Workplace literacy practices of clerks in the South African Police Services (SAPS)

Bernice Adonis (JSPBER002)

A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award for the degree of Masters in Education

Faculty of Humanities

University of Cape Town

2019

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the participants and SAPS police stations for their cooperation and perseverance in the course of this study.

I am extremely grateful for the guidance, support and valuable insights I received from my supervisor, Professor Catherine Kell. Her patience with me through this long journey is commendable.

I am also very thankful to my family, my husband and two sons, for all their reassurances and support. They are my biggest cheerleaders.

Finally, I thank my extended family and friends for their words of encouragement.

Abstract

This thesis examines the patterning of literacy practices of clerks in the South African Police Services (SAPS) and how power relations are perpetuated through institutional structures and associated divisions of workplace tasks, within a workplace like SAPS. An ethnographic-style case study approach was used to examine the literacy practices of three clerks at three different SAPS sites. The data collected included participant observations, interviews, analysis of texts and photographs of documents. The data was then analysed using thematic analysis and discourse analysis. The qualitative data analysis indicated fragmentation of literacy tasks into "bits and pieces" reflecting the "old" capitalism of the traditional workplace. The fragmentation of the clerks' literacy tasks also resonated with the decontextualized, skills-based approach of literacy and language curricula and pedagogies that still dominate formal education and literacy learning. Furthermore, it would appear as if the literacy tasks were used as mechanisms to regiment workers since the paper trail served as a means of accountability for compliancy. The problem was compounded by the disjuncture between what is prescribed by SAPS language policy and what was happening in practice, namely, that English is the only "working language" used by SAPS in all official documents despite its claim to facilitate "functional multilingualism" (in Government Gazette, 8 March 2016). Thus, the study concludes that SAPS work-based literacy practices, like the literacy and language practices of the schooling system, are not conducive to producing students and workers who could apply critical and holistic thinking to make sense of disparate literacy tasks. Hence, the patterning of the literacy practices within the workplace serves to perpetuate institutionalized power in a context where needs for compliancy and accountability are high. The study points to the importance of the development of a language and literacy curriculum in the training of members of SAPS that is a hybridization of principles of the skills based and social practices approaches, especially where critical literacy skills still have to be honed. It argues that enabling workers to fulfill tasks with a more holistic understanding of the nature of their work could improve their efficiency, effectiveness and work satisfaction. Clarity, and I daresay, the political will, around the implementation of the prescribed "additive multilingualism" would go a long way to challenging the hegemony of English in powerful institutions of the state.

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

Introduction

The advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994 heralded the promise of a new political and social dispensation for all of its citizens. The shackles of the pernicious system of apartheid were finally released and our fledgling democracy received global recognition and praise for its peaceful transition - our constitution has been viewed amongst the best in the world. However, there was still hard work to be done. Although inroads had been made in embracing democratic ideals, great strides were still needed in enabling organizational and attitudinal shifts. This was especially evident in the organs of the state. The ''police force'' (as it was called under apartheid) was one such institution where dire changes were needed.

The role of the police force under apartheid was contentious and justifiably brutal, designed to ensure the survival of the apartheid state. Through this role, the police were seen as the enemy of the masses, most certainly by those who were opposed to the apartheid government. However, much has been done to shift the image of SAPS. One noticeable change is in the conversion from ''force'' to ''service'' in 1995 (from then known as South African Police Service or SAPS), with the semantics suggesting a concerted effort to reconceptualise its role in service of the population as a whole.

In the 24 years of democracy, many changes have been effected to the image and structure of SAPS. Since SAPS is a fundamental organ of state, not only was much done to improve its beleaguered, inherited status from apartheid police force to ''the people's service", but significant role-players have been placed in strategic positions within SAPS to mirror the new political ideology of the current dispensation. Yet, by nature of its role, the duty of SAPS is to maintain law and order and fulfill political and social goals. Most importantly, by means of its institutional structures, hierarchy and bureaucracy are embedded in the day to day practices of SAPS.

Statement of the problem

With the dawning of a new South Africa came the promise of equity through redress in an attempt to address past injustices politically, socially and economically. Our first democratically elected government set about initiating major policy changes to facilitate redress, the healing of our country and restoring the dignity of its citizens. In light of this, it is necessary to highlight the ''politics'' of SAPS and policing in South

Africa 24 years after the end of apartheid. Inequalities in terms of police officers per population are still the case, sadly, reflecting statistics inherited from our apartheid legacy where previously defined white areas are more favourably resourced in terms of ''manpower'' (O' Reagan and Pikoli, 2014). Areas on the Cape Flats are under resourced with police officers, and, as findings into the Khayelitsha Commission of Inquiry (O' Reagan and Pikoli, 2014) suggest, infrastructure is lacking, resulting in high crime rates and low success rates in solving crimes. Most importantly, SAPS is under scrutiny in terms of delivery. This dire situation is compounded by the hegemony of English and the nature of the work. What should also be noted is that SAPS is hierarchical and bureaucratic in its organizational structure and has strong pressures towards accountability, given public scrutiny of its performance.

This study therefore attempts to examine the factors within a workplace like SAPS that are instrumental in ensuring a regimented workforce for compliancy and accountability. It foregrounds how literacy practices are constructed in achieving the political and social goals for SAPS in its role as an organ of law and order of the state. The study attempts to understand the impact of the politics in SAPS on literacy practices and the effectiveness of the clerks' work. Since language holds power, the purpose is to illuminate how power relations and societal notions of knowledge are perpetuated through institutional structures and the textual mediation thereof.

A case in point is the English-centred approach in the use of all official documents despite SAPS language policy claiming ''functional multilingualism'' (Government Gazette, 2016). The study also probes the form and function of literacy tasks and how different role-players engage with them. It elucidates whether clerks have any agency through their engagement with daily literacy tasks or whether tasks are designed simply to ensure accountability and compliance.

Rationale

The Literacy Studies field has seen a major shift in theoretical perspective since the 1980s. Various research studies conducted have contributed to this paradigm shift. What is now known as the ''social turn'' has done much to influence understandings of what literacy is and how it is related to social inequalities (Prinsloo and Baynham, 2013). Prinsloo and Baynham (2013) explain how early studies show that much emphasis was placed on learning reading and writing as a set of skills, independent of context. However, the ''social turn'' heralded a move towards viewing literacy as a social phenomenon where reading and writing skills are embedded in context (Prinsloo and Baynham, 2013). Debates abound in

relation to the what and how of literacy and its consequences for social development and inequities (Prinsloo and Baynham, 2013). According to Prinsloo and Baynham (2013), literacy practices vary across different social groupings and networks. This shift in perspective gave rise to what became known as the New Literacy Studies (NLS).

This contention challenges the decontextualized, skills driven model in literacy education which became the dominant pedagogy in language teaching in the schooling system. This, in turn, engendered perceptions in society where English became a marker of success and mobility. The indexing of a language and register as a marker of success is just one of the many contributing factors of the great divide between literates and illiterates (Prinsloo and Baynham, 2013).

It is for precisely these reasons that I was driven to research the language and literacy demands of clerks who have completed the NCV 4 qualification in a TVET college, where the curriculum aims to equip the students for the workplace. Since I am a teacher in the TVET sector teaching English, and the respondents are my former students, I was intent on investigating the types of language and literacy practices used in their workplace, how they cope with literacy demands in this domain and the relevance of the language and literacy NCV curriculum to their workplace practices. Moreover, I was interested in probing possible dichotomies that may, or may not exist between the knowledge of the language and literacy curriculum taught at college and the literacy practices in the police stations. I was curious to see how the participants make meaning of reading and writing in their workplace and, consequently the implications this may have for the language and literacy curriculum to prepare interns entering the workplaces, such as police stations where textual demands are of critical importance.

Workplace literacy studies (Gee 1996 & 2000; Hull 1996, 1999, 2000; Farrell 2009; Arend 2002, 2015; Fikelepi, 2015) have drawn much attention to the dynamics and nuances of workplace literacy practices deemed necessary for the new work order where globalization has forced companies to compete in the international arena. The paper trail, these studies suggest, is used to track workers' responsibility and keep them regimented through measures like compliancy and accountability. Although SAPS is an example of a traditional workplace, the organization has kept abreast with the latest technological developments through the use of, in this respect, computer-generated tasks. Research studies (Heath, 1983; Prinsloo and Baynham, 2013; Gee, 2000; Olson, 1977; Rothstein, 2004; Deumert and Mabandla, 2009; Papen, 2005; Maddox, 2008; Thesen, 2006) have constantly documented how the patterning of

literacy practices by social institutions has perpetuated power relations through institutional structures. Studies conducted by aforementioned theorists have highlighted the need to understand reading and writing in the context of social, cultural, political, and economic practices in which they are embedded. Hence, this study therefore attempts to examine the factors within a workplace like SAPS that are instrumental in maintaining the status quo. It intends to foreground how the literacy practices are designed in achieving the political and social goals for SAPS in its role as an organ of law and order of the state.

The field sites are three SAPS police stations where the three respondents are administrative clerks. One site is situated in the southern suburbs, the second on the Cape Flats and the third one situated along the Atlantic seaboard of the Cape Peninsula. The respondents are my former students who completed their studies in the NCV Safety in Society programme at the TVET College where I teach. Two are English mother-tongue speakers with one speaking English as a third language. Although the NCV course is designed for school leavers with a grade 9 certificate therefore it starts at level 2, all three of my respondents have successfully completed their matric certificates.

Research Questions

1. What are the workplace literacy practices of clerks in the South African Police Services (SAPS) after completion of their NCV4?
2. How are these literacy practices patterned by the workplace context?
3. What power relations are indexed by this patterning?

Outline of study

The context to the study is sketched in the introduction which gives a brief historical overview of South Africa's shift in the political landscape and the role of SAPS then and now. This is followed by providing an explanation of the statement of the problem which details the crucial points the study sets out to examine. The research questions substantiate the reasons for conducting a research study of this nature. Accordingly, the study seeks to research the literacy practices and demands of clerks in our multilingual communities and how participants make meaning of reading and writing in the execution of their daily

tasks. Drawing on the NLS perspective, the study investigates how respondents' literacy practices are situated in context. In chapter 2 I review the relevant literature on the NLS and how it is taken up in workplace theory, formal schooling in literacy development with regard to the multilingual context of SAPS. The theoretical resources developed here draw from New Literacy Studies and workplace studies. In Chapter 3 the methodology that shaped the study, collection and analytical procedures and their rationale are presented. The analysis of the data is presented in chapters 4 and 5. Lastly, in Chapter 6, I provide an overview of the central findings key and make recommendations.

Conclusion

This chapter aimed to set out the context, rationale and modus operandi of this research study. By providing a brief historical overview of SAPS I was able to position the study in relation to the problem I set out to probe by focusing on the research questions. The outline envisaged how the thesis would unfold.

Chapter 2: Literature review

Introduction

This study investigates the patterning of literacy practices of SAPS clerks and how embedded societal notions of power and knowledge may be perpetuated through these practices. The study illuminates possible dichotomies, that may exist between the skills-based approach and the contextualized, situated literacy practices in relation to the respondents' literacy tasks and their NCV curriculum. In drawing on, the theoretical framework on the New Literacy Studies (NLS), I focus on the work of scholars who have made inroads in the field of language and literacy studies through theoretical development and empirical research.

Firstly, I provide an overview of the NLS foundational studies followed by an outline of the development of the NLS theoretical framework. Then, I provide an overview on how the NLS perspective is taken up in theories and empirical studies of formal education, followed by studies in workplace literacy. I also examine the interplay of languages in relation to literacy studies, as well as the occurrence of literacy mediation and brokering. By drawing on the work of Rock, Heffer, and Conley (2013), I investigate the phenomenon of textual travel within the context of SAPS literacy practices to help understand how the intertextual trajectories can influence the literacy practices in police stations. Finally, I explore the phenomenon of compliancy given the bureaucratic nature of SAPS working environment and the need for accountability.

The foundational studies

Groundbreaking studies conducted by Street, Scribner and Cole (1978) and Heath (1982) led to pivotal findings that challenged prevailing perspectives on language and literacy acquisition. This research contested the dominant theory that there were "deep psychological differences between oral and literate thought" (UNESCO, 1965 in Scribner & Cole, 1978: 449).

Street's studies conducted in Iranian villages during the early 1970s found that contrary to modern schooling that sees literacy as a set of functional skills, literacy was a set of social practices deeply connected with identity and societal positioning (Street in Martin-Jones and Jones, 2000). The study found uses and meanings of literacy that were identifiable around three domains of social activity; maktab literacy practices, schooled literacy practices, and commercial literacy practices. Each domain was found

to have its own sets of practices, which enabled literacy scholars to make sense of the disparities in the uses and meanings of literacy practices in specific settings rather than the central functional, skills-based discourse on literacy (Street in Martin- Jones and Jones, 2000).

Another key foundational study was that of by Scribner and Cole (1978, 1981) which was conducted among the Vai in Liberia. The study found that literacy as practice was central to the Vai's literacy meaning making. These authors outlined an approach to literacy that would view it as different across social contexts and taking shape within epistemologies and practices of those contexts (Scribner and Cole, 1978). The authors interrogate "Great Divide" perspectives like the work of Olson (1975, 1977), Greenfield (1972) and Greenfield and Bruner (1966) who contended that literacy enabled context – independent, abstract thinking evident in schooled children, thereby pushing cognitive growth (Scribner and Cole, 1978). Hence, "societies with written language provide the means for decontextualized, abstract thinking …" (Scribner and Cole, 1978: 457), yet some children struggle to read and write despite spending years at school proving the theory obsolete. They had an interest in how culture influenced development of thought in respect of literacy and formal schooling and were skeptical about how schooled skills could be applied to contexts unrelated to school experience (Scribner and Cole, 1978). The Vai people were outstanding and interesting to the theorists since they displayed writing and reading activities which were closely tied to their daily activities and learning to read and write seemed not to need grasping of schooled information (Scribner and Cole, 1978).

The findings of the study suggest that in Vai society, personal engagement in literacy practices does not have psychological consequences. (Scribner and Cole, 1978). However, ''results show that certain literacy practices among the Vai produced intellectual outcomes…'' (Scribner and Cole, 1978: 457). These studies also reported "distinctions between literacy effects and school effects in relation to reasoning, cognition and memory" (Prinsloo and Baynham, 2013: xxvii).

Similar findings resonated in Heath's study of three communities in the South-eastern United States. The communities displayed diverse differences in class, ethnicity, geographical origins, levels of education and economic status. In contrasting the three communities of Maintown, Trackton and Roadville, it was found that language and literacy socialization of children within these communities differed. The Maintown community's literacy orientation was steeped in the prevalent Western "literate "tradition whereas those of Trackton children seem to be based on the 'oral' tradition with Roadville in between (Heath, 1982). As

a result, children from these communities displayed different skills when they entered schooling. Maintown children tended to excel as they had the necessary skills when entering the schooling system and could relate to it, whereas, Trackton children did not display the skills that dominated the classroom and therefore were disadvantaged. Roadville children could manage the reading skills for the first three grades of school but struggled from fourth grade when engaging with activities requiring advanced and independent skills (Heath, 1982).

In juxtaposing the "oral" versus the "literate" traditions of literacy orientation through these communities, Heath enabled insights into how formal educational systems may prejudice children who come from homes which could be in conflict with home-taught literacy practices (Heath, 1982). The study found that the children from these three communities had varying degrees of scholastic success due to their divergent forms of socialization into literacy practices. Findings in the comparative study point to a "shortfall in unilinear models of child development and types of cognitive styles" (Heath, 1982:49). Heath suggested ethnographic studies that will take into account "interpretations in relation to larger sociocultural patterns" (Heath, 1982: 74). This is what my study intends to investigate; the embedded practices of how societal notions of power and knowledge are reflected in the literacy practices of SAPS interns. Since the study intends to use the social practices lens, I will now outline the development of the NLS theoretical framework.

Development of the NLS theoretical framework

The above three foundational studies were "first generation" literacy studies (Prinsloo and Baynham, 2013) which set the foundations for NLS theory and played, amongst others, a critical role in pioneering the paradigm shift for the literacy field. Gee (2000) espouses that literacy studies was one among many disciplines that took part in and contributed to the ''social turn'' in the social sciences. Gee (2000) claims that the ''social turn'' took the focus away from individuals and their 'private' minds towards interaction and social practice and that reading and writing only makes sense when studied ''in the context of social, cultural, historical, political, and economic practices of which they are but a part'' (Gee, 2000: 3). Like Gee, Hamilton (2000: 1) states that one needs to look at what people do with texts in the ''whom, where and how.'' Prinsloo and Baynham (2013) assert that the NLS is considered as a set of social practices, different literacies are associated with different domains in life, power relations are entrenched in literacy making some more dominant than others. The uses and values attached to reading and writing are deeply rooted in notions of knowledge, identity and being (Prinsloo and Baynham, 2013).

Language use and literacy practices are steeped in sociocultural contexts which enable people to use language in ''verbal interaction'' (Gee, 2004: 22). This argument is expounded by the belief that all languages are linguistically equal but may be afforded certain statuses because of social and political distinction, for example, some are documented as "standard or nonstandard" (Gee, 2004: 22). Gee (2004) places emphasis on the fact that linguists believe that children do not enter the schooling system with a lesser or better language despite the indexing strategies of society. Yet empirical studies prove that the middle-class child's scholastic performance is more favourable for success than their working-class counterparts. As Gee (2004) claims, society and the school values middle class dialects and registers more highly and build on these skillfully. I shall elaborate this perspective in the following section.

Formal education and NLS perspectives

Our formal schooling system, undoubtedly, is an influential role-player in the shaping of literacy development and perceptions. Literacy practices are patterned through the skills-based approach whereby "reading and writing are abilities and skills that exist independently of any context and that individuals acquire literacy as something internal to them…" (Prinsloo and Baynham, 2013). Yet, oral language, it is widely contended, is the language children bring to school (Olson, 1977).

Scribner and Cole extrapolate that if literacy is viewed as a precondition of abstract thinking it could be problematic to determine the intellectual skills of non- literate people. Perceptions that writing and logical thinking are always mutually dependent are challenged with the hypothesis of a college student who writes an incoherent essay (Scribner and Cole, 1978). Likewise, Heath claims that people whose ways are different from the normative as determined by mainstream schools will be trapped in an on-going struggle to meet the accepted standards (Prinsloo and Baynham, 2013). Cook-Gumperz (2006: 2) argues that literacy levels are shaped by specific biases in the study of language rather than by how people use or negotiate literate resources. Street called the autonomous model ''politically neutral'' and argued that it relied on ''a rhetoric of individual and social developmentalism that celebrated certain, mainstream western literacy practices as universally normative'' (Prinsloo and Baynham, 2013: xxviii), including a view of texts as autonomous and decontextualized.

This view is widely argued to be contributing to what Rothstein (2004) calls the "black-white achievement gap" and he offers various forms of solutions ranging from improved school policies promoting early

childhood development to adequate housing, health care and salaries; all in all, improving social and economic circumstances of the disadvantaged particularly. These are the tangible solutions offered by the theorists, researchers and policy-makers; however, there remains the historical legacy inherited by most developing nations in Africa, South America and Asia through colonisation by Western European countries. The consequences of colonisation are well documented and contentious impacting all spheres of life.

The "black-white achievement gap" is evident in the post-colonial South African context as African language speakers struggle when they enter English-home language classes. The current curriculum in the public schooling system is designed to foreground the Western-centric view of teaching and evaluating of language and literacy practices. Standardised, formal assessments and testing based on writing and reading skills are used as benchmarks to determine what it takes to be literate and consequently successful and accomplished. Accent, pronunciation, the ability to read and write in the dominant language all serve as indexes of class, ethnicity, personal and social failure or success. Children who come from communities where literacy practices do not echo ''school'' literacy could experience a disjuncture between home and school literacy practices. Research studies conducted by Heath (1982) and Deumert and Mabandla (2009), among others, have found empirical evidence to support this argument.

An ethnographic study was conducted in Namibia concerned with the potential difficulties of implementing a social view of literacy in adult literacy classes (Papen, 2005). Papen compared her insights to a similar project carried out in Durban, South Africa. Both studies revealed learners' expectations and perceptions of learning to mirror the dominant schooling ideology of society. She found that conservative teaching methodologies of the facilitators did not help in promoting the social approach. She recommends that programme planners need to understand "people's discourses about literacy before implementing literacy methodologies" (Papen, 2005: 14). Findings suggest that the value of literacy lies in people's associations with the formal school system and its status as a marker of success and mobility in society in both South African and Namibian programmes (Papen, 2005). Assumptions that ''everyday'' texts can be substituted for textbooks from the formal curriculum may not be what learners may want to deal with in class (Papen, 2005). It was found that learners perhaps wanted a hybridization of the two methodologies; some ''everyday'' literacy practices could form part of the lessons, but the overall format of the class needed to be similar to schools and formal education (Papen, 2005: 15). Papen (2005) argued that the NLS approach undermines issues of power with regards to literacy as seen in perceptions in around beliefs

in dominant school ideologies. English literacy held symbolic significance as a marker of social and economic capital (Papen, 2005: 15). Papen's (2005) study suggests that the patterning of schooled literacy practices, per se, is instrumental in shaping adult literacy expectations.

NLS perspectives in workplace literacy

Detailing the foundational, groundbreaking work done by what have been called first-generation and second-generation theorists of NLS perspective is important, especially in relation to how this is taken up in workplace studies. Briefly, first generation theorists set the foundations of NLS theory by critiquing great divide theories and supporting, through detailed research studies the idea of literacy as variable social practice (Prinsloo and Baynham, 2013). Indeed, they set the foundations of the NLS theory. The second-generation studies involved ethnographic research in non-Western settings which was aimed at challenging ''great divide'' claims about the effects of literacy on non-Western people (Prinsloo and Baynham, 2013).

With the advancement of technology came a redefinition of space and time and the concept of globalization. The interconnectedness of globalization has led to cutting edge competitiveness in the international arena, which has consequently seen the development of a ''new work order with a new capitalism'' (Gee et al., 1996). The development of this new work order not only holds critical implications for workplaces, but also for institutions like vocational schools per se, and the general public schooling system since learners are being prepared to fulfill productive roles in the workforce (Gee et al., 1996). Since communication is essential in the workplace, it is necessary to explore the differences of how workers make meaning through reading and writing practices across traditional and new workplaces.

Various authors have added to this body of knowledge. This section will draw on the arguments of James Gee (1996, 2000), Hull (1996, 1999, 2000), Farrell (2009), Arend (2002, 2015) and Fikelepi (2015), all of whom have investigated language and literacy practices in the workplace.

James Gee gives an interesting account of how the principles of NLS theory, against all his expectations, were incorporated into shifts in the organization of new capitalist places in work. Gee's et al., (1996) contention is that understandings of language, literacy and learning need to be situated in the framework of society's work order which has seen shift in the work-based Discourses and a transformation in the kinds of workers that were needed to function within these Discourses (Gee, 1996). This is in keeping with

the rationale of the NLS (Gee et al., 1996). Context, history, beliefs, values, attitudes and other lived, talked, and enacted laden practices influence how texts are read and understood (Gee et al., 1996).

The traditional workplace mirrored the economic climate that was dominant from the end of World War Two until the late 1970s with the old mass-market capitalism (Gee et al., 1996). Mass-produced goods led to economic success for large corporations within the boundaries of nation states thereby aiding economic and political hegemony for the USA (Gee et al., 1996). Basically, two sorts of workers emerged during this time; low-level workers and middle managers (Gee et al., 1996). This ''pecking order'' defined job descriptions along the lines of hierarchy and bureaucracy thereby ensuring division alongside roles.

Middle managers were professionally trained in business schools and were the communication channels between the top hierarchy and workers at the bottom of the organization (Gee et al., 1996). The other category of worker hired was the low-level worker. Gee (1996) uses an apt aphorism that explicitly captures their role; he explains that they were hired ''from the neck down'' (Gee et al., 1996: 17). This meant that only the physical labour of the worker was valued. Their tasks were ''allegedly mindless, repetitive, and meaningless pieces of tasks,'' epitomizing the role of the auto worker on the assembly line (Gee et al., 1996: 17). The old capitalism was interested in the effectual organization of workers as individuals only (Gee, 1999). Knowledge and talents were broken up into fragmented bits with each individual doing his or her bit without needing to know the ''big picture'' (Gee, 1999). Juxtaposing the low-level workers role was that of middle managers whose job it was to supervise this worker.

Evidently, literacy practices in the traditional workplace required ''knowledge'' to be vested in a few, the middle managers as espoused by Gee et al., (1996), who were expected to lead the masses, the low-level worker in this instance, as if they were empty vessels. The knowledge or skills of the worker was not sought since their intellectual property held no value – it was the privilege of the few managers. However, this perspective was challenged by new workplace order in the new capitalism (Gee et al., 1996).

The ''new capitalism'' was already adopting the NLS principles that would help workers continuously gain and apply new knowledge, promote teamwork that enables collaborative and interactive design and redesign. This new form of workplace organization aids workers to understand the whole process, gain flexibility and not just ''bits and pieces'' so that they can easily take over when someone is missing (Gee, 2000). Massive global and technological changes have increased competition thereby engendering stiff

rivalry in terms of quality and cost-effectiveness (Gee, 2000). The highest and most important form of sociotechnical design and knowledge skill involves designing new workplaces and new workers exhibiting the new knowledge needed for our globalised economy.

The advent of new workplace literacy practices saw a shift to the formation of new identities where individualist ideologies were replaced by the teamwork of the new work order (Gee et al., 1996). Gee et al., (1996) explains how the new capitalism era signaled a paradigm shift and possible tension between the definitions of the traditional job and portfolio career of the new work order evolving in the new capitalism. Central to this shift in sociocultural approaches to literacy and learning, is the matter of goals which enables clarification of the question "why" the relevant modus operandi and mediated practices (Gee at al., 1996). Gee et al., (1996) quotes James Champy (1995: 157) who contends that the new work order looks at the knowledge of the worker as well as the ''kind of person you are.'' This implies a worker that fits the "values" of the new work order in the new capitalism (Gee et al., 1996).

It is important to mention at this stage that I expected SAPS work order to still reflect hierarchy and bureaucracy given the nature of the organization (it is aimed at maintaining law and order) and the stratified organization of ranks among its workforce. I know, from my social knowledge that some inroads have been made in trying to improve the image of SAPS given its historical legacy and role in the previous regime. One tangible change noteworthy of mention is that it is now called a police service rather than a ''police force'' (Arend, 2002). So, in investigating literacy practices through the NLS lens, it is necessary to understand the effects of the work order on these practices and what tensions are operating.

Hull (2000) in her article *Critical Literacy at work*, analyses a meeting in a new workplace order and the notions of literacy that thrive in this meeting. Through observing a meeting in a high-tech workplace in the USA on computing productivity and quality, Hull (2000) was able to determine the effects of literacy practices and new forms of work organization. The workers' ''voice'' enabled agency for self-directed teamwork that led to a hybrid space between management and workers (Hull, 2000). The hybridized space created an opportunity for workers to campaign for improved working conditions whilst companies could push for progress in quality and productivity (Hull, 2000).

Hull (2000) elaborates the concept of mediation to contrast workplace literacy practices with that of school-based ones. She illustrates that in the world of work, literacy is reading and writing to mediate

action which some researchers call ''reading to do,'' whereas school-based literacy is primarily defined as 'reading to know' (Hull, 2000). She explains that the concept of ''practical literacy'' which is mostly learned through apprenticeships refutes the claim that all literacy is alike and that ''reading is reading is reading'' (Hull, 2000: 649). Through observations in this high-tech workplace she was able to determine the extent of writing ''to do'' or mediate action, in serving a variety of functions (Hull, 2000). The functions ranged from basic literate functions to using literacy to exercise or resist authority (Hull, 2000). These practices illuminated the social roles of literacy at work in specific material locales (Hull, 2000).

Hull (2000), like Gee et al., (1996), purports that ways of constructing an identity as a worker are pivotal to the new workplace order. I alluded to this phenomenon earlier when I spoke about the role of dual identities to enable the functioning of flattened hierarchies. Hull is supported in her contention by Farrell (2009), who proposes that the constant conversation between global literacies and local literacies foreground certain working identities and sideline others. This is evident in Hull's (2000) study of the workplace in Silicon Valley northern California, USA, where most of the frontline workers were recent immigrants (Hull, 2000). She notes how a young female worker shirked her role as team leader by refusing to answer questions at a presentation due to her reluctance to assume a role of responsibility (Hull, 2000). Hull (2000) found that workers in this factory resented extra literacy responsibilities for a variety of reasons, rather preferring to be part of self-directed work teams. They were also suspicious of the company's motives and intentions (Hull, 2000). However, Hull compares the identity of a worker called Mr San with the young female worker who refused to answer questions as a case in point. Mr San took on a particular social identity in order to undertake a space for himself in the team (Hull, 2000). He assumed a pastoral and protective role over his co-workers to look after their interests (Hull, 2000). Mr San's pastoral care of his co–workers is indicative of the move away from viewing the workplace in technical terms, to one that understands organisations as cultures in which people, their needs and desires, and their interpersonal relationships, play a central role (Hull, 2000).

Textualisation of work is employed as a means to control relationships between workers and workers and the organizations (Farrell, 2009). Dorothy Smith (1999 in Farrell, 2009) elaborates that text-mediated relations are one of the forms in which power is exercised in modern societies. Although text interpretations are situated in local practices, their influence has global reach in the global economy (Farrell, 2009). This phenomenon, Farrell claims, is because texts are ''joined to each other and the institutions that regulate their work practice'' (Farrell, 2009: 243). The text, Farrell suggests, is critical in

enabling relationships between people, and between people and organizations in the global economy. Control emerges as a key concept in global workforce tenets. Farrell (2009) claims that ''textual regulation'' is used as a means of surveillance and control. Monitoring of workers computers and call centre operators being compelled to read their screens verbatim, are tangible examples of control in the workplace (Farrell, 2009). Literate practices appear to be instrumental in constructing social and ideological identities in the workplace, thereby facilitating the regulation of the working identity and working relationships.

Farrell (2009) further expounds on the dynamics of the new workplace in her article *Texting the future: work, literacies, and economies.* She claims that the ''literacy need'' is necessitated by the requirement for people to trade knowledge since global economic activity is totally textually mediated. Despite the global phenomenon of the new workplace, the unique feature of this ''Knowledge Economy'' is its ability to link local, geographically specific, workplaces and workers through local knowledge-building possibilities and the standardization of literate practice across time and space (Farrell, 2009). The author is mindful to point out that global common literate practices cannot completely replace localised literacy practices. Hence, the author claims, the essential need for literacy research that details the changes in contemporary workplaces and their textually mediated practices. She details some research conducted in new workplaces by Scholtz and Prinsloo (2001), her own studies in 2006 conducted at an automotive textile manufacturing plant in Australia and Kell's work in 1996 in post-apartheid South Africa. These studies point to the collaborative nature of literate practices at work, how literacy practices are rooted in the social, economic and political dealings of a local site, the connection between literate practice, working knowledge, and gender identities and the shift in social and power relations of people in communities (Farrell, 2009). The SAPS provide another site in which literacy practices are rooted in social and political dealings of a local site.

SAPS – A workplace of a specific type

A study conducted by Arend (2002) investigated the gap between past and present literacy practices of police officers in a Cape Flats station. The study was especially interested in investigating the shift in institutional discourses from apartheid South Africa to post-apartheid South Africa and the consequent impact on the officers' professional discourses and their resulting literacy practices (Arend, 2002). Arend (2002) poignantly details his own experiences and perceptions of SAPS officers as a high school student during the turbulent eighties when school terrains were often used as sites for launching protest against

the oppressive regime of the day. The study also provides an interesting account of how the various staff members from different institutions came to be integrated into SAPS and why the categories of "insiders" and "outsiders" came into being and how it has led to what Arend (2002 : iii) terms "the disorder between contemporary institutional and professional discourses and the disorder in the social role between insiders and outsiders." Arend's (2002) study aimed to determine the role literacy would play in the envisaged shift of SAPS from a "police force" to a "police service". He found that it was necessary to "problematize" and "study" literacy practices and their contextual factors and that different literacies are associated with different domains of life.

Fikelepi (2015) investigated the language and literacy practices of police officers when taking statements or crime reports. The aim of the study was to illuminate what actually happens when police officers and clients are engaged in "entextualization" and "languaging practices" of a statement (Fikelepi, 2015). The document, the researcher argues, plays a pivotal role in mediating the facts of cases as a means of ensuring justice. Yet, the study found that little attention has been paid to what happens during the process of statement taking and whether officers were properly trained for the work (Fikelepi, 2015). Fikelepi's study's findings suggest that the literacy event of taking a statement is a complex process for which officers may not have been sufficiently trained (Fikelepi, 2015).

The two studies highlight pertinent issues this study investigated; firstly, the patterning of literacy practices by social institutions, like SAPS. Embedded in the literacy tasks were mechanisms of ''control and surveillance through textual regulation'' (Farrell, 2009). Also, as previously stated in this review, was the impact of the politics of the site on literacy practices. As Arend (2002) articulated in his study, the inherited political legacy of the apartheid regime's police force was evident in the ''disorder between the role of insiders and outsiders'' despite integration in the new political dispensation. Literacy tasks were also situated and specific to SAPS working environment and context. Furthermore, recent studies reflect the low literacy levels among SAPS officers.

Compounding the ''complex process'' (Fikelepi, 2015) of executing certain literacy tasks is the recent findings on the competency of literacy of police officers. In February 2018, Deputy Commissioner for Policing, Fanie Masemola, conveyed to Parliament that inspections of officers' pocket-books revealed "illiteracy in the ranks of SAPS" (Pretoria News, Reproduced by Sabinet Online: 02.02.2018). Many

parliamentarians expressed dismay at this finding since “millions were spent on skills development since 1994” (Pretoria News, Reproduced by Sabinet Online: 02.02.2018).

Business Day (02.02.2018) also reported on “illiteracy rates” among police officers claiming that the deputy national commissioner of management and advisory services General Francinah Ntombenhle advised the Parliamentary Committee that SAPS planned an investigation into the reasons for poor literacy rates. It was further communicated by the General that the Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) programme would be used as a mechanism to improve ‘’ílliterate officers” reading and writing skills. The ABET programme was especially introduced to skill officers deprived of education in the previous regime. The report tells of a discussion ensuing around a turnaround plan for SAPS in order to address pivotal issues but a lack of budget and low literacy skills among officers posed stumbling blocks. Some politicians questioned how it was possible officers reflected low literacy levels when matric was needed to get into SAPS. This is indeed a fact that speaks volumes about the skills-based approach prevalent in our schooling curriculum, and, perhaps more crucially, exposes the effects of imposing English as the official language of SAPS.

Literacy practices: The interplay of languages

The studies detailed in the previous section reflect the conundrum caused by the systemic hegemony of English as the official language of SAPS. This hegemony is further elucidated through the patterning of literacy practices to perpetuate control, compliancy, knowledge and power. The hegemonic position of English in this system could also be instrumental in serving as a means of marginalization and exclusion. Yet, literacy practices suggest that communication may take place in other languages too.

Given the multiple languages and their mixing in everyday social practices and workplaces, along with the concerted effort through the South African constitution to give equal status to all our languages, it is necessary to examine the interplay of languages in literacy practices. Martin-Jones and Jones (2000) define multilingual contexts as comprising of different languages, language varieties and scripts that add other dimensions to the variety and intricacy of literacy practices. Even if a text is produced in monolingual form, the talk around the text may be multilingual (Martin-Jones and Jones, 2000). Various empirical studies reveal how speakers and writers often use codeswitching as a meaning making resource when faced with contrasts between codes in a multilingual repertoire (Martin-Jones and Jones, 2000). A short

focus on the development of South Africa's Language in Education Policy (LIEP) will highlight the disjuncture between language and literacy practices and the rhetoric as articulated in LIEP.

The premise for the language legislation was additive multilingualism where mother-tongue education would be ensured in the endeavor to build ''a non-racial nation in South Africa'' (Language in Education Policy, 1997). This thinking is in keeping with global debates centering on human rights, cultural and linguistic issues where marginalized groups especially feel threatened by the expansion of English (De Klerk, 2002). The rationale was to guarantee that all languages would be developed and valued, especially in respect with the global trend towards societal and individual multilingualism, a trend mainly relevant to the African continent. (Language in Education Policy, 1997).

De Klerk (2002) and Heugh (2013) purport various reasons for the lack of implementation of an additive multilingual approach in South African schools. For Heugh (2013) it was due to the disjuncture of understanding the term ''multilingualism'' and, among other, different constructions of the term multilingualism. De Klerk (2002) suggests that there appeared to be partiality towards English for a variety of reasons, like, it being a language that would unify different races. English was also popularly perceived to be a neutral language and, in some instances, the language of liberation (De Klerk, 2002). These insights into the understanding and implementation of the language policy provided a lens to understanding the shaping of reading and writing skills the participants of this study received in schooling.

Makoe & Mckinney (2009), amongst others, claim that English is over-valued and the use of African languages under-valued. As an English teacher at a Technical, Vocational, Educational Training (TVET) College, I am faced everyday with contestations over language. My subject is defined as English First Additional Language. It is a hybridization of school English and business English (my definition). Since it prepares students for the world of work, the TVET colleges are regarded as post school learning so the curriculum is designed to prepare them for the workplace. However, evident in this curriculum design is the teaching of English (only) as the language in which to orientate students. All TVET Colleges in the Cape metropolis use English as the language of learning and teaching; in the Boland area, Afrikaans is the language of learning and teaching at these colleges.

This practice resonates with De Klerk (2002) and Heugh's (2013) contention that a disjuncture exists between the ''construction of multilingualism within contemporary education policy'' (Heugh, 2013: 215)

and the reality of students and teaching practices. It is evident that there is "an assimilatory drive towards English" (Alexander & Heugh, 1999 in Heugh 2013).

Literacy mediation and brokering

Given my rationale that language is inseparable from social settings, and given the research location, a further theme of relevance in a workplace such as a police station is the concept of literacy mediation. Literacy mediation, according to Kalman (2001), Kell (2008) and Baynham and Masing (2000), is when texts are jointly constructed because of linguistic disparity.

These writers investigated the literacy practices among under schooled and unschooled communities in order to determine the strategies used in meaning making. Kalman (2001) investigated the literacy practices among under schooled and unschooled women in a semi urban community of Mexico City. The study found that although these women were considered barely literate by many literacy standards, they were able to solve the literacy requirements of daily life through mediated practices (Kalman, 2001). A similar study was piloted among Sudanese refugee families in Michigan in the USA. Perry (2009) found that "literacy brokering" was used to as a means by individuals to seek casual help with unaccustomed texts and literacy practices.

Mediation and brokering, and the use of a scribe, as illuminated in the above studies play important roles in the linguistic process. Kalman's (1996) study in Mexico of a scribe helping his client write a letter illustrates how cooperation and help with reading and writing are prevalent practices. Kalman (1996) coins the phrase "joint composition" referring to letter writing incidents involving two or more contributors. The study shows how the participants pooled their knowledge and points of view to produce an article that served the purposes of the intended task (Kalman, 1996). Working also from an NLS framework exploring literacy mediation, Kell's essay explores two ethnographies of literacy conducted during 1993-1994 and 1998 -2001 in South Africa, concerning housing struggles in an informal settlement in Cape Town (Kell, 2008). Through various forms of engagements and domains of observations within these communities, Kell found "more spaces emerged for the specialization of roles and social stratification" (Kell, 2008: 896). Specialization, particularly, was determined by "particular types of linguistic skill as well as skills in managing organizational processes which involved printed texts" (Kell, 2008: 896). This type of adeptness was considered as a token of status (Kell, 2008). So, she sets out to challenge mainstream and instrumental perceptions of making meaning through literacy mediation. Kell's (2008) study details how literacy

mediation enabled the respondents to accomplish goals through the collective engagement and construction of texts. Kell's (2008) study is relevant to my research because it reflected that literacy mediation can be used effectively to make meaning of texts by people with low literacy levels. In SAPS context, the means of literacy mediation could empower, include and give agency to those who are not proficient in English and have not mastered the schooled literacy skills deemed so necessary as a symbol of status (Kell, 2008).

Textual travel

One further theoretical concept is crucial in the understanding of the literacy dynamics in the SAPS setting, namely, that of textual travel. Rock et al., (2013: 4) who coined the phrase or, rather more aptly coined the concept of "textual travel" to explain the phenomenon of the "way texts move through and around institutional processes and are shaped, altered, and appropriated during their journeys". Rock et al., (2013) argue contextual factors influence texts as they move along certain journeys. The authors offer an explanation for texts travelling "metaphorically" by drawing on the work of Bakhtin who claims that "all texts are in dialogue both with previous texts and future texts" (Rock et al., 2013: 9). The term ''intertextuality'' was developed to account for the unavoidable influences between texts (Kristeva, 1980, in Rock et al., 2013). The implication is that no text can stand on its own and must always make mention of other texts. Hence, intertextuality is "the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts…, but it might also refer to the transformations that texts undergo as they move along chains…'' (Rock et al., 2013:9). Other concepts expounded under the term "textual travel" that will be of relevance to this study are recontextualization, that is, text creation and recreation, formalisation and mediation. The term mediation suggests that the conversion of texts can be facilitated or inhibited by "mediational means" like speech organs, media, writing and signing, and availability of stationery like pens, paper and the computer.

Research conducted by Arend (2015) in SAPS in the Western Cape, South Africa, elucidates the phenomenon of textual travel and the associated concept of recontextualization through the production of a police docket and its movement across branches of the criminal justice system of South Africa (Arend, 2015). The trajectory of the document is followed as it moves from the Uniform Branch to the Detective Branch (Arend, 2015). Using actor network theory as a lens for analysis, Arend (2015) conceptualizes the creation of networks as a translation process, concentrating on problematization as the first stage in the translation process and a core element of defining network relations (Callon, 1986 in Arend, 2015). The

study also draws on Gee's (2002) notions of "enactive work" and "recognition work" to determine how the police document is created and re-interpreted across contexts given the fact that police documents hold interpretative flexibility, that is, it can be susceptible to partiality. (Arend, 2015). Three vignettes are explored that elucidate the Janus-faced and Hermesian qualities of document production. The metaphorical reference to the two mythological gods compares the trickery and double meanings that could possibly be associated with document analysis. Arend (2015) argues that this flexibility in interpretation of the document is necessary to create a stable network of material-semiotic relations that enables its trans-contextual movements within the justice system. The complexity of police document production in the South African criminal justice system is a key finding of the study. This "complexity" could imply that clerks working with documentation in "bits and pieces" as Gee (1996/1999) suggests, are not really "in the know" of the grand scheme of things and that complexity is perhaps used to ensure compliancy. Exacerbating the "complexity" factor is the fact that these clerks were schooled through the skills-based western literate tradition and may not have been aptly prepared to become critical readers and thinkers.

The following section explores this "complexity" and the role of clerks in working with documentation and their consequent compliancy which appears to be systemic in the SAPS.

Compliancy

Given the context of my research and the bureaucratic nature of SAPS, compliancy may be a dominant feature of the SAPS work environment. The role of clerks in SAPS would be to facilitate the administrative tasks of the organization in the quest to ensure the smooth running of the operations of a station. Jackson (2004: 9) clarifies compliancy as when companies, in pursuit of Quality Assurance, "require an organization to specify, implement, monitor and record their compliance with Standard Operating Procedures in all areas of the work process." Compliance may be enforced through an audit thereby enabling official certification by national and international bodies (Jackson, 2004: 9).

Various ethnographic studies on literacies-in-use and compliancy have been conducted by Belfiore, Defoe, Folinsbee, Hunter and Jackson (2004) in four different sites. One site was in a food processing plant called "TripleZ"; the second site for research was at a textile factory called "Texco"; the third site being a tourist hotel named ''The Urban Hotel" and the last site used for research was at a high-technology metals manufacturing company (Jackson, 2004). The researchers spent 6-8 months on each site. The purpose was to understand the meanings of literacies at work (Jackson, et al., 2004) and the dynamics surrounding

the reading and meaning making of texts by employees. One of the key dynamics revealed was the issue of workplace paperwork as part of regimes of compliancy, or non-compliancy. Control, monitoring and compliancy was regulated through texts or workplace paperwork. “Textual regulation” was used as a means of surveillance and control (Farrell, 2009).

Using the lens of the social practices approach, the researchers explored the intricacies associated with how companies cope with the move from a traditional workplace steeped in oral communications to the print driven certified safety system essential for competing in the contemporary, globalised marketplace (Belfiore, 2004). The researcher at Triple Z found that local meanings of literacy were disparate, contradictory and contested (Belfiore, 2004). These disparate views, Belfiore (2004: 60) claims, are due to “different daily experiences of working life” of the various agents involved. Research by Folinsbee (2004) at the the Texco textile factory in Canada reflected similar findings. The company had characteristics of ‘’the new workplace’’ where approaches combined the technical side with the human resources emphasizing customer orientation and employee empowerment. Yet, findings of the study suggest a disjuncture exists between the values as espoused by management and what really happens on the floor. Documentation and paperwork were considered essential for ensuring quality assurance and the consequent success of the company, yet, mixed messages from management about the importance of paperwork caused a predicament for the workers (Folinsbee, 2004). Managers would emphasize the importance of the paperwork yet, on the other hand, workers were told directly or indirectly to short-circuit the paperwork in order to increase production. In order to facilitate coping with paperwork many workers used their own manuals and notebooks to help them along when they encountered problems. This strategy of the workers Folinsbee (2004: 99) claims is the way “People construct their own ways of using literacy in their jobs that make sense to them, but don’t necessarily correspond to the standard.”

A focus on literacy practices in the following study revealed how varying literacy levels and consequent challenges in comprehension led to misinterpretation of a crucial act. The study moves on to a SAPS site and was conducted by the Independent Complaints Directorate. In terms of the Domestic Violence Act (Act 116 of 1998) failure by SAPS to abide by its provisions constitutes transgression (Independent Complaints Directorate, 2010). This particular study focuses on SAPS non-compliance cases reported to the ICD in 2006/2007 (ICD, 2010). The aim of the study was to investigate reasons for non-compliance when domestic violence cases were reported to police stations (ICD, 2010). Non-compliance with the Domestic Violence Act (DVA) by SAPS was found to be failure to execute the warrant of arrest to the

respondent, failure to advise the complainant of their options, failure to assist the complainant such as finding suitable shelter, obtaining medical treatment, among others, and failure to open a criminal docket and refer the matter for prosecution (ICD, 2010). Findings suggest that the act is interpreted differently by different police stations, that the definition of the DVA is too broad, members lack information as to what is expected of them in terms of the DVA, abuse or misuse of Protection Orders, cases being withdrawn by victims, suspects not located due to relocating to avoid arrest, failure by SAPS to effect warrants of arrest, to the members of SAPS asking victims irrelevant questions. Of the recommendations made by the researchers to improve the situation is, among others, the simplification of the National Instruction 7/1999 so that it is interpreted in a consistent way by all police officers in order to avoid inconsistency in dealing with the DVA (ICD, 2010). Besides the quest to ''sensitise'' police officers about domestic violence, the public should also be made aware of the ''seriousness'' of reporting domestic violence (ICD, 2010). An attitudinal shift on the part of police in relation to the DVA and the public towards police is also recommended in order to yield more positive outcomes, hence, the study recommends the use of national events like the annual 16 Days of Activism Against Violence on Women and Children to further conscientise community members (ICD, 2010).

Conclusion

The discussions in the literature review outline influential scholars' views on language and literacy studies. All of these studies' findings suggest that how people make meaning of literacy is already embedded in particular forms of activity (Prinsloo and Baynham, 2008). It is evident that the "social turn" has been greatly influential in the move towards studying language and literacy as situated, context specific everyday social practice. Using the NLS viewpoint, the researcher investigated the types of literacy practices the participants used in the workplace; how they made meaning when they engaged with various reading and writing tasks involving different languages and registers and how power and knowledge embedded in the system was perpetuated through literacy practices and institutional structures like the schooling system and in a workplace like SAPS, the hegemony of English being a case in point since it's the only "working language" used by SAPS in official documents.

Chapter 3: Research design

Introduction

This study is an interpretive, qualitative study, since it aims at answering "how" and "why" questions. A study conducted in the interpretive paradigm is ontologically defined as having an "internal reality of subjective experience", with the relationship between knower and known characterized by empathy and observer subjectivity (TerreBlanche et al, 2006: 6). Since this paradigm seeks to investigate the meanings its respondents add to information, the apt methodology would be interactional and qualitative.

The study follows the format of an "ethnographically-oriented" case study (Green et al., 2004), meaning that it is not a full ethnography as I was only present for limited periods of time across a number of research settings. Analysis of a single social unit was conducted in the three different sites. Gillham, (2000:95) defines a case study as "study of a bounded, contemporary phenomenon such as a classroom, a school, a literacy in-service program, a literacy pedagogical approach, a social group, and so on". Another defining feature of case study research pertinent to this study was the "real –life contexts" where phenomena were investigated as they occurred naturally (Gillham, 2000). Case study research also helps in answering "how" and "why" questions (Yin, 1994, in Lankshear et al., 1999). I decided to use this methodology, however, since it lends itself well to the NLS approach with its emphasis on understanding meaning making in context, and the production of data which goes beyond simply self-report data. Central to the study of ethnography is the contention "that it will be interpretive research in a situated, real environment, based on interaction between the researcher and the subjects" (Blommaert and Jie, 2010: 17). Ethnography views language and culture as inseparable, therefore deeply situated in social life. It aims to situate and contextualize all evidence in order to understand the totality of the nature of events in their full complexity (Blommaert and Jie, 2010). Blommaert and Jie (2010) argue that ethnographic analysis should try to ''mirror'' the events it describes. Hammersley (1994) claims that the practice of ethnography is encircled by philosophical ideas in search of valuable understandings. He outlines a number of key features characterizing ethnography which I have summarized as follows:

- Analysis of empirical data that are systematically selected for the purpose.
- Data comes from 'real world' contexts, and not from experimental conditions.
- Data may be gathered from a range of sources, but observations and/or somewhat informal conversations are the main forms of data collection.

- Since no fixed category is used for interpreting data, the approach to data collection is relatively unstructured.
- The focus is a single group or setting of relatively small scale; a single individual may be used for life history research.
- Data analysis involves the interpretation of human behavior in the form of verbal descriptions and explanations. Quantification and statistical analysis play a secondary role.

(Hammersley, 1994: 1-2).

Linguistic ethnography, per se, is considered to be favourably positioned to yield "critical and systematic" research results (Copland, et al., 2015: 26). Through its "empirical nature'' and ''bottom-up approach'', linguistic ethnography is able to link networks of ''cultural practices to wider social processes'' (Copland, et al., 2015: 26). Post-modernity heralded in an era in which the language of the modernist view was deconstructed to interrogate popularly held assumptions about language hegemony and communicative practices (Copland, et al., 2015). Copland et al., (2015: 14) points out:

> This means that linguistic ethnography is well placed to produce critical, systematic and rigorous scholarship. Linguistic ethnography links the micro to the macro, the small to the large, the varied to the routine, the individual to the social, the creative to the constraining, and the historical to the present and to the future.

Ethnography enables the researcher to interpret and understand the socially embedded communicative practices and life worlds through interactive engagements with the respondents. Hence, as previously stated, the NLS approach and ethnography are complementary and it is especially helpful in ethnographic research, "as literacy is viewed as variable with regard to its form, functions, uses and values across social setting, and thus varying in its social meanings and effects" (Baynham and Prinsloo, 2009: 2). Literacy is thus studied as embedded in social practices operating in particular social spaces thereby bearing cognizance of cultural, historical, political and economic influences (Baynham and Prinsloo, 2009).

Research sites and participants

The respondents in this study were three of my former students from the Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET) College where I work. Previously called Further Education and Training Colleges (FET), the change in name and function, somewhat, was initiated and enabled through a paradigm shift in the educational landscape of our country where the TVET sector arose out of the need to give value to workplace-oriented training rather than academic, and to train youth for a workforce in dire need of

skilled artisans. Various streams of training, consisting of different time frames, are offered at these colleges. Streams may differ at the various colleges, but at this particular college, courses range from ten weeks to three years. The National Certificate Vocational, NCV, starts at level two and ends at level four making it three years long. Students receive an exit certificate upon completion whereupon they are expected to do a two-year apprenticeship at a company. After this apprenticeship period, the trainee is then expected to pass a trade test at a TVET college.

I teach English in the National Certificate Vocation (NCV) stream. The curriculum consists of communication, business writing like reports, meeting correspondence, grammar, short story and poetry analysis and the analysis of a novel in level 4. The three respondents in this study successfully completed the NCV Safety in Society Programme in 2014 and 2015. Upon completion, they should ideally enter some law enforcement organ of the state like SAPS, Correctional Services, Traffic Services or Metro Police SAPS usually takes our top students as interns. The sample in my study were the top students of 2014/2015 who were placed as interns at SAPS. All have since become permanent employees of SAPS.

Babalwa (not her real name) is 28 years old. She is from the Eastern Cape but was schooled in Cape Town. She grew up speaking isiXhosa as home language but is fluent in seSotho, English and isiZulu. She describes herself as “a proud Xhosa woman who is mother to a school going daughter.” Nazreen (a pseudonym) is 26 years old. She converted to Islam upon her marriage and defines herself as “a proud, devout Muslim woman.” She currently has no children since she and her husband have intentions to buy a home and further their studies before starting a family. She grew up on the Cape Flats where she attended one of the local high schools. She is a mother-tongue English speaker but is fluent in Afrikaans since it was her first additional language at school. The third respondent is Adielah (not her real name), 29 years old, who attended the college from 2011 to 2013. She grew up on the Cape Flats where she matriculated at one of the local high schools in 2007. Her mother tongue is English, but she is also fluent in Afrikaans as it was her first additional language at school. She is married and has two small children. Like Nazreen, she too converted to Islam upon marriage.

The sites of the study included the three police stations where the interns were based, one in the southern suburbs, one on the Cape Flats and another along the Atlantic seaboard of the Cape peninsula. I had hoped, when I initially embarked on the study that geographical and socio-economic diversity would enable yielding interesting, varied results.

Data collection

Kelly (2006) advises that the regulations for data-gathering techniques in qualitative research are not governed by definitive rules but rather acquired through being watchful and perceptive. Qualitative research seeks to work with data in context since "…, making sense of feelings, experiences, social situations…" is pivotal to this paradigm of research (Kelly, 2006: 287). The researcher is encouraged to enter the research site in an open and empathic manner so as to blend in with the context (Kelly, 2006). This study employed the data collection tools of participant observations, semi-structured interviews and photographs of documents and analysis of texts. Participant observations involved gaining access to and immersing oneself in new social worlds, producing written accounts and descriptions of these worlds (Emerson et al., 1995). Geertz (1973) explained that an ethnographer is an explorer as well as a quasi-insider. Observations are useful in gaining insights into determining the difference between what people say they do and what they really do. Observations take place ''…while things are happening' and allow the researcher an opportunity to get 'closer to the action'" (Kelly, 2006: 307). Participant observation is especially suited to the interpretive, qualitative study because of the importance placed on studying phenomena in a true-to-life way (Kelly, 2006). Therefore, observation takes the form of participant observation since the researcher is expected to become fully immersed in the observed setting (Kelly, 2006). The observations conducted in this study entailed two full workday observations at each site, As advised by Kelly (2006), the aim was to keep the observations as natural, unstructured and unobtrusive as possible with informal interaction with the designated participants and their colleagues. Notes were made of "what one sees as one sees it'' (Kelly, 2006: 310). So, observations were recorded through field notes, small chats and photographing of texts.

With regard to interviews, Blommaert and Jie (2010) advise that an interview should be dialogical because both parties should contribute to it and both the interviewer and interviewee should want to talk to each other. The impact of the interviewer is essential for an interview rich in data and the analysis should reflect the dialogue between the researcher and the interviewee (Blommaert and Jie, 2010). Unlike structured interviews that are set in stone, a semi-structured interview has set questions, but the researcher has the flexibility to add other questions based on the responses of the interviewee. The interview also fits well with the interpretive approach because it enables interacting as naturally as possible with participants (Kelly, 2006). Since the interviews were tape-recorded, I had to ascertain consent from the participant prior to the interview and arranged with the participant a time for the interview so as to facilitate the

recording in a conducive environment (Kelly, 2006). A follow-up interview was conducted after the first interview was transcribed. This helped me to clarify certain issues or uncertainties that may have arisen in the first interview. A number of further conversations were held informally in short visits to follow up on certain terminology and administrative procedures.

Two interviews were conducted, in English, with each participant at each site (six in total) and lasted for 30-45 minutes each, with other short noted conversations conducted during the observations to clarify actions taken by the participants (see appendix 1 for the list of questions used in the interviews). The interviews were conducted before the observation days in order to facilitate my transcriptions. This enabled me time for reflection about the first interview and gave me a good sense of what follow-up questions to pose during the second interview. I also focused on the NCV curriculum and discussed with the interns whether this had played any role in preparing them for the tasks they were now expected to do in their workplaces.

The ethnographic approach was combined with document analysis of documents used in context because the data collection included observations, interviews, contemporary texts and discourse analysis of transcript data and field notes. Kelly (2006:316) contends that "interpretive, qualitative research seeks to rather reconstruct the author's purposes and intentions in the effort to comprehend what the author meant when they wrote the document''. Documents usually take the form of texts and images (Bowen, 2009), but may also be letters, newspaper articles, official documents and books. Documents gathered for this study included photographs of documents and texts. Examples of types of documents ranged from statements, report writing like affidavits and feedbacks, statistical data and e-mails to any others that I was allowed to view given that it was SAPS sites and some information was therefore highly confidential.

All data collection took place at the respective police stations of the participants. I examined the flow of texts and the ways in which processes were regulated by texts, and the points at which, in these flows, the participants engaged in literacy events. The focus of the observations were the literacy events that they participated in, for example, administrative tasks like the taking of statements, writing minutes of meetings, the capturing and formalization of various statistical data. I paid attention to the uses of different languages and the participants' roles as scribes, for example, in the taking of statements from members of the public.

Data analysis

Data analysis is regarded as an intricate procedure since comprehensive descriptions of field research must be interpreted to make meaning (Knobel et al., 1999). According to Knobel et al., (1999: 87), the following aspects of data analysis help us know:

- How something comes to be
- The effects of something on something or someone
- One or more literacy practices
- The social construction of literacy
- The effects of teacher talk on literacy practices in classrooms
- The efficacy of a literacy program, curriculum or policy in a particular setting
- The effects of location, class, ethnicity, first language and/or gender on literacy performance at school
- The effects of unequal power distribution in classrooms on literacy learning and practices.

Yet, theorists guard against the possibilities of myriad interpretations of data since a researcher is always positioned ideologically and may construct different versions of reality (Knobel et al., 1999). The legitimacy of research findings is subject to theoretical orientations of the reading, and acceptance or rejection by readers of the research report (Knobel et al., 1999), with implications that the study may not be deemed valid.

After transcription of the recorded observations and interviews, the data was analysed by using thematic analysis and discourse analysis. Thematic analysis is aimed at understanding an issue or ideology (Attridge-Stirling, 2001). It also helps with the organization of qualitative data and taking it from text to interpretation by starting from a basic theme and working towards a global theme (Attridge-Stirling, 2001). I used the step-by-step guide as detailed by Attridge-Stirling (2001) starting with coding, identifying themes, constructing thematic networks, description and exploration of thematic networks, summarizing thematic networks and the interpretation of patterns.

Then the ‘’raw data’’ was developed and organized into full day descriptions of observations. All tasks were then analysed according to the specific literacy task, the function of that specific literacy task and the organizational level the task serves within the bureaucracy of SAPS. The focus then shifted to the

analysis of three literacy events. The analyses of the literacy tasks and events help shed light on the rationale of the tasks and led to the dominant, emerging themes of languaging and registers, textual travel and compliancy for accountability. These themes emerged because the data elucidated the ‘’talk’’ around texts and the register used to complete literacy tasks, the trajectory of texts through agents and offices and the regimentation of literacy tasks to ensure compliancy for accountability within a workplace like SAPS.

Discourse analysis “focuses on the analytical process in a relatively explicit way” (Johnstone, 2002: 3) through the scrutiny of structure and function of language in use. Discourse analysts interrogate meaning according to how the parts or chunks of information are assembled to bring meaning. This form of analysis was used in conjunction with the thematic approach in my pursuit to arrive at themes and patterning in the literacy practices of the participants. It was particularly helpful, for example, in analyzing the way in which multilingual conversations were recontextualised and translated into standard written language in the taking of statements, like the affidavit. Discourse analysis enabled this study to gain insights into the use of SAPS and regional jargon.

Ethics

One of the first stages of this research process was the application for permission to do the study from the School of Education ethics committee. It involved a process of completion of a form along with the submission of my research proposal detailing, among others, my methodology. Guillemin et al., (2004) concurs that the code of ethics at the practical level has been forced on qualitative researchers from outside. The tenets, though, are basically relevant since the research code of ethics serves to protect the basic rights of participants from forms of abuse, researchers are expected to adhere to a “checklist” which guides the researcher to protect the participant against risks, the assurance of confidentiality of data and the inclusion of consent forms (Guillemin et al., 2004). The researcher should be cognizant of the respondents’ voluntary participation in the study once the purpose, methods, demands, risks and the potential benefits of the research have been clarified because consent with participants should be ongoing, that is, before and after data collection (Moore et al., 2016).

Since the research worked with young adult human subjects, it had to comply with the code of ethics. As ethical standards and requirements had to be met, I had to obtain the following sets of permissions after receiving clearance from the School of Education:

- I had to apply to SAPS regional office for permission to conduct this study and submit my proposal to them. I work at an institution where one of our programmes has close dealings with SAPS, so I had access to someone who was able to help and facilitate the application process. This contact proved to be a life saving measure for me since the application process seemed to stall. After the application was submitted to SAPS provincial office, it was forwarded to the national office where it was apparently perused so as to determine the "suitability" of the study because SAPS "will approve no study that compromises the image of the service" I was told. My application seemed to stagnate for months at their national office. My colleague then kindly "intervened" on my behalf by providing an influential contact who ensured that the matter was dealt with speedily. That led me to meeting the Provincial Commissioner of Police who subsequently approved it.
- Whilst the three intended subjects of the study had verbally agreed to participation in this study, a formal letter of consent was provided for them to sign (see appendix 2), explaining the context and outcome of the study, how information would be collected and assuring confidentiality of the information collected. Observations in the police station involved further participants than just the three participants, like other SAPS officers and staff members and some members of the public. Subjects of the study were advised of the use of pseudonyms to ensure anonymity. All findings and recordings were confirmed with the subjects.

Since I am familiar with the subjects of the study as their former teacher, I was always mindful of conducting objective research and tried to be cognizant of possible bias towards my former students. I tried to engender utmost respect for academic integrity in my endeavour to present balanced findings.

Conclusion

This chapter details the research design that was used in this study. I have explained the paradigm in which the study would be conducted as well as the motivation for this choice. An explanation of the research sites and data collection tools served to clarify this research design and its modus operandi. Providing a brief overview of the three participants in relation to their age, demographics, language and backgrounds was aimed at providing support in-depths findings and epiphanies. The data analysis, will, hopefully, provide a useful lens for the comprehension of the outcomes. The chapter also gives an account

of the ethics that were applied for this study. With this approach in mind I now move to chapter 4 where data will be presented, and an in-depth interpretation of the data will be conducted.

Chapter 4: Everyday literacy practices in three SAPS stations

Introduction

As detailed in Chapter 3, the three respondents' police stations were situated in various locations on the Peninsula: one in the southern suburbs, another along the Atlantic seaboard and the third one on the Cape Flats. Because of our country's apartheid legacy, where social and political engineering determined geographical locations based on race, the three sites were demographically divergent. It was this divergence that stood out and was reflected in the institutional working culture of each station. An overview of demographics will help in creating a richer sense of context and variation across the three SAPS stations.

The station situated in the Southern Suburbs is found in a street just off a very busy main road which serves one of the oldest areas in this part of Cape Town. It is a made up of industry, businesses, flats, townhouse complexes and houses. The residential areas in the precinct of this police station were, under the previous regime, defined as white. The statistics from the 2011 Census Community Profile databases reveal racial demographics for the area as consisting of 60% whites, 24.7% coloureds, 11.8% Black African, 2.4% people defined as other and 0.72% Indian or Asian, with 57.3% female and 42.6% male inhabitants. The total population for the area was 2515 with 965 households. The language statistics for the area are as follows (this study will only detail the three predominant languages for the metropole): 2071 English (82%), Afrikaans 245 (9.7%), and isiXhosa 26 (1.03%). Three other suburbs also fall within the jurisdiction of this particular station. The statistics for the one suburb closest to the main suburb are as follows: the total population was counted as 20178 with 7080 households. The racial composition was recorded as 55% white, 29% coloured, 10.4% black African and 2.5% Asian/Indian with 45.9% male and 54.1% female. The other suburb contained a total population of 7106 when counted in the last census. Other demographic details were not available. However, the area defined as a''sub place'' remains one of the most upmarket places in Cape Town. The census claims that the coloured population in this area was 44%, whilst the white population was 43%, black African as 10.8% and Asian/Indian as 1.1%. The census details 51.4% Afrikaans speakers and 42.9% English speakers. The isiXhosa speakers totaled 2.4% and Setswana 0.2% (https://census2011.adrianfrith.com/place/199042). However, these statistics would have changed substantially given the city's 2017 Socio-economic Profile: City of Cape Town population predictions of a 0.9 per cent year-on-year growth rate.

Babalwa, the respondent in service at this station, sat in a small office with a computer, printer, desk, and a set of drawers. The walls of her office were adorned with a variety of photos and essential forms. During my two days of observation, I was mostly confined to Babalwa's office since that was where she carried out most of her daily tasks. However, I was able to determine the prevailing ambience in the station by the constant stream of colleagues popping in to engage her with either for work related matters or to make idle conversation. Conversations overheard among colleagues in corridors seemed lighthearted and jovial. There seemed to be a big workforce behind the scenes in this station.

Nazreen is the respondent I observed at the station situated on the Atlantic seaboard of the Cape Peninsula. My observations had to be postponed by a few days due to civil unrest in the area over housing struggles. Notwithstanding, this station is situated in a picturesque part of the Peninsula nestled in a valley. The police station was situated right opposite the troubled informal settlement with a derelict, nonetheless very busy road separating the two.

The area consists of two main suburbs and many sub-neighbourhoods. The main informal settlement in this area consists of squalid living conditions lacking basic amenities. The living conditions in the informal settlement are in stark contrast to the affluent and middle-income citizens of the rest of the community where there are also a number of multi-million-rand mansions, luxurious holiday homes and some small wine estates. The SAPS station serves five other areas falling within the precinct of the station. The demographics are as follows: the overall population of the area was recorded in the 2011 census as 17900 with 5963 households. However, this total is expected to be much higher for 2018 and official totals are hard to find (the next census only being in 2021). A Wikipedia site claims that the 18 hectares informal settlement by itself houses approximately 33 600 people currently, but there is no citation provided in support of this fact. This may be possible if one considers the 2017 Socio-economic Profile: City of Cape Town that predicts that the city of Cape Town's population is expected to expand rapidly over the next five years growing from 4055580 in 2018 to 4232276 in 2023. A Groundup article (18 July 2016) claims that the informal settlement in this ward makes up 42% of the population with 1,268 informal structures. The gender distribution was recorded in 2011 as 9296 females and 8604 males. The population group distribution (according to the 2011 census) consisted of 10274 (57.4%) whites, 5779 (32%) coloureds, 1216 (6.7%) Black African, 495 (2.7%) other and 135 (0, 75%) Indian or Asian. According to the distribution of first-language speakers, English holds the first position with 10591 (59,70%) speakers, followed by

Afrikaans with 5842 (32,93%) then isiXhosa 224 (https://census2011.adrianfrith.com/place/199042). Again, these numbers could be substantially changed by population increases post the 2011 census.

Nazreen had quite a big office with a window to a picturesque view of the mountains and the temporary accommodation provided by the City to the victims of the informal settlement resulting from the fire in March 2017. Certain postings could be observed against the walls of her office: SAPS code of conduct, reminders tabled according to dates of when weekly and monthly feedbacks should be submitted, and Islamic prayers. The ambience of the police station was friendly and welcoming. During my two days of observation I met quite a lot of my respondent's colleagues when they came into her office to use the intranet (the police version of internet) on the computer. All were very polite with some more open to having conversations with me.

Nazreen seemed to work very efficiently because she could give me a lot of attention. She said that because it was "not month-end" she was not too busy but actually I think it is her efficiency. Her level two colleague, the senior admin clerk with whom she works closely, frequently came in to talk to us. She enjoyed engaging me about the challenges of her job because, as she explained, she has such a strict code of confidentiality which her role demands. Since Nazreen's office was quite far from the Client Services Centre (CSC) desk, I could not overhear interactions between the police and clients.

My third respondent, Adielah, works at a SAPS station on the Cape Flats. The station is situated in an area that was defined in the previous regime as ''coloured.'' The area is prone to substance abuse and all the social ills associated with sub economic living conditions. The taxi rank, library, civic centre and all sorts of shops converge in this vicinity. The place is constantly abuzz with people and traffic. The juncture between poverty and suffering is so glaringly obvious in this space; some street people slept on the stoep of the furniture store situated next to the police station. When I entered the station, I was impressed to see a colourful anti-gangsterism and anti-drugs display. This section appeared to serve as an entrance only to the CSC section. In the CSC section it was very busy and was always filled with clients whenever I passed through it. This was not odd since this area is densely populated. There were many offices especially on first and second floors hinting at a large workforce. Plain clothed employees as well as uniformed ones were engaged in daily tasks like talking to colleagues, answering telephones and working on computers.

Adielah shared an office with two detectives dressed in plain clothes. She sat at one of the two desks in the office. Her desk was filled with files and paperwork and with two shelves for storing documents. Some photos adorned the wall with a certificate of one of the detectives. There were also a kettle and computer on a separate desk. A South African Police Union (SAPU) calendar for 2017 was mounted against the wall.

The police station on the Cape Flats serves many densely populated, rapidly expanding neighbourhoods, sub places and informal settlements, seven to be precise. Current accurate totals for specific areas are hard to find since some areas are fairly young and still in the process of being developed. The demographics of the main suburb were recorded by the 2011 census as follows: a total population of 82199 people consisting of 19447 households. 42488 were females whilst 39711 were defined as male. The racial makeup consisted of 71847 (87.4%) coloured, 5109 (6.2%) Black African, 2560 (3.1%) Indian or Asian, 2200 (2.6%) other and 482 (0.59%) white. The breakdown according to first language speakers was led by English with 47554 (57.8%), followed by Afrikaans 31097 (37.8%), then isiXhosa 1460 (1.7%), (https://census2011.adrianfrith.com/place/199042). However, two large sub-neighbourhoods being served by this station were accounted for in the 2011 census and reflected population totals respectively of 38,143 and 5,089 with a combined household total of 10 351. There were 20 828 males and 22 405 females in the combined totals of the two sub-neighbourhoods. The census also reflected both these areas as having the most English mother tongue speakers followed by Afrikaans with isiXhosa and Sesotho being the most commonly spoken indigenous language. However, these totals are expected to be much higher already given the growth prediction patterns for Cape Town.

The overview of the three research sites used in this study was explained to provide a context for the interpretation of the literacy tasks observed by each respondent. What follows is a detailed description of these daily literacy tasks.

A day in the life of a SAPS clerk

The breakdown of the tasks of each respondent into a table explaining task types, functions and categories enabled gaining a holistic insight into the rationale of the literacy practices: Why were they carried out? What functions did the tasks serve in the “big picture” of the institutional practices of an organisation like SAPS? Probing the organisational function of the task helped clarify the chief purposes of the myriad tasks the clerks were engaged in which turned out to be mainly for record keeping and reporting up, with only some fulfilling ‘’a service’’.

Although activities could vary on a daily basis, the table in appendix 3 offers a description of a typical day encountered by the clerks. The table is based on Nazreen's day, but I did a similar description for Babalwa and Adielah. Tasks included a variety of general administrative functions needed to enable the efficient running of the station. The tasks ranged from transferring information from hardcopy registers to collate on electronic templates for the national and provincial offices of SAPS. They also involved receiving e-mails and disseminating them to the relevant person, and, in turn, replying to e-mails as instructed. They also needed to submit what were called "feedbacks" on a daily, weekly and monthly basis. Feedbacks are actually reports containing relevant information, for example, arrests made in the last 24 hours, which are then submitted to the cluster, provincial and national offices of SAPS. For the purposes of clarification, the bureaucracy in the hierarchical ladder starts with the cluster which is made up of a number of stations; stations are grouped into clusters. The second rung in the hierarchy is the provincial office which presides over all clusters within a province and at the top of this ladder is the national office of SAPS to which all provincial offices report. Besides that, tasks also included maintenance of registers like the custody register, accident register, register for members on duty and fingerprint register. The clerks also worked with closure books wherein cases closed are detailed. Many of the tasks are first written as hardcopy and captured electronically, whereupon the text is then printed and stored, either in a file in the clerk's office or archived. Some information is completed on pre-designed electronic forms that just require capturing statistics for the cluster, provincial or national office.

I will now provide a comparative discussion of the literacy tasks across the three sites and of the three respondents.

Comparison of the three sites and respondents

Since the study is viewing the literacy practices of the respondents through the NLS lens, it is necessary to provide a comparative overview of the three sites to explore the possible differences between the three stations, the respondents and their respective tasks.

Nazreen, who works at the SAPS on the Atlantic seaboard seemed to display outstanding efficacy in the management of her daily administrative tasks. Although she claimed that it was the time of the month when she was "not too busy" I observed telltale signs of her organizational skills in the manner her office was organized, her effectiveness in responding to requests and the confidence she portrayed in her work

environment. Babalwa, seemed to be very busy all the time with tasks and somewhat overwhelmed at times. Since her office was very small it appeared to be cluttered, especially her desk. During my two days of observations the feedback reports took up most of Babalwa's time, and there seemed to be a lot of to and fro among offices. Adielah also appeared to be bogged down with closing off cases/documents. On both days of my observation this task took up her time. In asking for clarification of certain tasks, Adielah's explanations reflected only an elementary understanding of the role her literacy tasks played in the ''big picture.'' She seemed to master her literacy tasks for administrative purposes but, like Babalwa, seemed not really able to provide reflective insights about it, like Nazreen, who could succinctly explain the purposes of the feedback report in SAPS context, for example.

Since the three sites were all SAPS workplaces, they displayed similar organizational structures. The physical layouts of the stations were similar in the sense that there were many offices occupied by clerks and police officers of various ranks. Each police station had a CSC desk for their clientele with clerks and officers helping the public. I met the station commander of two of the sites personally where I was able to see that they had the biggest offices. The station commander's offices were usually adorned with trappings displaying national pride and commitment to the service and nation building. The ambience at these three stations appeared, generally relaxed, but nothing is ever as it seems. On my first day at the Cape Flats station I had a very telling encounter. I had just about seated myself in Adielah's office when a plain clothed policeman walked in, looked at me askance, and, pointing his finger at me asked Adielah who I was. She did not seem rattled or threatened by his aggression, just chuckled and offered an explanation. He then became kindlier towards me and explained that he thought I was a journalist. I at that point realized that individuals with attitudes reminiscent of our past were still around in this ''service.''

I tabulated all the literacy events I observed in each SAPS station in the duties of each respondent (see Appendix 4) and analysed them according to the purpose of the task and the organisational function, providing a schematic representation of the literacy tasks of the respondents.

What follows is a discussion on the functions and purposes of the tabulated literacy tasks. The discussion provides a lens in explaining the ''what'' and ''how'' of the tasks so that the ''why'' can be understood to provide in depth understandings of the role of the tasks in the organizational structure of SAPS. The discussion also provides explorations of the thrust of the argument of the thesis, namely, that the record

keeping serves as a paper trail to ascertain accountability and compliancy and in patterning the literacy practices serve to perpetuate the inevitable political and social goals of a workforce like SAPS. The contention being that power relations are perpetuated through these institutional structures. The discussion is divided into categories as determined by the function it fulfills in the hierarchical organization of SAPS. The categories of record keeping and reporting up seemed to dovetail since these literacy tasks fulfilled the need for the paper chase/trail and spoke to the hierarchical, bureaucratic structures of the organization. The third category detailed tasks that provided a service to the clientele of SAPS and reflected SAPS process of change, that is in it wanting to be a ''service'' rather than a ''force''.

Record-keeping

E-mails

Dissemination of the stations' e-mails was a task common to all three respondents, whether to officers high up in rank or merely peers. Often it also entailed sending off e-mail for captains and/or colonels. As Babalwa said shedding light on the dynamics of the task:

> Babalwa: Um, eh, whatever e-mail needs to be sent. I must…
>
> Researcher: Do you also manage the station's e-mails?
>
> Babalwa: No, I only manage the VISPOL e-mails.
>
> Researcher: From?
>
> Babalwa: Provincial, national, the cluster, station commander.
>
> Researcher: What do you do with the e-mail when it comes? You look forward to the?
>
> Babalwa: When there's an e-mail, I must first check who is it for and then some of the e-mails are for me, I must just give that feedback. And then if that e-mails not for me, I must take that e-mail to that particular person.

Nazreen, who is very quick with her e-mails said:

> "Now, even with e-mails, e-mails is not a struggle at all. I can do it that in five minutes. I can sort through e-mails; the other day there were (inaudible) e-mails. Within 15-20 minutes I had sorted through it because I've learned how to do it in college, I know what to look out for, even, responding, I know the function I need to use (giggles)."

Adielah explains:

> "I construct some letters at times, like when complaints are laid against SAPS. The letter is given by the captains or colonels in written form which I must type as an e-mail. Sometimes I must correct the punctuation and spelling."
>
> See the following example of an e-mail:

Figure 1: Print out of an e-mail message with handwritten instructions to the clerk

Administering e-mails was a significant part of their tasks since one computer often served various members in a department, as was the case especially with Nazreen and Babalwa. This meant that they had to keep account of e-mails sent through to the station and hand these over to recipients. This means of keeping account of e-mails (with an e-mail register) also ensured that deadlines were met. They both reported keeping a hardcopy e-mail register wherein they recorded manually details about dates received and disseminated to recipient, time received, from whom it came, the subject matter and for whom it was.

In responding to e-mails, the respondents appeared to have very little agency in constructing replies freely. The particular recipients, who were usually captains and colonels, would construct the reply

roughly on the received e-mail; they simply scribbled their response on the printed e-mail which the clerk then had to use for an e-mail. In Figure 1, the Media Liaison correspondent of SAPS responded to questions posed by a journalist regarding arrests of suspects for violent protest action. The clerks report being able to do some editing with spelling, punctuation and sentence construction, but could not alter the gist of the message being communicated. The nature of this communication seemed to be strictly controlled as one respondent had an e-mail rejected because the subject line had been changed. However, two respondents indicated that there were times when they constructed e-mails to other clerks to communicate work related queries. All three respondents reported having to print the e-mails and then physically taking them to the captain or colonel because "receiving e-mails" formed part of their job description.

The literacy practice involving e-mails speaks to two central themes; textual travel and compliance for accountability. The data shows that there are traces of intertextuality and recontextualisation evident in e-mails constructed as replies since it assimilates snatches of information from the original mail. Often the original e-mail message was recontextualised to construct the reply. Clerks had to be compliant to transcribe the message communicated by the captains/colonels (consider the clerk who had an e-mail rejected because she changed the subject line).

Registers

There were also various registers that the respondents were responsible for. These included the e-mail register, accident register, duty register, custody register also called SAPS 14, fingerprint register also known as SAPS 184 and the SAPS 15 register which was to record members who were on duty. One of the respondents reported how she was able to use her own discretion when drawing up the monthly duty register for officers on standby. She was allowed to plan this register once she had liaised with officers as to their availability. Consider the following comment by Nazreen in support of this statement:

> "I also do the duty register on a monthly basis whereby officers are placed on standby. I can decide how to place officers depending on who is available, so I first liaise with the officer."

Registers seemed to be a pivotal source of information. For instance, the SAPS 14 is used to collate information for the PPPM feedback report which details information on prisoners regarding space and conditions for prisoners. This information is printed on hardcopy whilst the electronic version is

dispatched to the provincial office of SAPS. The double process of recording this task, if would appear, is for recording and reporting up. As explained by Adielah:

> "The SAPS 184 (fingerprint register) must be done in order to complete the dockets for the courts''.
> " Half past seven till about past eight, and then I'll come back to my office and then I'll do our SAPS 15 that I have to take to HR so that it can be sent away to the cluster…''
> Researcher: So what is SAPS 15?
> Adielah: It's a register of the members to book on duty.

Babalwa also explains:

> "The SAPS 14 is a custody register which the detectives need to do their feedback forms. It's a handwritten hardcover A3 sized book. Constables keep it in the charge office whereby the arresting officer completes the book."

Minutes

All three respondents had positive feedback about writing minutes. They declared that the college English curriculum had prepared them well for this task. One narrated an interesting anecdote about being asked to do minutes on the first day of her appointment as intern. She claimed that she was applauded for a job well done. The following excerpts from the interviews detail their experiences regarding writing minutes:

> "Someone else does the minutes mostly. I very seldom take minutes, only when the other clerk isn't in. The minutes are very much like the minutes taught at college."
> Nazreen: I take minutes sporadically when someone is needed like for a joint meeting.
> Nazreen: When I started as an intern, the very first day, I had to take minutes. If I didn't have the previous college experience I would have been lost, and, I interned at Wingberg, which is a big station where I was asked to take minutes. They had no-one who could take minutes. I knew no-one. It was my first two hours at the station and I said okay fine, I will go. I learned how to do minutes, and at college we did practical examples, so it's not just theory. So, I learned how to do the things and implement it.

Babalwa explained her experience:

> Babalwa: And then I had to take minutes of that lecture.
> Researcher: You had to take minutes?
> Babalwa: Yes, and before taking it I had to read those previous minutes; everyone was quiet.
> Researcher: Was it in English?
> Babalwa: Everyone listened.
> Researcher: Do you also take minutes?
> Babalwa: Yes.
> Researcher: Tell me what language do you take it in?
> Babalwa: English.

Closing of cases/dockets

Adielah, working at the Cape Flats SAPS, was the only one whose administrative tasks included closing of dockets, recording fingerprints and assisting with charging of suspects. This difference in her administrative task could possibly be due to just the division of tasks in her department, what would be called her job description. However, it could suggest a more disturbing reason related to the high crime rate in the precinct of her station. Although she indicated that she had duties with e-mails and feedbacks, during my days of observation, both days were taken up with recording fingerprints and closing dockets. This is evident in the following excerpt:

> Adielah: Closing off cases is closing documents where sentences were passed or withdrawn, but its finalized cases. It is printed then filed, but a lot of functions are carried out. It gets captured electronically and closed off electronically then sent to archives for storage. Closing off a case is done on an officer's name, from the captain and up because this function was taken away from the clerks. It's an instruction from national. But the clerk still does all of it on the officer's name.

Cases were closed off when it was finalized when sentences were passed, or the case was withdrawn. Closing off a case was done electronically involving various functions on the computer. The document was then printed and sent to the archives for storage. The function of closing off the case could only be done through an officer's name. What appears to be noteworthy is that all the information is pre-determined on a template on this system the clerk merely selects the information from the options given. The respondent stated that any other response typed is rejected by the system. The information from the file was simply transferred to the electronic CAS system.

Reporting up

Earlier I provided the rationale for categorizing the literacy tasks. I clarified that the core focus of the thesis was to investigate the patterning of literacy practices and power relations within a workplace like SAPS. The data suggests that it is through the practices of various forms of institutional structures within SAPS that power relations are perpetuated. Practices embedded in the literacy tasks ensure that paper trail can be used to trace compliance for accountability. The mechanisms of recording and reporting up were used to maintain the bureaucratic, authoritarian practices. Feedbacks were one clear way in which the clerks reported up.

Feedbacks

Apart from e-mails, the other administrative tasks that appeared to form a significant chunk of the respondents' work were the feedback reports. A feedback report is basically a synonym for a report usually on routinely scheduled activities. A report details the completion and outcome of the activities. Examples of feedback reports were feedback for business compliance, citizen-based monitoring, feedback organization, administration and control, feedback on the prisoner, population, prediction model, feedback safety police plan and feedback of provincial instruction2/2016, among others. It ranged from daily, weekly and monthly feedbacks. Consider the following excerpts in support of this statement:

> Researcher: Give me an overview of 'feedback' in SAPS context?
> Nazreen: It's basically a response to the functions and operations of the police station. There are weekly and monthly feedbacks which have to be submitted by certain given dates which are determined by national and provincial offices. Feedbacks take different forms, sometimes as a predesigned template, sometimes I design the feedback with the relevant details which could be in the excel format, tables or in paragraphs depending on the purpose of the feedback.
> Adielah: Um, I'll check like the non-suspects cause that's also part of our feedback to see if there are any suspects arrested to state if the suspects was arrested or not and I have to put the date and time of when they were arrested, and, yah, that's it.
> Babalwa: Sometimes I base my decision on, cause where – on the feedback that they give back cause each time that they do the operations they must give the feedback whether how true it is what we receive, what we have before then putting on the system, an then we will check whether our timing was right, or our timing was wrong.

Nazreen's account of the feedback taking different forms "sometimes as a predesigned template" is embedded in the ideological argument around texts being in "dialogue with both previous texts and future texts" (Bakhtin in Heffer, et al., 2013). In completing the feedback forms clerks use information collated from other sources like forms completed by officers when roadblocks are carried out or arrests are made.

The feedbacks appeared to be a means of reporting about the various tasks assigned to police stations. It served too as a control mechanism for ensuring compliance with policy stipulated by provincial and national offices of SAPS. Information for feedback forms are drawn from different registers and forms to collate on electronic registers, being a transfer of information to electronic versions. The electronic versions are then printed and stored and/or forwarded to the cluster (police stations are grouped into clusters). However, the feedback of the Operational Planning Monitoring System, also called SAPS 594, reflects with the cluster and provincial offices as the details are typed in.

Client services

A client service was any help rendered to the public by SAPS personnel to facilitate its client's personal matters. It included affidavits, certification of documents and providing police clearance.

Affidavits and clearances

All respondents reported that at times they were expected to help at the front desk called the Client Services Centre (CSC) when it was very busy. They helped with police clearance for the public since most jobs required it, and with affidavits. As most clients were reluctant to write affidavits, the clerks would end up doing it. Adielah was the one respondent who explained that the information/story for the affidavit was relayed in a language other than English, usually Afrikaans. This is what she had to say:

> "Twice a month all clerks work in CSC to help with affidavits. People often say they can't or won't write it, so we have to assist them by writing it. Most tell the story in Afrikaans then I write it in English then I read it to them and when they satisfied with what I read or wrote, then they will sign."

In assisting clients with the construction of the affidavits, Adielah engaged in what Kalman (2001) termed "literacy mediation". Kalman (2001) notes how literacy mediation' helped to clarify the literacy practices of unschooled and under schooled women in semi urban Mexico City. It was found that these women were able to navigate their way through challenging literacy requirements by engaging mediated practices. Perry (2009) expounds the concept by using the turn of phrase "literacy brokering" as a means to help people overcome literacy challenges. As suggested by the data, mediation is aimed at facilitating literacy tasks which resonates with views of the social practices approach. The task of constructing the affidavit entailed an engagement defined "by the social and communicative practices with which individuals engage in the various domains of their life world" (Hamilton, 2000:1).

I provided an analysis in this section of my raw data in support of the argument in this thesis. The analysis of the literacy tasks of the respondents was organized into chief functions and purposes in order to illuminate how it feeds into the organizational level of SAPS workplace. The findings suggest that literacy tasks are patterned through SAPS institutional structures in order to achieve and record compliancy/accountability and perpetuate embedded power relations. These principles are further revealed in the emerging themes discussed in the following section.

Emerging themes

Languaging and registers/formality and informality

A central emerging theme of the study was the tension between the institutionalized power of English and multilingual working environment. Although, unofficially, the environment shows hints of multilingualism, English, evidently, is the only official language used by SAPS in all forms of communication in their paper trail. This despite the aim of the language policy of the "Service" claiming to facilitate "functional multilingualism" (Government Gazette, 8 March 2018). There appears to be an obvious contradiction to this aim when it is detailed in the policy 'plain English is the main working language' of the 'Service'. This contradiction provided a very telling lens through which I could view this tension. Conversations overheard between colleagues in all three police stations were not only in English. In the police station on the Cape Flats, the other predominant language overheard was Afrikaans. In the one situated in the southern suburbs it was isiXhosa and in the police station located on the Atlantic seaboard, Afrikaans and some isiXhosa. Tangible proof of this tension was mirrored in the writing of affidavits, which I explore further in the following chapter.

Since Adielah worked at SAPS on the Cape Flats, most people, it seemed, were Afrikaans speaking. The area was previously defined, by the apartheid regime, as a "coloured" area which could imply that a large number of people would speak Kaaps or Afrikaans. The difference in languages seemed to be the reason Adielah claimed that most clients did not want to write their own affidavits. In excerpt 24 she explains:

> Adielah: Most tell the story in Afrikaans, then I write it in English then I read it to them and when they satisfied with what I wrote, then they will sign.

Observations of encounters with clients varied somewhat among the three stations. At the Cape Flats station, I observed three complaints being discussed with detectives; two in English and one in Afrikaans. However, in the other two stations my respondents sat alone in offices, so I was not able to witness charges being laid. But I did overhear a disgruntled client in the station situated in the southern suburbs. It was the only Afrikaans being overheard at that site. These linguistic dynamics suggest a disjuncture in the official language used by SAPS and the language used by the clients in the community the respective SAPS serve. English, evidently, holds the bureaucratic, official power entrenched in Anglo normativity to perpetuate hegemony (Makoe & Mckinney, 2009). Yet, this hegemonic position appeared to be in disjuncture with the linguistic repertoires of the local community it serves. Hence, the indexing of power

relations appear to be deeply ingrained in literacy practices in official contexts thereby prejudicing and rendering some voiceless.

These snatches of the linguistic dynamics reflect a broader multilingual environment. The preferred term being heteroglossia and often implying translanguaging (Creese et al., 2010). The following serves as an example of translanguaging – uniformed police woman's response to her colleague and my question asking where I could find Adielah:

> Police woman: O, is it daai goose.

Some people living in the study areas call this mix of English and Afrikaans "mengels". In the following extract the respondent in the southern suburbs station conversation uses isiXhosa and serves as an example of translanguaging:

> Babalwa: iparade, how many members, iemail, and then Tuesday, iThursday, customer is king, police attacks, icase number, that person ibe injured, action plan, iprogress report, iMonday before meeting, iMondays, every Monday, Tuesday istation commander, ivisits, plan the Wednesday, then iThursday police attacks, accidents reports, what you must do itrain each person from ishift, 594's, okay not a problem, sure.

In the above Babalwa had phoned an isiXhosa speaking colleague at a neighbouring police station to give advice on how each member of the shift should be trained to complete the document called SAPS 594. This sense of ''entitlement'' was due to her station receiving accolades for completion of this particular type of task.

It can also be that when a text is produced in monolingual form, the talk around it may be multilingual (Martin-Jones and Jones, 2000). The following comment from the researcher during observations is a case in point:

> Cape Flats SAPS: 11:07: Captain De Wet enters the office to give instructions (regarding closing off of documents). He speaks in Afrikaans to her. She then shifts to work in English to close off the documents.

Popular beliefs and perceptions around English being the language to mark accomplishment appeared to be deeply entrenched in the cultural and intellectual property of my respondents. They applauded the college English curriculum and found that they had been excellently prepared for the workplace.

Perceptions on language and literacy practices mirrored the dominant ideology as propagated by the schooling system. When asked what language was mostly used this is what the Nazreen had to say:

> Nazreen: It's mostly English because English is a universal language.

The respondent working in the police station situated on the Atlantic seaboard tells of the area consisting of many foreigners:

> Nazreen: The people are from Germany, a lot of Germans here, there's Spanish people, here's Russians, all over the world, but English is the one they communicate in.
> Researcher: And if the person can't speak English?
> Nazreen: Yah, sometimes they get a person that translates for them, so it's just to get to one medium so they will understand. They also mostly communicate in English.

Although the station is situated opposite an informal settlement consisting of many foreigners, she claims that the lingua franca is English. Nazreen elaborates on having a Chinese client who could not speak a word of English:

> Nazreen: It was hand signs somewhat, but luckily, they had someone that came with them that could translate.

The talk and writing around these examples of engagements with clients suggest, I contend, literacy practices of a situated, context specific, and everyday social practice kind. The multilingual practices are necessitated as a means of meaning making in the workplace. The register used on all official documents of SAPS is specific to the police service and formal. Nazreen had this to say about it:

> Nazreen: The register used on all official documents in SAPS is strictly formal. It is always "This office requests… never I or you".

Observations suggest that the personnel (clerks and uniformed staff) talk in police jargon which include acronyms and form numbers like the "DFO" (which is the Designated Firearm Officer), PPPM, 594's SAP 13, SAP 14 and other form numbers. An observation between my one respondent and a captain at her station proves this point. The following observation is reconstructed from fieldnotes:

> Captain Bredenkamp enters to speak to Adielah to verify something regarding a person (whose name he mentions). checks electronically in some saved file to verify the information the captain requested. He then says something to confirm his query by repeating a number.

Another example of the register used was with the closing off of cases. As can be noted in the following extracts, the register used was formal and specific to the literacy practices of SAPS:

> Adielah: All the information is pre-determined on the cas system. I just select the information from the options given. If you type something then the system doesn't want to accept it. It is basically a transfer of information from the file to the electronic cas system. The register is formal. The last function must be done on an officer's name on the cas system, for example, captain.

And (reconstructed from Adielah's field notes):

> The jargon used is a lot around names and numbers of forms as observed in the other SAPS sites.

And further (reconstructed from Nazreen's fieldnotes):

> Nareen calls the VISPOL policing head to remind him about a meeting at Wingberg cluster called the CCCF. Nazreen doesn't know what CCCF means.

The use of jargon specific to this context echoed how literacy practices are rooted in the social, economic and political dealings of a local site and embedded in working knowledge (Farrell, 2007).

Textual travel

A dominant central theme emerging from the data, is that of textual travel. As the clerks were engaged with daily literacy tasks like monitoring of e-mails and being jointly responsible for constructing the e-mail, and completing registers and pre-designed templates for feedbacks, mediating written texts like affidavits and being responsible for minutes, accident reports and closing off of dockets when criminal cases were finalized, the travelling of dockets and documents became apparent. These travelled between offices and agents as they navigated their way to various significant role players in the system at SAPS.

Textual travel, Heffer et al., (2013) contends, is a concept which explores the ways in which texts can be altered in social life. This phenomenon includes a series of concepts, but for the purpose of this analysis

this study will focus on intertextuality, recontextualisation, formalisations and mediation. Intertextuality is the inevitable connection between texts (Heffer, Rock and Conley, 2013). Derrida and Foucault postulate that no text can stand on its own but always refers to and quotes other previous texts. Traces of intertextuality appeared to be evident in the literacy practices of the three respondents when they had to write e-mails for captains and colonels since they contained ''snatches of other texts'' (Rock et al, 2013). The content of the e-mails was often dictated to the clerks or the responses written cryptically on the original mail received. Thus, the spoken text became a written text. The formalized, transformed written responses became recontextualised when captured on electronic templates for administrative purposes. This phenomenon of resemiotization (when semiotics are translated from one to the other) and the consequent recontextualisation seemed to be necessitated by institutional and systemic practices that are endemic to bureaucratic institutions like SAPS which are instrumental in serving a particular political and social agenda. Arend (2015), also found the phenomenon of text recreation evident in his study and draws on Gee's (2002) notions of "enactive work" and "recognition work" to determine how police documentation is created and re-interpreted across contexts. It was determined that police documents hold interpretive flexibility therefore can be susceptible to partiality (Arend, 2015).

Feedback reports were drawn from information contained in registers used to control prescribed activities of the police station. Since information was drawn from one source for another, I would contend that the practice contains not only instances of intertextuality, but also hints of recontextualisation. Information was extracted from its original context, the registers, and transformed to another setting for the purposes of report writing (Heffer, Rock and Conley, 2013). The extraction of words, phrases and textual segments from the original context is what Susan Ehrlich (in Heffer et al., 2013: 22) outlines as the "textualist" approach whereby in the search for legal focus a text can become completely divorced from its original contextualization. Ehrlich, (in Heffer et al., 2013:22) contends that it is the belief in denotational, context-free meaning that aids people to believe that parts of texts can be extracted and moved to other texts without loss in meaning. An example of this occurrence was observed in the closing off of cases. Words, phrases or chunks of textual segments were used from another source to facilitate the closing off of cases. The task of closing off a document involved a series of functions. Once the docket got back from court, information was registered and updated, then the fingerprints were dispatched, the result and sentence of the trial recorded after which the docket was closed. All these functions were captured electronically. Could it be that the automated task might render the human element obsolete? The respondent had the following to say about it in this extract:

Adielah: All the information is pre-determined on the cas system; I just select the information from the options given. If you type something, then the system doesn't want to accept it.

Textual mediation in textual travel 'involves diverse processes and technologies as means of transport' (Heffer et al., 2013: 14). It comprises talk, writing, e-mail, telephone conversation and the internet and has 'socially situated effects' on persons and events (Heffer et al., 2013: 14). The data suggests that in navigating the scope of their duties and tasks, the respondents were instrumental in facilitating processes and technologies to enable the mobility of texts.

Compliance for accountability

Compliancy for accountability turned out to be a dominant feature of the literacy practices of my three respondents. It appeared that in the bureaucratic, hierarchical working environment of SAPS, measures were implemented to ensure and facilitate the smooth running of the operations of the station. The paper trail, it would seem, was used as a means of traceability to ascertain compliancy thereby ensuring accountability. In the following extracts of data from my interviews and observations, traces of this occurrence are apparent:

Adielah: I don't write out of free will, even the e-mails are handed to me often handwritten, but sometimes on e-mails that was received from either national, provincial or the circuit. When instructions are sent from these offices to my seniors, they often hand the e-mails to me with their written responses which I have to formulate into a reply to the e-mail received. I often edit e-mails from my seniors.

Babalwa: I write e-mails with my own language but around a specific topic as in request to an instruction or in reply to one sent. I often reply to e-mails as instructed by the station. In this example the captain verbalized the information which I wrote and showed him before I sent it off. Sometimes I'm told what to write and sometimes I write the e-mail based on the required information.

Nazreen: My work is reading and writing, even with the e-mails, as I said, even if the e-mail is done incorrectly, the person on the other end might not know what I'm trying to say as it gets sent to the cluster; they have their set of rules which has to be adhered to all the times. The spelling has to be correct or else they can't submit it to the provincial office.

The data suggests that all forms of writing were strictly controlled. There appeared to be no room for any agency on the part of the clerk who had to write responses as instructed by the colleague in senior position. A very revealing insight into the measures for compliancy is reflected in Nazreen's line "…*they have their set of rules which has to be adhered to at all times".* Where respondents could send e-mails

without the captains' or colonels' authority was usually for inconsequential tasks as illustrated by the following extract:

> Nazreen: This is an e-mail in table form which I must send to notify a courier company where to dispatch a client's police clearance certificate. So I just fill in the relevant details.

Yet, the pre-designed template again hints at institutionalized measures of compliancy/ accountability. This measure of control for compliance is also evident in the following extract:

> Babalwa: My e-mail must be signed (by the captain) because I changed the subject heading in the e-mail – it was rejected because the subject line must remain the same. It had to be resubmitted since cluster consolidates for all stations.

The quest for compliancy/accountability is also telling in the following excerpt:

> Babalwa: Most of the forms, the whole police work is based on the forms and registers. Sometimes I fill something out, like the forms, basically, taken the information from something, example, how many prisoners were fed then I must calculate that information and put it in.

The above data highlights how one of the key dynamics in the SAPS work environment is the paperwork. The paper trail was used as part of regimes to ascertain compliancy or non-compliancy. Control, monitoring and compliancy to ensure accountability were regulated through the literacy tasks of the respondents. 'Textual regulation' was used as a means of surveillance and control (Farrell, 2009). The "paperwork" driven workplace is a feature of the contemporary, globalised marketplace (Belfiore, 2004) which is in keeping with trends associated with the new workplace. Yet, there appear to be tensions in SAPS between tangible traits of the practices inherited from the previous regime and the vision espoused by the ideals of the new workplace. This disjuncture is exemplified through the name change from "force" to "service". The semantics of the word "service" suggests a move away from the brutality associated with the police of the previous regime where SAPS was conceived as an enemy of the masses. "Service" implies a pledge to serve the interests of the citizens. There appears to be a tension that can be observed between the bureaucratic practices of the old and the approaches of the new workplace (Folinsbee, 2004).

Summary and conclusions

This chapter analysed the literacy practices of the three respondents at the three sites. Over and above that, it had provided a comparative overview of the three sites and explored the functions and purposes

of the literacy tasks and how they were instrumental into serving the goals of an organization like SAPS. Although some tasks were similar like the feedbacks and affidavits, what stood out in the data of the station on the Cape Flats, was the number of ''closing of cases'' Adielah was bogged down with and this task consumed both days of my observations. What is perhaps pertinent to this finding is the ''(c)rude awakening'' of the state of affairs in this SAPS station given recent media reports highlighting the understaffing of SAPS police stations on the Cape Flats with its ever-spiraling population and crime rates. The much-noted Commission of Inquiry into the policing in Khayelitsha can be used in support of this point bemoaning our beleaguered police services. In 2014, Judge Vusi Pikoli and Judge Kate O' Regan chaired a commission of inquiry into the state of policing in Khayelitsha. This commission of inquiry conducted investigations into the inefficiencies, and challenges causing systemic failures of policing in Khayelitsha (www.khayelitshacommission.org.za). Of the findings speak to challenging working conditions of police officers, relating to poverty, poor levels of infrastructure and very high crime rates and understaffing (http://www.khayelitshacommission.org.zap). One of the key recommendations made by this commission was to increase the number of detectives in the area in order to combat the high crime rates.

Chapter 5: An analysis of three literacy events

"... 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." (Barton and Hamilton, 2000: 12).

Introduction

I start the chapter with this powerful quote that I feel encapsulates the essence of this research since as Barton and Hamilton explicate any study of ''literacy practices must therefore situate reading and writing activities in these broader contexts and motivations for use'' (Barton and Hamilton, 2000: 12). In this chapter I move from the general discussion of literacy practices amongst the clerks covered in chapter four to analyse in detail three literacy events observed in the SAPS sites where I conducted my investigation. The concept of literacy event is defined by (Kell, 2009:77) as "... in the realm of everyday, observable, placed moments, study-able through ethnography." The focus on the literacy events aims to show the literacy practices surrounding these particular literacy events and how the respondents go about making meaning and navigating their way around documentation in the policing system. The aim is also to illustrate the contextualised, situatedness of these events. Since the data revealed the movement of texts through various agents and offices, textual travel was used as a means of analysis to understand how intertextual trajectories impact on the events. Using the theoretical concepts of compliancy and accountability enabled my analysis to explore how these play out in these events given the bureaucratic working environment of SAPS. The concept of mediation was also used to analyse the data from the observations and documents, for example, where texts were jointly constructed. The interplay of languages was reflected in the ''talk'' around documents and hence revealed the instrumental role in these events.

Babalwa completes a SAPS 14

The first literacy event was drawn from the SAPS site in the southern suburbs site where Babalwa worked as an administrative clerk for the VISPOL (Visible Policing).

She seemed to be very busy with much more administrative tasks than my other two respondents since she was engaged with many varied tasks during my two days of observation. So much so, that she skipped

tea time and her lunch breaks because “there’s too much work for month end’’. Her tasks also seemed to involve a lot more to and fro literally walking between offices and colleagues although it appeared to be all work related. It seemed at times that she was overwhelmed by fragmented tasks. However, I observed a literacy event which involved the writing of what are ‘’feedback reports’’, during my two days on this site.

Feedback reports appeared to form a large part of the administrative tasks assigned to Babalwa. The term feedback reports in the SAPS context is described by one respondent as “basically a response to the functions and operations of the police station and is a synonym for a report’’. A feedback report essentially serves as a progress report that details the completion and outcome of tasks. The reports can be submitted weekly, monthly or quarterly on pre-designed electronic templates. The tasks served as proof of a paper trail to enable traceability and involved different forms collating and submitting different information to the captains, cluster and/or provincial departments of SAPS. The following are types of feedback reports:

- SAPS 14 Is a prisoner register (also called custody register) which captures all relevant details of arrested detainees at the relevant station. Details captured in the prisoner register are explained below under the heading First Literacy Event.
- Prisoner Population Prediction Model (PPPM) Is a table using information drawn from the SAPS14 prisoner register for statistical purposes in respect of providing needs for detainees. See figure 5.
- SAPS 594 – This is a patrol sheet recording operations conducted by SAPS at roadblocks, schools, shopping malls, banks, taxi ranks, highways and railway lines. These operations are carried out by the Visible Policing Unit (VISPOL) so called because it is to assure the public of SAPS quest to be proactive and deter crime.
- Matrix and Operational Plan VIS11(MR)- The matrix is a consolidation of an officer’s duties performed for the month. It is also completed on a template.
- SAPS 15 – An attendance register of the members at the station.

Figure 2: Cover of the Custody/Prisoner Register Book

See attached photo of a custody/prisoner register in figures 2 and 3. In the case of this literacy event, it can be noted that the A3 book has been carefully covered with brown paper and plastic and also meticulously labelled. The SAPS flag decorated the cover as if to symbolically suggest the organisation's service and loyalty to our country and its citizens. Most outstanding on this cover was the photo that was used to reinforce the function of register. Upon closer inspection, one observes, in the foreground, two police officers arresting what appears to be a protesting citizen. The arrest seemed to be conducted with some force since the protestor was held by both arms by the officers and appeared to be lifted from the floor. I think the arrested man may have been engaging in protest because in the background of this photo other people can be observed wearing the same t-shirts. The symbol on the t-shirt is of a raised fist thereby suggesting that it may have been protest action by a union. The symbolism suggested by these visuals speaks to the law and order discourse mirrored in SAPS, as well as the concept of the ''force''.

Figure 3: Cover of the Arresting Register book

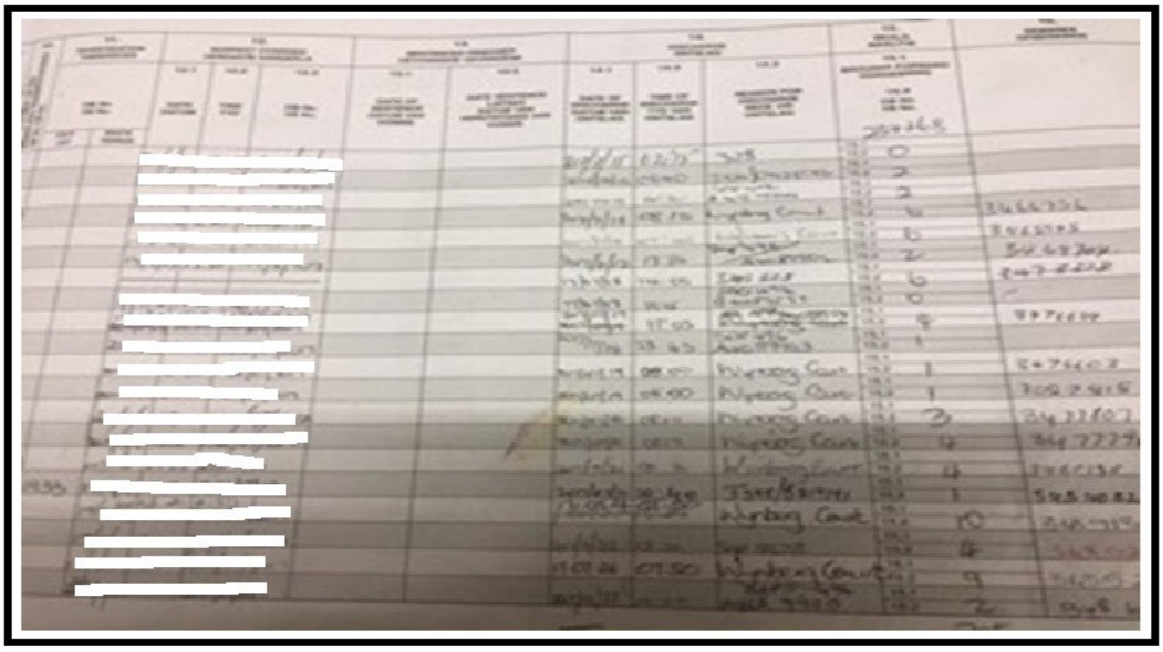


Figure 4: A SAPS 14 Custody/Prisoner Register

On the day when this event was observed, I entered the station at about 08:40. Two male constables and a female constable were present (behind the desk). I waited my turn for the policeman's attention. He

then focused his attention to me and said “next”, whereupon I told him that I was there for Babalwa and that she was expecting me. He politely said that I could go through to her office.

Upon entering her office, she greeted me and directed where I could have a seat. The phone rang in the charge office. No-one answered, so Babalwa answered (the telephone in her office is linked to the telephone in the charge office). It was a client looking for a particular sergeant. Babalwa then directed the call to the person in question. At this point she picked up the hard copy book of SAPS 14 (custody/prisoner register) and took it through to an adjacent building where the detectives were based.

The SAPS 14 (as seen in figure 2) is a prisoner register (also called custody register) of detainees held at the station. It is an A3 hardcover book which details information of the prisoner, like the name and surname, age, charge the prisoner is held for, case number, whether any exhibits were taken in, time and date of arrest (see figures 2, 3 and 4). When an arrest is made, the on-duty constable completes the book detailing the suspects’ information in it. The book is used by the detectives, the captain of the station (who submits it to the cluster) and Babalwa to draw information for various documents. Consider the following excerpt reconstructed from my field notes illustrating the function of the detectives with regard to SAPS 14:

> The SAPS 14 custody/prisoner register is an A3 handwritten hardcover book. It is kept in the charge office so that when an officer makes an arrest all the relevant details of the suspect are entered into this register. Since Babalwa is the administrative clerk, she uses the information from the custody/prisoner register to collate administrative details for the arresting register and the PPPM. On this particular day it is in her possession. I observe her taking the SAPS 14 (custody/prisoner register) to the detectives who are situated on the other side (outside the main building) of this particular station. She physically carries it and walks the distance to them. She explains to me that the detectives also use the information in the SAPS 14 custody/prisoner register to complete their feedback forms. She clarifies that this particular document is used by her, the detectives and the captain of the station to retrieve information for particular documents. On a weekly basis the form that collates what she calls ‘’criminal types” is typed on an electronic form called Provincial instruction 10 0f 2016 of activities and successes. This form is then sent to the cluster where it is consolidated with the other stations and submitted to the provincial offices of SAPS.

Figure 5 is a map drawn by Babalwa to illustrate her movement between her office and the detectives’ offices.

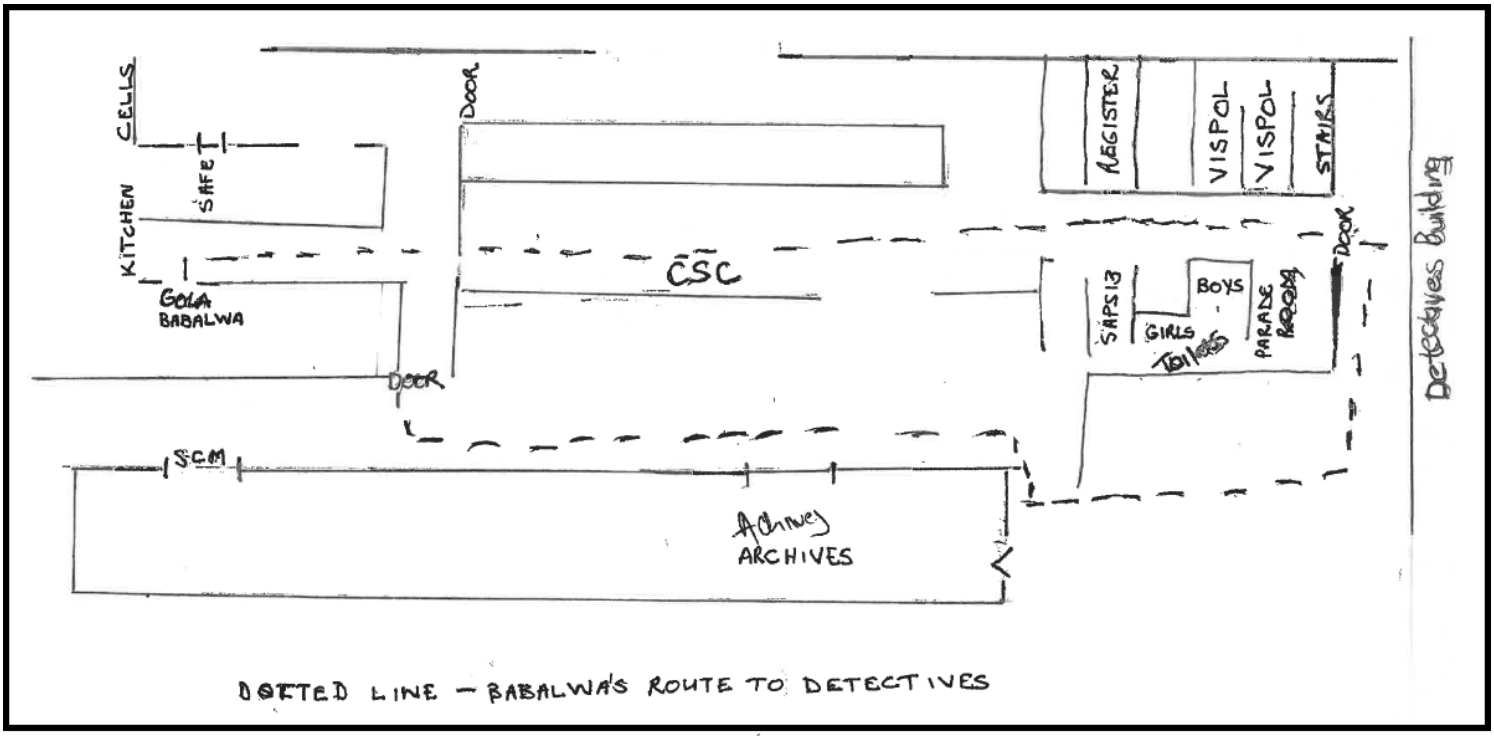


Figure 5: Map of Babalwa's walking route to the detectives' offices

At 09:40, the event proceeded, thus (reconstructed from field notes)

> Babalwa is sitting at her computer busy with the "consolidation form" on her computer. The consolidation form enables all the information to be collated onto an electronic template, which is basically information extracted from the hardcopy SAPS 14 prisoner/custody register. She types the SAPS 14 information onto the consolidation form on her computer which will be submitted electronically to the cluster. She prints the consolidation form and walks off to the captain of the station's office to give him the printed hard copy of her completed template which he will take to the cluster meeting. The cluster is a unit consisting of a number of police stations within a particular precinct. Babalwa returns from the captain's office shortly.

A little later on she had to go back to fetch the SAPS 14 prisoner/custody register from the detectives on the other side of the station because she needed to draw information from it to complete the PPPM.

> 10:42 – The information of the SAPS 14 custody/prisoner register is also used to feed information into the Prisoner Population Prediction Model (PPPM). So, she hurries off to fetch the SAPS 14 custody/prisoner register by the detectives who have their own offices on the other side of the station. She uses this information to collect details of prisoners for this particular station. The details are used to determine detainees' statistics in respect of gender, age and the number of illegal immigrants arrested. Statistics retrieved from the SAPS 14 custody/prisoner register are used to ascertain the

availability of bed space, cells and visiting facilities for detainees. The book also details how detainees were released by using the following codes as detailed below. The codes are detailed in the SAPS 14 custody/prisoner register in column 14.3. Upon inquiry as to "what" and "how" of the codes, Babalwa elaborated that it was the ''terminology of police.''

- 496 meant a detainee went to court.
- j399 indicated a detainee was released by the court.
- j398 is when the detainee was given a fine to pay, that is a certain amount on certain date depending on case.
- j534 is when the detainee admits guilt.
- SAPS328 means that there is no hard evidence and the case was withdrawn against the perpetrator.
- 496 is also used to indicate that the perpetrator was released on free bail.

  All the above information is collated on the PPPM which is a template in tabular form (see figure 6). The information is drawn from the written A3 prisoner/custody register for typing up and printing on hard copy. The typed electronic version is saved on a system that feeds to the provincial and national offices of SAPS. Provincial fetches the hard copy at year end which Babalwa files until then.

A while later, when this task is completed:

> 15:08 – She goes to make a photocopy of the most recent entry for June in the SAPS 14 custody/prisoner register. This is done in order to submit the information to the cluster since they use the information in the SAPS 14 custody/prisoner register to calculate the number of meals to be served for all the prisoners kept at the station. The document is scanned in at the front desk to send to the cluster.

The above data illustrates how interwoven the SAPS 14 is, coordinating a lot of the work in its movement among the various departments and agents in the system. In tracing the trajectory of the SAPS 14, it can be determined that it is information firstly drawn from an A3 custody/prisoner register used by constables on duty in the charge office. The arresting officer details relevant information of the prisoners in this book. The information drawn from the A3 custody/prisoner register is then recontextualised in a process of formalization when it is used to collate information electronically for the regional cluster which is then forwarded to the national and provincial offices for statistical purposes. The formalized electronic version is then printed in hardcopy which is handed to the captain of the station who takes it to the cluster meeting.

In the next recontextualization Babalwa retrieved the SAPS 14 register to collate information for the Prisoner Population Prediction Model (PPPM) (see appendix 5). The PPPM details the information for space and conditions for prisoners at the particular station. The information is formalized by being typed up where the electronic version is sent to the provincial office with the printed hardcopy being filed until ''year-end'' when provincial fetches it. The recontextualising process often involved physically carrying

the documents among the various offices and agents (Kell, 2005). The text movement illuminates the trajectory of textually mediated documents ''using either oral or written language, visual resources or other modes of communication'' (Kell, 2005:174). In this event the text trajectory appeared to shift between written language (A3 chargebook), printed hardcopy versions and electronic versions. The inevitable influences between these various documents are what Bakhtin purports as all texts being in dialogue both with previous and future texts (Rock et al., 2013:9). Rock et al., (2013) refers to it as intertextuality; the allusion being that no text can stand on its own and must contain snatches of other texts.

The literacy event reflects ''mediational means'' through the transformation of texts from speech organs, to writing and signing and the use of the computer. The hardcover A3 book used by the constables to detail prisoners' information is handwritten, but it can be concluded that verbal communication between officers and detainees precedes the detailing of information in written form which becomes formalized when transferred to the computer-generated template. The A3 hardcover book is designed to guide its user to complete only the relevant details as required at that point. This control and authority is exercised, it would seem, through the ''observable communicative forms such as choice of the words and register'' (Rock in Copland, et al., 2015:138). The plan and layout of the A3 hardcover book ensures compliancy since all the columns are designed to enable responses only in phrases and numbers, and, significantly, in cryptic language. For example, each column is numbered with words and abbreviations relevant to police jargon like the codes used specifying how detainees were released thereby curtailing further explanations, and possibly insights by the general public.

Using a social practices lens (Rock in Copland et al., 2015) to analyse the texts used by Babalwa enabled insights into the ''situatedness of writing'' (Barton et al., 2000, in Rock in Copland et al., 2015). It was revealed that Babalwa's role with the literacy tasks was instrumental to her working environment where the paper trial was used to trace accountability for compliancy (Gee et al., 1996). That her role was merely one of facilitating the administrative task of capturing information; what Rock et al., (2015) refers to as ''…the different ways that texts figure for different individuals in different situations… ''; that the task possibly outlines different functions for the captain of the station, the cluster and the provincial office. Belfiore (2004), found that local meanings of literacy were interpreted differently by workers, staff and managers. This finding also resonates the outcomes of a study conducted by Folinsbee in 2004 at the

Texco textile factory in Canada where it was found that paperwork and documentation was essential to ensure quality assurance.

The use of a template would imply a limitation on Babalwa applying any agency to the task. This is what she had to say in reply to a question posed about her having any power to change something when doing her literacy tasks: ''No, not really. Some of the things I do apply my own mind; like when doing an assessment for VISPOL commander and they want to know why an operation did not take place. Then I have a say on the reports and what can be done to prevent the task not being done again." Babalwa seems to reflect ambivalence with regard to her agency and role in the "big picture" (Gee 1996, 1999); the grand scheme of things which is further exacerbated by the workplace being separated out as units. At some point during an interview with me I asked her this:

> Researcher: Do you have an input in decision making like where what unit will go, when and what will be planned?
> Babalwa: Yes.
> Researcher: Do you have an input?
> Babalwa: Yes.
> Researcher: So you can influence the captain and what you think? It's quite an important task.

This was in response to her accounting how she as the visible policing administrative clerk sits with the captain and other role-players to plan the Crime Prevention Unit's patrolling of an area. In this account she details how she is able to have her voice heard, yet, in the first quote she claims that she does 'not really' have any agency. It would appear that certain tasks enabled her to apply her mind whilst others appeared to, through design (consider the template), constrain her. This strategy could be used as a means to ensure compliancy for accountability for statistical purposes.

The paper trial seemed to be used to cover SAPS tracks through various repetitive means of recording information. The feedback reports which speak to all the ''functions and operations" of SAPS reflected the institutionalized power embedded in an organization like SAPS. This sentiment is concurred by Hull (2000) who espouses that basic literate functions can be used to exercise or resist authority. Administrative clerks are engaged in repetitive, meaningless tasks (Gee 1996; 1999). It appears to be evident that the traditional workplace did not value the intellectual property of the worker (Gee 1996, 1999).

Because Babalwa was schooled in what can justifiably be defined as the skills based normative western literacy approach (Prinsloo and Baynham, 2013) it would appear that ''uses and meanings'' (Street in

Martin-Jones and Jones, 2000) of her workplace literacy practices remain obscured to her. Arguably, the social practices approach, according to Street in Martin-Jones and Jones (2000) enabled literacy scholars to make sense of the disparities in the ''uses and meanings'' of literacy practices.

What is evident in this event is how SAPS, through institutional design, patterns literacy practices to perpetuate existing power relations. This is achieved through the design of registers (the SAPS 14 custody/prisoner) or electronic templates. It would appear then that administrative clerks were restrained through their role of merely completing pre-designed literacy tasks by capturing from oral to formalized written and electronic templates; the same information in different formats with little opportunity for agency.

Adielah closes off cases

The second literacy event was taken from the SAPS site on the Cape Flats where Adielah works. The literacy event will focus on her administrative task called ''çlosing off cases/documents.''

''Closing off cases/documents'' seems to be an arduous task since on both my days of observation most of Adielah's time was taken up with this task. Over and above it being arduous, it appeared to be quite a serious task since any error on the side of administration could hold dire consequences for the successful conviction of the crime.

On the first day of my observation, I entered the station at 08:30 through an entrance section leading to the Client Services Centre (CSC). What was striking about this station, was the poster display in this section raising awareness around the dire consequences of gangsterism and women and child abuse detailing important contacts in the pursuit of its eradication. I found this significant since the station was located in an area known to be plagued by challenging socio-economic circumstances and all the ills that spread along the fault line of poverty. As I walked through the door to the adjoining CSC section, I observed a few clients being attended to by a uniformed policewoman and a plain clothed male colleague. The uniformed police officer approached me by saying ''yes'' to which I instantly requested to see my respondent (lest she neglected to attend to other clients who were actually there before me). I proceeded through the security gate and walked up the stairs. The first floor was a busy hub as staff went about doing their daily duties. I noted the anti-gangster posters mounted along doors and notice boards. The area in which this

station is located was classified in the previous dispensation as ''coloured'' hence, its legacy still reflected this typecasting on almost all spheres.

The corridor seemed to have no end, so I asked one of the staff to direct me to Adielah's office. She shared an office with two plain clothed detectives. She sat at one of the two desks in the office. Her desk was filled with files and paperwork and also two shelves for storing documents. There was a radio present in the office tuned to the station HeartFM. It played whole day, mostly music. Adielah sang and hummed along as she completed her tasks. This created a vibrant, homely and convivial mood in the littleoffice.

As Adielah noticed me her face lit up with a smile and she greeted me warmly with "Morning Miss". This is the title she used to address me with when she was my student. She immediately introduced me to the two plain clothed detectives and designated a seat for me to sit on. I asked her what she had been doing up until then since her day started at 07:30 already. She communicated that the usual parade was skipped for the day due to urgent feedback on the arrests made within the last 24 hours that had to be sent off to the cluster. She was then completing a fingerprint register detailing all the relevant information of suspects which had to be forwarded to Criminal Record Centre.

At 11; 10, the literacy event started: (reconstructed from field notes);

> Adielah started the administrative task of "Closing off cases". "Closing off cases" are closing documents where sentences were passed or withdrawn, but it was finalized cases. It is filed in hardcopy, but a lot of functions are carried out. It gets captured electronically and closed off electronically then sent to the archives for storage. Strangely, closing off a case is done on an officer's name (from captain and up) since this function was taken away from the clerks. Adielah did not know why because it was an instruction from national office. But the clerk still did all the functions of closing off a case on an officer's name. The functions of closing off the case electronically were as follows:
>
> - 4.10.4 –Received dockets back from court
>   5.1.1 – Registered and updated part A of document
>   6.3 – Dispatched fingerprint forms (SAPS 69)
>   6.4 – Result of trial
>   6.5 – Sentence
>   4.14.1 – Closing of dockets
>
> All the information was pre-determined on the cas system. The cas system is the electronic system used to complete the function of "closing off cases". Adielah just needed to select the information from the options given by the system. "If you type something then the system doesn't want to accept it. It is basically a transfer of information from the file

> to the electronic cas system*".* The register used by the system is formal. The last function had to be done on an officer's name on the cas system, like a captain and not her own as with the other functions.

But, in the following extract Adielah expresses a discontent regarding the fact that clerks can no longer use their names to close off cases:

> "I feel I'm unethical, incompetent, done something unethical because some clerks messed up while closing dockets. But the clerk still does it since officers don't' have time, but then the officers will be accountable for the errors.''

Evident in the above extract is the trajectory of the text as it travels from court back to the police station where it was recontextualised in a ''process of formalization and translation when they became items on the computer-generated list'' (Kell, 2005). The pre-determined system also eliminates any possibility of the clerk engaging agency. This speaks to the system evident in the structures of SAPS that reflects bureaucracy and hierarchy, an overriding feature of more traditional workplaces. Gee et al., (1996) elaborates that the traditional workplace saw the emergence of low-level workers and middle managers that engendered job descriptions along the lines of hierarchy thereby entrenching division in roles. To ensure measures of accountability, the division of roles was also entrenched through the implementation of the measure that ''closing off cases/documents'' can only be done in ''an officer's name.'' The regimentation of roles enabled accountability to be pushed up the ranks and implied that the clerks were too insignificant to blame. Adielah had to use an officer's name to carry out the last function of ''closing off cases/documents.''. So, although she completed the task, her 'intellectual property' was not valued per se, only the physical labour; her colleague in the higher rank got the acknowledgement. Another determining feature of the traditional workplace was that ''knowledge'' was required to be vested in middle managers (Gee, 1996). Gee, (1996: 17) articulates the notion of being hired ''from the neck down'' and claims that the traditional workplace was complicit in developing the worker as an individual only, so that in the fragmented organization they could be kept in the dark of the ''big picture'' (Gee, 1999).

Control, it would seem, emerges as a key feature in Adielah's literacy practices. Farrell (2009) defines control as a key concept in global workforce tenets, oddly, a feature that is common to traditional and new workplaces as revealed through this data. Yet, the situatedness of these literacy practices does show features of the NLS approach: The literacy practices appear to be rooted in social and political goals through the rigidity of templates strictly controlling clerks' responses; thus, the literacy practices were situated and specific to the framework of SAPS work order and environment (Gee, et al, 1996).
And further:

12:11- Lt. Col. Van Breda enters to ask Adielah to close dockets and says she must do it immediately. She says it's an old docket, so she just does the last function (on the electronic cas system).

Again, I witness control and compliancy through bureaucracy. Adielah is told to do the task ''immediately''. No choice is given to the clerk; she was instructed without pardon or further explanation. Farrell, (2009) claims that textualisation of work is used as a means of surveillance and control of relationships between workers and workers and organizations; This is also articulated by Smith (1999) in Farrell (2009) who claims that text-mediated relations are one of the forms in which power is exercised in modern societies. Literate practices also serve as a means of constructing social and ideological identities in the workplace and is instrumental in regulating worker identity and working relationships (Farrell, 2009).

The following extract is taken from my interview with Adielah:

Adielah: I enjoy what I'm doing, um, there is a few challenges that I have. Sometimes, if there's like I do closures, like sometimes there's a docket, then, maybe I won't be able to close the docket. Maybe there's something wrong. Sometimes, it's the sentence. The case was withdrawn, but then on the system it shows guilty and then it's a challenge for me because I have to struggle to change a charge of which we cannot do. Then what we have to do is we have to send an e-mail to the LRCR (Criminal Record Centre) so that they can change it on their side and then we are only able to change the charge on the system.

The above extract reflects how Adielah is not enabled on the system to bring about changes to an error. The extract too suggests that there may be measures of incompetence and/or lack of skills. Again, it became evident how basic literate functions in using literacy could be used to exercise or resist authority' (Hull, 2000). This serves as another form of control and surveillance through bureaucracy.
She elaborates the point:

Researcher: Closure is closing a case off; someone wasn't formally charged?
Adielah Um, we have different types of dockets that we close. We get our withdrawal docket where the docket was nollied which means the prosecutor don't wanna proceed with the case; there was a suspect, but the person doesn't want to continue with the case. Then you get the withdrawn docket where the person was charged, went to court, but then the complainant still withdrawn the case. Then we have our guilty dockets and our undetected dockets. Undetected dockets is basically theft of a dustbin, the motor of the gate was stolen. We have our ZP cases; the window was broken so it's undetected. We have our unfounded dockets there's basically no investigation into it so yes.
Researcher: What do you struggle with?

> Adielah: Certain charges between charge I and 2, the clerks and uniform people make the charge with an alternative charge, then I have to change it and it involves functions to be filled in that I have to change.

From the above extracts it would appear that ‘‘closing off cases/documents’’ was an intricate task that involved multiple modes of communication. The cases/ documents that were ‘‘closed off’’ also came in different ‘‘types of documents.’’ The most outstanding findings in Adielah’s task of “closing off cases”, were, as observed in Babalwa’s event, the means through which measures of control, compliancy, power and knowledge were exercised by systemic bureaucratic procedures. Computer generated templates and pre-designed hardcopy written documents all served to ensure the ‘obedience’ and constraint of the clerks in this site.

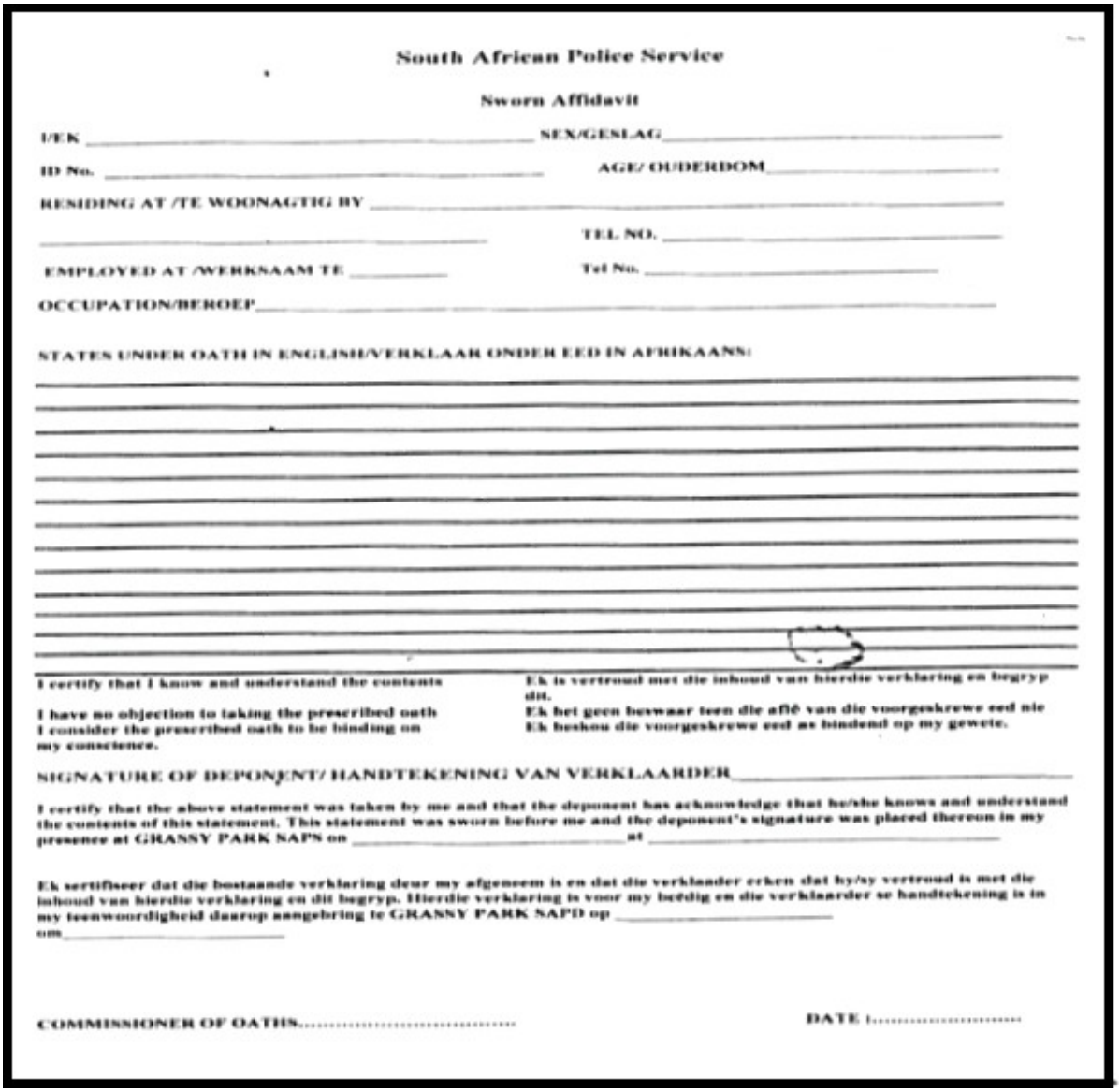
“They can’t or won’t write it…”: Adielah takes affidavits

The third literacy event was retold to me by the respondent, Adielah, who works at the SAPS station on the Cape Flats. This is her account of her role in helping clients at the Client Services Centre (CSC) desk at her station.

> Adielah: Twice a month all clerks (on different days) work in CSC to help with affidavits. “People often say they can’t or won’t write it, so we have to assist them by writing it. Most tell the story in Afrikaans then I write it in English then I read it to them and when they satisfied with what I read (wrote), then they will sign” (She relates this as she shows me the affidavit form).

The above account of data exemplifies the disjuncture in the rhetoric of the LIEP (1997) and the reality of the language and literacy practices happening in SAPS. The finding reflects the systemic hegemony of English as the ‘‘main working language of the Service’’ (Government Gazette, 8 March 2016) for official documents. In Policy 1 of 2016, ‘‘The Use of Official Languages’’ in the South African Police Service, it is enshrined that the aim of the language policy of the ‘‘Service’’ is, among others, to facilitate ‘‘functional multilingualism’’ in its acceptance of linguistic diversity and language rights (Government Gazette, 8 March 2016). Yet, under a sub heading called “Policy Description” it details that ‘‘Plain English is the main working Language of the Service and it should be used in all official documents’’ (Government Gazette, 8 March 2016). Notwithstanding this, the next fact contradicts this statement by claiming to promote indigenous languages through ‘‘rotation principle… Verbal (meetings and instructions) communication will be in English and the applicable indigenous languages as provided for in paragraph 8 (1) a, ‘‘based on target audience.’’ In the Western Cape the three languages up for rotation would be English, Afrikaans

and isiXhosa. In perusing this document, I cannot find any explicit explanation of the exact meaning of the ''rotation principle.'' Could it mean the rotation of the three indigenous languages in the Western Cape? Who knows for the meaning is somewhat blurred? So, the predominantly Afrikaans speaking community of this particular police station was somewhat compromised in writing their own affidavits due to the ''imposition'' of written English. The affidavit document is bilingual, however in English and Afrikaans (see figure 7). But SAPS apparently want the ''working language'' to be used for all official documents. However, the ''functional multilingualism'' (Government Gazette, 8 March 2016) and the ''multiple ways people draw on codes of communication when writing and speaking'' (Martin-Jones and Jones, 2000) seemed to be instrumental in the completion of this literacy task. Although the text was written in English only, the talk around the text was multilingual (Martin-Jones and Jones, 2000).



South African Police Service

Sworn Affidavit

I/EK _____ SEX/GESLAG _____

ID No. _____ AGE/ OUDERDOM _____

RESIDING AT /TE WOONAGTIG BY _____

_____ TEL NO. _____

EMPLOYED AT /WERKSAAM TE _____ Tel No. _____

OCCUPATION/BEROEP _____

STATES UNDER OATH IN ENGLISH/VERKLAAR ONDER EED IN AFRIKAANS:

I certify that I know and understand the contents

I have no objection to taking the prescribed oath
I consider the prescribed oath to be binding on my conscience.

Ek is vertroud met die inhoud van hierdie verklaring en begryp dit.
Ek het geen beswaar teen die aflê van die voorgeskrewe eed nie
Ek beskou die voorgeskrewe eed as bindend op my gewete.

SIGNATURE OF DEPONENT/ HANDTEKENING VAN VERKLAARDER _____

I certify that the above statement was taken by me and that the deponent has acknowledge that he/she knows and understand the contents of this statement. This statement was sworn before me and the deponent's signature was placed thereon in my presence at GRANNY PARK SAPS on _____ at _____

Ek sertifiseer dat die bostaande verklaring deur my afgeneem is en dat die verklaarder erken dat hy/sy vertroud is met die inhoud van hierdie verklaring en dit begryp. Hierdie verklaring is voor my beëdig en die verklaarder se handtekening is in my teenwoordigheid daarop aangebring te GRANNY PARK SAPD op _____
om _____

COMMISSIONER OF OATHS.....

DATE :.....

Figure 7– An Affidavit Form

She elaborates the language point further in an interview with me:

> Researcher: So, tell me about your experiences in dealing with the public, how they make meaning. The language they speak mostly?
>
> Adielah: So, what happens is if people come in, they ask to speak to a detective. They first send them to a detective. People first come into this office where we'll listen to what the problem is. Then we'll assist them, give them advice about what to do. Most people in this community here is Afrikaans speaking. So…
>
> Researcher: They speak to you in Afrikaans.
>
> Adielah: Yes.
>
> Researcher: And then, when they speak to you in Afrikaans, what do they write? What writing do you do?

Adielah: Okay, we don't exactly write (inaudible) dockets here on top; we assist the public, we don't write anything. We just give them verbal advice and tell them verbally what to do. Then they have to go to the bottom to open a case because case dockets get opened at the bottom.

Researcher: And when it's opened there, in what language is the charge laid?

Adielah: English.

Researcher: English? So, this person lays the charge in Afrikaans and they write it in English?

Adielah: Some of the people at the bottom are Africans, and they want the people to speak in English. English and Afrikaans but the statement is in English.

Researcher: So, would you, in your experience of working with people here, you say the dominant language is Afrikaans, but they can manage English, but would you think that some things are lost in translation or misunderstandings?

Adielah: Sometimes people are like, especially the African people, if (inaudible) in Afrikaans, then they'll tell the person to speak in English, but now the person speaks the mixed language, English/Afrikaans.

Researcher: Oh, they talk like mengels.

Adielah: Yah. (laughs).

Researcher: The person taking the statement could be like a Xhosa speaking person? Do you think if they talk mengels they will understand?

Adielah: They understand.

This account reveals Adielah's somewhat elementary understanding of the implications of the literacy practices in her workplace; the overt bias towards English and the marginalization of the African languages of the region which, through the very nature of our Constitution is a violation of basic human rights and could compromise the outcome of cases. But what is albeit tragic-comic of her account in this data, is the othering of her colleagues based on what seemed as typecasting. Yet, although linguistic barriers may exist, ''mengels'' the colloquial term for the mixing of English and Afrikaans appeared to be understood by the different language speakers thereby serving as a linguistic bridge in this multilingual context. It seemed that Adielah did not find it unusual or questionable to be in an English dominated environment. She was after all a mother-tongue English speaker and a product of the normative western-dominated curriculum of our schooling system. As my student at the TVET College the curriculum taught her English only as the language in which to orientate herself. She, along with other mother-tongue English speakers, was favoured by the design of the schooling system. I observed snatches of this privilege in her interview with me when I asked how she would rate the college curriculum on a scale of 1 to 10: "I will say 10''. When I expressed surprise at her selection of ten, she responded: "It taught me a lot like spelling of words and pronunciation of words. So, it helped me a lot''. When I asked her if she thought any changes had to be brought about to the current curriculum, this is what she had to say: "Okay, the English curriculum taught me very well. Like I said it taught me with pronunciation, spelling of words, and yes, I don't think

they need any improvement because the people they appoint to do it was very good. It prepared me very well''. This sentiment not only proved that she turned out to be the ideal product of the decontextualized, skills-based language approach prevalent in our schooling system, but also served to support the contention of this study that the literacy practices of social institutions were instrumental in perpetuating the status quo in and serving as a marker of success and mobility. Consider her comment on ''pronunciation'' reflecting her perceptions around "correctness". This finding resonates my opening quote by Barton and Hamilton (2000) that speaks of the patterning and power of literacy practices by social institutions, especially through the organs of the state like schools and the police service.

Despite SAPS foregrounding English as the ''Service'' working language, ''the contemporary world reflects multilingualism'' (Heath and Street, 2008: 5). The theorists clarify their position by explaining how children in South African villages often understand and speak five languages before they go to school; yet upon entering school they are taught to read and write in two only with English being the dominant language (Heath and Street, 2008:5). Multilingualism, is has been proven, is seen as the norm among political, educational and business leaders in India, Indonesia, and in Africa and the Pacific (Heath and Street, 2008).

Through the mediation of literacy, the respondent helped the client by using their literacy skills on a formal or informal basis to complete the affidavit (Baynham, 1995). Rock et al., (2013: 17) explains ''mediation as an interactional process through which meanings are negotiated in the most literal sense.'' Another sense of defining meditational means is through talk, writing, email, telephone conversation and the internet (Rock et al., 2013). So, in listening to the client relate their tale in Afrikaans and writing it then in English, the respondent used the mediational means of talk and writing.

Exacerbating the ''blurred line'' is the lack of clarity among the clerks of the language policy's interpretation since all three my respondents emphatically confirmed to me that English was the only official language used by SAPS.

Summary and conclusions

In this chapter I observed three literacy events at two of the sites where I conducted my research. The thrust of my argument in this study is that the literacy practices that my subjects engaged with in a workplace like SAPS are designed to regiment and constrain clerks to ascertain compliancy/accountability in the subliminal agenda of the politics of SAPS. The paper trail was the means through which SAPS

ensured its social and political agendas were served. The first literacy event looked at the 'feedback reports'' which was basically a report capturing the completion and outcome of tasks. It was captured by various agents in the system and carried agency since it was used to complete various other literacy tasks. "Closing off cases/documents" exemplified the compliancy/accountability and control since the respondent related how the system would not accept any other response that was not programmed on the pre-designed system. She also expressed frustration at being unable to close off cases on her name, possibly having too insignificant a role to take responsibility for the task. What stood out in the account of the affidavit were the overt disjuncture in the SAPS language policy and the literacy practices in this particular site. "Functional multilingualism" turned out to be rhetoric that remained, well, just that, only rhetoric transcribed in some policy. The data revealed that the reality was far removed from the intentional ideal. The hegemony of English and consequent marginalization of our African languages, was perpetuated through the literacy practices in these three events.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Overview of the study

This small-scale ''ethnographically-oriented'' case study (Green et al, 2004) focused on the literacy practices of SAPS clerks at three police stations in the Cape metropole. The study revealed that the fragmentation of the respondents' work into ''bits and pieces'' (Gee, 2002) reflected traditional capitalist workplace practices, focusing on the construction of effective individual workers. The fragmentation of work practices also resonated with the schooling system's skills-based approach and fragmented syllabus whereby recipients gain only an understanding of texts as isolated units rather than on texts as part of wider organizational processes. An analysis of literacy tasks also revealed the systemic perpetuation of the status quo, like the hegemony of English, and the social and political goals of the state organ, SAPS, which seemed driven by the need for accountability rather than the need for "service".

By using the NLS lens to conduct my investigation, I was able to determine how literacy practices were embedded in context. The NLS approach, I found, was an important resource for understanding how literacy practices functioned to maintain the status quo. The work of Gee (1996; 2002) and Arend (2015), among others, enabled understanding the dimensions (or lack thereof) of the "new capitalism" in the new workplace and provided a useful analytical tool for researching a workplace like SAPS, which seemed to merge 'old capitalism' with some new workplace features. Heffer, Rock and Conley (2013) provided the theoretical tools for exploring the phenomenon of textual travel which embraced the concepts of intertextuality, recontextualisation, formalisations and mediation. The dominance and hegemony of English in SAPS official documents could be explored through the works of De Klerk (2002), Martin-Jones and Jones (2000), and Blackledge, et al, (2014) who write about multilingual working environments.

Reflections on the findings

The data shows that through the fragmentation of the tasks the clerks were unable to see or fully comprehend the whole from the parts because the ''grand scheme of things'' remained ''blurred'' to them through the design of tasks. The paper trail, it would appear, was used as a mechanism to subtly ensure compliancy for accountability and in so doing regiment the clerks. Tasks were often repetitive, and many times appeared to be meaningless to the clerks because they could often not explain the rationale of a task or how particular tasks connected with wider processes. It seemed that through these control

mechanisms the ''voice'' and ''agency'' of the intern/clerk was silenced and her intellectual input was not valued.

The data findings also suggest that institutional language practices reflect the dominant societal perceptions that abound around English. The data overwhelmingly reflects a disjuncture in SAPS language policy and the use of English-only for tasks. SAPS language policy prescribes the use of ''functional multilingualism'' and ''additive multilingualism'' but documents should all be in ''plain English". This somewhat confusing, contradictory language policy is echoed in the rhetoric by the respondents who all emphatically state that English is the only language used in SAPS. An interesting insight into this finding is the consequence of the schooling system on these respondents. Having come through the public schooling system where the dominant curriculum was premised on the skills-based approach, their knowledge, arguably, is partial, and they internalize the language ideologies that position English as dominant and necessary. The data shows that the respondents' felt that they had been well prepared by the college curriculum, per se, since most of their workplace literacy tasks had been taught at college. Yet, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the fragmented work tasks mirror the fragmented school syllabus.

Another finding perhaps not directly linked to my sub questions, but important nonetheless to the context of this study is the impact of the historical legacy on the literacy tasks of the three stations used in this study. What is significant is that the respondent in the station at the Cape Flats was inundated with ''closing off cases''. If one considers the socio-economic circumstances of all three stations, this one is in an area previously defined as ''coloured'' with very challenging living conditions and highly inequitable allocation of police officers across suburbs in the city, with previously disadvantaged areas being severely under-resourced.

Recommendations

Further research into the literacy tasks of SAPS clerks could help provide further insights into understanding the role of tasks in regimenting of clerks. Further insights gained through research could set off a course to embrace as Gee, (et al, 1996) has argued more principles of the new work order as it will enable workers to fulfill empowered and productive roles. Gee (2000) claims that workers, through the principles of the new work order are able to understand the whole process which engenders collaboration and teamwork.

Since our formal schooling system is pivotal in the shaping of literacy competency, it would help if the schooling system could develop a language curriculum taking up some NLS principles. Like Papen (2005) I too call for a ''hybridization'' of the two methodologies, namely, a merging between the skills based and social practices approaches. I argue that the skills-based approach holds value and could help with literacy development. Yet, as Street (in Martin-Jones and Jones, 2000) reminds us that the social practices approach students could make sense of differences in uses and meanings of literacy practices because it helps create critical readers and thinkers.

It is further important to implement the intended language policy of SAPS that speaks of ''additive multilingualism''. To this end, it would benefit all to engage in ''functional multilingualism'' in order to promote a multilingual environment and give equal status to African languages Furthermore, this could hold crucial implications for the legal-lay system central to a workplace like SAPS as many a meaning making could be lost in translation. Clarity on the interpretation of SAPS language policy should be provided for implementation without prejudice.

Since the remnants of our historical legacy impacts on the findings of the literacy tasks on the Cape Flats SAPS, the urgent need to address and redress inequalities in the policing demographics for previously disadvantaged areas, is critical. However, it would appear as if a plan to address the policing needs is being hatched if the Provincial Policing Needs and Priorities (PNP) Report for the Western Cape 2016/17 is anything to go by. This report states one of the objectives as considering the allocation and deployment of policing and safety resources to address local and district municipalities. There is a dire need for meaningful engagements and platforms to address the shortage of police officers in certain communities where deeply rooted societal ills compound our severely stressed police service.

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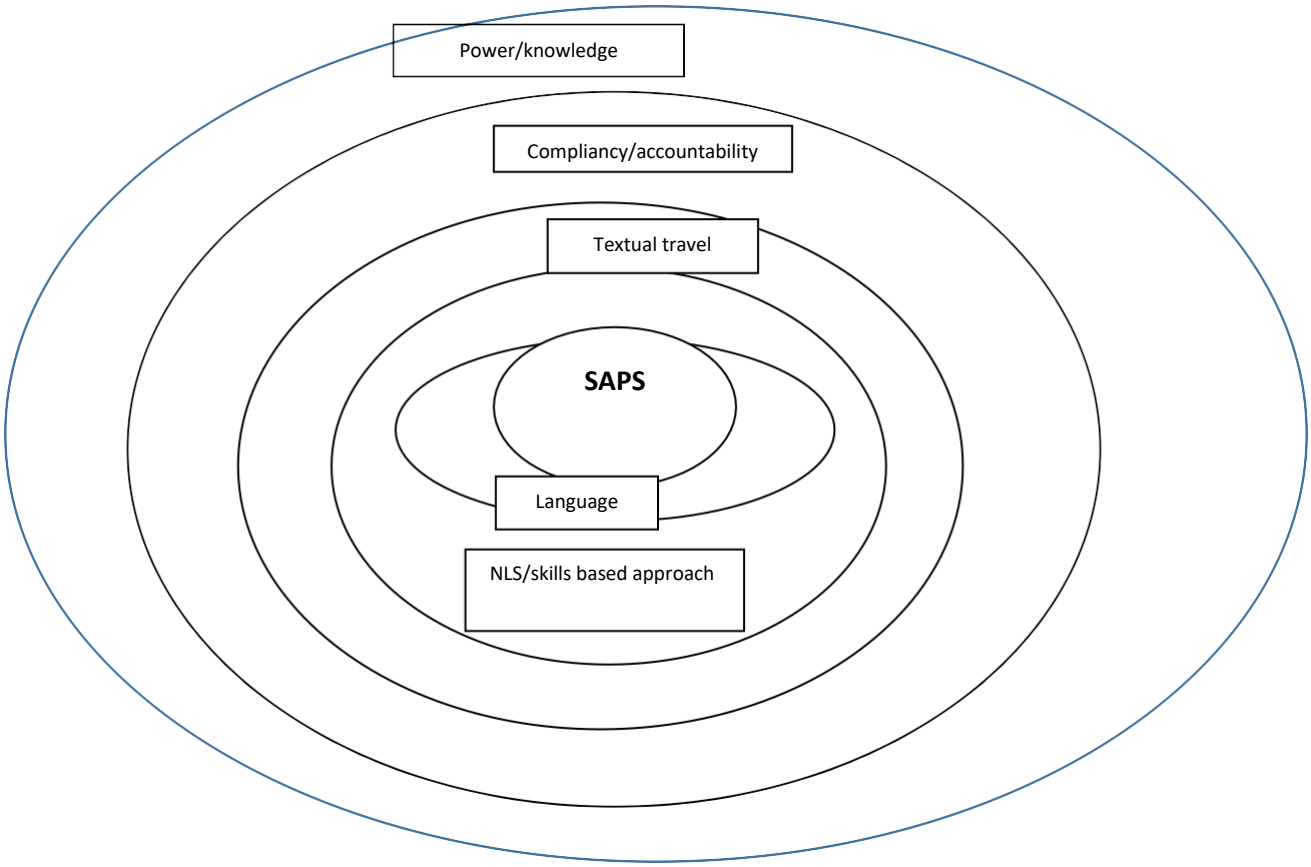
Appendices

Appendix 1: Summary of concepts

KEY CONCEPT	SUMMARY OF KEY CONCEPT
New Literacy Studies (NLS)	Basically a set of social practices, different literacies are associated with different domains in life, power relations are entrenched in literacy making some more dominant than others; literacy is rooted in social goals and cultural practices making and is historically situated (Prinsloo and Baynham, 2013).
New Literacy practices	These are reading and writing skills that through the NLS lens can be defined as relational concepts, defined by social and communicative practices of various domains of the individual's life world. Mary Hamilton (2000).
Social practices	Literacy should be viewed as embedded in social practices which innately indexes solidarity, power and status (Gee, 2004).
Traditional and new workplace	The traditional workplace mirrored old mass market capitalism with two sorts of workers, namely, low-level workers and middle managers (Gee, 1996). Jobs were defined along the lines of hierarchy and bureaucracy. The new workplace were characterised by teamwork, looking at the knowledge as well as the personality of the worker (Champy 1995 in Gee, 1996).

multilingualism	A term encompassing a whole range of communicative repertoires and focuses on the multiple ways people draw on codes of communication when writing and speaking (Martin-Jones and Jones, 2000).
Textual travel	A term used to define the way texts move through institutional processes and are transformed during their journey (Rock, 2013).
Literacy mediation and brokering	When texts are jointly constructed due to linguistic disparity (Kalman, 2001), Kell (2008), Baynham and Masing (2000).
Intertexuality	The unavoidable influences between texts; the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts (Kristeva, 1980, in Rock, et al, 2013).
Compliancy	he monitoring, recording and implementation with Standard Operating Procedures in all areas of the work process (Jackson, 2004).

Appendix 2: A diagrammatic illustration of the theoretical development of the literacy practices of the respondents



Appendix 3: A typical day of a SAPS clerk

A typical day of a SAPS clerk – Nazreen in SAPS on Atlantic seaboard

07: 30: Parade – This was a meeting in order to provide a general briefing for the day with various components (departments) of the station like the Crime Prevention Unit (CPU) and some administrative staff. It is also the only time when all components (departments) are together in one room. This meeting lasts on average about 15 to 30 minutes depending on the issues to be discussed. The police station consists of various components also called departments like the detectives, VISPOL, and support which comprises HR, finance, registration and supply chain.

07:45: Nazreen gets to her office and e-mails and feedbacks are checked. These are the weekly routine feedbacks.

07: 45 – 10:15: Monitoring e-mails coming through for various staff, completion of feedbacks and registers and answering telephone calls.

10:30 – 11:00: Tea break. Nazreen remains in the office but takes a break from the administrative tasks.

11:35 - A call comes through which Nazreen answers in English. It is a call from the VISPOL commander (of the station) to verify that Nazreen had submitted a document to the cluster VISPOL commander.

11:40 – She is busy with e-mails that came through during the tea break.

11:47 – Nazreen pops out of the office to get the colonel to sign a supply chain certificate for their firearm stock to take to the cluster.

11:50 – Another administrative clerk (Nazreen's senior) enters the office to hand her the hardcopy delivery of a PCC (police clearance certificate) by a courier company. Nazreen is asked to notify the courier company which will dispatch this particular certificate to the client. She sends an e- mail to the courier company asking them to collect and deliver the PCC (see appendix number *). 11:59 – She answers a call in English. It is from one of her colleagues enquiring about the whereabouts of another colleague.

12:00 – Two young men enter the office. The one is an administrative clerk for the detective branch at this station, the other man a client seeking an application form since he wants to join SAPS. She

prints a copy of this form for the client. The male clerk is also the union representative for POPCRU and discusses with Nazreen his plan to challenge what he called an autocratic decision about the clerks' leave. Nazreen engages in a long conversation with her senior colleague and me, the researcher, about everyday things.

12:30 – 13:30 – Lunch break – She stays in the office engaging in idle chatter with researcher and some colleagues.

13: 29 – She prints an e-mail about exhibits for evidence in a crime case and takes it to the relevant recipient which is the SAPS 13 officer for feedback on how many firearms are in the safe.

13:37 – She sends an e-mail to the MIO (Management of Information Officer) to request passwords from IT to enable accessibility for some clerks. (Once the request is granted for these passwords she scans in a completed form (in English) to the provincial office advising that office of the request). Requesting passwords for clerks' forms part of her job description.

13: 45 – The MIO comes into the office to do some work on the computer. Nazreen gets up to give her access because only her computer is able to receive 'intranet' which is the police network. The officer takes about 10-15 minutes at Nazreen's computer.

14:02 – Nazreen prints more e-mails to hand out to the recipients ''to inform them about daily business ''.

14:04 – A uniformed female constable enters the office to use the computer. Nazreen gives way to allow access to the computer. The warrant officer is the MIO officer who deals with domestic violence and missing children. She needs to use the e-mail facility since she needs to inform one of the mothers that her missing child was spotted. Nazreen informs me that not all the computers are linked to e-mails. She (the MIO officer) spots me sitting in the corner and retorts: "You again!" I respond: "Don't worry; I'm out of your way by tomorrow." (I think the remark laced with sarcasm and territorial undertones). Nazreen giggles awkwardly.

14:25 – An e-mail comes through for the MIO and Nazreen prints it. The MIO needs the information on the e-mail to complete a certificate. Nazreen goes out of the office to hand it to the officer, so that she can complete the task.

14:26 – The HR officer comes in and asks for a template. She copies the template on USB for the human resources department. Although she already handed a hardcopy to them, they need the electronic version sent from the provincial offices for the collation of information (all information is sent to her computer because it is the only one linked to intranet).

14: 38 – Her senior colleague enters the office and a conversation ensues about birthdays and pay days. The conversation is conducted in English. The senior engages me in a conversation about how she has to talk in English and Afrikaans to make Angolans understand her. She elaborates the point by explaining that the Angolans understand Afrikaans more than English since they are a lot at sea, mixing with Afrikaans – speaking fishermen.

14:40 – Nazreen calls the VISPOL policing head to remind him about a meeting at Wingberg cluster called CCCF. She cannot tell me what CCCF stands for.

14:47 – She calls the vehicle fleet management within her SAPS site to collect a car that was fixed since she received an e-mail advising her of the collection.

14:59 – Her senior colleague calls her telephonically to say that she is leaving.

15:09 – A colleague enters asking for the Z83 form, but it no longer exists because there is a new updated form that replaced the Z83. The Z83 was an application form for posts. Nazreen explains that the new form is quite comprehensive consisting of many pages.

15:11 – Day ends.

Appendix 4: A table of SAPS clerks' tasks

Table 1: Analysis of Babalwa's tasks

Respondent	Literacy task	Purpose of task	Organisational function
Babalwa	Compiles feedback reports (called "feedbacks").	It is basically a response to the functions and operations of the police station which serves as a progress report detailing the completion and outcome of tasks.	Reporting up for monitoring purposes to the cluster, provincial and national levels.
	Answers and forwards e-mails	Manages the VISPOL e-mails but replies based on verbalised instructions from the captain. (VISPOL being an acronym for ''visible policing'' department of a SAPS station).	Reporting up to the VISPOL head and keeps record of having dispatched the e-mails to the relevant recipients.
	Compiles the grid with the VISPOL head (planning for VISPOL patrolling operations) The grid is the operational plan for a week for a station based on priority crime.	Helps plan the grid for VISPOL operations like patrols. The grid is a duty roster detailing when and where patrolling would be executed by the VISPOL members.	Organising and regulating work. The grid is also sent to the operational room of cluster who manages the operations of officers on duty and respond to radio calls of these officers.
	Fills in register of losses and recovery of firearms	Verifies firearms that may have been handed in, lost or stolen.	Record keeping for supply chain who keeps account of firearms in order to prevent corruption.
	Takes minutes of meeting	Takes minutes of the monthly station lecture.	Reporting up and record keeping within the station.

Table 2: Analysis of Nazreen's tasks

Respondent	Literacy task	Purpose of task	Organizational function
Nazreen	Draws up certificates (in hardcopy).	Certification is handed out at the completion of specific tasks, for example, "Compliance Certificate" whereby the Shift Commander verifies that complaints received during his/her shift have been attended to.	Reporting up and record keeping. The commander of the station signs the hardcopy which is scanned in and sent to the provincial office which then gets sent from there to the national office.
	Collates feedback reports in different formats, for example, in excel, some power point and some hardcopy.	Collates electronically the feedbacks received from various support staff to forward to the cluster.	Reporting up The electronic copy is sent to the cluster and provincial offices. The electronic version is printed and filed in her office.
	Answers and forwards e-mails	Sends and receives e-mails by handing it to the relevant person. Keeps record of the e-mails in a register to ensure the relevant person receives it and deadlines are met. The e-mail register is a hardcopy book wherein she manually records the date, time, sender, and subject and for whom it is intended.	Reporting up and record keeping since she receives the e-mails for the whole station and must dispatch it responsibly.
	Police clearance certificates	Police clearances for the public since certain jobs require it.	Client services. Sent for clearance to the Criminal Record Centre.

	Writes affidavits	Helps with affidavits when the CSC desk is very busy.	Client services. The clients keep their affidavit.
	Duties register for officers being placed on standby.	The duty register is done on a monthly basis for placing officers on standby for higher ranking duties. The register is only given to those doing standby duty.	Record keeping and reporting up to higher ranking officers.
	Takes minutes of meetings	She takes minutes when someone is needed sporadically. The chairperson of the meeting verifies the minutes before dispatching it.	Record keeping and reporting up. The various components/departments each hold daily meetings called ''parades''; station commander, VISPOL commander, communications officer,and support head. Only the highest ranking officers are allowed to chair the meetings, for example, the captains.
	Maintains personal files (files of personal information of personnel in the station)	Files of personal information of members in the station.	Record keeping for all members of the station. HR does checks on the files.
	Accident reports	Takes accident register from the CSC desk to record into the hardcopy Accident Register (AR)	Record keeping. The Accident Data Bureau collects the hardcopies fortnightly.

Table 3: Analysis of Adielah's tasks

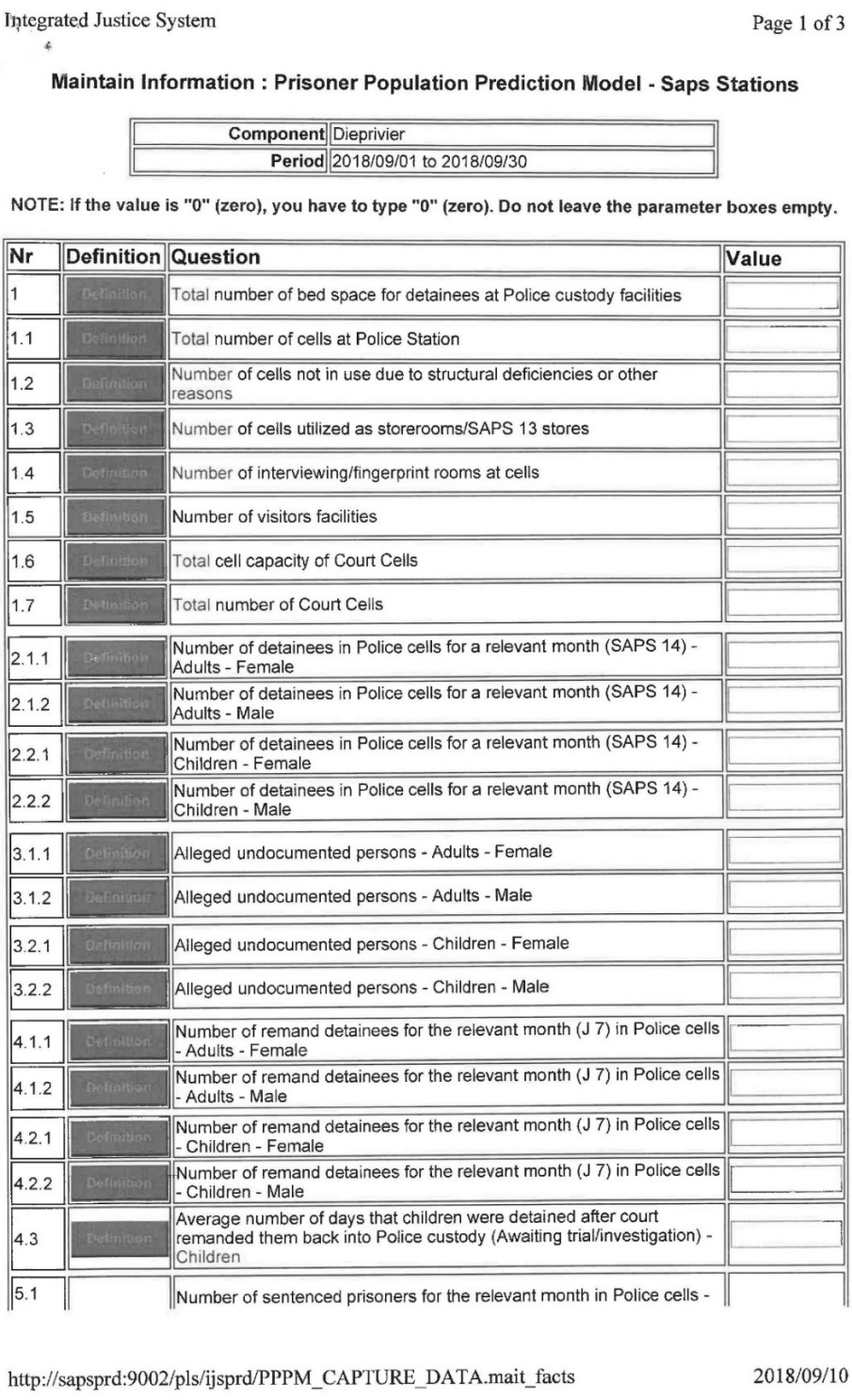
Respondent	Literacy task	Purpose of task	Organizational function
Adielah	Closes dockets A case is finalised – closed electronically on a pre-designed programme. The hardcopy is	Closing documents where sentences are passed or withdrawn for finalized cases.	Record keeping. The hardcopy is kept in archives but isaccessible to the provincial and national

	different to the electronic one and is archived.		departments when they need it. A warrant officer keeps record in a book of the dockets closed in case it may be misplaced; the officer also captures the information of closed dockets electronically.
	Writes e-mails mostly for the commander or captain.	An e-mail given in written form from the commander/captain which she types up. The e-mail may also be dictated to her by the commander/captain before she types up the reply. She corrects the sentence structure where necessary. An e-mail book is kept to keep record of the e-mails sent and received. The e-mail book details the subject, recipient (who signs upon receiving it), date, time type of e-mail, for example, complaints from the public.	Reporting up and record keeping.
	Complies Feedback report called the ''81111''.	The ''8111'' is compiled electronically which is a system that captures all cases reported for the day, for example, theft, assault, possessions, crimen injuria, verbal abuse. The electronic version is printed and filed in the office by the data typist.	Reporting up and record keeping of whether a suspect has been arrested. Detectives also draw their cases from the ''8111''.
	Captures fingerprints	She dispatches the fingerprint details electronically once the detectives submit the fingerprints on hardcopy to	Record keeping

		her. The information feeds electronically to the Criminal Record Centre (LCRC). The fingerprint register (SAPS 184) detailing relevant information like case number, date of capture, identity number and name of suspect gets sent on Mondays, Wednesdays and Thursdays to the LCRC whereupon it is sent back the same day to the station. The SAPS 184 is a hardcopy book. .	
	Writes affidavits	Helps with the writing of affidavits for clients.	Client services
	Detention register (charge sheets). Also called the SAPS 14	Details arrests for the day. The arrest is first captured in the crime register by the detectives on duty wherein the suspects name, address and charge is detailed. Once the suspect is arrested the information is recorded in the detention management register, SAPS 14.	Record keeping of arrests. The branch commander is informed of the arrests at the daily parade.

Appendix 5: A PPPM

Figure 6 – A PPPM - data is captured under the 'value' heading



Integrated Justice System Page 1 of 3

Maintain Information : Prisoner Population Prediction Model - Saps Stations

Component	Dieprivier
Period	2018/09/01 to 2018/09/30

NOTE: If the value is "0" (zero), you have to type "0" (zero). Do not leave the parameter boxes empty.

Nr	Definition	Question	Value
1	Definition	Total number of bed space for detainees at Police custody facilities	
1.1	Definition	Total number of cells at Police Station	
1.2	Definition	Number of cells not in use due to structural deficiencies or other reasons	
1.3	Definition	Number of cells utilized as storerooms/SAPS 13 stores	
1.4	Definition	Number of interviewing/fingerprint rooms at cells	
1.5	Definition	Number of visitors facilities	
1.6	Definition	Total cell capacity of Court Cells	
1.7	Definition	Total number of Court Cells	
2.1.1	Definition	Number of detainees in Police cells for a relevant month (SAPS 14) - Adults - Female	
2.1.2	Definition	Number of detainees in Police cells for a relevant month (SAPS 14) - Adults - Male	
2.2.1	Definition	Number of detainees in Police cells for a relevant month (SAPS 14) - Children - Female	
2.2.2	Definition	Number of detainees in Police cells for a relevant month (SAPS 14) - Children - Male	
3.1.1	Definition	Alleged undocumented persons - Adults - Female	
3.1.2	Definition	Alleged undocumented persons - Adults - Male	
3.2.1	Definition	Alleged undocumented persons - Children - Female	
3.2.2	Definition	Alleged undocumented persons - Children - Male	
4.1.1	Definition	Number of remand detainees for the relevant month (J 7) in Police cells - Adults - Female	
4.1.2	Definition	Number of remand detainees for the relevant month (J 7) in Police cells - Adults - Male	
4.2.1	Definition	Number of remand detainees for the relevant month (J 7) in Police cells - Children - Female	
4.2.2	Definition	Number of remand detainees for the relevant month (J 7) in Police cells - Children - Male	
4.3	Definition	Average number of days that children were detained after court remanded them back into Police custody (Awaiting trial/investigation) - Children	
5.1		Number of sentenced prisoners for the relevant month in Police cells -	

http://sapsprd:9002/pls/ijsprd/PPPM_CAPTURE_DATA.mait_facts 2018/09/10

	Definition	Adults - Female	
5.2	Definition	Number of sentenced prisoners for the relevant month in Police cells - Adults - Male	
6.1.1	Definition	Number of detainees released before court for the relevant month on SAPS 496 - Adults - Female	
6.1.2	Definition	Number of detainees released before court for the relevant month on SAPS 496 - Adults - Male	
6.2.1	Definition	Number of detainees released before court for the relevant month on SAPS 496 - Children - Female	
6.2.2	Definition	Number of detainees released before court for the relevant month on SAPS 496 - Children - Male	
7.1.1	Definition	Number of detainees released before court for the relevant month on J 534 - Adults - Female	
7.1.2	Definition	Number of detainees released before court for the relevant month on J 534 - Adults - Male	
7.2.1	Definition	Number of detainees released before court for the relevant month on J 534 - Children - Female	
7.2.2	Definition	Number of detainees released before court for the relevant month on J 534 - Children - Male	
8.1.1	Definition	Number of detainees released before court for the relevant month on J 398 - Adults - Female	
8.1.2	Definition	Number of detainees released before court for the relevant month on J 398 - Adults - Male	
8.2.1	Definition	Number of detainees released before court for the relevant month on J 398 - Children - Female	
8.2.2	Definition	Number of detainees released before court for the relevant month on J 398 - Children - Male	
9.1	Definition	Number of detainees released before court for the relevant month on SAPS 328 - Adults	
9.2	Definition	Number of detainees released before court for the relevant month on SAPS 328 - Children	
10.1.1	Definition	Number of detainees released for the relevant month on J 399 - Adults - Female	
10.1.2	Definition	Number of detainees released for the relevant month on J 399 - Adults - Male	
10.2.1	Definition	Number of detainees released for the relevant month on J 399 - Children - Female	
10.2.2	Definition	Number of detainees released for the relevant month on J 399 - Children - Male	
11	Definition	Total number of bail granted for the relevant month by the court - less than R1000-00 - J 7	
12	Definition	Total number of bail granted for the relevant month by the court - more than R1000-00 - J 7	
13.1	Definition	Deaths in custody for the relevant month - Adults	
13.2	Definition	Deaths in custody for the relevant month - Children	
14	Definition	Total number of detainees that escaped from Police custody for the relevant month	
15	Definition	Number of incidents of escapes for the relevant month	

16	Definition	Number of detained children transferred to places of safety/secure care facilities - Children
17	Definition	Number of detained children in respect of whom probation officer was notified of detention - Children
18.1.1	Definition	Number of detainees carried over to next month (SAPS 14) - Adults - Female
18.1.2	Definition	Number of detainees carried over to next month (SAPS 14) - Adults - Male
18.2.1	Definition	Number of detainees carried over to next month (SAPS 14) - Children - Female
18.2.2	Definition	Number of detainees carried over to next month (SAPS 14) - Children - Male
19.1	Definition	Number of children released before court for the relevant month on SAPS583 - Male
19.2	Definition	Number of children released before court for the relevant month on SAPS583 - Female
20.1	Definition	Number of persons in Police custody which were taken to hospital/clinic/treatment centre/other medical facility for relevant month - Male
20.2	Definition	Number of persons in Police custody which were taken to hospital/clinic/treatment centre/other medical facility for relevant month - Female

[redacted]

Contact Number - Area Code: **Telephone Nr:** **Extention:**

Save Back Reset

Appendix 6: Consent Letter

WORKPLACE LITERACY PRACTICES OF CLERKS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICES (SAPS)

8 September 2016

From: Bernice Adonis, (False Bay College, Westlake Campus, Tokai)

Dear _____

I am currently doing my Masters in Education degree at the University of Cape Town. My research is titled: *The literacy practices of young interns placed in the South African Police Services after completing their NC(V)4 qualification*. This letter serves to inform you about my research project as well as request your consent as a willing participant. My supervisor is Associate Professor Catherine Kell from the School of Education at the University of Cape Town.

My research aims to investigate the literacy practices of young interns, who qualified with the NC(V)4 Safety in Society certificate. As one of these interns my focus is on your day-to-day literacy practices in the multilingual environments of the police stations. I will also examine how well the NC(V)4 language and literacy curriculum prepared you for your work at the police station.

The site of the study is the police station where you are based. I will have permission from the SAPS and the Station Commander before starting any research with you. I aim to visit each police station three times, observing you in your working environment in the police station while you are working, noting the kinds of writing you need to do, the languages you are using and the kinds of written texts that you are engaging in, if possible. While I am observing you at work I would like to hold short conversations with you asking you to explain to me why you are doing certain writing tasks and why you make certain language choices. I will also examine some of the forms and other documents that you need to engage with in your work. I will also conduct interviews with you at the start of the research and again at the end of the research.

I envisaged that data collection will be done, by mutual consent, over weekends and during the researcher's college holidays (December 2016). The researcher hopes that all data collection will be completed by December 2016.

Your participation is entirely voluntary and you are free to withdraw at any point in the research if you do not wish to continue. I will protect your identity and the identity of your police station, by making all names and other details anonymous.

I look forward to securing your willing participation since you are acquainted with me as your former lecturer.

If you are willing to take part please sign the attached permission slip and feel free to contact me or my supervisor, Catherine Kell at the contact details below.

Yours sincerely

Bernice Adonis 072 0450548, bernice.adonis@yahoo.com

Catherine Kell 079 4420592, catherine.kell@uct.ac.za

Participant Consent Sheet – Participant Observations/Semi-structured Interviews/ Documentary Analysis

I, ---------- , the undersigned, hereby consent to being interviewed by means of audio – recording about my experiences as an intern for SAPS. I understand that the researcher will conduct participant observations in my workplace as required which may also be audio-recorded. Furthermore, I am willing for the researcher to analyse workplace documents through mutual consent with permission from the relevant authorities.

I understand that:

- All data will be dealt with confidentially
- All identities of people and places will be given pseudonyms
- Participation is voluntary and any participant has the choice to withdraw from the research without prejudice
- All results are transparent

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(signature of participant) (date)

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(signature of researcher) (date)

Appendix 7: Interview questions

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- Please state your name and the name of the station where you work.
- What is your home language?
- What other languages do you feel fluent in?
- What is your position here?
- What does your 'job description' advise about your designated role?
- What do you like about your job?
- Describe a 'typical' day in your workplace from the time you arrive to when you leave.
- Tell me how things work here; what are the processes that go on?
- Is this day different from your normal working day? If so, how?
- Tell me about the day-to day literacy practices /reading and writing you use in your workplace.
- What about the literacy practices/reading and writing, do you find enjoyable, easy, challenging, don't you like?
- Are there any other kinds of reading and writing you do in your job which you haven't already described to me?
- Can you tell me some stories about things that you had to do that was challenging in terms of reading and writing?
- How do these workplace, literacy practices/reading and writing compare to what you were taught in the language and literacy curriculum at college.
- Upon reflection, how would you rate the NC(V) English curriculum in terms of having prepared you for your job?
- Do you have any recommendations as to what changes, if at all, should be brought to the current English curriculum of the NC(V) course?

Appendix 8: Follow up questions

Follow up questions

1. How are some days different to others? How is this day different to other days?

2. What co-occurrences are there? Rephrased: What else is going on whilst doing tasks?

3. You said that you have an input on decision making like where what unit will go, when and what will be planned. I wonder how that affected you?

4. What new things/ new instructions occur everyday?

5. Do you have specific experiences in mind or is this a general opinion? Can you tell me about one.