

Orientations to text: how classroom discourse affords or denies the enactment of critical literacy and learner agency in an English First Additional Language classroom.

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Declaration

This work has not been previously submitted in whole or in part, for the award of any degree.

It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in this dissertation from the work, or works of other people has been attributed and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: Glynis Lloyd

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Acronyms and abbreviations

AIDA - Attention Interest Desire Action

CAPS – Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement

CDA - Critical Discourse Analysis

DBE - Department of Basic Education

ESOL – English for Speakers of Other Languages

IRE/F - Initiation Response Evaluation/Feedback

FAL - First Additional Language

PDA - Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis

Abstract

Despite improvements in educational provision since 1994, the opportunities for learners from historically under resourced schools to gain access to powerful English resources remain limited and unequal (Prinsloo 2012), with a dearth of research into how school literacy practices in South Africa might contribute to this lack of access. This case study contributes towards the development of a detailed description of school literacy practices, with a focus on the orientations to text that are made available to learners in a black township high school.

This study is informed by poststructuralist theory, in which the subject is theorised as constructed and contested in language, as well as by critical literacy theory. I draw on feminist poststructuralist theory to describe the key concepts of subjectivity, subject positioning and agency and to define the ways in which power works in language to construct difference. I describe orientations to text and theorise ways in which subject English pedagogy defines the kinds of readings of text that are possible in a particular classroom context.

The case is a Grade 11 class studying English as a First Additional Language, in a black township high school in the Cape Metropolitan Area. The data was gathered from observing and recording English lessons over a four-week period, interviewing four selected learners and collecting the written work they produced over that period.

My analysis of classroom discourse and text-based tasks shows that the orientations to reading that were offered were characterised by a focus on the surface meaning of the texts and by an absence of critical engagement. I found that the racial, gender and class constructions of apartheid continue to impact on how teachers teach, how they position their learners and what positions learners are able to take up in their learning. Teachers seem reluctant to enable engagements with text that challenge the ways relations of domination continue to negatively shape the lives of their learners. I produce evidence that the resources learners bring to school as a result of the multiple positions they occupy could productively be used in their learning, but are largely ignored.

The orientations to text and literacy practices described and analysed in this study can be situated in a long history of unequal access to resources and I conclude that the resources afforded by critical orientations should be made available in all schools, through changes in the teacher training provision for all teachers.

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 The context and rationale

After almost twenty years of democracy, there is little evidence that changes in education policy and provision have benefitted the majority of black working class children in South Africa. Black youth suffer massive unemployment and the numbers of local black students accepted for study at universities, especially those from rural areas, remain very low. Yet, the majority of children continue to pin their hopes for upward mobility on education and within that have identified English as a necessary resource for their success. As Blommaert et al (2006: 396) report from their research in a Cape Town township high school:

Throughout our fieldwork, an overwhelming majority of learners and teachers saw English as ‘the most important’ language in South Africa – as the linguistic resource carrying most prestige and promise of social and spatial mobility...

The access to and acquisition of English, however, is a complex and uneven endeavour. Prinsloo’s research (2012: 22-40) in three different school contexts showed that teachers and learners have access to different types of English, depending on the socio-economic profile of the school. Learners in privileged contexts generally have access, via their teachers, to the varieties of English most valued for educational and economic success. This is not generally the case in schools historically disadvantaged by the inequity of apartheid education policies. Thus despite poor learners’ desire to learn the English they need for upward mobility, the English of the elite and of the academy, social and historical factors are complicating their efforts.

This ongoing marked inequity requires researchers interested in language and learning to ask why that inequity persists. As Hasan and Williams (1996: xi) argue:

.... [F]or any pedagogic discourse concerned with questions of social equity, careful analyses of the variable relations between texts and writers/readers are an essential prerequisite. This highlights the problem of developing sensitive descriptive resources which would enable such a deep analysis of textual variability, and which would simultaneously enable scholars of pedagogy to relate their findings about features of pedagogic discourse both to social conditions of human existence and to the semiotic practices of subjects who have variable access to the institutional processes of education.

To understand the challenges that learners in poor schools face in acquiring the linguistic resources they need to improve their life chances, we need a detailed description of how they learn English. We need to find out what powerful resources for reading and writing are made available to them and we need to develop our understanding of how learners are afforded opportunities to access those resources. We need to ask how learners in disadvantaged contexts are being afforded opportunities to take up positions as readers and writers who bring knowledge and experience to meaning making, and who can engage with text in powerful ways. In the course of that pursuit, we need to ask questions about dominant ideologies, in particular as they concern constructions of race, gender and class and how they come to reverberate through classrooms, in the ways in which lessons are designed and enacted.

Research on classroom literacy practices in these contexts has, however, been limited. As Kapp (2004: 247) explains, school literacy in South Africa, "... unlike academic literacy ... has not been subjected to rigorous ethnographic investigation." Moore et al (1998: 26) argue that while relevant work has been conducted on school literacy practices in other countries, to explain the difficulties that some students experience in tertiary study, attention must be focused on the "uniqueness of our own context."

1.2 The research question

The focus of this study is an investigation of the way in which learners in a historically disadvantaged school are oriented to text in their English lessons. I set out to develop a detailed description of what opportunities for reading and writing are afforded learners who are learning English as an additional language, and to identify what those learners might bring to their reading and writing, to enable them to engage successfully in the reading and writing practices most valued for academic and economic mobility. I am centrally concerned with the way in which the orientation to text produces particular kinds of learning, gendered and racialized subjectivities.

The research question guiding this study is: **What orientations to text are learners afforded in a typical urban township grade 11 class and how do those orientations construct the subject positions that learners take up?**

My aim is to describe the literacy practices that learners in a township high school engage in as they make meaning in the English First Additional Language (FAL) classroom. I will attempt to address the following related questions:

- What resources for meaning making does the classroom discourse make available?
- How does the classroom discourse position learners?
- Does this positioning constrain or afford the acquisition of English resources?
- What evidence is there of learner engagement with the subject positions made available to them by the texts they study?

1.3 The case

I wanted to study a case in a historically under resourced context, in order to gain some knowledge of the English resources afforded historically disadvantaged learners. I chose a case of a class of Grade 11 learners in a black township high school in Cape Town. I approached an English subject advisor in the Western Cape Department of Education, who referred me to Khanya School¹, a co-educational high school in one of the black townships in the Cape Metropolitan Area, as the school has a well-run English department. I requested a Grade 11 class, as I expected they would be less focussed on final matric exams than learners in a Grade 12 class, but they would be more likely to be vocal and confident in their use of English than those in lower grades.

During the five weeks I spent during term 3 observing in the classroom, two teachers took turns in taking the lessons: first, the English teacher; second, a student teacher undertaking her teaching practice as part of her post-graduate teacher training. There were 43 learners in the class, a fairly equal mix of girls and boys.

1.4 Chapter outline

In the next chapter, I will set out the theoretical framework that I used to analyse and describe the reading and writing practices in the classroom. Then I will review the research literature that relates to issues of reading and writing for learners studying English as an additional language.

¹ All names have been changed to ensure confidentiality.

In chapter 3, I will outline the research methodology and describe the case and participants in more detail.

In chapter 4, I will examine data from the lessons I observed, and present an analysis of the way in which the classroom discourse afforded and constrained opportunities for meaning making in the study of literary and non-literary texts.

In chapter 5, I will examine data from the learners' work, the interview I conducted with them and their participation in the classroom discourse. I will identify evidence of learner agency, as they take up a range of subject positions to realise the requirements of the reading and writing tasks they have been set.

Finally, in chapter 6 I will draw conclusions from the study and make some tentative suggestions about the implications for policy and practice in additional language education.

Chapter 2 Theoretical Outline and Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Precisely because identities are constructed within, not outside, discourse, we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies. Moreover they emerge within the play of specific modalities of power, and thus are more the product of the marking of difference and exclusion, than they are the sign of an identical, naturally-constituted unity – an ‘identity’ in its traditional meaning (that is, an all-inclusive sameness, seamless, without internal differentiation). (Hall 1996:4).

In this chapter, I will set out the theoretical framework of my study. I will draw on poststructuralist theory in which the subject is theorised as constructed and contested in language, to create a framework in which to describe the key concepts of subjectivity, subject positioning and agency. I will draw on feminist poststructuralist theory in particular, to define the ways in which power works in language to construct difference. I will describe orientations to text and theorise ways in which subject English pedagogy defines the kinds of readings of text that are possible in a particular classroom context.

In the second part of this chapter, I will review recent literature and research on identity and literacy, looking at studies mainly (but not exclusively) in the South African context. I will look, too, at studies that ask questions about text choices and approaches to reading and writing in classrooms.

2.2 The theoretical framework

2.2.1 Subjectivity and language

If we are to develop an understanding of how learners make sense of text and what resources they draw on to do that, we need a nuanced and detailed understanding of how learners are constructed as readers and producers of text and how they accept or resist the way in which they are positioned in the classroom. It is in developing an understanding of the subject, of how young people in our schools are constructed as learners and readers that we can begin to understand how they make meaning from text. Humanism gives us a fixed, essentialized subject, which leads us to search for evidence of inbuilt characteristics such as motivation, to explain educational success and failure. However, poststructuralist theory challenges this conception, positing a subject that is non-unitary

and fluid. This subject, according to Hall (1996), is understood and located in the material conditions of a particular historical context:

... [I]dentities are never unified and, in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic discourses, practices and positions. They are subject to a radical historicization, and are constantly in the process of change and transformation. (Hall 1996: 4).

In this definition, we see the key attributes of the non-essentialized subject, as well as the conditions in which subjectivity is constructed. First, the subject is neither fixed nor unitary. This idea has implications for how we understand a learner as our subject: subjectivity can shift and change across a range of positions. Second, the conditions that determine those shifts are social: it is in the relationships in the classroom, in the community and in the broader society that subject positions are constructed and in which the possibilities and limitations for subject construction are located. Those relationships are formed by and in turn form discourse, practices (in this case reading and writing) and positions. Third, subjectivity is in flux and in conflict, as a result of the power struggles that take shape in discourse, because, as the feminist poststructuralist theorist Chris Weedon (1987: 41) argues, "...discourses represent political interests and in consequence are constantly vying for status and power." Finally, what is most hopeful about this definition is the possibility of change: where subjectivity is fluid and constructed in practices that are socially determined and determining, change is possible.

Central to this understanding of how subjectivity is constructed and how change might come about, is the role of language in defining who we are and who we could be. Language, according to Weedon gives "voice" and "meaning" to our experience. We are "... reconstituted in discourse each time we think or speak." (p. 33). It is through language that our conscious and unconscious thoughts and desires gain expression. Language in this framework is understood as a social construct, rather than a neutral, cognitive skill that can be acquired unproblematically.

The position of subject from which language is articulated, from which speech acts, thoughts or writing appear to originate, is integral to the structure of language and, by extension, to the structure of conscious subjectivity which it constitutes. Language and the range of subject positions which it offers always exists in historically specific discourses which inhere in social institutions and practices and can be organised analytically in discursive fields. (Weedon 1987: 34).

If language and subjectivity are located within particular social and historical contexts, analysing those contexts and in particular their discursive features enables us to uncover the way power works to create or deny opportunities for learners to engage in a range of readings and in so doing, for their meaning making to be heard in the classroom.

In addition to a focus on when and how teachers and learners speak, it is also what they say that must be scrutinized. Our use of language is not unique.

Our speech, that is all our utterances (including creative works), is filled with others' words ... These words of others carry with them their own expression, their own evaluative tone, which we assimilate, rework, and re-accentuate. (Bakhtin 1986: 106).

The words we use echo down through our history – what we can and choose to say has been said before, if only in other forms. When we look, then, at what comes to be uttered in the classroom, we need to look for the way in which power, ideas and values reverberate through the discourse from the past. Being a speaking member of a school lesson, means taking part in a dialogue – with the teacher, with the texts. It means participating in a socially defined structure, in which positions are determined. Speaking means taking our place in a complex chain in which everything we say relates backwards and forwards in time to the words that others use. Bakhtin (1986: 106) speaks of the “dialogic overtones” in our speech and the “dialogic reverberations” that are ever present when we talk. Thus the act of speaking is a social act in which the words we use are made available to us by our history. In a classroom situation, the words learners say and the texts they come to produce are situated within a space in which history plays itself out.

2.2.2 Investment, agency and second language acquisition

Second language acquisition creates a particular classroom context, in which learners are positioned in different ways in relation to the language being acquired. Acquiring a new language successfully requires that learners take up subject positions in which they are “invested” (Norton and McKinney 2010). The concept of investment in language learning is situated in poststructuralist theory, where an identity approach is used to understand the constraints and affordances in second language acquisition. Identity is used “... to reference how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future.” (Norton and McKinney 2010: 73). The concept of investment provides

a useful challenge to the idea that motivation determines learning success. Rather, analysing how learners invest in subject positions, as English speakers, and how the classroom discourse affords them opportunities to occupy those positions, enables us to understand learner success in acquiring the language. The concept of investment further clarifies our understanding of the ways in which the fluid subject comes to be anchored, if only temporarily. It opens the way for the possibility of action.

If the subject is contradictory and open to change, we can then begin to speak about agency. How does the non-unitary subject act in the world? It is the agentive subject who reaches an understanding about how they are positioned, who can act and resist those positions.

Agency is spoken into existence at any one moment. It is fragmented, transitory, a discursive position that can be occupied within one discourse simultaneously with its non-occupation in another.... Individuals who are positioned on the female side of the male/female dualism or on the negative side of any other dualism such as black/white, child/adult, mad/sane are rarely heard as legitimate speakers, are rarely positioned as having agency. (Davies 1999: 68).

This idea that agency, like identity is “fragmented and transitory” means that meaning making is dependent on how the discourse positions the learner within a power divide and on the opportunities afforded the learner to speak. As Davies (1999: 67) says, agency is about being able to “recognise” how discourse positions us as such, and to “... resist, subvert, and change the discourses themselves through which one is being constituted.” In developing our description of learning, we need to identify those moments of resistance and the possibilities for learner agency as readers and text producers. This means looking for ways in which learners are able to use classroom literacy practices to express their own “intentions, desires and ambitions.” (Blommaert and Backus 2011: 12).

The suggestion that subjects are not entirely complicit in their own subjugation, opens the way for an idea of subjects that can act to challenge and resist. We need to look, then, for evidence that learners resist the way in which they are positioned by the dominant discourse in the classroom. As Butler (1997) argues, drawing on Althusser’s notion of “interpellation”, or the way in which ideology “hails” us as subjects, it is in the very act of being hailed into a position that we don’t necessarily accept, that the possibility lies for resistance.

The terms by which we are hailed are rarely the ones we choose (and even when we try to impose protocols on how we are to be named, they usually fail); but these terms we never really choose are the occasion for something we might still call agency, the repetition of an ordinary subordination for another purpose, one whose failure is partially open. (Butler 1997: 38).

In this discussion about subjectivity and agency, what links these aspects is the question of power and the way in which power works through discourse to reproduce unequal social relations. In studying how learners are constructed by discourse to occupy particular subject positions, we must consider the social and historical factors which form the context. This has implications for how we acknowledge the social and material factors within which learning happens and it means that learning is always influenced by the constructions of race, class, gender and other social divides as they come into play in the classroom.

2.2.3 Discourse and subject positioning

Positioning is a concept developed in poststructuralist theory (Davies and Harré 1990), to describe how discourse works to produce particular kinds of subjects. In this theory, discourse is understood to be a "...multifaceted process through which meanings are progressively and dynamically achieved." (Davies 1999: 89). In other words, it is through our active participation in discursive practices, for example in holding a conversation or reading a text, that we experience a sense of ourselves. "The constitutive force of each discursive practice lies in its provision of subject positions." (Davies 1999: 89). Through discourse we come to be "constituted" as female, black, a reader, and so on and we become "... *subjected* to the power and regulation of the discourse." (Weedon 1987: 119). That power and regulation is a reflection of broader social relations and thus we need to understand how classroom discourse, both in the form of classroom talk and in the texts chosen for reading, positions learners in ways that reflect broader social relations and we need to analyse how learners realise the kinds of readings of the text that are made possible by that positioning.

The concept of positioning rests firmly on the idea that "... acts of positioning may be multi-layered and ambiguous, because they can be seen to project several positions at once and they may be interpreted differently by various actors." (Deppermann 2013: 3). What is required in our description and analysis of the reading and writing practices that

learners engage in, is an identification of that ambiguity, of the ways in which learners move across positions as they accept and resist the positions on offer.

In addition, as I have argued above, we need to understand that ambiguity, that multiplicity of positioning and position taking, as located within a social and historical framework. As Davies and Harré (1990) explain, a subject position has two aspects: it constructs our thinking about ourselves – who and what we are, and it locates us within a hierarchy in relation to others. Each subject position defines our place in a social structure. This enables us to understand how learners make sense of text, when we look at their responses and analyse the stories they tell about themselves, in relation to the text. It is their lived experience that adds up and contributes to the subject positions they take up and it is their relative power or powerlessness that makes those subject positions available in the first place.

Individuals are both the *site* and *subject* of discursive struggle for their identity. Yet the interpellation of individuals as subjects within particular discourses is never final. It is always open to challenge. The individual is constantly subjected to discourse. In thought, speech or writing individuals of necessity commit themselves to specific subject positions and embrace quite contradictory modes of subjectivity at different moments. (Weedon 1987: 97).

The “challenge” to discursive positioning that Weedon refers to links to the concept of agency, which describes those moments where the subject resists the positioning offered. To do that, the resisting subject must draw on resources, found in the discursive practices, and “... attempt to negotiate new positions.” (Davies 1999: 105).

2.2.4 Orientations to text

In the language classroom, learners are constituted and positioned by the texts they read, the engagements afforded them with the texts, by the lessons and by the activities that teachers construct around the texts. They are subjected to the discourse, they are constructed as readers in particular ways and their subjectivity is constructed as they read and participate in the lesson. What poststructuralist feminist theory helps us to look for are the ways in which learners struggle with and resist those constructions and that positioning. This is particularly useful when we consider the subject positioning that occurs when learners read literary texts and the possibilities that exist for learners to enact subjectivities that challenge the dominant constructions of race, class and gender in a South African context.

Fiction has long been seen as a powerful form of education in social meanings and values, as an effective purveyor of beliefs about gender, race and class. Yet if it is this, then it is also a powerful resource for those interests which to date had been marginalised, excluded or silenced by the dominant culture. The effectivity of fiction lies in the reading process itself. In this process the reader is offered subjectivity, subjected to the organizing principle, meanings and values which it is the text's project to establish. (Weedon 1987:171).

Literature study in South African schools is prescribed by the Department of Basic Education (DBE), the official curriculum documents and the final matric examination, both in the prescription of which texts learners will study and how they will study them. In a later chapter, I will look in more detail at how the reading process is defined in the official curriculum. But for the purposes of my theoretical framework, Weedon has identified the potential productive power of reading fiction, as a way for learners to take up or resist subjectivities that the text "offers" in ways that can challenge inequality.

In a poststructuralist understanding of how learners read, or how they might be empowered to read, a key premise is that there is not just one way to read a text. Describing the reading and writing practices in any context requires an approach that is alert to multiple readings. However, multiple readings are not always made available to learners, because teachers make selections of the kinds of readings they will model in their classrooms.

... [I]t is for the reader to take up those textual invitations to make meaning: the reader is the site where the potential of the text is realised, though always in a particular way. The question remains of who or what sets the bounds of possible readings? ... Bounds can be imposed by teachers shutting down meanings; but texts also seek to impose their views on readers by calling us to take up a particular reading position and therefore to be a certain kind of person (or subject). (Morgan 1997:101)

These readings are constructed both by the text selection and by the types of engagement with the text that are enacted in the classroom discussion about the text and the type of tasks that are set on the text. It is the selections of texts and discourses that teachers make that impact on the kinds of readings that are privileged and that selection is in turn determined by the dominant ideological orientations at work.

The selection of texts for school work builds and sanctions distinctive kinds of reading. More broadly, the curriculum displays, builds, and values particular ideological configurations in large part through this textual work. Particular

readings, positions and practices, from among the many available or imaginable, are thus required and privileged. (Freebody, Luke & Gilbert 1991: 445).

How then do classroom discursive practices construct learners through the reading of text? How are learners positioned to read and which of the multiple ways of reading a text are made available to them? Janks (2010:21) has defined the reading process as having three different aspects: “decoding”, “reading with the text” and “reading against the text”. Decoding necessitates “language competence”, in other words a knowledge of the written code. Reading with the text requires comprehension. When learners read with the text, they bring their own ideas and values to the text as they make sense of what the author is saying. Reading against the text involves critical engagement and an interrogation of the impact the text has and the opportunities for writing the text differently. Reading against the text requires an understanding that texts reflect and construct the social world in particular ways that are value laden and selective. It also requires a particular understanding of what texts are, namely “... partisan discursive constructs offering particular meanings and modes of understanding.” (Weedon 1987: 172). It is in this critical engagement that the possibility exists for learners to resist and challenge the ideological effects of texts. Critical engagement, then, holds the possibility of empowerment, because learners come to ask questions about whose view is being privileged, whose interests the texts and text choices protect and promote, or disregard. In this type of reading, learners can resist subject positioning that reproduces their domination.

Within the classroom, discursive practices, be they the way young learners start their day by sharing news in a circle, the way teachers and learners reconstruct knowledge in a science lesson, or the ways of constructing meaning in the reading of literary texts in English, vary enormously. As classroom discourse analyst Deborah Hicks (1996: 66) has shown, “Each form of classroom activity has an associated set of *participant structures*, ways in which participants in the activity socially and linguistically orient themselves to one another and to the activity at hand...” It is to the particularities of those discursive practices and the resultant subject positioning that I will turn, in the examination of the data from my case study, in chapter 4.

2.2.5 Literacy as a practice

The focus of this study is on the literacy practices of reading and writing in a school context. I have drawn on the work in the field of New Literacy Studies, in which literacy is defined as a

contextualised, social practice, to define the classroom engagements around reading and writing that I observed. This work has challenged the dominant conceptualisation of literacy as a set of observable skills located in the individual. Freebody and Freiberg (2008: 21) have argued that this idea of literacy, as “unitary, portable” and unchanging in the way it is used across situations, does not take into account the complex and varied ways that people in different social contexts come to use literacy, nor how this static view of literacy as neutral affects people on the receiving end of literacy programmes. They define literacy practices as “... relational concepts, defined by the social and communicative practices with which individuals engage in the various domains of their life world.” (p. 21) In this framework, literacy, by definition is something that happens when people act in the immediacy of their social situation.

2.3 The literature review

2.3.1 Subject positioning and relations of power

Researchers in South Africa (Kapp 2004, McKinney 2007 and 2011; Makoe 2007) have viewed the classroom as a site where two things happen: social relations are reflected and students and teachers act in ways that reproduce inequality. They have drawn extensively on the work of a range of sociolinguists, critical theorists and poststructuralist feminist theorists to investigate the language and literacy practices in resourced and under resourced schools. They have looked at issues of youth identity and how classroom discourse positions learners in ways that impact on their language learning.

Drawing on the theories of researchers who have studied inequality in education, including Bernstein (1990;1996), Bourdieu (1991), Gee (1990;2000), Street (1995; 1997) and Kress (1989), Kapp (2004) argues that the inequalities that persist in our education system reflect the ongoing inequalities in the broader society and that these inequalities are visible and observable in classroom literacy practices. She examined the ways in which classroom discourse practices are directly affected by what is going on outside of the classroom. Kapp found that social divisions within the township between the “going” students, those that were positioned as successful academically, and others impacted on students’ behaviour in the classroom. She also found that the conditions of violence and vigilantism in close proximity to the school determined how teachers and learners were able to engage with each other. By considering the multiple identities of these students and the

shifting subject positions that they took up, as English learners, township dwellers, young men, young women, she was able to make sense of their contradictory attitudes towards English. Conflicting cultural, social and academic identities constrained these learners' access to academic language resources.

Using a poststructuralist theory of subjectivity, McKinney (2007) examined the constructs of race that learners use as they define their relationship to English and to various varieties of English that they have access to. She interrogated the notion that learners desire a dominant "white" English identity and showed that despite the powerful role of English in contemporary South African society, black learners are ambivalent and conflicted about their use of English. "Such ambivalent positions on language... highlight the extremely complex relationship that is taking shape in the country with regard to language and identity." (McKinney 2007: 12). Similarly, Slabbert and Finlayson (2000) found shifting language identities in their research into newly urbanised South African township dwellers. These findings have implications for the way in which we understand how learners take up positions in the English classroom.

In a later study, McKinney (2011) examined the way in which English classroom discourse positioned black working class learners in an ex - Model C school. Using poststructuralist discourse analysis, she analysed "... the multiple and dynamic relations of power in the classroom and the ways in which these feed into uneven processes of assimilation." (2011: 7). McKinney's analysis of classroom discourse revealed the way in which the teacher refused to acknowledge her learners' knowledge and seemed oblivious to the "partiality of [her] script." (2011: 19). At the heart of both of these studies, is an examination of the way in which power is exercised through an assimilationist ideology, in which black learners' ways of knowing have little or no currency.

Makoe (2007) used critical discourse analysis to show how hegemonic assimilationist ideologies are drawn on in a historically white Grade 1 classroom.

... [T]he manner in which learners are socialised into classroom practices and activities, identity positions that emerged in this study, and the discourses that support particular positioning, could be linked to other powerful factors outside the immediate classroom. As the data in this article shows, some of the discourse practices reflect dominant societal values that explicitly or implicitly influence attitudes towards languages. (Makoe 2007: 58).

Makoe showed how those ideologies filtered through the classroom discourse to position black learners in ways that reinforced the power of middle class English resources and denied those learners an opportunity to occupy positions that related to their identities as speakers of different varieties of English, or other languages. Her study showed how the discourse inside the classroom in this case worked to replicate the power relations in South African society, in which those children who have access to the resources of Standard English remain advantaged.

The studies above have focussed largely on issues of race and class positioning, but the prevalence of gender inequality and gender violence necessitate an examination of the way in which classroom discursive practices position male and female subjects, both with regard to issues of gender equality and sexuality. Prinsloo and Moletsane (2013: 3-13) argue that there has been a reluctance on the part of South African teachers to deal with issues of childhood sexuality, despite the increased sexualisation of girls by the media, and the resultant "... disapproval of children's sexual agency." (2013: 9). Moul (2013) reported on a study conducted in Western Cape schools that found that Life Orientation teachers are largely reluctant to discuss taboo topics such as sex, gender and sexuality. These studies highlight the extent of the normative discursive positioning of learners as asexual, and reveal the common practice of "... shaming children (and especially girl children) who are found to be sexually active..." Moul (2013: 74). This research, while focussing on teaching and learning in Life Orientation, raises questions about ways in which classroom discourse in English lessons positions learners as gendered and sexual subjects.

2.3.2 Classroom discourse

Classroom discourse usually takes the form of the "unmarked case" (Cazden 1988: 53). This pattern is characterised as the IRE/IRF form, in which the teacher initiates, learner responds and teacher evaluates or gives feedback. Cazden identified three aspects of classroom discourse that require scrutiny. First is the balance of speaking rights – who gets to speak, how often and for how long. Second is the teacher's role in determining those rights, asking questions, and giving learners time to respond. Third is the speech style of the lesson – how is the lesson talk controlled or "planned" by the teacher, as opposed to being more "exploratory" (1988: 61), where learners and teachers together construct a reading.

Variations from the unmarked case abound. Chimbutane (2011: 25) ascribes these variations to a range of "... cultural ... pedagogical... and socio-historical...factors." Looking at research into discourse patterns in postcolonial multilingual settings, Chimbutane identifies "... two pervasive discursive strategies: *safetalk* and *codeswitching*, which add to the complexity of the canonical patterns discussed so far." (p. 27). These strategies have been studied by Probyn (codeswitching), (2009) and Chick (safetalk), (1996) in South African schools, where they have been identified as strategies that teachers use to compensate in various ways for the struggles they and their learners experience in accessing academic English. In his own research in two Mozambican contexts, Chimbutane (2011) found evidence for positive outcomes when teachers drew on the learners' resources in their home languages of Changana and Chope, in Portuguese medium classrooms. In chapter 4, I will present an analysis of the form of classroom discourse I observed and argue that it represents an example of a marked shift from the common pattern of IRE classroom discourse.

2.3.3 Reading and producing texts

A significant aspect of classroom discourse in subject English is the nature of the texts that are chosen for study. Wallace (2006) has described texts in adult ESOL (English for speakers of other languages) classrooms in the UK, by asking two related questions: "What is reading for?" and "What are texts for?" She has argued that texts offer opportunities for learners to "reauthor", or insert their own voice into texts, if the classroom practice enables them to deviate from having to give "correct" answers. Wallace draws on Goffman's notion of "author", as a way of shifting the focus away from skills that are outside of the learner, towards a focus on the strengths that learners bring to their reading, from their lives. When learners are able to "reauthor", they are empowered to reorientate themselves to the text and draw on their resources in a way that validates their experience. This raises questions about how we identify those resources and use the learners' life experience to create a foundation for readings of text that can produce critical orientations.

In a local context, researchers in Johannesburg teamed up with others in Delhi and London and looked at the ways in which teachers interpreted the official policy of English teaching, through the "textual cycle". (Bhattacharya et al 2007: 465-487). The "textual cycle" refers to the choices of texts that are made in English teaching and the way in which those texts are used to teach English. This research focussed on the issue of the selections that teachers make of the texts for English study and

the pedagogical choices that were made about what types of reading learners were given the opportunity to engage in. This study emphasises the significance of text choices, both in their ideological configuration and in their potential for meaning making. Thus the ways in which texts are “reworked and taken up” and the “role of this process in connecting the life worlds of students to classroom learning.” Bhattacharya et al (2007: 484) can reveal to us how subject positioning happens and what agency learners can enact in their reading.

In a focus on learners, McKinney (2004) looked at issues of learner resistance to taking up positions as critical readers and Makoe and McKinney (2009) look at the bi/multilingual resources a Grade 1 learner brought to her learning, in constructing a “classroom community”. Busch’s (2010), research challenges the usefulness of monolingual positioning of learners whose own literacy practices and desires span multiple languages. In her later research, Busch (2012) uses poststructuralist theory to understand the linguistic repertoires that primary school learners exhibit in the “linguistic portraits” that they produce.

Finally, I turn to research on learners as producers of text. Hendricks (2007) has looked at the relationship between classroom writing practices and literacy development in two contrasting schools in the Grahamstown district: a well-resourced independent primary school and a poor state school. Hendricks argues for a distinction to be made between different types of school literacy practices, calling the production of new texts by learners “composing” (2007: 103). This kind of meaning making can contribute towards a sense of “ownership” (2007: 104) and enhance an identity of the learner as writer.

2.3.4 Doing critical literacy

While the research into literacy practices in South African schools has found little evidence of critical orientations to reading, critical literacy is a widespread practice in subject English in Australia. Teacher researchers in Australia have argued for a poststructuralist approach to reading orientations. Their classroom work in designing critical literacy practices has shown how activities can be constructed to engage learners in sophisticated readings, in which they are able to uncover the ideological nature of the texts they read and to see how multiple readings of a text are possible (Mellor & Patterson 2004). In their work on students’ writing about literature, Macken-Horarik and Morgan (2011), showed how learners were able to author sophisticated responses to literature, in

which they exhibited an “expanded order of voicing” (p. 147), from self-conscious responses to authoritative and meta-theoretical readings.

The work done by these researchers serves as a model of possibility for practitioners here. Through documentation of actual texts used and lessons taught, it challenges the normativity of orientations to text in which meaning resides in a decontextualised textual product.

2.4 Conclusion

Feminist poststructuralist theory provides us with a productive framework within which we can observe, describe and analyse the multiple ways in which learners are affected by language and can use language to challenge dominant power structures. This theory also allows us to see meaning making as a fluid, changing process, because the subject herself is in a constant state of change. It is this changing, fluid subject that constructs and is constructed by language. In looking both at the ways in which language as conflicting discourses distributes power unevenly and at the possibilities for change that are located in the subject, we can develop an understanding of the practices of reading and writing in the context of a township classroom.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will present my research design. I will describe the site for my case study, outline what data I collected and explain how I collected it. Finally I will describe how I analysed the data and show how the data analysis followed from the theoretical framework set out in the previous chapter.

3.2 Research design

I used a single case study to explore the orientations to reading in a black working class school context. The case study design enabled me to focus directly on a defined context (the English lessons in a particular class) and to observe and analyse how through the reading of and writing about texts, learners are afforded or denied access to valued academic English resources. The case study design enabled me to spend time in one class over an extended period, and by using a range of methods to collect data, created the opportunity for developing an understanding of how learners are situated in relation to a range of texts, what resources they might bring to their reading and how specific orientations might create an engagement with text that prepares learners for academic success.

Stake (1995: xi) defines the case study as “... the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances.” This definition highlights how case studies both focus on the particular in a defined situation such as a classroom, and allow the researcher to situate the findings within a broader context. Because case studies help us focus on a specific situation, they are “...particularly suited to understanding complex, contemporary phenomena that other methodologies (eg quantitative survey) cannot provide.” (Knobel & Lankshear 1999: 95). Case study research involves investigating “phenomena as they happen.” (Knobel & Lankshear 1999: 96) which enables us to build detailed descriptions of clearly defined events and practices. These descriptions help us to understand the phenomena under observation from the point of view of the participants. The relatively lengthy time periods spent studying the case also enable the researcher to collect substantial amounts of data that later can lead to “...reflecting, revising meanings of what is going on.” (Denzin & Lincoln 2003: 150). This

creates the possibility for the construction of complex and nuanced meaning making of the particular aspects of the case.

Case studies also have heuristic potential, as Knobel and Lanshear (1999) and Bassey (1999) have shown, when the “instrumental” (Stake 1995: 8) form of the case study is used – in other words, when the case has been chosen in order to answer questions about broader problems. The case study allows us to draw conclusions about educational practice that can impact on theory and policy, so by focussing on the orientations to reading afforded learners in a working class context, I could begin to look at broader issues of language practice and the resources that are brought to English learning, by both teachers and learners.

I situated the case study research design within a qualitative, ethnographic framework. Ethnography is the study of real events, in a particular social context, as they unfold (Lillis and McKinney, 2003: 139). In this approach, the aim of the researcher is to reach an understanding of the way in which the participants understand those events. “Critical ethnography” as Canagarajah (1999) argues, allows the researcher to consider her findings in the context of broader social and historical factors and to “... analyse the words [of the informants] in relation to the larger historical processes and social contradictions, searching for hidden forces that structure life.” (ibid: 48). In a similar way, Blommaert and Dong (2010) present an understanding of ethnography, developed from a critical perspective, which looks at “language *as well as* ... society.” (Blommaert and Dong: 2010: 5). They argue that language is the acts of speech that are situated in “webs of power” (Blommaert and Dong: 2010: 6) and thus when we study language, we study society. This requires locating literacy practices in the broader context of social transformation and paying attention to the ways in which constructions of class, race and gender impact on the reading process.

3.3 The case

I defined the case for this study as the orientations to text of a class of grade 11 learners, studying English as a FAL, in a typical township high school in Cape Town. I chose this case as a way of obtaining data about black working class learners, including those moving between urban (Cape Town) and rural (the Eastern Cape) contexts and their experience of reading in subject English.

I chose to do my research in a black working class school, to focus on the nature of the practices of reading in schools that have historically been poorly resourced, both materially and in terms of the teachers' training and past experience of schooling. I collected data from Khanya High School, a co-educational school in a township in the Cape Metropolitan Area. The school has over 500 learners, the majority of whom live in the township where the school is located. Some learners travel to the school each day from other parts of the city. The current school buildings are typical of township schools built around the end of apartheid: two-story brick buildings, built around open courtyards. The school has a computer room and a library (although the latter was often locked and occasionally used for lessons), there was electricity and running water and while I was there, toilets were regularly cleaned. There were no recreation facilities, such as playing fields, nor a school hall.

3.4 The participants

3.4.1 The teachers

During the period I spent observing the lessons, two teachers took the lessons on different days. First, the English teacher is Miss Mahlangu², an older teacher whose own schooling was at a neighbouring high school in the same township. She started teaching the class I observed at the beginning of the term, as their previous teacher had been transferred at the end of the second term. The second is a young student teacher, Ms Mbatha, studying at one of the universities in the Western Cape, doing her teaching practice at Khanya High School as part of her teaching diploma.

3.4.2 The learners

There are 43 learners in the class. All are Cape Town urban dwellers, and some have recently moved to Cape Town from the Eastern Cape. This class is known as the commerce stream and the learners study economics, business economics and accountancy. All learners are learning English FAL and speak isiXhosa at home. More than half of the learners are over the age of eighteen.

3.5 Data collection

Designing case studies enables the researcher to make use of a range of tools for collecting data (Knobel & Lankshear, 1999: 97). This flexibility is useful in educational settings, where the

² The names of all participants have been changed to ensure confidentiality.

classroom is a complex social space in which learners and teacher relate to each other in particular and varying ways. In language learning specifically, learners engage in a range of literacy practices, including reading and writing a variety of texts and are both consumers and producers of text.

While a case study is bounded by time and space, the researcher has the flexibility to collect data in a number of ways. I used participant observation and audio-recording of lessons, field notes taken during the lessons I observed, a semi-structured interview with four learners, informal discussions with one of the teachers and artefact collection, in the form of learners' written work. This triangulation can "add some depth to the analysis" (Hitchcock & Hughes 1989: 104) and provide the researcher with the possibility of validating claims.

I spent five weeks visiting the school, in the third term of 2013. During that time I observed and audio-recorded English lessons in that class over a four-week period. (See Appendix 1 for an outline of the lessons). I observed the English lessons that involved reading of texts, both for comprehension and literature study. I audio recorded 15 50-minute English lessons, and made field notes during my observations. In that period, the class engaged in the reading of and writing about television and print advertisements, two short stories and a poem. The learners were also required to write an essay and present an oral.

Of the 15 lessons I observed, eight were conducted by Ms Mbatha, the student teacher. Three of those involved the assessment of learner oral presentations, she spent one reviewing adverts learners had designed and written and four were spent on teaching the class about TV and print advertisements and a poem and setting tasks on those texts. The remaining seven lessons I observed were taught by the class English teacher, Miss Mahlangu. In four of her lessons Miss Mahlangu allocated time for learners to work on tasks that had been set on the literature they read and in the remaining three she worked through questions that had been set on a short story, taught the second short story and set questions.

As my lesson observations reveal (see chapter 4), learners rarely speak and there is limited text production by learners over the four week period. I thus needed an additional method for gathering data about the learners, their literacy practices and their experiences of reading their school texts. At this point the value of an interview became clear. With the help of the English teacher, Miss Mahlangu, I identified four learners who were vocal and engaged in their lessons: two men and two

women (all were over eighteen years old). During the fourth week, I conducted and audio-recorded an hour-long semi-structured group interview with them, about their reading and learning in English. I chose to interview learners, as I wanted to find out how learners themselves thought about their reading, both at school and beyond. I wanted to gain some understanding of their reading practices and ways in which they drew on resources to realise the reading tasks they undertake at school and finally, to develop a description of the subject positioning that the learners take up in relation to their school and other reading.

I designed a semi-structured interview, (see Appendix 2 for a sample of the questions), which allowed for the gathering of information about the learners regarding their biographies, language backgrounds and literacy practices as well as the space for more open-ended questions about their responses to the texts they had read in the lessons I observed. I gathered data in the interview about the learners' use of languages in different contexts, about their reading practices and use of multimedia outside of school and their responses to the texts they had read in class, as a way of assembling a profile about the language and literacy resources they had access to and how these resources might impact on their realisation of school reading tasks. This interview format allowed me to direct the interview and to "probe and expand" (Hitchcock & Hughes 1989: 83) on certain learner responses where I required more detail. Semi-structured interviews allow for space for clarification and there is "room for negotiation, discussion, and expansion of the interviewee's responses." (Hitchcock & Hughes 1989: 83). This format also enables the researcher to be more conscious of issues of power and hierarchy as they relate to race, class and gender and in particular to ensure that women, whose opinions and experiences are heard less often, have the opportunity to share details about their lives (Fontana and Frey 2000: 659).

I decided to interview all four learners together, as I felt that the group format would be less intimidating for the learners and help to bring some balance to what Powney and Watts (1987: 44) define as an "...asymmetrical relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee." This issue was particularly pertinent in my research situation as a white middle class researcher in a black working class context, interviewing young adult learners. Knobel and Lanshear point to the usefulness of group interviews "... for accessing general consensus or divergence on an issue or recount of an event." (1999: 98) and Fontana and Frey (2000: 652) argue that the group interview has the advantages of enabling the researcher to produce "...rich data that are cumulative and

elaborative; they can be stimulating for respondents, aiding recall; and the format is flexible.” This format, in which the interviewer can adapt the line of questions to the learners’ responses, can also “... promote polyvocality and enable a rich range of reflections to be undertaken...” (Marsh 2006: 166).

I decided not to conduct formal interviews with the teachers, as I felt that questioning the teachers about their teaching fell beyond the scope of my enquiry.

The artefacts I collected are copies of the written tasks the four learners Gidima and Khwezi (men) and Nokhanyo and Yandiswa (women) were set on the work covered during the lessons I observed. This includes written responses to questions set on one advertisement they read, questions set on the three literary texts they read and an advertisement they created.

3.6 Ethical issues

Embarking on this study, I felt conscious of the impact my presence as a researcher from UCT might have on the teachers whose teaching I observed, recorded and analysed. Teachers, especially those in black schools, have come under attack in the public discourse, described variously by politicians and others as “lazy” and “incompetent”. I wanted to distance myself from that view. However, in analysing the classroom discourse, it was inevitable that the teachers’ practice would come under scrutiny. What I have attempted to do, in the way I have presented and analysed the data in chapters 4 and 5, and in the conclusions I have drawn in chapter 6, is locate their practices in a broader social context.

3.7 Data analysis

Language learning, in the form of the reading of and writing about text, is the focus of this study and thus language features in this study in two ways: both as the subject of the teaching and learning and as the medium through which the learning takes place. Language in the classroom is structured as discourse and as Hicks (1996: 52) has shown, is both “textual products” and “constitutive discursive practices”—both what is said and produced, and how what is said affects those participating in the specific social interaction. In addition, discourse is “invested with ideologies” (Fairclough 1992: 8) and in order for us to understand how power works in discourse, we need to apply a critical approach to understand the effects of the discourse. Critical discourse

analysis (CDA) (Janks 1997: 329) provides us with theoretical tools to analyse classroom discourse and to focus on both the spoken discourse of classroom teaching – “classroom talk” - and the texts that are selected for reading and writing. Hicks has also drawn our attention to the ideological nature of discourses and draws on Bakhtin’s notion that everything we say is in dialogue with what has gone before. This impacts directly on how we analyse the way in which classroom talk and texts work to mediate learning. The analysis must take into consideration all the competing forces at play in the particular social context and the way in which they echo in the words of the participants (the learners). See Appendix 3 for the transcription conventions I use in the analysis of the classroom and interview discourse.

In using CDA, I draw on Fairclough’s definition, in which discourse is defined as a social practice:

Discourse *constitutes* the social. Three dimensions of the social are distinguished – knowledge, social relations, and social identity – and these correspond respectively to three major functions of language ... Discourse is shaped by relations of power, and invested with ideologies. (Fairclough, quoted in Jaworski & Coupland 2006: 2).

In this definition, discourse becomes the way in which language works in our social relationships. By emphasising the social aspect, Fairclough alerts us to the fact that language is a social construct and that it is linked with power. This understanding of discourse enabled me to identify the ways that discourse works to entrench unequal power relations, or to challenge those power relations. I looked at discourse as having a specifically ideological function. This approach to theorizing the relationship between language and society reinforces that developed in the critical ethnography of Canagarajah, and Blommaert and Dong described above.

In their evaluation of the limitations and possibilities of discourse analysis, Jaworski and Coupland (2006: 30-32) argue that the strengths of discourse analysis lie in its ability to enable rich descriptive accounts of specific situations.

... [I]n-depth, single-case analyses (eg. of a particular conversation or written report) are entirely appropriate in discourse analytic research, and have full validity, relative to their aims and objectives (usually to demonstrate meaning-making processes, and to build rich interpretations of local discourse events). (Jaworski and Coupland 2006: 31).

The production and interpretation of text is central to subject English and therefore critical discourse analysis helps to develop our analysis of how the discourse of the English lesson works to afford and limit a range of subject positions for learners.

As I explained in the theoretical framework set out in chapter 2, the concept of the fragmented, fluid, changing subject which has been theorised by poststructuralist theorists can be understood as constructed as a speaking subject within the discourse. Poststructuralist discourse analysis (PDA) (Baxter 2008) can help us to make some sense of the way in which the speaking subject is constructed and this understanding comes from the conception of discourse as drawing on a combination of competing, sometimes antagonistic ideologies. Classroom discourse – the form that the teaching takes, the amount of talking the teacher does, the opportunities for speech afforded the learner, the types of texts chosen for reading and the types of tasks set – is the outcome of a set of choices that are made by teachers who are, themselves, subjects of ideological and historical forces. Those forces are the products of conflict and this conflict is reflected in the contradictory and shifting nature of classroom discourse.

PDA is an “effective methodology” (Baxter 2008: 69) for analysing the “... highly complex and ambiguous nature of classroom discourse as it unfolds moment-by-moment” (McKinney 2011: 7). In reducing my data set from the hours of recorded lesson time to specific, chosen extracts for “moment-by-moment” analysis, I look for extracts in the classroom discourse that revealed the ways in which dominant ideologies permeated the discourse. I look for patterns in both the teachers’ inputs and the texts in which the learners were positioned in relation to dominant constructions of race, class and gender.

In the analysis of their discourse, both during the lessons and in the interview, I look for ways in which the learners accepted or resisted their positioning. PDA provides us with a method of detailed analysis of how classroom subjects, both teachers and learners come to speak, what their “utterances” might mean and to identify moments of resistance. It is a tool that helps us uncover the subtle shifts that learners make as they read and are subjected to discourse as well as to identify “... the ways in which speakers ... constantly shift between positions of powerfulness or powerlessness within competing cultural and educational discourses.” (Baxter *ibid*: 69). In addition, we need to contextualise moments of resistance within our understanding of what it means to be a speaking subject and what the effects of taking up a position as a speaker in the discourse

are. This analysis requires going beyond the descriptive to engage in a “reconstructive process” (Powney & Watts 1987: 162), in other words to draw conclusions about what it means to read in a specific context.

These two approaches to discourse analysis, CDA and PDA, are complementary. Both foreground issues of power, while PDA provides specific tools for the analysis of subjectivity and subject positioning in spoken discourse.

3.8 Conclusion

In the next two chapters, I will present data from the English lessons, the interview with the four selected learners and their written work, to describe a case of particular orientations to text that are ideologically driven and firmly located within a historical and social context.

Through analysis... [W]e are on the trail of thematic threads, meaningful events, and powerful factors that allow us entry into the multiple realities and dynamic processes that constitute the everyday drama of language use in educational sites. (Dyson & Genishi 2005: 111).

In the next two chapters, I will tease out those threads to identify some of the patterns of meaning making of my case and to develop a description of the ways in which language use, as it replicates and challenges dominant power relations, mediates language learning.

Chapter 4 Orientations to text and subject positioning

4.1 Introduction

Multiple levels of cultural selection are evident in the reading practices and positions that are afforded in school-learning. The texts to be read and features of the attendant lessons together call upon and build schemas for social and individual action, as well as schemas for what counts as appropriate school reading. These selections are not disinterested scientific or literary choices, particularly in terms of the ways in which texts and reading practices normalize and disguise their own ideological sources, interests and bases. (Freebody, Luke & Gilbert 1991: 453).

The reading of and writing about text are discursive practices in which learners are apprenticed as readers. These practices include the choice of texts made, the textual features focussed on, the types of questions asked and the way in which the discourse permits or disallows learners to speak. Through these practices, teachers model different kinds of readings and authorise what they deem a “successful” (Freebody, Luke & Gilbert 1991: 453) reading. In this chapter, I will focus on the teaching of reading of advertisements and literary texts that I observed over four weeks at Khanya High School. I will analyse the orientation to text that is modelled in the classroom talk as it unfolds in the tasks and activities that are set around the reading of texts. I will present data below and argue that the form that the teaching took and the type of tasks that were set in my case study reflected an ideological stance held by the teachers and modelled a particular and limited type of reading, which prohibited learners from achieving greater reading success. In the analysis of the discourse, I will show the subject positioning that is made available to the learners and how that positioning reproduces social relations of inequality.

4.2 A critical orientation to text

As discussed in chapter 2, multiple readings of any given text are always possible and there is never a finality to the meaning making that a reader can engage in. However, learners do need specific kinds of orientations, so that they can “... use texts effectively, in their own individual and collective interests, across a range of discourses, texts and tasks.” (Freebody & Luke 1990: 8). In the context of the increasing growth of the global knowledge economy and the prevalence of multi-modal texts, it has become ever more pressing that learners become critical readers of texts, so that they can engage in an “...interrogation of texts, *reading against the text*, [which] is tied to critical

literacy and implies that readers recognise texts as selective versions of the world; they are not subjected to them and they can imagine how texts can be transformed to represent a different set of interests.” (Janks 2010: 22). This type of reading requires an understanding of the ways in which we are subjected to the ideas in the texts and the ways in which text selection and construction are ideological endeavours. This critical orientation creates the possibilities for the reader to resist the unequal positioning that the texts effect.

Historically, critical language awareness, as an orientation to reading, has not characterised teaching practice in South Africa, nor has it featured in the assessment of reading in the English FAL Grade 12 examination, as Kapp and Arend (2011) have shown, in their analysis of the National Senior Certificate examination. “There is a considerable mismatch between the curriculum emphasis on language as a critical tool, and the cognitively undemanding and conservative examination papers.” (p. 5). A critical approach to text has, however, been a requirement for language teaching that has been set out in the various iterations of the curriculum since 1994. Most recently, the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Document (CAPS) Grades 10 to 12, first implemented in schools in Grade 10 in 2012, states that learners should engage with texts in ways that uncover their ideological orientations. The last of the seven specific aims of learning Additional Languages is clear and explicit about the critical readings of text that learners are expected to engage in, where learners

... [U]se their Additional Language as a means of *critical* and creative thinking: for expressing their opinions on ethical issues and values; for *interacting critically with a wide range of texts*; for *challenging the perspectives, values and power relations embedded in texts*; and for reading texts for various purposes, such as enjoyment, research and *critique*. (Department of Basic Education 2011: 9, emphasis added).

The document defines critical language awareness as follows: “Learners apply their understanding of how language can create and maintain power relationships between text producer and reader. They analyse the point of view from which the text is written.” (p: 30). This section of the CAPS promotes a range of readings of texts, including readings that question values and perspectives that naturalise dominant power relations.

Yet, as my data below will show, the orientations to text prescribed in the official curriculum documents, in particular critical orientations, are not being realised in the classroom. Rather, the “relentless pursuit of denotative factual answers” (in the case of the literary texts), that Kapp (2004)

observed, and the emphasis on the instrumental aspects of text (in the case of advertisements) dominate. In the next section, I will look at specific examples of classroom discourse, to describe in detail how the learners are “subjected” to dominant views of history and positioned socially with regard to dominant constructions of gender, race and class.

4.3 Analysing the discourse I: normalising dominant power relations

In the lessons I observed, one of the most defining features of the classroom discourse was the extent of teacher volubility and corresponding taciturnity on the part of the learners. This discursive practice, in which the “speaking rights” (Cazden 1988: 54) belong largely to the teacher, is illustrated in the extract from lesson two below. The distribution of speaking rights characterises the social relations operating in the classroom, where the teacher decides when and how learners may speak. This distribution, as I will show, can reproduce the unequal positions that the learners occupy in the broader society. In the language classroom, the effect of limited speaking rights is to curtail the extent to which learners can engage with text and realise a “successful” reading and to limit the opportunities for learners to produce the language they need to acquire powerful resources.

Over the course of Lessons 1 to 4, the student teacher Ms Mbatha covered the topic of advertising. Using TV and print advertisements, she taught the class about techniques that advertisers use to persuade consumers to buy their products. During Lesson 1, Ms Mbatha showed learners a selection of TV adverts, which they watched on her computer. She introduced the AIDA³ (Attention, Interest, Desire, Action) principle of advertising, in which advertisers use various techniques to get the consumers’ *attention*, arouse their *interest* in the product, create a *desire* for the product and propel them to *act* to buy the product.

The extract below is taken from Lesson 2. Ms Mbatha is revising the AIDA principle, introduced the previous day. She refers to two advertisements: the first is a TV advert for Axe men’s deodorant. The Axe advertising campaign has historically been aimed at young, heterosexual men, and made extensive use of sexually suggestive imagery, in which a young man who uses the

³ “AIDA is an acronym used in marketing and advertising that describes a common list of events that may occur when a consumer engages with an advertisement.” Wikipedia.

deodorant is seen to attract the attention of a group of young women. Women have consistently been objectified in this advertising campaign. In the advert chosen by Ms Mbatha, a group of attractive, scantily clad women simulate a strip-tease, slowly removing their clothes while climbing all over a bemused young man (all white actors). The second advert Ms Mbatha refers to is a print advert for Ponds skin cream, featuring the face of a black female model with flawless skin, which has been photocopied and given to the learners with a set of questions.

62 Ms Mbatha: Ok. Your ad has my attention and I think I like your ad, it's interesting. Now you have to make me want to buy your product. Remember yesterday I showed you those videos of a man's product with the women and the seduction and all that? You've gotten guys' attention by simply having women in your ads. You have them interested because the women are acting sexy and taking their clothes off. Now you have to make them want the product. Remember the AXE ad, there was a lot of things going on in the ad. There's women and there's men. People were taking their boots off and unbuttoning shirts. Only at the end of the ad do they tell you what they are selling but before you even know what they are selling, you want that. I want that. You must get people to want your product. If I am selling Ponds, ponds face cream and I've got a celebrity on the cover, I've got Terry Peto on the cover. She has nice beautiful skin and we are selling the product. We've gotten the attention of girls and have gotten them interested but are the guys gonna do this? Will guys want the product?

63 Learners: No.

64 Ms M: Why not? [Learners attempt a response but teacher talks over them.] Why won't men respond to beauty products that are for women no matter what you do?

65 Male learner: Beauty is all about girls.

66 Ms M: Beauty is all about...?

67 Male learner: ... girls.

68 Ms M: Can't a man be beautiful?

69 Learners: No!

70 Ms M: No?

71 [Learners shout out replies, argue.]

72 [Laughter.]

73 Male Learner: Men respond to gifts and surprises.

74 Ms M: Men respond to gifts and surprises? What kind of gifts and surprises? Isn't the celebrity on the product a surprise? What is the last one? You've got my attention. I am interested in your product and I want it but there is a difference between wanting something and getting something. You've gotten customers or the public to want the product. I want to go on a vacation but am I going on vacation? Not the same thing. So you need to get them to get the product because the whole point is for them to buy the product so that you can make money. It doesn't make sense to make all these because you won't make money because no one will buy the product. Remember that.

75 [Noise and scraping of chairs.]

76 Ms M: What is the aim of advertising from the start? What did we say we want to gain from advertising? If I'm selling this chalk and I'm advertising it, why am I advertising it?

77 [Silence.]

78 Ms M : To get customers and to get people aware of the product. Some people don't know you have chalk so people over there who didn't know there was such a product are now going to know, like the new one, 'Yo jelly'

In this extract, the teacher talks for eight of the 16 turns. Her turns are long: during the four-minute extract, learners spoke for just 25 seconds. The teacher also asks a lot of questions in her turns. Yet her questions are often rhetorical (see turns 62 and 74). She asks 16 questions, yet she only allows the learners to hazard an answer on six occasions. Where a learner does try and engage, (turn 65), the teacher immediately challenges the learner (turn 68), which silences him.

This extract illustrates significant variations from the “unmarked pattern” described as the Initiation/Response/Evaluation (IRE) pattern (Cazden 1988: 53) of classroom discourse. First, as I have shown, the “asymmetry in speaking rights” (Cazden 1988: 54) between the teacher and learners is particularly marked. In turns 68, 70 and 74, the way in which the teacher responds is largely to dismiss what the learners have to say, rather than to accept their ideas as part of a

discussion. Secondly, even where learners try and respond, as in turns 65 and 67, the teachers' evaluation, in the form of a rhetorical question, while it invites the rest of the class to speak, doesn't lead to an engagement with the language of the text. Rather than invite the learners to explore the way in which images and language work in these advertisements to promote values about beauty and sex and to position the viewers as consumers, she disregards what they have to say (turn 75).

The teacher has set up the reading of these advertisements to show examples of the way advertisers use the AIDA principle. This normative reading is reinforced by the way the teacher positions the learners in relation to the adverts: she substitutes their role as text reader or text analyst with that of text creator (in this case advertiser). In turn 62 she refers to "your ad", in turn 75, she says "I am interested in your product," positioning herself as a consumer and the learners as producers and then follows that in turn 76 with "What did we say we want to gain from advertising?" where she joins the learners in a quest to succeed at persuading consumers. In this reading, advertisements are accepted as given, rather than critiqued and learners are not afforded the opportunity of taking up the position of critical reader.

In her choice of focus on the surface meaning of the two advertisements and on the advertising strategies they exemplify, the learners are not afforded an opportunity to talk about the effect the adverts might have on them. There is no discussion about the heteronormativity assumed in the Axe advert, nor about the objectification of women, who are portrayed as serving to amuse and satisfy men. Referring to the Axe ad (turn 62), she says, "there was a lot of things going on...", but what was "going on" in her words was "People were taking their boots off and unbuttoning their shirts." The "People" are in fact all women, who performed these actions for the pleasure of a man, but the teacher's representation of what was "going on" precludes any critical analysis. She has normalised the women's actions and accepted uncritically the portrayal of the role of women as seductress ("being sexy"). Tellingly, she says, "There's women and there's men..." as if their roles and purpose in the advert can be equated. Similarly, the use of a celebrity (woman) with "nice beautiful skin" in the Pond's advert is not interrogated, nor are the effects on women of the relentless portrayal of conventionally beautiful women in the media. Nowhere does she provide an opportunity for learners to question the use of women's bodies as a commodity. What we see, too, is a measure of the reluctance identified by Moulton (2013) to engage with issues of sexuality and to position the learners as sexual beings.

In the reading that has been modelled here, the discourse reproduces relations of gender inequality, in the portrayal of male and female sexuality, the normalisation of the use of women's bodies in advertising and the acceptance of heteronormativity. The discourse "... Reflect[s] ideologies, systems of values, beliefs, and social practices." (Hicks 1996: 53). The message here for learners is that the way in which power works through the media is acceptable, it is right. These messages about power work through the cultural selections the teacher has made: of the texts to be studied and of the readings to be undertaken. The texts reflect the dominant power relations between men and women in the macro social context and the type of reading that is privileged in the classroom reinforces the normalisation of those unequal power relations.

Added to that, is the effect of the limitations on learners' speaking rights and the positioning of the learners as text producers. Both serve to remove learners' agency as users and critical analysts of text. In this extract, the "participant structures" (Hicks 1996: 51) open to learners are highly circumscribed by the teacher's volubility and by the use of rhetorical questions. The positioning of learners as only (re)producers of advertising texts denies them the opportunity to learn the tools of critical engagement.

4.4 Analysing the discourse II: readers as text analysts

The three literature texts chosen for reading in the period of my study were all written by South African writers, and were all concerned with issues of race and racial inequality. All three texts, a poem and two short stories, are prescribed by the DBE for study in Grade 12. In the literature lessons (Lessons 5, 6, 7, 8, 11 and 12), as with advertising, the opportunities for learner engagement with the texts and for an undertaking of critical reading was similarly limited, as I will show below, by the structure and content of the classroom discourse and the tasks set for studying the texts.

The Silk Scarf is a short story written by South African writer, Ahmed Essop. It takes place in the period leading up to the establishment of the first democratically elected government in South Africa. The story is set in an Indian shopping mall in Johannesburg and the writer sets up a conflict between Mrs Nebo, the wife of the soon to be appointed new Foreign Minister, who wants to buy a scarf and pay by cheque, and a shop keeper, Mr Sakur, who doesn't accept cheques. Mrs Nebo is portrayed as arrogant and greedy. As Mr Sakur stands his ground and refuses to sell her the scarf

unless she pays cash, she is bolstered by her threatening body guards and by other shopkeepers in the mall, who are worried that the new government may treat them like the old one did by repeating forced removals. The story ends with her threatening the Indian shopkeeper by saying to him there will be no place “...for people like you ... in the new democratic South Africa.”

The learners had been given photocopies of the story to read and 13 questions (see Appendix 4 for the questions) to answer on the story before I observed and recorded their lessons. I then observed and recorded the lesson in which Miss Mahlangu, the English teacher went through the questions with the class and the learners had to give their answers to the questions. Neither the story nor the questions were accompanied by any information as to their source. Most of the questions were closed and demanded the retrieval of facts from the story, similar to Kapp’s (2004) findings. These closed questions require that learners search the text for isolated facts about the plot (eg questions 1.1, “Why had the two ladies come to the plaza?” and 1.5 “Why could the shopkeeper not help Mrs Nebo?”) and random and unrelated facts about the characters (eg questions 1. 2, “What made Mrs Nebo buy a dress?” and 1.11, “What was Mr Sakur’s religion?”). The questions require a single answer and construct a reading of the surface meaning of the text, a reading “with the text” (Janks 2010). These cognitively undemanding questions test comprehension at a surface level and reinforce an orientation to the text similar to that of the reading of adverts in the previous lessons. The questions don’t help learners build an analysis of how the writer chooses and constructs a context in which he then makes an ironic observation about the venality of people linked to the new regime.

The last question, 1.13 required learners to use inference and express their opinions: “Decide who is a hero or a heroine of the story.” This question led to one of the few lively discussions among the learners that I observed during the four-week period of data collection. There was consensus among the learners that Mr Sakur was a hero, because he stood firm on his business rules in the face of intimidation from Mrs Nebo and her bodyguards. But there was less agreement about Mrs Nebo:

142 Miss Mahlangu: ... Last question. We are going to have different views. Who is the hero or heroine – Sssshhh! One person at a time! Who is a hero?

143 Male learner: It’s Mrs Nebo because the ... (indistinct).

144 Miss M: Not the main character. We’re talking about the hero.

145 It's Mr Sakur.

146 Female learner: The hero is Mr Sakur.

147 [Learners shout various responses.]

148 Miss M: There is a difference. A hero is a male and a heroine is a lady. Why do you say Mr Sakur is the hero?

149 Female Learner: Because he does what he believes in.

150 Miss M: Very good. He didn't change because of Mrs. Nebo. When his friends were together influencing, forcing him to bend to Mrs Nebo, he did not.

151 Learner: Yes.

152 Miss M: And also, Mrs Nebo? She's also a hero?

153 Female learner: Hayi, hayi. (*Trans: "No, no."*)

154 Female learner: She is.

155 Miss M: She is. Yes she is because she got what she wanted. She got what she wanted.

156 Learner: Yes!

157 Miss M: She's a heroine!

And later, the learners, mostly girls, described Mrs Nebo as "rude", "rich", she undermined others, was a "racist girl" (said by a male learner), "She was a diva. She was a female diva! She was intelligent, Mrs Nebo!" and she was "spoilt". Even though the learners were critical of Mrs Nebo and identified her negative traits – her greed and opportunism, the comments also show a sense of admiration for the way in which she exercised power and used her wits to get what she wanted. The excitement and interest this character aroused in the learners, especially the girls in the class, suggests that they may have identified with her. They brought their own experience as young black women in poor families, historically the most marginalised group of people in South Africa, to bear on their reading. In turn 155, the teacher models a reading of this character as someone who successfully stood her ground, she "... got what she wanted." And one of the girls agrees emphatically.

Question 13 afforded the learners an opportunity to resist the dominant reading of this character and to resist the representation of the new African elite as corrupt. The disagreement among the learners about her character, which the teacher facilitated, also indicated an understanding that multiple interpretations of a text are possible. In fact, in turn 142, the teacher signalled the shift in the reading strategy from finding the “correct” answer, to making inferences and expressing their own opinion. She gives them permission to disagree, when she says, “We are going to have different views.” This extract shows quite a marked difference in the allocation of speaking rights in the classroom talk, where the learners are afforded greater opportunity to express their opinions and to disagree.

Neither the classroom discussion, nor the questions, though, is framed in such a way as to afford a critical engagement of the way in which the writer has constructed this character nor to develop an understanding that these characters and this context are constructs that arise from choices a writer has made. The discussion and questions reinforce the authority of the text and the learners understand that they need to search the text for the “right” answer. In the exchange between two learners below, it is clear how learners accept the authority of the text, as one learner expresses her admiration for another’s ability to “read the paper”:

223 Female learner: He did not give into status, Mr Sakur.

224 Female learner: *Hayi, hayi. Uyalifunda iphepha!* (Trans: Gees! You read the paper!”)

225 Female learner: *Funda ’pha encwadini.* (Trans: Read here in the book.”)

226 Female learner: *Ewe kaloku, ndithi uyalifunda iphepha lakho.* (Trans: Yes, that’s what I mean. You read your paper.”)

And in this extract below, the teacher reasserts control and confirms that the kind of reading that is valued here means sticking to the facts of the story (turn 252). In turn 256, the teacher then positively reinforces a learner who is able to realise this meaning making orientation:

246 Miss Mahlangu: What?

247 Female learner: *Isekhona into siyishiyileyo ngoku?* (Trans: “Is there something we’ve left out?”)

248 Miss M: I don't know. I want it from you people.

249 [Laughter and begin speaking over each other.]

250 Miss M: Where did you get that from?

251 Learner: From the story.

252 Miss M: From your own imagination, not from the story.

253 [Continued laughter and loud chattering.]

254 Miss M: Sssh! Silence! Mr Sakur was an Indian shop keeper. He is not into status or politically intimidated. Treats all customers equally whether they are rich or poor or famous. But at the end of the story, what happened to Mr Sakur?

255 Female learner: He was betrayed by his friends.

256 Miss M: Very good, *mntan'am* (Trans: my child)! He was betrayed by his friends. *UMrs Nebo yena?* (Trans: and Mrs Nebo?) Rich...

The teacher's questions and comments above serve to model and reinforce a limited and uncritical orientation to the text. In turn 248, the teacher suggests that the learners can draw their own conclusions, that she is not in fact the only source of knowledge. This statement seems to follow on logically after the discussion about who the hero of the story was, where the learners participated actively and offered a range of opinions that were often accepted. Yet this process of engagement with the text ends abruptly in turn 252, when the teacher sharply challenges a learner's response by asserting that meaning lies in the text, that there is only one correct answer and that the learners are not free to bring their own readings, their "imagination" to the discussion.

The extract below provides an example of the way in which the teacher's ideological orientation is revealed and emphasised and it adds another element to the reading, in which the learners are expected to uncover a lesson and interrogate the text for a message.

260 Miss Mahlangu: What are the themes of the story? Themes, not settings.

261 Learner: Principles!

262 Learner: Theme, like *njani*? (Trans: how?)

263 Miss M: Teach us about principles, yes. You must have principles. Materialism and (indistinct)

264 [Learners speak over one another.]

265 Miss M: Another one?

.....

266: Miss M: What the story is about. It teaches you about principles; you must have principles because Mr Sakur kept his principles, treating everybody equally. Opportunism – the shop owners there, those friends of Mr Sakur...

267 Male learner: Opportunism?

268 L: Consumerism.

269 Miss M: For Mrs Nebo – Materialism because she’s got money. She’s boastful about the money. She can do anything she wanted to do.

Once again, authority is located in the text, which the teacher asserts promotes positive values that the learners should acquire, for example, in turn 266, the teacher says “... you must have principles.” In turn 267, a learner attempts to question the teacher’s assertion that the story is about opportunism, when she characterises the other shop owners as being opportunistic. The other shop owners paid for the scarf and had given it to Mrs Nebo, in order to protect their livelihoods against possible future government intervention. But the teacher ignores the learner’s query and then moves on to talk about Mrs Nebo’s materialism, in this way denying his speaking rights and reasserting her control.

In the lesson on *The Silk Scarf*, learners were afforded a brief opportunity to bring their life experience and historically constructed subjectivities as oppressed black women to the reading of the character of Mrs Nebo. The discourse took the form of an open question and the handing over of speaking rights to learners for part of the lesson. In that time, the discourse briefly positioned the learners as text analysts, a task they were able to realise successfully, in a rich and heated discussion. Yet, what remained elusive was an opportunity to interrogate the text as a construction and to “imagine other possibilities,” (Janks 2010), to consider how different selections could construct a different view.

4.5 Analysing the discourse III: reading apartheid a

In Lessons 7 and 8, the learners studied the Guy Butler poem, *A Prayer for all my Countrymen* (see Appendix 5). Ms Mbatha conducted Lesson 7, in which she introduced the poem, read it with the class and discussed it and then set 10 questions on the poem (see Appendix 4) for the learners to complete for homework. She began by providing a brief biography of the poet, noting that he was a South African. She explained that the poem was written in 1965, during apartheid and used the context to probe why the poet could be writing a prayer for his countrymen.

49 Ms Mbatha: He wrote the poem in the height of apartheid in the sixties. It was when apartheid was really bad. We know that because...Did you guys do history?

50 Learners: In grade nine.

Ms Mbatha suggests through her question in turn 49 that the learners would only know about apartheid from history studies at school: yet apartheid history defines much of their lives – the racially homogenous apartheid township they live in, the racially homogenous school they go to and the way apartheid has been experienced in their families and communities. The learners can't learn their role as text users, here, who bring their own experience of the lived realities of apartheid to their reading. Nor can they draw on identity resources they might have as part of ongoing resistance and engagement with the unequal distribution of power and resources they continue to experience in their daily lives.

Before the class read the poem, Ms Mbatha focussed on the poet's possible political position and says the learners need to establish whether he was pro- or anti-apartheid.

59 Ms Mbatha: So we don't know yet whether Guy Butler was pro- apartheid or anti-apartheid or if he was in the middle. We don't know that yet because we haven't read the poem. So we are going to read the poem and when we are done reading the poem you should be able to tell me where Guy Butler stands. So while we are reading the poem I want you to...You know when you are in my class you aren't grade elevens. Last week you were advertisers and today we are in the sixties. It's nineteen-sixty-five, you live in South Africa in the height of apartheid. When I read the poem you must tell me what's going on in the poem and where Guy Butler stands.

Here she conflates the voice in the text with that of the writer's and by closing that gap, the learners are not given the opportunity to read the text as a construct, as a set of choices about context and message that are informed by the poet's ideological position, but aren't necessarily the same as it. They are told that "reading the text" will enable them to tell what the poet's political stance was. The purpose of this reading is to make a value judgement about the writer, rather than to explore the effects of the text. In this reading, the teacher positions the learners as people living in the sixties in South Africa. This helps to engage the learners with the poem and creates the possibility for a reading against the text. But she doesn't explain any further as to what precise identities they could adopt. For example, what would black women condemned to the isolation and poverty of the Bantustans make of this appeal in the poem – and how could the choice of identity be affected by the sexist term, "countrymen"? As she did with the reading of advertisements, Ms Mbatha positions the learners as something other than readers and in the process, prevents them bringing to the reading what it means to be black learners in a poor context in South Africa today, or to look at how apartheid history continues to define the subject positions they are permitted to take up. The teacher goes on to build meaning for the learners by focussing on the form of the poem as a prayer and the word "countrymen" in the title:

69 Ms Mbatha: So why would Guy pray for South Africa?

70 Learner: He was anti-apartheid.

71 Ms M: Yes he was anti-apartheid. What tells you from the title? The title gives you a clue about where Guy Butler stands when it comes to apartheid.

72 Learner: He doesn't show people are different, he unites everyone.

73 Ms M: By using the word countrymen, he doesn't specify whether he is talking about blacks or whites. This means he is talking about us collectively. There is something else that tells you where Guy stands with apartheid. When do you pray for someone?

74 [Learners give various responses incoherently.]

75 Ms M: Do you pray for someone you don't care about or that you don't love?

76 Learners: No.

77 Ms M: You pray for someone you like or you love. When they are going through hardships you feel it, you pray for them so that it gets better. So Guy Butler is praying for South Africa. Why? He is South African. He cares about his country and his countrymen.

This extract of classroom discourse again underlines the extent to which the discursive practices are characterised by the ownership of speaking rights by the teacher. The teacher asks and answers her question in turn 77, which denies the learners a chance to question the choices the poet has made, to interrogate his privileged position, his right to speak of these things, the power of his voice or to consider the effect of the casting of this text as a prayer. The discourse privileges a reading in which the text is an expression of the poet's politics, of his worth as an individual, rather than questioning where power was located during apartheid. Secondly, the reading of the text as a prayer successfully hails, or interpellates the learners as Christians. In turns 73 and 75, Ms Mbatha positions the learners as Christians, when she says, "...when do you pray for someone?" Her use of "you" in those turns and again in turn 77 positions the learners as Christian subjects, alongside her.

In the following lesson (Lesson 8), Miss Mahlangu handed out a photocopied set of notes, photographs and cartoons from the apartheid era. While the learners were working on the questions, Miss Mahlangu, in her conversation with the researcher, further emphasised the poet's virtue as a Christian:

Miss Mahlangu : But if they can see this poem is written by a white person, critical thinking – why? That shows that Guy Butler was a Christian because he was appealing to God.

The power of Christian ideology works here to interpellate both teachers and learners, both, as Davies says "... are constituted through discourses and storylines, the constitutive power lying in the discourse and the ways in which it has been taken up." (1999: 29).

The reading of the poem enacted by the teachers served largely to blunt an understanding of apartheid and as a result ruled out a critical appraisal of the ways in which apartheid inequalities and violence continue to echo through life in South Africa today. In the course of Lesson 7, Ms Mbatha focussed the learners' attention on the word, "complexities", which the poet has emphasised by placing on a line on its own (See the related questions in Appendix 4):

90 Ms Mbatha: People were fighting. Whites were fighting blacks. Blacks were fighting blacks, it was chaos. 'Complexities', what does that mean? What does it mean if something is 'complex'?

91 Learner: When something is really complicated.

92 Ms M: Yes repeat that.

93 Learner: When something is really complicated.

94 Ms M: Yes. Something complex is something complicated. Why is the word 'complexities' in that line? To show what? Ok. If I emphasize something what am I doing?

95 Learner: To make something clear.

96 Ms M: To make something clear. Who has something different? What's the meaning of 'emphasis'? When I emphasise something, in Xhosa: "*ukugxininisa*"

97 [A few learners reply]: "Yes!"

98 Ms M: So what are they trying to emphasise there when they mention complexities? Remember we said something complex is something really complicated. What was complicated about nineteen-sixty-five and apartheid? What was so complicated that it couldn't be solved? Apartheid started in the forties and this was twenty years later and it still wasn't resolved. It was complicated, it was complex.

In the first turn of this extract, the teacher's depiction of apartheid removes any idea of the uneven power relations between black and white. She defines the period as "chaos", as much defined by "blacks fighting blacks" as by "whites fighting blacks." Then her explanation of apartheid as "complicated" accepts this casting of the time as "tragic" and "complex" by the poet, as if this system of institutionalised inequality was beyond changing. The teacher offers no explanation of why things were complicated, nor questions why the poet might have chosen that word to define apartheid. The power of the text is such that she can't. The narrative of apartheid presented through the poem ("tragic" and filled with "complexities"), the teacher's commentary ("people were dying, people were beaten, and children were dying...") and the provided notes and explanations of the poem ("deaths, persecution and unequal rights... and the complications of apartheid") construct a limited and vague storyline of apartheid that reduces the period to one of only physical brutality,

and doesn't expand on the idea of apartheid as "complex" in the way it impacted on all levels of black society and experience and enacted violence both physically and existentially. While the photocopied hand outs given to the learners by Miss Mahlangu halfway through Lesson 8, contained four small photographs showing marches and a political funeral, this is the only acknowledgement of organised resistance to apartheid. Once again the task set for the learners is a list of 10 questions that focus on the surface meaning of words and the identification of literary devices such as alliteration. There is no room for a critical reading, for example of Christian values and the way in which the poet invokes them to neutralise contradictions and anaesthetise the pain caused by apartheid.

4.6 Analysing the discourse IV: reading apartheid b

The following week, (Lesson 11), Miss Mahlangu read the story *The Toilet*, aloud to the class and provided a commentary as she read. Again, the story was read from a photocopied hand out and this time the questions (see Appendix 4) were written on the board. *The Toilet* is a short story by Gcina Mhlophe, set in Johannesburg during apartheid. The story tells of the struggles of a young black woman who is secretly living with her sister in the domestic quarters of a suburban white family, where her sister works. The story focusses on the exclusion and loneliness of the young woman, who finds warmth and privacy in a public toilet where she is able to read and write poetry and stories. The main character in the story is feisty and challenges the fact that nursing and teaching were the only professions open to educated black women at the time: "People thought that these professions were respectable, but I knew I wanted to do something different..." (Mhlophe 1987) and later she is determined to keep writing. The teacher introduced the story with a long commentary about the key literary features: the setting, the plot, the themes and the characters. She described the impact of the pass laws on black women, how this creates the backdrop to the themes of isolation and separateness, yet how the main character "makes the best of her situation" and the story ends on a positive note.

As part of her commentary before she read the story, Miss Mahlangu constructed a reading that privileged a particular idea of black subjectivity.

46 Miss Mahlangu: Because during apartheid, when you were addressing a person who employed you- a white person, you called them 'Madam'.

47 Learner: Yes, Miss.

48 Miss M: They were not calling them by their first names or by their surnames. They called them 'Madam'.

49 Male Learner: They respect them.

50 Miss M: This shows the way they were respecting the people that employed them....

In this reading, all black people are characterised as respectful, a reading that serves to limit how the actions of the main character, who challenges dominant ideas of “good black women”, can be read. In line 49, the learner accepts this positioning in this limited reading, as do the rest of the class, who remain quiet and attentive throughout the lesson.

50 Miss Mahlangu : ... [reading] “Sometimes I wanted to give up and be a good girl who listened to her elders.” [commenting]. You know mos, we black people, we’ve got respect. We respect our elder people. You must always show respect no matter what. Not like people of these days who question everything. But that time, they were just obeying the rules.

Both the story “... a good girl...” and the teacher’s commentary set up an idea of goodness that means obeying elders. The teacher extends this idea to mean accepting rules and showing respect, “no matter what.” Yet by choosing to focus on the main character’s choices: staying illegally in her sister’s quarters and exploring alternative careers, the story can be read as a celebration of resistance to the constructions of black women subjects during apartheid. The teacher’s commentary, though, does not allow for an exploration of the way in which black women challenged their limited career options. Rather, the teacher emphasises the main character’s loneliness and isolation. In her repeated use of the pronoun “we” eg “... we black people”, she positions the learners as respectful black people and instructs them “you” to be respectful “no matter what.” This injunction denies the learners an opportunity to explore ideas of resistance – both on the part of women to their very constricted lives and on the part of black people in general to apartheid. There is also evidence here of a confusion between subservience and respect, that reveals a strong ideological orientation of acceptance of unequal power relations, and a reluctance to interrogate the ways in which the character’s experiences as a young woman challenged power relations between powerful privileged whites and their black servants. This positioning contrasts

strongly with the teacher in Bhattacharya et al's study, where, "For many of the girls, she opened up a discursive space for exploring choices around agency and gender." (2007: 484)

The teacher prefaced this reading with clear explanations about the way in which passes controlled the movements of black women. Yet at the outset of her reading (turn 50), she asserts the need to accept oppression: "we must always show respect no matter what... and not....question everything." This also serves to remind the learners of the power hierarchy operating in the classroom, where the teacher has the power to decide what knowledge and what orientations will prevail. This "partial script" (McKinney 2011), while it differs from that of the teacher in McKinney's study, in the sense that it is inclusive of all the learners - the "we" she speaks about, works similarly to limit the learners' opportunities to challenge dominant ways of knowing. We see the power of this discourse in turns 47 and 49, where the learners slip comfortably into an echoic mode, as they are subjected to ideas of "goodness" and "respect" and perform accordingly.

The story provides further opportunities for an exploration of power relations between men and women and of issues of sexual exploitation, of rural women by city men, when the writer says that she was happy to be considered a fool from the rural areas, as it would keep her out of sight of the sophisticated city boys: "I thought it was better to be a *bari* than to be stabbed by a city boy for his money." (Mhlophe 1987).

50 Miss Mahlangu: ... [reading] *Most people at the factory spoke Sotho but they were very nice to me and they tried to speak to me in Zulu and Xhosa.* [commentary] Why did they try to speak to her in Zulu or Xhosa?

51 Learner: She was Zulu.

52 Miss M: [commentary] She was a Zulu person. And also she was matriculated at Mfundisweni. Mfundisweni is in the Eastern Cape, not in KZN. So, she's got a mix of Zulu and Xhosa. [reading] *They gave me all kinds of advice on things I didn't know. There was this girl Gwendolyn. She thought I was very stupid. She called me a Bari because I always sat inside in the changing room with something to read when it was time to eat my lunch instead of going outside to meet guys.* [commentary] It's what you people, mos, you are labelling people coming from the rural areas, *nithi ziibari* (Translation: you say they are fools).

53 [Learners murmur replies.]

54 Miss M: mmhmm. They're labelling them because she could not fit in with the flow of the people. [reading] *"I always sat inside the changing room with something to read when it was time to eat my lunch instead of going out to meet guys. She told me it was cheaper to get myself a lunch boy, somebody to buy me lunch."*

This part of the story also deals with rural/urban divides and identities, another issue that would have meaning for the learners, many of whom have roots in the Eastern Cape, some having been born there and come to Cape Town recently. But neither the teacher commentary, nor the questions (see Appendix 3) create openings for learners to explore these issues, to relate, for example, to the subject position of rural incomer who resists city violence that the text offers. Instead, the teacher focusses on her ethnic identity, in turns 50 and 52, retreating into apartheid constructs that worked to keep black people divided. Unlike the "expert interpreters" of Wallace's study (2006), where learners brought their life experience to their reading, the positioning here subjects the learners to the authority of the discourse.

The story offers numerous possibilities for examining the construction of female identity during apartheid and for deconstructing the role that each of the three female characters takes up: the main character who resists being positioned in the typical role of nurse or teacher, who risks arrest for living illegally in a "white" area and who endures loneliness in pursuit of literary success; her sister who carefully protects her position as a servant and the white madam, isolated in white privilege. But neither the teacher's commentary, nor the questions (see Appendix 3) afford the learners an opportunity to explore this. Question 3, "Which two professions were regarded as respectable by people?" underlines the idea that "respectable" women were nurses or teachers, professions that extend the work of women as carers and nurturers. The phrasing of this question in fact contradicts the positive message of the story of an independent black woman who was determined to find a new path and new identity beyond the constraints of patriarchal, apartheid South Africa. Question 6, "What do you think would have happened if the 'Madam' had seen her?", is the only question that opens the possibility for an engagement with the relationship between the white madam and her employee's sister, and an investigation of how power worked (and still works) between black and white women in domestic contexts.

This question, "What do you think would have happened if the "Madam" had seen her?" is somewhat confusing, though, as there is a point in the story when the Madam **does** find her waiting

outside her sister's room – and the Madam says she will give her sister a message for her. This might explain the learner's confusion, in the extract below, taken from the lesson the next day, when the learners were given time to write answers to the questions the teacher set on the story:

12 Male Learner: *Akhange ndiyive le question.* (Trans: "I didn't understand this question.")

13 Miss Mahlangu: You must read the question ... and understand the question. The question says: "What do you think would have happened to her?" Critical thinking. You must understand the events of the story.

14 Male Learner: Okay, *ndiya*[Trans: understand]*a. But nawe Miss uyibeke ngenye indlela le question.* (Trans: Okay, I understand. But you took us down a different path with the question, Miss.)

Again, the learner is not given an opportunity to expand and explain why he doesn't understand the question. The teacher's authority simply cannot be challenged. In addition, the teacher's representation of critical thinking here (turn 13) is problematic. This is essentially an inferential question.

During the reading of this story, the learners were very attentive. They clearly enjoyed the story and were gripped by it. The issues it raised about professions and identities available to black women, sexual exploitation by sophisticated urban men and the complexity of racial relations all afford great potential for learners to connect with their lives. But neither the reading of the text, nor the questions set on the text, afforded the learners the opportunity to explore those aspects of the text that could have meaning for them, especially in ways that could help them challenge dominant power relations.

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have looked at the way in which the classroom discourse positioned learners in particular ways and attempted to afford them access to the texts. The dominance of teacher talk and the nature of the questions set on the literary texts, however have severely limited active learner participation in the lessons and limited opportunities to use issues in the texts for critical engagement. As I have shown, there were a number of instances in which the teachers' ideological positions defined the readings, be it in the naturalising of the sexist treatment of women in the

media, or the resistance to valorising strong black women challenging patriarchal apartheid structures. This positioning worked to deny the learners a chance to question, positioning them as “respectful”, “Christian”, “heterosexual”, as the power of the discourse made those choices look obvious and inevitable. As Janks (1997) says, “Ideology is at its most powerful when it is invisible, when discourses have been naturalised and become part of our everyday common sense.” (p. 341).

The choices of the three literary texts created opportunities for learners to explore a range of readings and to reflect on their own life experiences in ways that could examine how power works in their own contexts, between men and women, between black and white people and how issues of class weave in between. All three texts raised issues about apartheid, yet the readings that the teachers conducted revealed a reluctance to grapple with issues of domination. I will look, in the next chapter, at how learners were able to draw on various resources and subject positions to resist the effects of the texts and the readings that were privileged in the classroom discourse.

Chapter 5 Learner self-positioning and agency

5.1 Introduction

...[I]dentities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not ‘who we are’ or ‘where we came from’, so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves. (Hall, 1996: 4).

In the previous chapter, I analysed the way in which the classroom discourse positioned learners in particular ways regarding race and gender and constructed particular narratives about apartheid in such a way as to limit learners’ ability to engage critically with texts. The data showed how the positioning of learners attempted to “represent” them as obedient and accepting of the power of the teacher and the text. Dominant ideological positions of normative heterosexuality, and the representations of gender and race as man/woman and white/black binaries respectively echoed powerfully through the classroom discourse and limited the ways in which learners might represent themselves.

However, despite the power of the discourse and the constraints placed by the particular orientations to text taught in the reading lessons, I was struck by the evidence of learner agency, which took a number of forms, including resistance to some of their positioning as learners, readers, women and black people. In this chapter, I will examine learner self-positioning and agency in classroom discourse, interview data and their written texts. I will argue that learners occupy a range of shifting positions as they read and learn, that include positions as savvy users of social media, as commerce students and consumers, as young people both unfettered by the burdens of a racial past and in tune with its effects, and as learners resisting attempts to define and control their linguistic subject positions. I will provide evidence of ways in which learners are able to draw on the resources afforded them by those positions to successfully realise the tasks set for them. I will show how learners represent themselves differently from the dominant ideological positions of what they might become, by taking up subject positions beyond what the teacher and the text allow. I will present a description of learners who are able to draw on resources from their history and lived experience, their multiple language practices and their cultural practices as commerce students and consumers to realise, if only partially, the tasks set for them.

5.2 Origins and subjectivity

The four learners I interviewed all have roots outside of Cape Town: Gidima⁴ has had a peripatetic childhood, having been born in the Eastern Cape and spending time in schools both in Cape Town and in the Eastern Cape. Yandiswa was born in Knysna and lives now with her family in the township in Cape Town where her school is located. Khwezi was born in Mthatha and lives in a previously whites only Cape Town suburb with older siblings, and commutes to school each day. Nokhanyo was born in Cape Town but has Eastern Cape affiliations. In the interview, two of the learners identified strongly with their rural history, in the sense that even though they were born in Cape Town, they identified as being from the Eastern Cape:

2 Khwezi: ... I was born in a small village called Mthatha. Then I grew up there then I came to Cape Town in 2006. So ja. I am a decent child.

20 Nokhanyo: ... I was born here in Cape Town but originally, I'm from East London.

38 Gidima: Yha, I was born in Cape Town but originally I'm from the Eastern Cape.

and

42 Gidima: Yha, I grew up on both sides. Some years in the Eastern Cape and some years here in Cape Town.

What is noticeable in this extract, is the binary that is set up between the Eastern and Western Cape, between urban and rural spaces. In turn 42 for example, Gidima describes growing up “on both sides”, a suggestion of the powerful symbolic and lived divide between the two places. In addition, in turns 20 and 38, both Gidima and Nokhanyo speak of their origins in the Eastern Cape, a strong identification with those spatial roots and most significant in Nokhanyo's words in turn 20, who was actually born in Cape Town, but defines herself as “originally” from East London.

In turn 2, Khwezi's self-identification as a “decent child” is very telling, in the way that he links his rural Eastern Cape roots, his birth in the “small village” of Mthatha with that construction of decency. What his description suggests is that his formative life in the Eastern Cape was the key to

⁴ All names have been changed to ensure confidentiality.

his decency and has helped to protect him against the corruptible influences of the city where he now finds himself. This is further underlined by Khwezi's behaviour during Lesson 9 on August 8. The class had been given time to work on their orals for the death penalty debate and at one point, Khwezi excitedly called me over to look out of the window. We had a view across the school grounds (a deserted field) to the road where a group of approximately 10 young men, armed with sticks and poles were walking intently in single file. Khwezi informed me that they were gangsters and seemed at once fascinated and fearful, as were the boys around him. As someone who grew up in the relative safety of a rural "village" and who now lives in a Cape Town suburb, unlike the learners in Kapp's study (2004), he seems able to position himself outside of the ambit of the township criminal subject.

This moment in the classroom was however a strong reminder of the ever-present threat of violence in the lives of these learners and of the tenuousness of the inside/outside divide and the porousness of the classroom and school perimeters. There was another reminder of this underlying threat of violence, when I asked the four learners in the interview about their social media practices and what they use social media for, when Nokhanyo said:

90 Nokhanyo: Or 'Access' where you are able to report crime or rape or something like that.

I will examine issues of rural subjectivities and gender-based violence, as well as subject positions of obedience and docility as they might link to decency, further in additional data from the interview and from the lessons in the next section.

5.3 Text and cultural positioning

In the last three years of schooling, learners study a selection of subjects that includes three compulsory subjects: two languages and mathematics or mathematical literacy, plus four additional subjects of their choice. The remaining four are usually structured into streams, for example learners in the science stream choose subjects such as Physical Science, Life Science and Geography. The class that I observed are in the commerce stream and study Accounting, Economics and Business Economics. This streaming creates subject positions that were visible in a number of ways, first of all in the desire the learners expressed in the interview on August 15, about future careers they would like to pursue: Gidima said, "My goal is to become an economist, like in statistics...", Nokhanyo said, "... after Grade 12 I will go into university where I will do sales

marketing or accounting.”; Yandiswa said, “I also want to be an entrepreneur. There are so many things, but that is one of my biggest goals.” Only Khwezi wanted to do something outside of the commerce field: “I want to be a sound engineer. So that’s my career field.”

In the expression of these desires, we see learners who are looking way beyond the constraints of their gender (in the case of Yandiswa and Nokhanyo) and class positions towards a future that holds a wide range of potential for them and here we see a story they are able to tell about themselves that challenges and contradicts the subject positions made available in the classroom discourse and reading orientations, of knowing their place. Davies, (1999: 37) argues that

Desires are constituted through the narratives and storylines, the metaphors, the very language and patterns of existence through which we are ‘interpellated’ into the social world (see Althusser, 1971). Desire, along with rational argument, evidence, storylines and fantasy, are all implicated in our interpretations of ourselves and of others, and there are often contradictions between them.

Here these learners are drawing on political narratives of freedom and equality, in which black youth are told they can strive for and achieve the academic success previously denied their parents. In telling the story of their career ambitions, these learners have drawn on multiple sources, including their positions as commerce students, as members of “a new generation” and on their imagined future selves. These future selves contradict the positions of “respectful” young people afforded them by the classroom discourse in their lessons the previous week.

The second indication in which their subject positioning as commerce students was evident, was the way in which they were able to draw on resources afforded them by their knowledge of business practices and discourse, to realise the task they were set in Lesson 3, July 26. At the end of that lesson, Ms Mbatha set the learners a task, as follows:

97 Ms Mbatha: You don’t even remember what your job is? You work for me and I’m an ad agency. Your job is to come up with ads for me. We’ve got clients and our clients bring lots of money into our company and they need the ads. So there’s an ad that you must create for me. There’s a company called T Mobile. Have you heard of T Mobile?

98 Learners: No.

100 Ms M: It exists. T Mobile is a real company but we don’t have it in South Africa. T Mobile is a cell phone network like MTN, Vodacom, Cell C but it’s global. It’s not just for South Africa.

They have it in the UK, they have it in America, they have it in Canada but they don't have it here. So T Mobile came to our agency and they said they are creating a product for South Africa, specifically for South Africans and the name of the product is called Mzansi Mobile. It's for South Africans it's called Mzansi. The name of it is Mzansi Mobile. It's a cell phone network just like MTN and cell C. They are launching in South Africa. It's never been in South Africa before. So we need customers. For them to get customers, what must they do?

100 Learners: Advertise.

101 Ms Mbatha: They must advertise. Which is why you and I are here. Okay? So what you guys are gonna do is, T Mobile is coming to South Africa and they're launching their product. Your job is to come up with an ad that's going to introduce the product to South Africans. Your ad – remember, your ad must grab attention. It must grab my attention, it must get me...?

102 Learners: Interested.

In setting this task, the teacher reiterated the AIDA principle for advert construction. In turn 97, she defines an understanding of text production that positions the learners as workers who produce text in the realisation of profit. In order for learners to successfully realise this task, they need to accept that understanding of text production and draw on resources they may have to successfully occupy the position of workers involved in commercial engagement. They are also positioned as lower in the hierarchy, by the teacher's instructions in turn 101, where their work must fulfil her requirements and in turn 97: "You work for me...".

During the following lesson, Lesson 4, July 29, Ms Mbatha went around the classroom and viewed the learners' work. Khwezi's advert (see Appendix 6a) drew extensive praise. She said, "This is a beautiful ad." And her feedback about Yandiswa's advert (see Appendix 6b) drew the same comment. The successful realisation of the task of creating adverts for Mzansi Mobile by Khwezi and Yandiswa happened in two ways: first, they drew on their own practices as consumers and second they drew on their knowledge resources afforded them by their commerce studies. For example, Khwezi used commercial jargon such as "discount" and drew on his knowledge of economics to create customer desire by promising that if they invested in airtime, they could earn interest. Khwezi also drew on his resources as a user of social media and added Facebook, twitter

and YouTube references in his advert. When asked in the interview how he had gone about the task, he said:

182 Khwezi: I just followed the rules. You were supposed to have a business logo, and also Facebook and Twitter. So I just followed the rules. It was Mzansi Mobile simply because it's from Mzansi so I just created a South Africa make so everyone could see it was for Mzansi Mobile. So I just followed the rules. That's all I did.

This perception of text production as simply following rules suggests the identification with the principles set out in the preceding lessons, in which the teacher repeatedly emphasised the AIDA strategy. Both the classroom discourse “you work for me” and the nature of the task constructed a “storyline” as Davies says, that enabled a successful realisation of the task. But the discourse did not allow for a critical reading, a reading against the text and this in turn precluded any possibilities of text design that could challenge the working of dominant ideology through the text. As in Hendricks' study (2007), this shows how “... children's texts stem from and lead to different writing competencies and create different subjectivities.” (p. 114).

Yet, Khwezi was not simply “following the rules”. His work showed agency, for example by encouraging customers to invest and earn interest, he was providing them with a clever and potentially valuable deal. He resists being “interpellated” as a commercial worker whose sole motive is to extract profit. Rather, he draws on his experience/position as an exploited consumer and “softens” the impact of avaricious cell phone providers, by offering simple deals to help poorer consumers. His resources as a commerce learner and as a consumer thus prove valuable both in his realisation of the task and in developing agency in the form of resistance to the demands of value extraction from vulnerable customers.

The positioning of learners as commerce students was also evident during Lesson 5 on July 30, when Miss Mahlangu went through the answers to the questions set on the story *The Silk Scarf*. A few of the questions dealt with the issues of the business transactions in the story – the shopkeeper (Mr Sakur) had a rule about only accepting cash. But Mrs Nebo did not have enough cash and wanted to pay for the scarf by cheque. Again, the learners were able to draw on their resources as commerce students and their knowledge of basic business arrangements to understand how the central conflict of the story played itself out:

44 Miss Mahlangu: He encouraged her to buy it because he said he will leave out the tax. You are doing business. Each and every item has got tax. Everywhere. The clothing has got tax. Some few basic things, they've got no tax.

45 Learner: Like?

46 Miss M: Like bread.

47 Learner: Yha.

48 Learner: And milk.

49 Miss M: One point five. Why could the shop keeper not help Mrs. Nebo? As you read, people. I said you underline the most important points. Why could the shop keeper not help Mrs Nebo? Why?

50 Learner: Because the shop keeper doesn't deal with cheques.

51 Miss M: Very good. The shop keeper couldn't give it if it was paid with a cheque. There was a sign in this shop saying that: 'No cheques. No credit. Only cash.'

In turn 44, the teacher invokes their subject positions as commerce students when she says, "You are doing business..," encouraging them to draw on their knowledge of business practices to answer the question. What is interesting, though, in turn 45, is that a learner asks what basic things have no tax, which suggests resistance to the business identity positioning – it is unlikely that learners in this working class community would not be conscious of the fact that basic foodstuffs are tax exempt. This resistance is then countered when another learner provides the correct answer in turn 50, which earns him strong affirmation from the teacher.

The questions on the story continue to focus on the commercial arrangements that set up the surface conflict in the story, between the shop keeper Mr Sakur, who refuses to accept a cheque and the customer Mrs Nebo, who demands special treatment. In the extract from the same lesson below, the class explore why he refused:

76 Miss Mahlangu: What is the basis for Mr Sakur to refuse or accept Mrs. Nebo's cheque? On what basis?

77 Learner: He runs his business according to his rules.

78 Miss M: Yes. Because he's got a law in his business - no cheques and no credit. Cash only. So, he was running his business according to his own rules and his own laws.

79 Learners: Yes!

Here we see strong identification by the learners with Mr Sakur and the principled way he dealt with the powerful customer, Mrs Nebo. In turn 77, the learner speaks of "his rules" and in turn 78, Miss Mahlangu reinforces and extends this use of words when she refers to the shopkeeper's "...own rules and his own laws." The learner's emphatic response in turn 79 indicates their approval of the shop keeper's stand. They identify with this imposition of order and resolve to uphold the rules.

In the interview, Gidima and Khwezi voiced strong approval of this character:

204 Gidima: Mr Sakur, the man who run his business according to her rules, didn't break her rules. He treat customers equally.

205 Interviewer: And what do you think about that?

206 Gidima: I think it is good to treat people all on the same level of standard.

207 Interviewer: Khwezi?

208 Khwezi: Also that guy is doing things according to the rules of the business. He doesn't underestimate you even if he is black or white. He just do things according to his rules. Mrs Nebo was the wife of a future president so that shows she didn't have rights to under-estimate the laws that have been established.

In turn 204, Gidima emphasises the importance of rules and of sticking to them consistently. He then links this with the ability to act fairly and "treat customers equally". This shows a strong desire for fairness and a rejection of privilege and its resultant advantages. He emphasises this in turn 206. In turn 208, Khwezi expands on this point and talks about his identification with the shopkeeper who exercises fairness regarding race. There is an echo here of Khwezi's identification as "a decent child", as someone who recognises what is right. In drawing on these resources afforded by this subject position, both of these learners have achieved a successful reading with the text: they have accepted the characters as they have been constructed by the author – the steadfast, principled shopkeeper and the venal Mrs Nebo, ready to abuse her newly-found power.

5.4 Text and agency

Both learners have read the text as a parable, identifying strongly with its message. Yet, this reading, as I showed in the previous chapter, was not without its moments of rupture, most notably when the learners, mostly girls, expressed their admiration for Mrs Nebo. As I showed in the previous chapter, in their reading of Mrs Nebo, the girls identified with her as black, as someone who had suffered oppression and exclusion and they relished her assertiveness and bravado. The question “Who is a hero?” afforded meaning making for them that led to different readings of the text and opened the possibility for an understanding of the multiplicity of readings that are always potentially available.

What is also evident in the interviewed learners’ responses to the texts is the shifting positions that they take up – moving from the strong identification with the text, to a distancing from it and an assertion of their positions in a new time. Khwezi said this in the discussion in the interview about the poem by Guy Butler, read in Lessons 7 and 8:

184 Khwezi: It [the poem, *A prayer for my countrymen* by Guy Butler] helps us to understand where we are coming from. It also helps us to improve our mentality because during that time many people that were black were fighting against whites simply because they underestimated blacks’ laws which is if you were black you were not supposed to visit a white place. So it gives us that idea and it will always give us that idea that we are a new generation.

In this turn, the way in which Khwezi positions himself in relation to his peers (his “generation”) and black people in the past is revealed by his use of pronouns. He consistently uses first person plural pronouns: “us” and “we”, as he identifies with the youth of today. He positions himself as part of a collective and he explains that the youth can learn from the past and “improve our mentality”. Then he shifts and talks about black people from the past and distances himself from them when he uses the second person pronoun: “... you were not supposed to visit a white place...” Then he reoccupies his position as a member of the collective when he says: “So it gives us that idea and it will always give us that idea that we are a new generation.” The emphasis he places on the “idea” of being “new” suggests a difference, of starting afresh, of being free and by repeating himself, he is signalling his desire and the investment of this generation in a new life in which they are equal.

Khwezi's subject positioning as a "new generation" suggests a desire for freedom from the racial constructions of the past and a desire to define himself as free of the shackles of apartheid racial constructions. This desire is signified in the earlier part of the interview (quoted above), when all four learners speak of their future and reveal aspirations for careers that hold the promise of a shift out of poverty. These subjects can dream of being sound engineers and statisticians precisely because they are able to resist their positioning as docile black people who, in Miss Mahlangu's words, "... must always show respect no matter what."

There is agency in their desire and yet the past continues to speak through them and to them, disrupting their sense of purpose and their ability to extract themselves from the limitations inherent in racial constructions. This was most evident in the way in which some of the girls in the class responded to the story *The Toilet* during the reading and in the way Yandiswa talked about the story during the interview. In the story *The Toilet*, aspects of the feisty and strategic behaviour of the narrator clearly resonated with the learners, especially the girls. Once the narrator has found a job in a factory, she is given advice by her fellow worker. In the extract below, from Lesson 11, Miss Mahlangu is reading aloud to the class, from the story:

52 Miss Mahlangu: [reading]... *I always sat inside the changing room with something to read when it was time to eat my lunch instead of going out to meet guys. She told me it was cheaper to get myself a lunch boy, somebody to buy me lunch.*

53 Female learner: Shyu!

54 Miss Mahlangu: [reading] *She told me it was wise not to sleep with him because then I could dump him anytime I wanted to. I was very nervous about such things.* [commenting] Why she was nervous? It's because she was coming from upcountry. [reading] *In city life I thought it was better to be a bari than to be stabbed by a city boy for his money.*

55 Learners: Yes!

56 Female Learner: *Unyanisile.* (Trans: She's right.)

Here the girls identify with the narrator's resistance to the sexual demands made of them by city boys, retreating into the relative safety of the unsophisticated position of country girls. The learners understand the sexual threat from powerful city boys, even though the teacher has (mis) directed

them in turn 54, choosing to focus on the narrator's rural background (she had explained earlier in the turn that a *bari* was a label used by city people to derogate people from the rural areas.), rather than on the sexual implications of befriending a "lunch boy". This section of the story has touched the girls directly. The past is with them, the experiences of black women are their experiences. In turn 56, the learner's use of the present tense creates a sense of immediacy and identification with the young woman in the story, who, like many of them, has come from the rural areas to the city, where she has to negotiate the risks of sexual violence.

As I showed in the previous chapter, the teacher commentary during the reading of the story, *The Toilet* in Lesson 11 and the questions set on the story denied the learners an opportunity to engage critically with the characters. Yet, in the interview, Yandiswa showed a thoughtful and considered response, in which she explored in a more nuanced way than had been possible during the lesson or in the classwork, what the story meant for her:

198 Yandiswa: I felt the pain that the people were in, in that time because the lady couldn't stay with her sister at that moment because her sister was employed. So I felt the pain she had to go through. Early in the morning, she had to wake, go and stay in the toilet, wait there for her time for her to go to work. So it was very painful but it showed that black people are very strong. What she believed in, she do what she believed in. She wanted to help her family, she went to find work. Even though she had to wake up early, she did wake up early.

199 Interviewer: And does it make you think about your life?

200 Yandiswa: Yes. It shows us that we as young children take things easily. The stories tell us that if you believe in something you have to work for it. We as young children give up easily. If we want something and we don't get it we just quit. It shows us that there are people who do things that they believe in. They are our mentors. We look to them.

In Yandiswa's response, what is significant is her use in turn 198, of the word "pain", which she uses three times, an indication of the strong identification she felt for the character. She also identifies with the character's strength and emphasised that the character did what she believed in, that she showed discipline. She identifies here with someone who has overcome tremendous adversity and when she says "black people are very strong", her use of the present tense signals her membership in that collective.

Yet there is a shift in her response in turn 200, where she distances her peer group from the oppressed of the past. In making an explicit connection with her life, she elevates the character in the story and describes herself and her peers as those who “take things easily. We as young people give up easily.” Her use of the first person plural pronouns : “They are *our* mentors. *We* look to them.” suggests at once a separation from the heroes of the past and a sense of a collective agency. The youth of today are different from their predecessors and are bound together in the here and now and need to act together.

What she says here in turn 200 echoes the moralistic overtones in the discourse and the orientation to reading that requires that learners find a message in the text. Once again the authority of the text is paramount and Yandiswa in her reading is shifting in and out of the position of obedient and respectful black person. While she can feel the character’s pain, the dominant ideology that paints young people as spoilt and “giving up easily” has overtaken and disrupted her identification and ruptured her attempt to link the character’s struggles as a black woman, with her own. The discourse has constituted her as a particular kind of reader, who can find surface meaning in the story. But it hasn’t given her the language to talk about the underlying power relations that the story is all about. Davies (1990: 38) reminds us that the speaking subject is implicated in the particulars of the situated discursive practice:

Fundamental to this idea is an understanding of the person as process, and of words coming not from an essential core but from the discursive practices through which the person is constituting themselves and being constituted.

This process, whereby youth subjectivity is constructed in classroom discourse, has been identified and described in detail in Ferreira’s (2012) research, in which learners discussing issues of youth identity and national identity took up shifting positions as they were exposed to the ideas and lived realities of their classmates, during class discussions.

5.5 Language practice and resistance

Both the short stories read in Lessons 5, 11 and 12 and the poem read in Lesson 7 tackled issues of race in a South African context. I have discussed the learners’ responses to the racial constructions in the texts above. But I want to look next at how issues of language identities play a part in defining racial identification. I want to explore this idea further by looking at learner resistance to

speaking English and how they construct their identity by asserting that English is not their language.

The lesson in which Miss Mahlangu went through the questions on *The Silk Scarf* (Lesson 5, July 30) was characterised by quite a bit of learner resistance in the form of teasing and laughing. In turn 106, the teacher referred to question 1.11, “What was Mr Sakur’s religion?” This led to a protracted discussion in the class, marked by laughter, learners speaking in isiXhosa, talking among themselves and general unruliness, over 30 turns, in which the learners mostly exhibited a clear grasp of both the difference between race and religion and the fact that Mr Sakur was a Muslim. At no point in the exchange, though, did the teacher confirm their (correct) answer. Later, they discussed the question of which character was the hero or heroine of the story and the teacher instructed the learners to speak in English. The extract below is the exchange that followed:

164 Miss Mahlangu : You must speak in English.

165 Male Learner: *Alolwimi lwethu. ...*(Trans: “It’s not our language”) Because it’s not our...

166 Female learner: *Hayi!* (Trans: “No!”)

167 Male learner: It’s not our tongue.

168 Miss M: But you must learn to speak it. You must learn to speak it.

169 Male learner: But *alolwimi lwethu. (Trans: “But it’s not our language.”)*

This extract is marked by intransigence on the part of both the teacher and the male learner. The teacher issues a strong command to the class, which she repeats for emphasis. But this particular male learner resisted being positioned as an obedient learner who would follow the command to speak English and again, the use of the plural pronoun “our language” signals a collective positioning. Here he is able to demonstrate his agency in the form of his use of language and his resistance to the instruction to speak English. While it is unclear whether the learner in turn 166 is refusing to follow the teacher’s command (because she is speaking isiXhosa and could thereby be seen to be defiant) or negating the idea that they make no claim to English, the male learner is clearly defiant in his refusal to speak English in turn 165 and in repeating the assertion that English “is not our tongue”. He is resisting the position of English speaker and firmly and insistently identifying the learners collectively as not owning the language. He resists by speaking in isiXhosa

and by repeating the assertion twice. He defines their relationship to both English and isiXhosa in terms of ownership – “our language”.

What this resistance suggests, is a sense of agency, where the agency takes the form of a resistance to the discourse of the “English lesson”, the insistence that learners speak English, during English lessons. So, we need to understand what kind of “speaking subject” the learner is here, where he rejects being positioned as the English subject, but also resists being positioned as the docile subject. This learner looks for a place to occupy in the discourse from which he can become the agentive subject.

In contrast, the four learners who were interviewed described their language practices in ways that showed an ease with their multi-lingualism:

18 Khwezi: Uh... at home I speak isiXhosa and Zulu and English. But not like every day, English. And also at school, I speak [English] during my periods. So I speak isiXhosa with my friends.

42 Gidima: ... My languages – I speak English and Xhosa. Sometimes at home, I use English with my older sisters but sometimes I just speak Xhosa. And in school, with my friends sometimes I used to speak both languages.

52 Yandiswa: My stepfather speaks Afrikaans so when I’m with him I speak Afrikaans, Xhosa at home and English with my little brother.

The learners also reported regular use of social networks such as MXIT and Facebook, which they access on their cell phones, using Google on their phones and accessing information at Internet cafés - containers stationed at key points in the township, such as taxi ranks. Here they use mainly English and use different varieties, including the variety they use on MXIT:

62 Yandiswa: It’s English most of the time but it’s broken – MXIT language. It’s called MXIT language.

The four learners spoke of their language use as practices that changed and shifted, depending on the situation. They constructed themselves as adept and flexible language users, who see language as a resource.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown how the learners in my study bring a range of resources to their reading of texts, and occupy a multiplicity of shifting subject positions as they read and respond to text, for example as consumers, as commerce students, as black youth with a sharp consciousness about the history of apartheid, but whose relation to apartheid is different from that of previous generations, and as black women resisting patriarchal definitions of possibility. However, the power of the discourse is such that these resources remain unrecognised.

Khwezi's subject position as a member of a "new generation", Yandiswa's poignant identification with the pain of the narrator of *The Toilet* and the learners' resistance to the subject positioning as respectful black people and docile students, are evidence of learners in the process of becoming. We see learners struggling with the "regulative rules" (Hall 1996: 14) of the classroom discourse and finding a voice through their collective agency, to situate themselves in the narrative about the apartheid past, in the lived experience of black women challenging apartheid barriers to a more productive and rewarding life and in the story that they are engaged in constructing about themselves, as the post-1994 generation of "free" black youth. We see a classroom that is a powerful discursive space in which youth subjectivities are constructed and contested, in which the positions made available to learners remain limited and infused with historical overtones about racial and gendered subjectivities.

In the final chapter, I will draw together the implications of these findings and suggest new ways forward for the development of a pedagogy that creates opportunities for the kinds of meaning making set out in the aims of the official (CAPS) curriculum.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

6.1 Summary of findings

In this study, I set out to investigate classroom literacy practices, in particular those that involve the orientations to text that are offered in the teaching of English as an additional language, in an historically under resourced school. Using poststructuralist feminist theory as a framework and critical discourse analysis as a methodological tool, I observed, recorded and analysed the reading and writing that a Grade 11 class undertook, over a period of five weeks.

First, what I found was that the classroom discourse was characterised by a marked deviation from the “unmarked case” of IRE in classroom discourse. The lessons were characterised by extensive domination of teacher talk, by limited opportunities afforded learners for responses, and by little or no opportunity for learners to elaborate on their responses, which supports the findings of Kapp (2004) and Chick (1996), among others.

Second, what I found was that the orientations to reading that were offered were characterised by three dominant features: an engagement with the surface meaning of the texts, the prioritisation of the extraction of (largely) unrelated facts from the texts, and an absence of critical engagement with the texts.

Third, this study shows that the racial, gender and class constructions of apartheid continue to impact on how teachers teach, how they position their learners and what positions learners are able to take up in their learning. There is a reluctance on the part of teachers to enable engagements with text that challenge dominant constructions, or to challenge how those relations of domination continue to shape the lives of their learners in negative ways.

Finally, I have produced evidence that learners bring resources to school that could productively be used in their learning, but are largely ignored. Growing up in post-apartheid South Africa, these learners occupy a multiplicity of subject positions: as students in a particular academic stream, as consumers active in the economy, as urban dwellers straddling urban/rural divides, as women dealing with the threat of sexual violence, and as young people who desire higher education and are invested in a changed future.

6.2 Conclusions

In the teaching and learning that I observed and analysed, what emerged was a complex interplay between the kinds of readings that are offered and the positions that learners can take up - as readers, as thinkers who have knowledge about history, commerce and more. Both teachers and learners are discursively positioned in the English classroom and are severely constrained by the discourses of the past and the discourses of power. The multiple possible readings that literary theorists and others have identified are not available to these learners.

Despite the specifications of the new curriculum that teachers should offer critical orientations to text, relationships of power that construct identities of race, gender and class continue to define the kinds of readings that are made possible in subject English. Our history of inequality continues to dominate classroom practice and to characterise the discursive positioning of both teachers and learners. This points to the complexities of the project to transform the relationships of inequality that have dominated education in South Africa and it emphasises, as Janks (2012) has argued, the ongoing necessity for critical orientations to be made available to learners.

6.3 Future directions in policy and practice

The literacy practices described and analysed in this study can be situated in a long history of unequal access to resources, including access that has been denied generations of teachers in their schooling and teacher training. How then can the resources afforded by critical orientations be made available to all schools? One focus has to be on teacher training and within that attention needs to be paid to the curriculum – to developing understandings of what it means to do critical literacy and of why it is important. Second, teacher training needs to take into consideration the way in which our apartheid past continues to speak through teachers in the present: how their discursive practices are contingent upon their own subject positioning during apartheid as non-critical consumers of text. Third, teacher training must address issues of the gendered positions of female teachers working in a society where women have equal rights legally but where patriarchal practices are normative.

A second focus requires a shift in the way in which we think about learners, about the subject positions they are able to take up, or desire to take up, and about the resources those positions afford

them, so that much more can be made of those resources in the classroom. We need to look at alternative models in which learners' knowledge, history and experience of the world is centrally placed in their learning.

We might rather begin by asking how our students, who have learned how to live within fast capitalism and postmodern culture, are *right*. If we do not attend closely to what students already know and think about culture and language, power and possibility; if we cannot imaginatively sense how they 'perform' or produce themselves in that culture – then we are not likely to work to make bridges of learning between their understanding and ours. And then we may not be able to work with their knowledge and desires, the investments they have made in the culture of their world, towards helping make them even more 'right'. (Morgan 1997: 32).

In this case study, what I encountered were learners with a strong investment in their future, drawn from their desire for an improvement in their personal and social circumstances. What our learners need are opportunities for engaging with text that position them as critical thinkers who can understand and challenge the way texts work to reproduce or undo relations of domination and in so doing can acquire the resources they need for academic success.

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Appendix 1 Lesson outline

Lesson	Date	Topic	Teacher	Notes
1	24 July	Advertising	Ms Mbatha	In the computer lab. Teacher showed TV advertisements on her computer
2	25 July	“	Ms Mbatha	Teacher taught a lesson on advertising
3	26 July	“	Ms Mbatha	Teacher went through questions set on the Nivea ad and set a task on cell phone ad
4	29 July	“	Ms Mbatha	Went around the classroom looking at learners’ ads and giving feedback, to individual learners and to whole class.
5	30 July	Short Story: The Silk Scarf	Miss Mahlangu	Learners had read the story and been given questions for homework. In this lesson they worked through the answers as a class.
6	1 August	Creating cell phone ads. Poetry: a Prayer for my countrymen	Miss Mahlangu	Learners worked. Teacher and researcher talked. Teacher handed out copies of “A Prayer for all my countrymen.”
7	5 August	Poetry: Prayer for my countrymen	Ms Mbatha	Read through and discussed the poem with the class and set questions
8	6 August	“	Miss Mahlangu	Learners worked on poetry questions. Hand outs on Apartheid given out.
9	8 August	Death penalty debate	Miss Mahlangu	Learners working
10	12 August	Death penalty essays	Miss Mahlangu	Learners working on their essays. I briefed four learners about the interview.
11	13 August	Short story: The Toilet	Miss Mahlangu	Reading aloud of <i>The Toilet</i> .
12	14 August	Short story: The Toilet	Miss Mahlangu	Questions given
13	15 August	Death Penalty orals	Ms Mbatha	Learners presented their orals on the death penalty
14	16 August	“	Ms Mbatha	Learners presented their orals on the death penalty
15	19 August	“	Ms Mbatha	Learners presented their orals on the death penalty.

- 12 August: briefing of four learners chosen for interview
- 15 August: interview

Appendix 2 Sample of interview questions

A. Biographies

1. Where were you born and where did you grow up?
2. What subjects do you study?
3. What would you like to do when you leave school?

B. Language practices

1. What languages do you use?
2. Where do you speak those languages?
3. What does learning English mean to you?
4. Why do you enjoy 'political' English (the English of Julius Malema)?

C. Literacy practices

1. What social networking do you use and what languages do you use on social networks?
2. What do you read on social media?
3. Do you think reading on these sites helps you with reading at school?
4. Do you use your English textbook? How?
5. What other resources do you use to help you with work in English?
6. Do you use the school library?
7. What would you like to read at school?
8. What do you read at home?

D. Responses to texts read in class

1. How did you feel about reading adverts?
2. How did you create your own adverts?
3. What does it mean to you to read stories and poems about apartheid?
4. Do you think the writers have something to say to you?
5. How did you feel about reading *The Toilet*? Does it have any meaning for your life?
6. How did your commerce studies help you to read *The Silk Scarf*?
7. How do you answer questions about things like alliteration in poetry?
8. Do you ever want to ask your own questions about the texts?

9. Why do you like reading cartoons?

E. Gender differences in the classroom

1. Why don't the girls answer questions as often as the boys do during the lessons?

2. Why were the girls so nervous to present their orals?

F. Classroom practice

How does it help you to sit and work in groups?

Appendix 3 Conventions used for transcribing the data

The following conventions have been used in transcribing the spoken data:

., ?	I have used conventions of punctuation to make the transcription of spoken language into writing more readable, conveying my understanding of the spoken words.
(...)	pause
[reading]	square brackets used for transcriber's comments, mainly to include additional significant information, for example the teacher's and learners' actions, gestures and movements.
Name:	indicates the name of speaker
<i>nithi ziibari</i> (Translation: you say they are fools).	Italics indicate a word/s spoken in isiXhosa with an English translation in brackets.

Written data, including learners' work, are reproduced exactly including any spelling or grammar errors. I would like to remind the reader when reading the spoken and written data that the participants are not English first language.

Appendix 4 Questions for literary study

A. Questions on *The Silk Scarf*

- 1.1 Why had the two ladies come to the plaza?
- 1.2 What made Mrs Nebo buy a dress?
- 1.3 What is the meaning of the statement: “This is what I have been hunting for?”
- 1.4 How did the shopkeeper try to encourage Mrs Nebo to buy the dress?
- 1.5 Why could the shopkeeper not help Mrs Nebo?
- 1.6 What a possible action the escorts were about to take when they entered the shop?
- 1.7 Why did Mrs Nebo think that the scarf was hers?
- 1.8 What is the basis for Mr Sakur to refuse to accept Mrs Nebo’s cheque?
- 1.9 Find evidence in the story to prove that Mr Sakur was afraid of the escorts.
- 1.10 Give TWO reasons why the other shopkeepers decided to get involved in the dispute?
- 1.11 What was Mr Sakur’s religion?
- 1.12 How did other shopkeepers solve the dispute between Mr Sakur and Mrs Nebo?
- 1.13 Decide who is the hero or heroine in the story?

B Questions on *A prayer for all my countrymen*

1. There are two stanzas in this poem. What is the theme of each?
2. What is the effect of the alliteration in line 3?
3. How many syllables are there in each line of the poem?
4. Why would the word “complexities” be on a line by itself?
5. What does the poet mean by “complexities”?
6. Why does the poet say “Dear God”?
7. What is the meaning of the word “ordain”?
8. To what image is the poet referring?
9. Identify an example of alliteration in stanza 2. Why has this alliteration been chosen?
10. What would be the meaning of “pure”?

C Questions on *The Toilet*

1. To whom does the 'I' refer?
2. Where does the story take place?
3. Which two professions were regarded as respectable by people?
4. How did the narrator feel about staying with her sister?
5. What relieved her from being confined before she got the job?
6. What do you think would have happened if the "Madam" had seen her?
7. What did she do to keep herself busy in her sister's room?
8. Why are the words 'Fair Lady' and 'Women's Weekly' italicised?

Appendix 5 Poem

A prayer for all my countrymen

Guy Butler

Though now few eyes
can see beyond
this tragic time's
complexities,
dear God, ordain
such deed be done,
such words be said,
that men will praise
Your image yet,
when all these terrors
and hates are dead:

Through rotting days,
beaten, broken,
some stayed pure;
others learnt how
to grin and endure;
and here and there
a heart stayed warm,
a head grew clear.

Appendix 6a and b Learners' advertisements

ADVERTISING

Grade 11

Task 2

T-Mobile is a global cell phone network provider looking to launch a new product named Mzansi Mobile. The new network provider is created specifically for South Africans and their unique network needs. Design an advert that will be used to launch the new network in South Africa.



A YO O BAAA!!!

NEW WAY



TO CONNECT

RECHARGE with R10 & Get free 500 and 40% Discount

RECHARGE with R10 upwards & INVEST for 5 Days = 10% Interest

RECHARGE with R5 and play 4 lucky Numbers = Win R20 Airtime

Get your own S.M card . 50¢ Any Store

Dial *104*3*7# To Buy R300 Ocean weekend tour (Saturday)

Beautifully Done. Keep it Up!

www.facebook.com/mzansi-mobile1

@T.mobik-m



Mzansi

$$9/13 + 5/7 = 14/20$$

2/08/2013

T. MOBILE

M

ZANSI MOBILE

Very Creative + Colourful. Beautifully Done. Keep it Up!
2/06/2013 *[Signature]* $\frac{10}{15} + \frac{5}{7} = \frac{15}{20}$

Get connected
Get mzansi mobile
Woza Nanda!!

GET MZANSI MOBILE NOW!!

- With 50% AIRTIME
- 10 FREE SMS'S
- AND IF YOU RECHARGE YOU GET 15% DISCOUNT AND 5% DATA BUNDLES
- TALK FOR FREE ON MONDAYS AND FRIDAYS.

WOZA NANDA!!

TERMS & CONDITIONS APPLYS