the teacher who has been 'hurt' by looking at it. A third sticker, rather than representing the teacher reflects the teacher's judgement of the child (figure 7.5). It depicts an ant rolling a nut with the comment "Keep Trying from [name of teacher]. The ant plays into the stereotype that ants are industrious and hardworking. The message is that persistence will pay off and that these are desirable qualities to internalise.
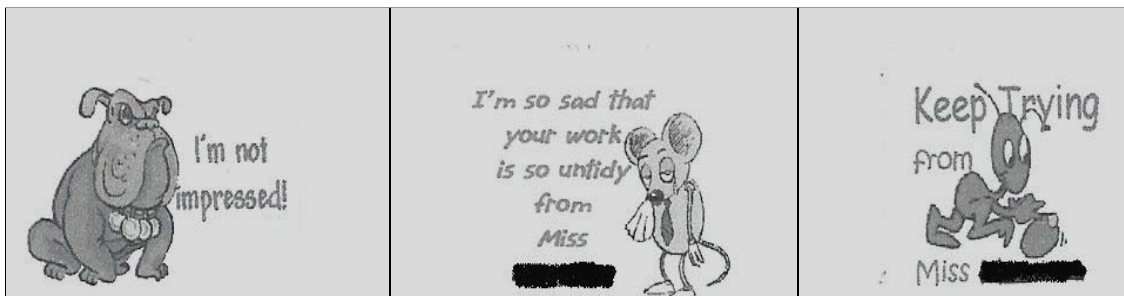
Figure 7.5 Examples of Stickers in Grade 3 Handwriting Books

Handwriting then is not only about mastery through practice. It is the means through which particular values that are regarded as important in the school community are supposed to be internalised. Children need to be industrious and hard working if the number of 'tries' the teacher has written in the books is anything to go by. This demonstrates explicitly how values are entrenched in the curriculum – it is no coincidence that the school's motto is perseverance.

7.5.2 *Writing in the Margins: Travis*

> When we make space as crucial a component of that production as time, what results are embodied texts, where the body (sexed, gendered, racialised, classed) cannot be written out or ignored, where the body insists on occupying some space and will not be silenced. What results is an understanding of texts as processual as a process of making which is profoundly embodied and disciplined, subject to all kinds of policy, institutional, private and power relationships (Kamler 2001:5).

It is with Kamler's (2001) words in mind that this final section is written. This section looks at Travis, a Grade 3 boy, and who he is as a writer. In the mesh of curriculum choices, pedagogical practices and complex power relationships, this is a body that has occupied a space and will not be silent. He is both a schooled subject and a rebellious one. As an individual subject formed by many forces inside and outside the school Travis finds expression in the margins of his schoolbooks.

During my observations in the Grade 3 class I often sat with Travis's group. He was the unofficial leader of the group. Although quite small in stature he was a forceful presence. Academically he was the strongest child in the group. For the majority of tasks his modus operandi was to complete them as quickly as possible with little regard for neatness and detail. This had a twofold result, his work could not be copied, and he had more leisure time. In this time he often distracted the others (not always purposefully) by talking to them. He was frequently reprimanded for talking and not paying attention. In many ways it seemed that Travis was bored, schoolwork was a chore rather than something he was engaged in. Travis was often angry, frustrated and could be quite aggressive. He never backed down from fights or confrontations. On one occasion he demonstrated his frustration by systematically snapping his pencils, much to the annoyance of his teacher.

Popular music played an important role in Travis's life. He was particularly taken with many hip-hop artists and rappers and sang their songs to himself under his breath whilst working. Talking about music was a frequent topic of conversation and he became

extremely animated when he heard that Usher was coming to South Africa. We also discussed the merits of P.Diddy's then relationship with Jennifer Lopez. He questioned my taste in 'old school' music. Ja Rule was his favourite artist and Travis sang his songs on a daily basis. His knowledge of this musical genre was demonstrated through his body as he would take on the movements embodied by these singers. Like the two Grade 1 boys who launched into their own performance (section 5.3, Plate 1), Travis could swiftly move from a Grade 3 school boy to a mini Ja Rule.

Dyson (1995) makes the point that commercial culture is often directly marketed at children who take it up, using it as the topic of their free school writing unless teachers explicitly ban it. These forms of popular culture are not banned in these classrooms because there is no space to express them in formal school tasks. There is no free writing. This is not to say that they do not exist, but they are distractions. They are not officially recognised. There is no real permeable curriculum where children's interests are taken into account; the curriculum is tightly bound to include very narrow tasks (Dyson 1993b). How then, when there is no outlet through sanctioned activities like free writing, do children express facets of their own identities?

In Travis's case it would be rebelliously – through subverting the genres that he has at hand and using a genre of defiance – graffiti. In the inside covers of his schoolbooks Travis, the lover of music exists. In the back of his Life Skills book, written in pen, he lists the artists he considers to be important. He writes:

R Kelly, Ja Rule, Tamia, Jeniffer Lopez, Usher, P. Diddy, 2 Pac, Alicia Keys, Jay-zee, mnm, Destiny's Child, Zola, Nelly, Nelly Fertado, Mr Bee, Janet Jackson, Buster ryms, Jay Dee, Celine Dion (as original)

Writing this list clearly in the middle of the back page can be seen to be an act of defiance. He has defaced his book by writing about something that it not prescribed by the curriculum. It is also a challenge to the thinking that we are not supposed to write in books – even if they are our own. But this love of music is hidden on a cardboard cover at

the back of the book, placed in a marginal space; it is not listed openly on the pages of the book. When Travis does inscribe this love on the pages of his books it is still hidden. In his handwriting book at the end of the year, given the space to draw his own pattern to finish the exercise, he takes the 'gap'. Instead of drawing the pattern, he has coloured three lines in yellow and written in green and yellow pencil. The word 'maxi' appears on the first line. The second line reads: "Westside you [indistinguishable] dirty". The third line reads "H.L.K and Hola". By November R. Kelly, Ja Rule, Nelly and Tamia appear in two more patterns.

Each week the children are required to report back on their "Weekend News". This practice begins in Grade 1 where children depict what they did over the weekend and begin to write sentences describing the pictures until the writing becomes central, and the pictures supplement it. In what is essentially a recount genre, there is very little room for creativity. In fact it is quite restrictive. Children are only required to recount what they *did* each weekend. Thus a list of activities is required. One of Travis's first entries for the year reads:

> I went to the glen [shopping centre] with my mother
>
> I went to Gold reef city with my freinds
>
> I went to wimpy on Saturday
>
> Me and my freind went to the swimming pool
>
> I went to go and look at the church
>
> I did play soccer with my friends (as original) (4 February)

Apart from playing soccer, every sentence contains the verb "went". This pattern continues throughout the year outlining where Travis went. This can create pressure on a writer, especially if nothing happened on a weekend or the child did not go anywhere or do anything. Thus fiction is created. Travis works to the expected formula that will mark him as compliant, but the content tells another story. On the 22 April he wrote:

I went to suncity on Friday and had fun

I went to gold reef city for rides

We went to KFc to order a meal

We went to wimpy to eat lunch'

I went to town to buy my new shoes (as original)

On a two-day weekend it does not seem possible that all this could have been accomplished. Sun City is a good two hour drive from Johannesburg and priced for international tourists. It does not make sense to spend 'Friday' there to have what is vaguely termed fun. No doubt if Travis had been there the writing would have been filled with the activities offered at Sun City. In addition, a trip to Gold Reef City, which has theme park rides and is also expensive, warrants a day's participation. The inclusion of these two venues is perhaps the desire of a boy who covets such excursions. The final sentence jars. Apart from the question of how shopping was fitted into this 'full' weekend – it sounds like a sentence in an outdated Reader. It is highly unlikely that Travis would have bought shoes in town when there are a number of shopping centres close by that feature prominently in his other descriptions of weekend news. As such, few people go to 'town' for weekend shopping excursions.

This writing is limited. Travis is limited by the restrictions of the genre – he can only talk about what he did. When he has run out of ideas he draws on his knowledge of other texts he has read. In this case the class texts/books he has access to are limited. The genre of Weekend News confines him to reality. So Travis subverts the genre and he makes up what he did. What results is a disjointedness to the sentences that sound like pages of Readers. At this point there is no attempt to write cohesively, to form a paragraph, nor is there any understanding of these features of writing that are required in the following grades.

Travis does find a space to discuss another great interest, soccer. He writes frequently about playing soccer and we have some insight into how his soccer community works

when he reveals he plays soccer for money and won R9, 50 on one occasion. People who are interested in soccer are interested in the game and not just in playing it – there is a whole life around soccer – watching games, supporting teams, following scores and league, and having heroes. There is no place to talk about this in weekend news but Travis finds a way to place his soccer heroes into this genre by replicating a team sheet for the Brazilian national side. He draws the team kit and writes the players' names and numbers on their backs in the same way that the team line up before a televised game is represented. This reveals another life and literacy that Travis has that works its way into the gaps in his books.

At the end of the Foundation Phase Travis exemplifies the kind of writer that has been produced – a frustrated one writing himself into the margins of his books. Travis declares himself in small spaces, and his identity, interests and reading of the world is not acknowledged in the writing that he has to do. This has serious implications. If writing is constructed narrowly, then writers are also narrow. This narrowness will either create limited and docile subjects or alienated angry and resistant ones. Dyson's (1993b:33-4) words are worth considering:

> In a troubled world of poverty and violence, of racism and sometimes breathtaking indifference, we cannot pave children's way. But, as teachers, we can help. Within our classrooms, children compose texts that declare their existence in the world, but that existence is acknowledged momentarily completed, only by the response of the other (Bhaktin 1986). In our own responses to the children, we help shape their understandings of what it means to be an educated person in our society. If our classrooms are not places for diversity of social action and a wealth of cultural materials, we risk sending messages of alienation, messages that say educated people are not rooted in their own histories, in strong relationships with people that matter.

7.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has charted the potential for writing that lies in the preschool classroom that is not fulfilled in the Foundation phase because of perceived external curriculum constraints. It has explored how writing in its more profound sense of composing is in many ways absent from these classrooms, replaced instead by a heavy emphasis on skills and the mechanics of handwriting. Access to forms of writing is limited, caught and moulded by ideas about how reading should be taught. The writing tasks that children are required to do become as mechanised as the skills they are learning. This has an impact on the kinds of subjects that are being produced because "[f]orms of pedagogy also can be seen as designs for subjectivities where different modes and potentials of meaning making imply different potentials for the formation of subjectivities" (Kamler 2001:54).

Children do want to write, and writing is a way of making permanent marks that declare one's existence. Creating conditions where "potentials of meaning making" are shut down or denied, forces children into writing subversively, so that their writing is not valued or developed. More worryingly it may stop them writing altogether. Shutting down spaces for writing means creating subjects who are overpowered by writing and are not empowered users of this technology for their own purposes in the world.

CHAPTER 8 EXAMINING SUBJECTS

This final chapter of findings returns to the work of Foucault, drawing once again on the four means through which discipline operates. The organisation of the temporal in schooling is tightly connected to the means though which organisational genesis operates. This places the disciplinary power of the examination in a central position. Examination is another means through which the construction of the literate subject can be gauged. From the beginning of schooling children are subject to training of particular durations to master tasks which they are tested (examined) on before they move onto more complex exercises. Examination is constant, although the means of assessment differs. This chapter is structured using the three key elements of the examination, or the "normalising gaze" (Foucault 1977:184): visibility, entrance into the field of documentation, and becoming a case. The chapter begins by focusing on the connections between visibility and testing, the entrance of subjects into the field of documentation via reports, and the rendering of individuals into cases from their Learner Profiles. (Each student has a Learner Profile that is a record of his or her progress through school.) The chapter attempts to draw out the key features constituting the literate subject. In doing so, what emerges are the influences of discourses like developmental psychology, the school, and national concerns. Three sets of data are drawn on for this chapter, information gained from teacher interviews on assessment methods, filmed episodes of children writing tests, and documents.

8.1 VISIBILITY: TESTING SUBJECTS

While the new curriculum emphasises the need for continuous and varied assessment, the focus here is not on assessment techniques per se, but rather, on how observation functions within the realm of testing. "The test", writes Rose (1998:89) "is a device for visualising and inscribing individual difference in a calculable form." If the function of the disciplinary gaze is to illuminate subjects, then the level and intensity of the gaze will

render individuals visible in particular ways to classify elements of difference. There appear to be three levels of observation individuals are subjected to. The first is a continuous general observation, where teachers literally watch the development of children throughout the year. This gaze looks to identify general patterns of development of both the group and individuals within it. The second is individual observation, where the gaze focuses on an individual during the testing process to assess mastery. The third level combines the first two, and involves whole class testing. General observation is levelled at the entire class who are expected to internalise test writing ritual; these documented results allow for the scrutiny of individuals.

8.1.1 Testing in Grade 00 and Grade 0

In Grade 00 and 0 much of the examining takes place on the first two levels. This is partly because the children are not literate enough to write tests. They are continuously assessed on daily tasks with an emphasis on general mastery and school readiness. The children are seemingly unaware that they are closely observed and judged. In discussing how she monitors the progress of the Grade 00s Dawn underscores the importance of observation:

> Observation when evaluating, only observation. … What I have been doing now is I've got them cutting pictures and colouring and drawing that I give the parents examples of. I attach it to the report…. so you keep back some of the artwork and compare it at the end of the year and see if there is progress. It's purely by observation, they don't write tests and things. (GR00IN27/6/02)

This kind of observation requires a level of knowledge, experience and competency that the teacher has to draw on to make judgements. The fact that Dawn keeps back examples is the basis for entering children into the field of documentation and establishing norms. The Grade 0 file of work is also evidence of this (see 7.3 for a discussion of file contents). Individual progress can be compared over the year and against the rest of the

class. General conversations with Dawn and Lisa reveal a focus on individuals' holistic development. In Grade 00 the emphasis is on how the children have developed rather than that they all reached a specified norm. Dawn comments:

> Well we've got a written out report that we expect that they should actually be on that standard but as a matter of fact all children can't be on that standard because they are different…. to see if they develop we can't say I expect that – again they come from nothing or somewhere and they develop, as long as there is development during the year then I am happy (GR00IN27/6/02).

The second level of observation is directed at individuals' engagement with tasks. An example would be requiring children to demonstrate left and right. There is no mention that testing is taking place – often the task just seems like fun. For example, to meet one of the criteria in their reports, the Grade 0s were lined up outside their classroom where the squares and circles of a hopscotch course were drawn in chalk. Each child had to negotiate their way through it. The children treated this like a game – clapping and calling out encouragement to each other. The only indication that this was not a game was the presence of the mark book (GR0FN1/10/02).

This observation of individuals also functions in a spatial dimension. The class needs to be distributed away from the tested individual and occupied with a task. A functional site needs to exist where the teacher and individual are minimally disturbed. In the Grade 00 class one of the children's tables furthest away from the carpet was used. The rest of the children played on the carpet. Another testing space was constructed by placing a small table between the teacher's desk and first partition (see figure 5.11). This obscured the class's vision and limited distractions. In Grade 0 individual testing usually took place at Lisa's desk.

While testing is supposed to have a quantifiable, calculable element, testing in itself can be problematic. This is true of the vocabulary tests that were administered to the Grade 00s. Children were called up individually to a table and were shown a number of objects

that they had to identify. There were several problems with this test that Dawn was struggling with:

> We've got set out vocabulary words that we test them on so that we can have a guideline. Again there are English first language children and English second language. And then in my school there is an – an empty spot, we haven't got two reports for the different languages and now I intend to change that. So I evaluate cups and saucers, plates and dishes with all the children and it is not fair having the English first language and second language, but we're working on it… And I think it is underestimating an English first language child to ask 'What is this?' and it is a knife, so he can have much more. I think the report I have is for second language. I need a report for first language that is more advanced. They laugh at me if I ask them 'What is this?' and it's a cup (GR00IN27/6/02).

Dawn is faced with complicated assessment issues. She has a multilingual school population and culturally biased English assessment practices. She also has to deal with parents who want their children to speak English. Despite the Language in Education Policy (DoE 1997) promoting mother tongue instruction, this desire for English education is widespread, particularly amongst the black middle class who prefer English as the language of education (de Klerk 2002, Kamwangamalu 2003, Mda, 2004). The current Minister of Education, Naledi Pandor, recently admitted that the main obstacle to promoting mother tongue instruction was parental resistance (http://iafrica.com.news /sa825547.htm).

The desire to have two reports, two sets of assessment criteria, is in itself complicated. Assessing second language speakers in a way that acknowledges levels of languages proficiency means children are not disadvantaged by tests that operate beyond their level of attained English. The challenge lies in constructing such tests. These are issues that Dawn will have to grapple with.

What was interesting was how she dealt with the testing environment. The cutlery and crockery vocabulary test referred to in the interview could have been administered strictly, but this never happened (GR00FN31/5/02). Through her daily observations

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Dawn knew the levels her children had attained. The test became an opportunity for one-on-one learning. The vocabulary test does not reflect levels of intelligence, only language proficiency; some children identified the object in their mother tongue. I recognised 'ummese' (Zulu for knife). Dawn first asked the children to identify the objects, and if they could not she named it for them. She then asked them to say it with her, to repeat it after her, and then she made them say it by themselves. She said the word again if they mispronounced it. Then she asked them to identify it again, often in conjunction with another object. To an extent this is a memory exercise and it is impossible to know how many words children remembered later. But they received individual attention and help from their teacher, who patiently assisted them with the words they did not know.

In Grade 0 teacher support when assessing the children is also practised, but making judgements on individual development is read within a far more prescriptive set of norms related to school readiness (see 8.2.1). Children become objects of knowledge, differentiated from the group. Lisa, commenting on her end of year reports stated:

> Now it is more generalising…how do I put it—the child... do they fit the requirement of the class, [it's] not actually on the individual child, so it is more the class standard than the individual child. (GR0IN26/11/02)

8.1.2 Testing in Grade 1 and Grade 3

This section deals with the third level of observation evident in the class test. For class tests all four disciplinary means come into play: organisational genesis operates when a section of work is completed and children are examined to assess whether they have attained a particular level and to assess individual abilities. The taking of the test requires a spatial distribution; children are required to partition themselves from others to stop copying. The composition of forces is called for as the class works as a whole, following the commands of teacher, or the test itself. In order to do this a control of activity is

necessary as individuals must have mastery of the temporal elaboration of the act, correlating body and gesture to take the test. If not, they will not complete it in time.

Two transcripts taken from videotape, one from Grade 1 and the other from Grade 3 are used to illustrate how subjects are constructed and resisted. Transcripts are not used in conjunction with photographs because the focus here is on how the discursive practices of the teacher construct subjective positionings (Jones and Brown 2001). The Grade 1 test was given at the beginning of March. It was their first 'spelling' test[31]. To address the limited temporal elaboration of the act, these children were given a piece of paper with a column of words on the left hand side: *sat, fat, rat, hat, mat*. They were required to match these with corresponding pictures on the right hand side of the page.

Catherine: You all should know how to read by now. We've done these words before.

Right, this says - Wasim? What does it say?

Wasim: Sat

Catherine: No the top word where the line is (points to it)

Wasim: Name

Catherine: Name. So you go there and write your name. Nice Derisha, tear my papers too. Do what you want because I don't know how your house looks; give me the address I want to come there. I want to see maybe the curtains are torn, all the bedsheets are torn, the dishes are broken. Why are you doing that? It took me time to stick it - in your book? Why are you looking at me like that? Write your name. Did you write your name? Go write your name.

(To me) Her [homework] book is in pieces I gave her a new book yesterday, brand new, and mommy said there is no cover to cover it. That's the latest.

Right, now you write your name on the first line. Here it says "Spelling Test". Read.

Class: Spelling test

Catherine: Read. Steve what did I say?

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[31]This is in fact not a spelling test it seems to be a reading test. Spelling tests require children to produce the correct spellings of words, usually in writing, but this test requires the children to decode the text which requires letter and sound recognition, the skills required for reading.

Steve: inaudible

Catherine: You are saying something else. Tell your grandma I want to see her today. Tell her I want to see her. Right, read the words for me, read. I want you to read the words Karabo because you are busy colouring. Read the words, leave the pencils and read the words for me. Sat

(Catherine reads the words and the class repeats after her. The class are told to read them by themselves. They do this badly. Catherine takes over reading each word with the class repeating it three times.)

Catherine: Read the first picture for me - hat

Class: Hat

(Mbali makes a mistake)

Catherine: The first picture is fat? Mbali what's the first picture?

Mbali: hat

Catherine: A hat. What do you do with a hat?

Class: You put it on your head

Catherine: You use it on your head. What's this? No, this is sat.

Class reads the pictures, repeating after Catherine

Catherine: Now you are going to find the words hat and here you look for the word hat and you gonna draw the line and you do it by yourself. It is a spelling test. Now start working because these marks are going in your reports, so you'd better start thinking Nosipho before you come to me. Now colour all these pictures, colour them, colour the pictures. I'm watching, I'm watching. Silas do some work. Colour. In. The. Pictures. SHHHH. (GR1VT4/3/03).

A large amount of time is used to explain what the children are supposed to do. They are made to read everything on the page including the fact that this is a 'spelling' test. The rest of the interactions are either disciplinary in nature or scaffold the test. Although the children are supposed to know these words, having done them in class and for homework, Catherine spends a substantial amount of time making the children identify the words and

pictures before she tells them what to do. This is similar to the way Dawn approached the vocabulary tests for the Grade 00s, although assistance is across the board and not individual.

The interaction reveals several aspects of the ritual of writing tests; firstly it is essential to write one's name, otherwise one cannot be an object of knowledge. The second is reading. Children have to read to know what kind of test they are doing and later what to do. In this case the instructions are oral and the children's actions need to demonstrate that they are listening. Mbali is corrected for being in the wrong place, her public correction serves as a reminder to the rest of the class where they should be. Karabo is colouring in – the supposition is that it is not possible to colour in and listen. The children are required to colour in after they have finished. A compliant subject is one who presents neat work – there is an emphasis on presentation as well as content, but good or bad colouring has no impact on the correctness of the answers.

The reprimands Steve and Derisha receive go further than pointing out their limitations as schooled subjects; rather, a normalising judgement is extended to their homes. Derisha's rough handling of her book is deemed unacceptable. She is reprimanded for not behaving responsibly with her possessions. Catherine argues that this could be a reflection of her home life. She is judged and found wanting. Not only is she judged but her mother is too. Her mother allowed the homework book to fall to "pieces" after less than two months of school. A 'responsible' parent would not let this happen and would ensure that the new book was covered to be protected. Steve's inattention evokes a public reprimand but he is threatened with additional external regulation from his grandmother if he continues to be unable to regulate himself.

At the end of the transcript the whole class is addressed again. When they are charged to work independently they are told they are writing a test and the implications thereof. The act of taking the test means that the children are placed in a field of surveillance which will be recorded in a network of writing. Catherine tells them there are marks involved and their performance will be recorded on their reports. The placement of this statement

at the end of the transcript functions like a threat, non-conformity will mark them as different. If the threat of judgement is not strong enough the other form of disciplinary power, hierarchical observation, comes into play; Catherine is watching.

By the end of the Foundation Phase surveillance is more prominent and spelling tests take on a traditional form. The children have internalised the routine and the hierarchical nature of surveillance – watching others to see they are not cheating, having books up or covering their work. By Grade 3 surveillance and spatial distribution come to the fore. Unlike the Grade 1s who sat in rows, the Grade 3s sit in groups of six, apart from one boy, Manny, who sits by himself because of his behaviour. The week of this test Thulisile was on study leave and Leslie taught the Grade 3s:

> Leslie: In your literacy books at the back put the date.
>
> (Some children stand up to collect their literacy books from the shelf that runs along the left side of the classroom.)
>
> Mrs: T: That doesn't give you the right to talk.
>
> (The class is quiet as they get their books ready and write the date. Four girls get up and stand around Leslie's table.)
>
> Leslie: I said put something between you.
>
> (This sparks off another group of children who stand up to get files off the shelf to put them up between each other. This results in several conversations and an increase in the noise level.)
>
> Leslie: I don't remember saying open your mouth for anything. Who hasn't got ears?
>
> (Class quietens then is silent. There is some shuffling to get ready – some of the children are looking at Leslie waiting for the next instruction. Manny scrapes his chair loudly. Megan is looking for a file – she takes her time and finally gets one.)
>
> Leslie: Right if you haven't got something up between you, you are going to go out –
>
> your cases, anything, that book is going to keep on falling over so use your homework book it's harder than that one.

(Manny puts up a book at 90° with half of it facing the carpet and the other the group on his right. Charmaine stands up to organise a 'barricade' for her whole group so that no –one can see the work on either side or in front of them.)

Leslie: (to Manny) You really don't need to put something up – you're on your own.

(He leaves the book up.)

Leslie: Thabo come back down to earth. Earth calling Thabo. Put something up.

(Shouts) Put something up between you! Thabo put something up in front of you!

(someone queries the use of files) Use anybody's file there!

(This results in another spate of children getting up. By this stage most of the children have got something up to stop the person next to them seeing their work but nothing dividing themselves from the person facing them.)

Leslie: Take anybody's file, you are really not going to eat it you are just going to use it.

(To Manny) Are you really not happy unless you have something yourself?

(Manny has now taken the book down but he has his bag up on the right hand side of the desk where the closest group to him is. Manny is then reprimanded by the teacher for leaving the class the previous day without being formally dismissed by her.)

That homework book - get a file……

Manny stop rocking on that chair the horse died long ago. Put your chair right and sit properly. (He scrapes his chair loudly)

That homework book, get a file. (T walks over to one group to check their arrangement) Take that book away.

(Manny is stamping his legs under the desk making a noise.)

Leslie: Right I catch you looking at anybody I'll give you 0. Think carefully before you write don't just write to get finished. First word…

Susan: Ma'am must we write… (she is ignored)

Leslie: Anybody, any-body

(There is complete silence as the test starts. Leslie reads each word out and then repeats it. The children write the words. At the end of the test Leslie walks to the back of the class. She stops and looks at one of the boy's tests before going to her desk.)

Leslie: Rule off. Don't take down your covers and you start your maths test.

(The maths test is on the board) (GR3VT1/11/03)

What is most evident from this transcript is the time wasted by the children to get organised. This impacts on Leslie's gaze – she cannot see everything and spends a long time reprimanding and organising movements. Her giving of instructions and scaffolding is minimal. All that is needed is the opening command "In your literacy books at the back put the date" which functions as a reminder the test is about to commence, and implicitly that the classroom space needs reorganisation.

What is disconcerting about this episode is the difference between the class getting ready for the test and writing it. The children's bodies looked untrained and at times aimless compared to the "multi-segmentary machine" (Foucault 1977:164) of docile bodies that wrote the test. Writing the test is a perfect example of how the control of activity by individuals underpins the successful composition of forces. The class wrote in absolute silence, with a minimum of movement, confined by their partitions, keeping their heads down only raising them to look at the teacher for the next word, there was no excessive glancing around. Why this shift? I think this is a typical act of resistance; small, unplanned and spontaneous, a classic example of the 'go-slow'. If one or two individuals had held up the procedure they would have been reprimanded, but a whole group following instructions (albeit slowly) changes the situation. They are doing what they have been told to do. But if the principle of docility-utility is to operate, then time should be maximised. These bodies know they cannot resist the testing process outright so they find a gap created by the movement from one exercise to the next. In this changeover there is a shift, and for a few minutes the power rests in the hands of the class. Leslie takes it back once the test begins.

Prominent in the transcript is the resistant subject, Manny, who pushes the boundaries of acceptable behaviour. When the class are told not to open their mouths Manny's chair can be heard to scrape loudly. This draws Leslie's attention and he comes under close scrutiny. Leslie sees he has a book up to prevent copying even though he sits alone. His

response is to take the book down and replace it with his school bag. The fact that Leslie asks him rhetorically "Are you really not happy unless you have something yourself?" indicates that she has decided to leave Manny to his bag. She then remembers that he left her class without permission and is told not "to try that stunt again". When another child distracts her, Manny begins to rock on his chair. He is reprimanded again. He then stamps his feet loudly, which is hidden by the noise of the rest of the class is making. Manny is not finished yet. Foucault has said:

> He who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection." (1977:202-203).

Manny disproves this. Manny is aware he is in a field of visibility but refuses to assume responsibility for the constraints of power. He may be subjected to an external gaze but it is not internalised. In fact Manny is subjected to two external gazes, Leslie's, and the gaze of my camera. I had spent the entire test period standing behind him filming. Despite this, the videotape shows that the moment Leslie (and her gaze) moved to her desk at the back of the class, Manny cheats. He sits up straight with his pencil in his left hand, then bends a little into a posture that appears to look like he is going to write, swaps the pencil back into his right hand, which is poised at the bottom of the page where the last spelling words are. But, instead of writing he turns a fraction in his chair and raises his head slightly, looking left to see where Leslie is. His carefully placed school bag provides cover for cheating. He pages back in the book, turning the left hand page over almost flat. He is on the wrong page. He turns the page back with his right hand, lifting the next left hand page up. It is still not the correct page. Then, as he turns another page from the pages he is holding, he looks up at the board at the maths test. He finds the right page, has a quick look, drops the pages, leans forward, looks at the board again, and pretends to write something at the top of the page. After a few seconds he leans back and writes at the bottom of the page. In normal circumstances Manny has covered his bases: the school bag provides some cover, he is aware of his teacher's location and his peers'

preoccupation, he embodies the test taking subject, but this time perhaps there is something to be said for looking over one's shoulder.

8.2 ENTERING THE FIELD OF DOCUMENTATION

The following section is a comparative analysis of three school reports: the year end Grade 0 report, the first term Grade 1 report and the year end Grade 3 report[32]. In line with the aims of this study, the inclusion of reports is a means through which transition can be assessed; the Grade 0 report reveals a different notion of the subject compared to the other two reports. While the format and content of the Foundation Phase reports are similar, the emphasis in the criteria shifts.

8.2.1 Grade 0 Reports

The Grade 0 report is an extensive five-page document reflecting the discourse of developmental psychology. In documenting the rise of psychology Rose (1998) discusses the centrality of the clinic and nursery school in the construction of standards and norms through observation of large numbers of children. Developmental norms operate on a set standard based on the average ability or performance of age specific children in executing specific tasks. These "[n]orms of posture and locomotion, of vocabulary, comprehension, and conversation, of personal habits, initiative, independence, and play could now be deployed in evaluation and diagnosis" (Rose 1998:111).

The report is divided into seven sections which are indicative of these developmental norms: motor development, language skills, recognising and naming shapes, emotional development, general development. The emergent literate subject is foregrounded in the final two sections: Letterland, and reading Dolche words. The presence of this

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[32] I do not have the Grade 00 reports as I only collected reports handed out during my period of observation.

developmental discourse is evident on the report's cover page. It lists the child and teacher's names, the child's date of birth, weight and handedness. The date of birth indicates ranking where age specific children are expected to have certain abilities, in line with developmental norms. An element of physical development is carried in the weight category. Of the 24 children in the class the average Grade 0 weighs 22kg. The inclusion of weight also contains information about lifestyle. Charting children's weights provides evidence for determining whether children are undernourished, healthy or obese. Being right-handed is a norm in society. Placing handedness on the front page immediately identifies a potential element of abnormality. Comprising about 10% of the population, left-handers are often marked out as having learning difficulties. Studies have been unable to confirm this though (Keep: no date). But in terms of literacy development, lefthanders often have difficulty with handwriting. (This of course is not surprising when left-handed children are often taught by right-handed teachers who use right-handed methods to teach writing.)

The underlying tenet of the report is the notion of school readiness. The assessment criteria in each section provide a composite of the skills needed to be considered school-ready. Mastery is rated by a tick in one of three columns provided: Yes, Sometimes, No. The first section, Motor Development, includes aspects of both gross and fine motor co-ordination. In many ways it covers the norms of posture and locomotion mentioned by Rose (1998). Insufficient control over large muscles hints at potential problems during formal schooling, clumsiness and the lack of fluidity of movement can affect written work. Children are assessed as to whether they are clumsy or not, can jump up and down, walk backwards and forwards, hop, stand on one leg, play hopscotch, show rhythm by clapping. Problems with fine motor co-ordination can have serious implications when children enter school and spend much of their time writing, drawing, colouring, and cutting out. The report assesses their ability to draw simple figures like a house, fasten buttons, draw and colour detailed pictures. Within this section the notion of balance features prominently. Children are required to demonstrate an awareness of laterality and directionality by being able to put their right hand over their left ear, knowing which side of their body is the right or left side and positioning themselves in space by walking with

a beanbag on their heads. The Grade 0s are subjected to a range of activities throughout the year that require them to cross the midline. Mastery of this has an impact on writing. Lisa says:

> So I make them do exercises with their different body parts, flex their feet up and down, cross over their arms, touch the right hand to the left hip, that sort of thing, just so they can cross the midline all the time. (Gr0IN26/11/02)

It is interesting that motor development is the first section – overall mastery of the body provides the foundation for mastering tasks like reading or reproducing patterns. Alongside motor development, the other sections reveal the type of literacy training and literacy practices that operate in the classroom. Children in Grade 00 and Grade 0 are not taught to read or write formally; they are supposed to be prepared for this. So, there is a greater emphasis on drawing than writing. Children are required to:

- Draw a person, house and a tree
- Copy a circle, square, triangle, rectangle and cross
- Use the correct pencil grip
- Colour in smaller and more detailed pictures
- Draw more detailed pictures
- Write their name

Mastery of these criteria requires control of activity. At Grade 0 attention needs to be paid to the body-object articulation, which requires a mastery of the technology of writing. The control of these activities also has an organisational genesis as these tasks are incremental– an incorrect pencil grip implies that an inability to complete detailed drawings and colouring in will be impeded because the technique is wrong and/or there is insufficient fine motor co-ordination.

Reading operates on two levels in the report – reading in preparation for print-based literacy and a more general reading of the environment. Children need to be able to:

- Name and recognise the following shapes: circle, square, triangle, oval, heart, diamond, star, cross, rectangle.
- Tell whether something is missing from a picture
- Name and recognise primary and secondary colours
- Recognise their own name and at least one of their friend's names in written form
- Name and recognise the letters of the alphabet
- Read 30 Dolche words

The criteria are closely linked to the drawing children do. Recognising shapes is a way of reading the world, and builds a data base to literally draw on. It also provides a foundation for letter formation. The reading of the world in this class is limited to decoding, and 'reading the world' does not operate in a Freirean sense (Freire 2001). Reading and writing are also connected since the only word children are required to read and write is their name. Children learn the letters of the alphabet in preparation for Grade 1. The Grade 0s received additional help by learning Dolche words. But they are not taught to combine them into sentences. The literate subject is also supposed to engage appropriately to the norms of the school world by 'reading' situations correctly. This behaviour requires mastery of both the skills of speaking and listening (two outcomes set out in the RNC, see 3.5.4). Children need to show mastery of the medium of instruction:

- Speaking English fluently
- Pronouncing words correctly
- Participating in class discussions
- Participating in group discussions enthusiastically
- Performing confidently in the presence of others
- Communicating confidently with adults
- Communicating confidently with other children
- Not using baby language
- Formulating thoughts easily when talking about something
- Not digressing from a subject when talking about it
- Executing involved instructions

- Executing more than one instruction

Alongside this are expected norms of behaviour:

- Concentrate for the duration of a story or language ring
- Sitting still during ring time
- Not cry easily

In this class children need to conform to the identity of an English speaker by speaking fluently and not mispronouncing words. The issue of pronunciation is complicated by diversity in the class, a variety of accents, and the teacher's understanding of identity and what is appropriate. Nine of the twenty four children are not mother tongue speakers of English. The rest of the children have distinctive accents. Coloured, Indian, Black and White varieties of English with the concomitant accents are all heard in the class, although the most common variety of English spoken is Coloured English. An examination of the reports reveals that 5 children were marked as experiencing difficulty with pronouncing certain words. These five children who were marked as struggling spoke no English when they arrived at Southside.

The rest of the criteria deal with social interaction. The ideal subject that emerges is one who is confident, communicating with both adults and peers in a clear and logical way. There is to be no baby talk or crying. In fact in her interview Lisa states that the school ready child "can stand up to, for themselves, if they've got their own point of view, if they [are] independent, then they're school ready. Even if they can't do the actual work I believe they are confident, confidence is the main thing, they're confident and they're able to do things by themselves, they'll cope in Grade 1" (Gr0IN26/11/02) The 'loner' is not a suitable subjectivity to take on in a school environment. These rules of engaged social interaction begin to fulfil the requirements of the curriculum where children are able to work and communicate effectively with others (Critical Outcomes 3 and 5). The importance of following instructions is emphasised as it appears twice. This is

unsurprising since schooling requires a well co-ordinated control of forces, relying on trained, docile bodies, who are disciplined and regulated. Children have to follow multiple and complex instructions. There is a small shift in giving instructions from Grade 00 to Grade 0 where action and verbal commands are replaced by the verbal. In Grade 00 children are shown what to do with verbal instructions, but in Grade 0, Lisa acknowledges:

> If you do it for them, they'll know what to do….that is what I am trying to get away from, I don't want to have to do it, I want them to have to follow instructions. (GR0IN 26/11/02)

Children who move into Grade 1 and are able to follow instructions are less likely to face punishment. This likelihood decreases further if they have disciplined their bodies and demonstrate an understanding of behavioural norms – like concentrating during language ring. The use of the verb 'concentrate' in the assessment criteria implies a body that is not just well behaved, a body that knows how to sit still because it is focussed, but also one that comprehends the activity or story.

The final part of the report is an overall comment written by the teacher. To analyse the general comments from the reports I listed recurring concepts and then grouped them into categories. Three categories emerged (see table 8.1). The first related to the ability to do school work. These comments can be ranked. Children who performed well received "his/her work is of a high standard" those who had not consistently attained the standard but had shown some development, had ""strives to do her best" or "gives of his best", children who were weaker students "coped well" or had "improved". Only one student excelled. The second category relates to levels of interaction where the most frequent comment was "interacts well with her peers" highlighting the communal rather than the individual (see 5.2.2.3). This category also reveals elements of behaviour deemed appropriate: "is willing to assist", "loving and caring", "impeccable manners" compared to the inappropriate: "aggressive behaviour" and "extremely disruptive". The third category refers to character traits: "confident", "happy/well adjusted", "quiet", "positive attitude", "sense of humour".

Table 8.1 Frequency of Teacher Comments in Grade 0 Reports

Comments	Category	Frequency
Strived to do his/her best/worked to best of ability	Work	9
Work of a high standard	Work	6
Interacts well with peers/has friends	Social interaction	6
Confident	Character	6
Happy/ well adjusted	Character	5
Quiet	Character	5
Positive attitude	Character	3
Sense of humour	Character	3
Willing to assist	Social interaction	2
Coped well	Work	2
Has improved	Work	2
Conscientious	Character	2
Loving and caring	Social interaction	1
Battles to concentrate	Work	1
Extremely disruptive	Social interaction	1
More effort required	Work	1
Aggressive behaviour	Social interaction	1
Impeccable manners	Social interaction	1
Excels	Work	1

While Lisa's interview reveals that she considers confidence to be of great importance, her use of it in the general comments adds an element of complexity to the type of confidence valued. Of the six times it is used, it is coupled with "quiet" three times. This may have implications in thinking about gender differences, although the limited number of times it is used does not allow for any generalisations. One girl is described as "quiet but confident", the "but" indicates that being quiet is a negative judgement which is balanced by the confidence. In contrast, "quiet and confident" referring to two boys, implies the quality of confidence that is most appropriate for the boys is a quiet confidence as opposed to a loud, or even arrogant confidence. Perhaps an interesting distinction is being made – in a society where women are either quiet or silenced, any sign of confidence is valued, but where men are entitled to speak and thus more likely to be confident, the way the confidence is borne is significant.

Two children are marked as refusing accepted subject positions. Lisa prefaces her comments with a statement of general development before she moves onto their behaviour:

Jason has coped well in all areas of development. I am however still very concerned about his aggressive behaviour.

Although Busi has improved in all areas of development, she is still not living up to her potential. She battles to concentrate during a language ring and she can become extremely disruptive.

Finally an interesting metaphorical pattern emerged revealing Lisa's feelings about three strong students:

Stella is an absolute star. She has a wonderful sense of humour and was a pleasure to teach.

Faizel is a shining bright light and deserves all the credit due to him. He excels in all that he does and has been a pleasure to teach.

Damon has a wonderful sense of humour. He brightens my day with his positive attitude. His work is of a high standard and he has been a pleasure to teach.

While Lisa's interview emphasises confidence, her comments show that a sense of humour, a positive attitude and all-round excellence give rise to a sense of pleasure. This pleasure is expressed metaphorically through the use of light by the words "star", "light" and "brightens". This light is further increased in intensity by the adjectives "absolute", "shining bright". The fact that these children are 'lights' has an affective impact; Damon's attitude effects a change in the way she feels about the day.

8.2.2 Grade 1 and Grade 3 Reports

The Grade 1 and 3 reports are less extensive than the Grade 0 report. There are slight differences in layout and ordering of content but this could be explained by alterations being made from one year to the next. There is continuity in the fact Grade 1 and Grade 0 reports contain the date of birth. This is absent from the Grade 3 report. The presence of the date of birth indicates several things: Grade 1 is the first year of school for many children. Entry into formal schooling is also entry into a new field of documentation. Populations are controlled as children are legally required to start school the year they turn seven. An early start may indicate precocity, and a late start a child with learning difficulties, or 'negligent' parents.

The reports are divided into three sections – the first assesses academic work, which is ranked numerically. The Grade 3, 2002 report ranking criteria are as follows:

1. Outstanding
2. Good
3. Achieved
4. Partially achieved
5. Not yet achieved

This changes in the Grade 1 2003[33] report. The section is now entitled Progression Criteria Percentage. The order has been switched and one criterion eliminated:

1. Not yet achieved (0-34%)
2. Partially achieved (35-39%)
3. Achieved (40-69%)
4. Outstanding/excellent achievement (70% and above)

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[33] These years are not chronological because I observed the Grade 3s and Grade 0s in 2002 and the Grade 1s in 2003.

These decisions are influenced by educational policy rather than school policies. While there have been moves to bring assessment practices in line with OBE thinking these changes have been uneven. The inclusion of percentages seems out of place when the ranking is numerical in the Foundation Phase. What is problematic is the construction of the subject who 'achieves'. There is a qualitative and quantitative difference in the student who gets 40% and the student who gets 69%. This kind of criteria can undermine the authority of the teacher. It does not show real progress, which is what parents look for – how can a child be a 3 for the whole year when they could not read at the beginning of the year and are able to read books by the end? How does a teacher tell a parent that their child needs help, needs to do more work when the report states "achieved"?

There are ways around this. One of the Grade 1 teachers adds a plus sign, so 3+ indicates a higher level of achievement (thus bringing back the category Good that was eliminated.)

The second section of the report ranks values formatively. The ranking is now alphabetical:

       A. Shows *excellent* values in a variety of situations
       B. Shows *good* values in a variety of situations
       C. Is able to show values *competently*
       D. Needs more practise to consolidate values
       E. Is *not yet competent* in values. Requires intensive assistance.

The supposition here of course is that there is only one set of values. All children come to school with values, and to imply that one can be "not yet competent", is a normative judgement. These values are "the nation's social values" that are embodied in the RNC and underpinned by the Constitution (DoE 2003:5). But as discussed earlier (section 3.5.1), the Constitution represents a rethinking and reformulation of the South African

nation and as such the values embodied in it are an ideal and not necessarily a reality. A new truth for the way we govern is being put in place. This presents a practical problem as to how these values are interpreted and assessed in relation to a school population. Thus the possibility exists that the values of the school may take greater precedence than the loftier ideals held in the Constitution.

In assessing academic ability the report is divided into the three learning areas: Literacy, Numeracy, and Life Skills. I will only discuss literacy. Literacy is subdivided into three further sections: "Oral", "Reading", and "Writing". Within the Oral section the subcategory "vocabulary used", is the only assessment criteria for both sets of reports. This is a rather limited perception of orality where none of the other skills required for speaking are encouraged. While the child with a good vocabulary is more likely to be eloquent, it does not hold true that they are effective communicators.

Within the "written" section, Grade 1s are assessed on their "sentence construction", "spelling" and "presentation". Spelling and sentence construction remain in Grade 3, although presentation has fallen away. "Presentation" is a suitably vague term. Coupled with writing and the fact that the children are learning to write it, appears that presentation refers to the ability to write neatly. This in turn also implies a controlled spatial organisation of letters/words on pages. Despite the fact that handwriting is not officially assessed in the Grade 3 report, children still have handwriting books. Thus, while writing as a scribal technique is important in Grade 1, the Grade 3 reports appear to indicate shift to writing content. But the presence of the categories "spelling" and "sentence construction" and the discussion in Chapter 7, demonstrate that the Grade 3 writer is limited to writing short sentences, rather than extended pieces of writing for different purposes.

As readers, children in the Foundation Phase are required to read with "expression", "fluency" and "comprehension". Grade 3 adds "punctuation" to the list. The reader in this Phase is one who has mastered the art of reading aloud. The reader is not necessarily engaged, or enjoying the task. The inclusion of punctuation is slightly puzzling. An awareness of punctuation for reading is essential. If the other three criteria are

successfully negotiated then a tacit understanding of punctuation is already demonstrated. The correct use of punctuation is probably more effective within the realm of writing as a way for children to express themselves effectively.

The last section of the Grade 1 report falls under the heading Formative Assessment. It assesses behaviour, participation, attitude and homework. Level of achievement is reflected by symbols (see above). There seems to be a mismatch between the criteria assessed and the meaning of the symbols. If a child gets a C for homework and C represents "is able to show values competently", what values are inherent in homework? Doing homework may foster conscientiousness, but homework in itself does not demonstrate values. In the Grade 3 reports homework, attitude, behaviour and participation in discussion are assessed across the three learning areas. This places the Grade 3 student under far more intensive surveillance. The literate subject does not only have to accede to the norms laid out orally and for reading and writing, but their behaviour, attitudes, participation and homework are also assessed. I think there is a shutting down here. The preschool children are encouraged to develop even if they do not reach the preset norms, to the Grade 1s have some space to develop and get used to the school environment. By Grade 3 this comes to an abrupt halt because every aspect is looked at in terms of the learning areas – the subject outside the learning area does not exist. This is perhaps unsurprising and heralds the construction of the Grade 4 subject who will be locked in a mesh of discipline specific subjects.

8.3 TURNING SUBJECTS INTO CASES: THE LEARNER PROFILE

The aptly named Learner Profile is a prime example of how subjects become a 'case'. This blue book, issued by the Gauteng Education Department is a comprehensive record that follows each child through the ten years of compulsory schooling (Gr. 0 – Gr. 9). This compilation of children into cases describes, judges and measures their academic performance, their medical condition, their participation, their psychological well-being, their family background and environment. Children can be compared across their

schooling and against other children's records, thus classifying various elements of their being. This is also a record of the academic training children undergo; it assumes various norms and proof of interventions that have taken in place to correct the abnormal (Foucault 1977).

The Learner Profile is also an example of the insidious functioning of modern power that targets the population through its triangular configuration of sovereignty-discipline-government. Sovereign power is exercised through the juridical arms of the state. The Learner Profile is a confidential and legal document. Its very status as a legal document prescribes a set of behaviours for those working with it. Clearly stated on the inside cover is:

> Learner Profile GDE 461 is a legal document and pages may not be torn out or removed.

> Learner Profile GDE 461 must be made available by the principal of the school at which the learner was previously enrolled, ONCE THE TRANSFER CARD HAS ALSO BEEN ISSUED, to the principal of the school to which the learner moves to. It should be POSTED OR PERSONALLY AND OFFICIALLY handed to the receiving school principal and NOT given to the parents/guardian of the learner.

This document is fundamental to the work of disciplinary power that functions to regulate individuals and groups via administrative and bureaucratic apparatuses, thus regulating the population in order to govern life. The rationale given by the department reveals the need for uniform practices across the population. Populations cannot be monitored and governed if the record-keeping itself is flawed:

> The GDE has found it necessary to develop a Learner Profile as a standard document for maintaining cumulative records for learners. This new form of recording is based on the findings that inconsistencies presently exist among schools which use a variety of record cards for their learners. In many instances the only record of a learner's progress is the report card.

These report cards often do not give detailed information about the progress of learners and thus do not lead to a better understanding of the learner. The high incidence of forged or unofficial report cards also makes the introduction of a uniform Learner Profile an imperative tool to monitor the progress of the learner through his/her school career. The new profile document will record learner's progress in line with the principles of OBE and Curriculum 2005 (GDE Circular 5/2000 http://www.education.gpg.gov.za /Legislation /circulars / circulars.htm).

The Profile demonstrates the true power of disciplinary writing as able to situate individual subjects and groups in fields of visibility. The scope of knowledge garnered from the Learner Profile goes beyond the child whose name appears on the cover. All those individuals who come into contact with or who are written into the Profile are subjects of a particular kind of governmentality that shapes behaviour and circumscribes whole populations. Thus the individual child, and by implication, the entire population of children attending school, are recorded to be read against a set of norms. These norms will affect how the school governs its population. At the same time, as part of the school population teachers and the principals are rendered visible by the demands of the education system. Schools have to have prescribed educational programmes in place to provide information required in the Learner Profile. Parents are another population group under scrutiny. Other population groups, in this case other professionals like doctors, psychologists, social workers, add to rendering subjects as objects of knowledge as they themselves are entered into another field of documentation. The Learner Profile is an archive in itself, secret and official, containing folders for other documents to be collected that the individual it records will never see.

Right from the inside cover the Learner Profile indicates the degree and detail required to produce such a document. While the bulk of the document produces a profile through writing, a visual profile is required by the inclusion of 3 photographs tracing the progress of a child at each phase of schooling. The document is prescriptive in terms of how disciplinary writing is used by instructing which technology of writing is to be used to complete various sections. Some sections are to be filled in using a pencil in order to

keep information updated, other records require the permanence of a pen (e.g. emotional and social behaviour).

The table of contents reveals the aspects that are combined to produce a profile (see figure 8.1 below). The Personal Information section is to be completed in pencil so that it can be continuously updated (p. 1.1). In fact it asks very little of the child and more about the family and its circumstances – home language, siblings, parents' occupations, contact details. The report implies that if emotional and social problems are experienced, parents will be called in; at this meeting outcomes and parental responses will be recorded. If children require some form of support, this is then documented in Section 9 and recorded. Participation in extra curricular activities for each year is followed as well as achievements (pp 5.1-6.1). The most detailed documentation unsurprisingly charts academic development through school (pp 10.1-10.12). Year-end school reports are collected as well as a sample of work from every learning area's portfolio annually. By the end of schooling 60 pieces of work are supposed to be compressed into this folder (there are 8 learning areas in the Intermediate and Senior Phase.) Progress in each learning area every year is remarked on by the appropriate teacher, and finally an overall record whether the child passed or repeated a year and its date is filled in. Additional documentation is required if a child is to repeat a year. In this case teachers have to fill out the GDE 450 C motivating why a child should be kept back (p 9.9). Teachers no longer have the power to make this decision. The Department decides who passes and fails. It appears that the time-consuming administrative procedures and undermining of teachers' professional opinions of children's abilities is a way of ameliorating a failure rate that the Education Department perceives as too high.

Figure 8.1 Table of Contents from the DoE Learner Profile

1. **Personal Information**
2. **Physical Condition/medical history**
   Reports - doctor etc
   Record of documents inserted
3. **Schools attended**
4. **Absenteeism**
5. **Participation in extra-curricular activities**
6. **Achievements**
7. **Emotional and social behaviour**
8. **Parental involvement to support the learner**
9. **Report on support provided**
   Evidence of areas of support
   Record of documents inserted
   Selected examples of the learner's work from the portfolios of each learning programme
   Record of documents inserted
   Summative record sheet of specific outcomes
   Record of documents inserted
   Motivation to retain a learner in the same grade in the following year GDE 450 C
   Record of documents inserted
   A learner who will receive additional support in the following grade GDE 450 B
   Record of documents inserted
10. **Progress of learner – foundation phase**
    Progress of learner – intermediate phase
    Progress of learner – senior phase
11. **Overall progression report per grade – foundation phase**
    Overall progression report per grade – intermediate phase
    Overall progression report per grade – senior phase
12. **Transfer form for learner**

8.4 CONCLUSION

In returning to Foucault and the notion of disciplinary power for this chapter, a particular pattern emerges in the levels of population management. The small practices children are relentlessly subjected to at school reveal the management of the subject on a small scale. But this micromanagement is influenced by governmentality of Departments like Education and Health, and the State itself, that oversee the larger management of populations. The level of surveillance children are placed under is not only intense, it is also wide-ranging, constructing them as a population group upon which particular gazes are levelled.

The construction of the literate subject is then influenced by notions of the schooled subject which is in turn influenced by notions of the national subject. In examining the three levels of examination a picture emerges of what the (national, schooled) literate subject looks like. In rendering subjects visible three levels of observation were identified as a means through which subjects are constantly seen: general observation, individual observation and whole class testing. In the preschool it is the children's limited literacy that subjects them to general and individual observation. The ideal subject in Grade 00 is one who shows development over time. This narrows in Grade 0 and development is read in relation to norms around school readiness. This shifts again as the Foundation Phase subject is required to show development in relation to Learning Areas.

The nature of surveillance also shifts from a benign presence to a more threatening one. Assessment tasks are no longer set up as fun, they become serious *tests*. A level of literacy is required by the subject so they are complicit in their own subjectification. They identify themselves through writing their names, they read, and submit to test instructions and questions and they produce work that is read not only for correctness but also for presentation. In doing so they can be described, judged, measured, compared, corrected, classified, normalised (Foucault 1977).

They are then entered into a field of documentation. The literate subject constructed by the Grade 0 school reports is one who requires mastery – specifically of the body. This mastery requires a control of activity and implements with particular emphasis on writing. The literate subject is being prepared for scribehood. As a reader, the literate subject is a decoder, able to recognise patterns, letters, words. Interestingly the subject is also constructed as English, with communicative competence and fluency being important. The subject is required to be skilled at social interaction and emotionally mature. But, still docile, able to work hard, concentrate and follow instructions.

On entrance into formal schooling the literate subject is assessed in relation to three aspects: orality, reading and writing. As a writer, aspects of scribing persist with the emphasis on correct spelling. Although presentation (which implies mastery) is absent in

Grade 3 with the assumption that the subject can write, this is in fact false. Just like the Grade 00 children, Grade 3s need to demonstrate mastery before they can move onto the next level of writing implement – the pen. This is judged via their presentation of work. The reading subject is one who reads aloud, which is consistent to how reading is constructed in classroom practice. The aspects assessed do not require the subject to be engaged, find the activity pleasurable, or be critical. The reader remains a decoder.

These subjects also come under a wider level of surveillance as they become cases to be followed throughout compulsory schooling. Their health, intelligence, emotional stability, physical abilities, background, and family life all come under scrutiny. The teachers who manage the children are managed themselves. As such all population groups come under the enormous power of disciplinary writing.

CHAPTER 9 CONCLUSION

This research has sought to explore the relationship between literacy power and the embodied subject in early schooling. This was done by investigating how the ideal literate subject is constructed in policy documents and in practice. The focus was then narrowed to look at the reading subject and the writing subject. A key element of this research is transition over time. The research sought to ascertain levels of self-regulation from the preschool, Grade 00 and Grade 0, into the beginning of formal schooling in Grade 1 and its endpoint, Grade 3, concurrent with the production of the literate subject.

As was argued in Chapter 2, Foucault was chosen as the theoretical centre from which this thesis evolves because his work deals with issues of power, subjectivity, the body and space. Various aspects of disciplinary power such as the four means through which discipline operates and examination were applied to the data. Foucault's theory of government and governmentality was used as a way of placing this study in context in Chapter 3 by seeking to understand the national and individual subjectivities engendered through political regimes. The shift from an apartheid to a post-apartheid curriculum has seen the construction of an idealised national South African subject who is a literate and productive citizen. But deep-seated social problems impact on what the education system can deliver. This is further influenced by entrenched pedagogical practices, so there is a disparity between 'ideal' national subject, and the schooled and literate subject produced in various educational institutions.

The work of Foucault was illuminating as a way of trying to gain an understanding of what is happening in classrooms. But it is important to recognise that this 'Foucaultian focus', and what are in many ways micro-analyses, produce a particular reading of the data with concomitant gaps.

9.1 THE LITERATE SUBJECT

The term 'ideal literate subject' has been used to make the distinction between an envisaged 'idealised' subject and the subject in reality. Policies and practices work to produce and position individuals, but it is important to recognise individual agency. Children in this study took up some of the positions offered to them (children in their desks in section 5.3) and resisted others (like Manny in section 8.1.2, and 'the gangstas' in 5.3). Their levels of resistance varied; some learners were usually compliant and docile while others were undisciplined and disruptive. These positions are not stable – in the face of wild bodies doing a gumboot dance, even the most docile subject can be tempted (section 5.2.2.3).

The ideal subject constructed in the RNC is one who will benefit the nation. The schooled subject should co-operate with others, be a skilled problem solver, decision maker, effective communicator, analytical and critical thinker, and govern their own conduct. This subject is turned into a case whose progress is carefully documented in the Learner Profile. Key aspects gained from literacy training feed into the training of this national subject – the literate subject is widely read and can utilise genres to produce multiple texts. This reading and writing is critical and analytic. Information can be imparted logically and eloquently. Closer examination of requirements to produce a reading and writing subject reflect an ability to master discrete skills and make meaning.

Data from interviews, reports and classroom observation reveal that, on the whole, the schooled and literate subject presented in the RNC is not taken up. The criteria used to assess literacy in school reports indicate the most important features of this version of the ideal literate subject are the presence of a good vocabulary, the ability to write neatly, spell properly and construct sentences, and to read with fluency, expression and comprehension. Kress' (1982:5) observation that when "reading is seen as primarily a decoding skill, then it is quite likely that writing will be regarded as a process of encoding" is proved to be correct. A distinction does emerge between the preschool and primary school subject. The preschool subject is being *prepared* to read and write

whereas the primary school subject is *learning* to read and write. However, the phonics approach permeates across the grades.

An analysis of spatial and temporal organisation in classrooms provides a more nuanced view of the possibilities presented for the literate subject. In many ways the ideal preschool subject is one who shows "development during the year" (Gr00IN27/6/02). Much of this development is related to literacy training. The construction of time into set daily routines, allocated in blocks, enhances the temporal elaboration of the act. Children master the technologies of literacy such as pens, and move from scribbling to drawing to emergent writing. Routines which involve the whole class work towards constructing a communal subject who works and learns with others. In contrast, these regular routines seem to fall away in the primary school. Children are required to undertake multiple tasks in a period of time. Although a formal timetable exists in the primary school, tasks are not always allocated into strict periods. A sense of continuity exists with the preschool in that larger portions of time are needed for children to gain mastery, particularly of writing, which requires extensive bodily training.

An irony exists in that while the Grade 00 classroom has the most freedom of movement it is here that the most partitions exist. This movement is accompanied by 'hands-on' teacher surveillance as children require assistance that often takes the form of physical repositioning. The literate subject in Grade 00 is required to internalise norms around the solicitous use of materials and resources as well as appropriate behaviour during language rings: sitting still, quietly, and listening. This subject is also given spaces to explore reading and writing. In the Reading Corner emergent readers learn book-handling skills, make meaning of and experience pleasure with texts. The hexagonal tables encourage informal peer learning as children experiment and produce a variety of texts. In Grade 0 the movement flows are still present but the level of experimentation and learning decreases. Reading becomes teacher-controlled and requires that subjects know their place - literally and figuratively. Reading and oral activities in circles on the carpet work to create a more intimate environment where discussion and storytelling take place. The subject positions set up for writing and drawing differ. This subject is a silent 'on-

task' individual who is responsible for managing individual resources. Free drawing decreases as the skills based nature of tasks increases. These imply a docile subject who, in mastering the skills required for handwriting, follows instructions carefully. This continues in Grade 1 with children spending more time at their desks. There is an increase in teacher surveillance in handwriting lessons that is labour intensive. Reading takes place primarily at the teacher's desk. In Grade 1 and 3 the reading subject is a performer – fluently reading prescribed texts aloud. Occasionally reading took place in small groups on the carpet, and although this appeared to be more enjoyable, fluency was still emphasised over discussion. The reading subject is required to master print with little interpretation of the visual. By Grade 3 children spend the day at their desks. The reading corner is absent, the carpet unutilised by the children. Reading and writing is on the whole limited to completing worksheets. A resistant body emerged as children's movements revealed a knowledge of appropriate bodily postures, but activities they engaged in were often subversive (Jenks 2002:80).

This brings me to the final point in this section. I had assumed that the levels of self-regulation would increase as children moved through school. This was erroneous. The most regulated class were the Grade 0s and the least regulated class the Grade 3s. Obviously the Grade 3s were not all completely unregulated, nor was the class characterised by constant disciplinary problems. But I think there are several reasons for this particular finding. The first is the use of space and time in Grade 0. These were highly regulated and routinised. The children knew exactly what was happening each day, and the behaviour expected of them in relation to each of these tasks. But, there was also an amount of free time in the class where the children could move and play. In addition, the communal atmosphere produced by the sessions on the carpet allowed lessons to be punctuated by humour, discussion and play. In contrast, the use of space and time was less efficient in Grade 3. Locking children into their desks seemed to cause frustration and tension between children in groups. This proximity also led to increased noise levels. The movement from one exercise to the next was often time-consuming, with time wasted regaining children's attention. Secondly is the issue of teacher control. The efficacious use of space and time also requires that the teacher function as a

"normalising gaze". Surveillance has to be unremitting and discipline swift. This leads me to believe that the constancy of the external gaze is crucial. Despite the internalisation of norms and behaviours these children have been subjected to over the previous four years, this can be nullified. Part of this is resistance to being a schooled and literate subject may have to do with knowledge of the institution of school. The younger children were in the process of becoming socialised. The Grade 3s knew the system and its weak points. Thirdly is the level of engagement with tasks. If all children are subjected to a predominantly skills-based approach to reading and writing for the first five years of school, as well as unchallenging worksheets, it is understandable that levels of self-regulation can be undermined by boredom.

From these findings several key recommendations can be made.

9.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

There are five recommendations flowing from this research that focus on areas of teacher development and training. During my research, at no time could the dedication and commitment of the staff be questioned. There is nevertheless room to transform practice.

1. Teachers clearly need more knowledge about other approaches available to teach reading and writing. This needs to be accompanied by an understanding of the advantages and disadvantages of each approach. Alongside this, teachers need practical examples/demonstrations of how these can be implemented in their own classrooms.

2. These changes need buy-in from the school management because of the administrative complexities around altering learning programmes for schools. This raises questions about the level of surveillance teachers are placed under by a bureaucratic GDE where changes are not always favourably received.

3. There needs to be a careful consideration of materials utilised in classrooms. An over-reliance on worksheets, regardless of how OBE compliant they are, produces limited readers and writers. Worksheets have a place but the 'creative literacy' project where children wrote and made their own books has far greater value (section 6.1).

4. An understanding of the impact that the use of space and time have on the classroom is crucial. Many disciplinary problems can be solved by thinking through how and when individuals are distributed in space. It does not make sense to place children in groups at desks for long periods, neither is this configuration necessarily helpful to inexperienced teachers.

5. Preschool and primary school teachers need to talk to each other about their practices. The practices in the preschool environment can be transferred and adapted into the Foundation Phase classroom and vice versa. Such collaborations need to be developed.

9.3 AVENUES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This thesis is merely a beginning in thinking about literacy and the literate subject. As such there are several ways it can be extended and developed. The avenues for further research discussed below are in no way comprehensive but strike me as important to follow up on.

Two of the limitations of the study are that it was confined to the Foundation Phase and ex-Model C schools. It seems that additional longitudinal studies that trace the teaching of literacy from the Foundation Phase into the Intermediate Phase and then into the Senior Phase could be of value. Comparative studies between different types of schools (private, rural, urban, township) could also yield interesting results. In addition, this study has not adequately addressed the issue of language in relation to literacy. In light of the

complexity of the linguistic landscape, multilingual classrooms and the language in education policy in South Africa, the impact this has on subjectivity needs exploration. The focus of this study is on general patterns rather than a detailed analysis of individuals. To deepen the scope of this research, individual children could also be tracked over a period of time. This may require including home literacy practices into such a study.

In relation to the recommendations made in the previous section, it may be valuable to research teacher practice. It has not been my intention to romanticise the practices of the preschool classrooms. But it seems there are valuable practices in these classrooms. Further research could be done with preschool teachers to think though some of their practices. Interviews and observations with teachers suggest that much of this knowledge is intuitive (which in itself needs investigation). If collaborations between the preschool and primary school are to be built, and alternative practices implemented, this kind of experiential, intuitive knowledge needs to be made explicit.

In conjunction with this point, is if teachers received training that extended their knowledge of what literacy is, and how it can be taught, then the issues around implementation and transformed practice could also be researched. The question of transition remains. If preschool teachers worked towards constructing the subject as author, how would this play itself out in the primary school?

Finally, the workings of space and time in a variety of educational locations needs more sustained investigation. Also, the utilisation of the spatial and temporal as an analytical tool can be expanded on and developed in educational research.

9.4 SOME NAGGING QUESTIONS

At the end of this process some nagging questions still remain and they too point to more sustained research. The first question revolves around other connections between literacy,
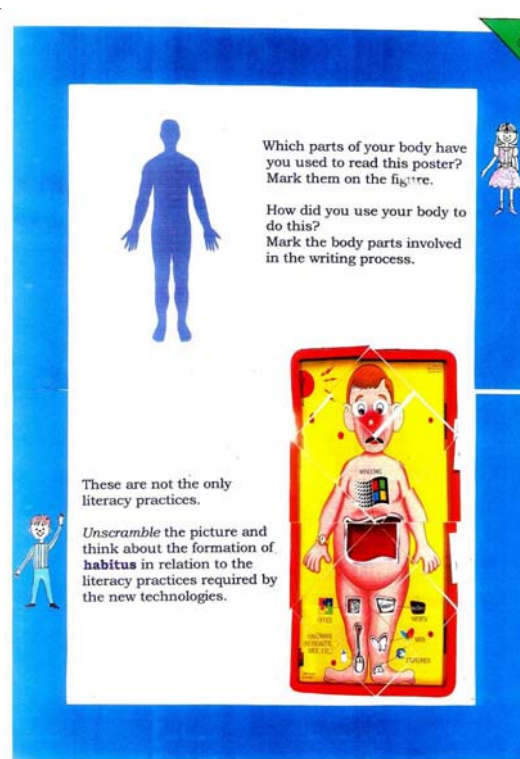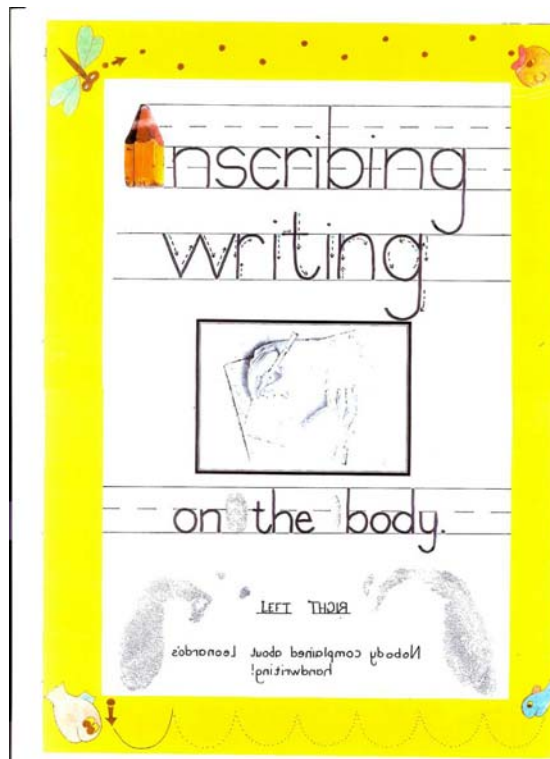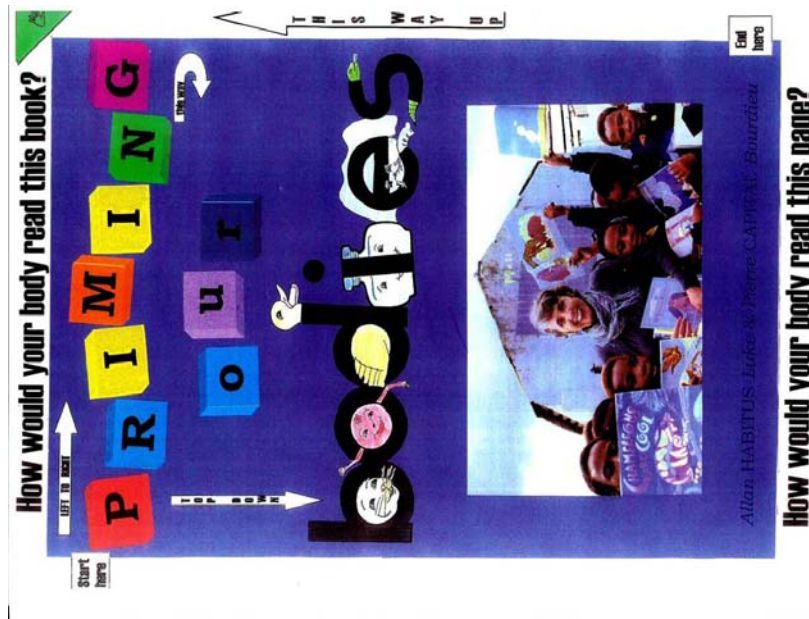
power, and the body, that this thesis does not discuss, and how other theoretical lenses could be applied to the data. What would a sustained critical discourse analysis reveal? What could be gained from Flewitt's (2006) coding of videotaped data? How would using the work of Lefebvre be similar or different to that of Foucault?

The second is a question about the future and OBE. This research has shown that despite OBE, with regards to literacy much of what is expected in the curriculum is not taken up. In conjunction with this, questions are being raised about the success of OBE in South African classrooms. One wonders what will constitute literacy teaching in the next five years, and how this will impact on the construction of the literate subject.

Finally the issue of regulation and discipline in South African schools and the country as a whole reappears. If the social conditions in this country are inimical to discipline, and violence is used as a means to express frustration and resistance, how do schools work to construct alternative subject positions? Which disciplinary techniques work in classrooms, and if they do not, what are the conditions in which this happens? If subjects or communities take on a position of being ungovernable, are Foucault's invisible micro-techniques of power rendered irrelevant? As literacy educators, what is the long term impact of how (well or badly) we teach students to read and write the 'word' on how they will 'be' in the world? It seems there are more questions than answers.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Masters Poster Assignment: The Body Literate

Appendix B. Interview Schedule for Teachers

How long have you been teaching at the school?
How long have you been teaching altogether?
What are the advantages of teaching at this school?
Have the classes you have taught been homogenous/heterogeneous? If there has been a change, how have they changed?

How do you feel about Outcomes Based Education?
In what ways have you implemented it in your classroom?
Has it affected the way you mange and control your class?
Has it affected the way in which you write reports?
Literacy is one of the learning programmes in the new curriculum for this phase. What do you understand by literacy?

What is your main priority at the beginning of the year especially during the first weeks of school?
What do you expect the children to be able to do at the beginning of the year in terms of literacy?
What do you expect them to be able to do at the end of the year in terms of literacy?
How do you find out what they can do at the beginning of the year?
w do you monitor their progress?
How do you deal with a heterogeneous classroom? What strategies are most effective? Which children respond best to them?

What kinds of texts do you use in the classroom?
What type of texts do you read to the children? Do you think these are effective?
How do you go about doing this?
What kind of books are the children expected to read? Do you think these are effective for all students?
What makes a good reader in grade 0/1/3?
What tasks/activities do you set for writing?
What kind of texts do you use for writing?
What do you look for when assessing children's writing/ drawings?

How do you approach the teaching of children whose mother tongue is not English?
What approach do you take with a class of children from different backgrounds?/ What is it important for them to know?

Is there anything else you would like to discuss?

FOLLOW UP QUESTIONS

What do you think the children have learnt during the 6 weeks/6 months I have been observing here?
When teachers watch footage of their classes: How do you think the children's bodies have changed?