

Constructing a pedagogical third space with  
multilingual children: A case study of the bilingual Stars  
of Today Literacy Club# (STLC#)



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Umntu ngumntu ngabantu!



## **Dedication**

I dedicate this thesis to the children of the Stars of Today Literacy Club# who have taught us about how to teach them, and to all teachers teaching multilingual children.

## **Abstract - bilingual!**

Le thesis ndiyenziswe kukunika ingqwalasela ilanguage biography yefemeli yam, yaye isekelwe kumsebenzi omalunga nemultilingual education ebendisoloko ndiwenza kwiminyaka egqithileyo ukuzama ukuzisa isocial justice kwisociety. Lo msebenzi uquka ichallenge kwilanguage policy karhulumente we-Apartheid ekusaqhutywa ngayo ezikolweni zabantwana abaNyama abathetha iilwimi zesiNtu, ukungahoywa kwepolisi yeelwimi ka-1997 ekhuthaza imultilingual education kunye nendlela yokufundisa ilitheresi enyanzeliswa yiDepartment of Basic Education kunye namasebe ezemfundo kumaphondo awohlukeneyo ebadobelela phantsi abantwana. Okuhambelana nale polisi iguzula iilwimi zesiNtu xa abantwana begqithela kwi-Intermediate Phase, enyazelisa ukuba wonke ubani athethe iEnglish ingakumbi efana nqwa neyabamhlophe, enyazelisa ukufunda ngolwimi olunye nokwahlulwa kwezifundo ezimalunga neHome Language neFirst Additional Language kukucinga ukuba abantwana abaNyama who are African language - emergent English-speaking bilinguals banento abayisweleyo. Olu phando luxoxa luthi ukohlulwa kweHome Language neFirst Additional Language esikolweni yinto eyenzelwe nesebenzela abantwana abaNhlophe abantetho isisiNgesi neyi-Afrikaans abathetha ulwimi olunye ekhaya ze bafunde olunye esikolweni. Le ndlela yokusebenza ngeelwimi yabaNhlophe, ithi ke ingeniswe kwimfundo yabantwana abaNyama abathetha iilwimi ezininzi nabanobutyebi kwilinguistic repertoire yabo, nto leyo ethi ibonwe njengengxaki. Le nto yokujonga abantwana njengabasweleyo indikhuthazile ukuba ndiqale iphulo lokuncedisa, eliquka iifacilitators nabantwana ekwakheni kunye iliteracy club emultilingual nemultimodal. Le ndawo yendibanisela yemultilingualism and multimodality yaziwa ngokuba yindawo yesithathu/ephakathi okanye ithird space kuba ayizahluli iilwimi as it is created ukufezekisa iilanguage and literacy needs zabantwana abalwimi-ninzi kunye neresearch.

Le intervention ibifuna ukuphendula le mibuzo ilandelayo: How is a bi-multilingual, multimodal third space co-constructed in an afterschool literacy club? How do children from marginalised communities conceptualise language and literacy learning? What are the affordances of a bi-multilingual and multimodal approach to language and literacy learning in an out of school literacy club? And how do children respond to a bi-multilingual, multimodal pedagogical approach which legitimises all the semiotic resources in their repertoire?

Ukuphendula le mibuzo ndisebenzise ilinguistic ethnography njemethodoloji yokwenza olu phando.

Okokuqala iifindings zibonakalise ukuba abantwana ababilingual nabamultilingual, badinga iisocial spaces ezibonisa uthando nobuntu nezidibanisa iilwimi zonke abazithethayo, badinga iiphysical spaces ezahlukeneyo zokufundela bekwadinga neendawo zokufundisa ezixabisa yaye zithathele ingqalelo ngokumiselweyo izixhobo nobutyebi abeza nabo emakhaya nasekuhlaleni, eziquka iilwimi ezininzi nobunye ubugcisa bokunxibelelana, ulwazi, idiscourse, kunye neendlela zokubona, ezokwenza, ezokufunda nokubhala ilizwe labo. Ngoko iliteracy club idale indawo yokufundisa njengendawo yesithathu/ephakathi that legitimises ipedagogical translanguaging kunye nespontaneous translanguaging ukufumanisa intsingiselo endaweni yokuzahlula ezi ndlela zokunxibelelana. Nangona iifacilitators zinokucwangcisa imisebenzi enokwenziwa ngolwimi ngalunye kwiilwimi ezisetyenziselwa ukufunda nokufundisa kwindawo yabantu abathetha iilwimi ezininzi, abantwana bayazinqamleza iilwimi khona ukuze basebenzise ubutyebi obukwingqokelela yabo yeelwimi ukufumanisa intsingiselo nakwimisebenzi ekufuneka beyenze ngolwimi olunye, amaxesha amaninzi bevelisa iitekisi ezibilingual. Indlela abayifumanisa ngayo intsingiselo kwimisebenzi abayenzayo ibonakalisa ukuba abantwana abasahlumayo ekuthetheni nasekubhaleni ngeelwimi ezimbini are in different stages kwibilingual nebiliteracy continuum kwaye ukusebenzisa iilanguage resources ezikwilinguistic repertoire yabo kuyabancedisa ukuba bazibandakanye ngokupheleleyo yaye bafumanise imeaning kwimisebenzi abayenzayo.

Secondly, iziphumo zikwabonisa ukuba ukusebenzisa iilwimi ezininzi zodwa nje is insufficient for making meaning ngokupheleleyo, koko abantwana badinga amathuba okuxhaswa ekufumaniseni intsingiselo egqibeleleyo by being allowed to use izakhono zabo zokusebenzisa ezinye iindlela zokunxibelelana ezifana nokubalisa amabali, ubugcisa bokuzoba nokusebenzisa imifanekiso, obokuvuma iingoma, obokudlalisa nokwenza imidlalo yeqonga. Ukwenza oku enriches their meaning making. Ukusetyenziswa kweelwimi ezininzi nezinye iindlela zokunxibelelana ngokupheleleyo kudala ithird space engazidibanisi nje ezi Ndlela zokunxibelelana koko ikwadala amathuba emfundo that builds on and uses ubutyebi abantwana abaza nabo emakhaya nasekuhlaleni. Okwesithathu, olu phando lubonisa ukuba ukufunda ilanguage and literacy kudinga ilitheresi efundiswa ngokuthe ngqo – ipedagogised

literacies, nelitheresi ezikhulelayo ngokuxhomekeke kwiindlela esisebenzisa ngazo ukufunda nokubhala kwimihla ngemihla esiphila kuyo. Le ndawo yesithathu ithi ke idibanise ukufundwa kweeliteracy skills kunye kunye nelitherasi eziphuhlelayo ngokuxhomekeke kwindlela ukufunda nokubhala ekusetyenziswa ngayo mihla le kwintlalo yethu.

Lastly, iicollaborative activities zingundoqo kwimultilingual and multimodal communication kwaye ziseka inkqubo yokwaba izakhono ebantwaneni khona ukuze umntwana ngamnye afake igalelo kumsebenzi weqela ngezakhono anazo. Iindlela ezininzi zokunxibelelana kunye nemisebenzi ekusetyenziswanayo kuyo ayityebisi nje izibhalo zabo kuphela nakuluphi na ulwimi ekufanele itekisi ibhalwe ngalo koko idala isocial space enobuntu nto leyo ethi isuse uxinzelelo nestress esithi songamele abantwana xa besebenza bebodwa benyanzeliswa ukuba bakhuphisane. Ukongeza, iilanguage resources zabo kwirepertoire yabo zincedisa abantwana ukuba bakwazi ukuyenza ngempumelelo imisebenzi enzima efunisa ukusetyenziswa kwamathambo engqondo, equka ukuguqulela iitekisi. Itranslation, ukutolika, ukunxibelelana ngeelwimi ezininzi nangeendlela ezininzi kunye nokuphuhla kweemetalinguistic skills are high order skills ezidala amathuba okuba abantwana basebenzise icritical thinking kumsebenzi abawuchopheleyo, kuvelise ngqo indlela abacinga ngayo besebenzisa i-exploratory talk nokubhala phantsi into abayicingayo.

## **Abstract - isiXhosa**

Le thisisi ndiyenziswe kukunika inqwalasela ngendlela esilusebenzisa ngayo ulwimi kusapho lwam, kwaye isekelwe nakumsebenzi omalunga nemfundo elwimi-ninzi ebendisoloko ndiwenza kwiminyaka egqithileyo ukuzama ukuzisa ubulungisa kwezentlalo. Lo msebenzi uquka ukucela umngeni kuMgaqo-nkqubo karhulumente wengcinezelo osagqubayo ezikolweni zabantwana abaNyama abathetha iilwimi zesiNtu, ukungahoywa komgaqo-nkqubo weelwimi ka-1997 okhuthaza imfundo ngeelwimi ezininzi kunye nendlela yokufundisa ilitheresi enyanzeliswa liSebe lezeMfundo esisiSeko kunye namasebe ezemfundo kumaphondo awohlukeneyo ebadobelela phantsi abantwana. Okuhambelana nomgaqo-nkqubo oguzula iilwimi zesiNtu xa abantwana begqithela kumaBakala aPhakathi, onyazelisa ukuba wonke ubani athethe isiNgesi ingakumbi esifana nqwa nesabamhlophe, onyanzelisa ukufunda ngolwimi olunye nokwahlulwa kwezifundo ezimalunga noLwimi lwaseKhaya noLwimi lokuQala Olongezelelweyo kukucinga ukuba abantwana abaNyama abathetha iilwimi ezininzi zesiNtu - nabasahlumayo kwiilwimi ezimbini eziquka iilwimi zesiNtu nesiNgesi banento abayiswelelo. Olu phando luxoxa luthi ukohlulwa koLwimi lwaseKhaya noLwimi lokuQala Olongezelelweyo esikolweni yinto eyenzelwe nesebenzela abantwana abamhlophe abantetho isisiNgesi nabantetho isisiBhulu abathetha ulwimi olunye ekhaya ze bafunde olunye esikolweni. Le ndlela yokusebenza ngeelwimi yabamhlophe, ithi ke ingeniswe kwimfundo yabantwana abaNyama abathetha iilwimi ezininzi nabanobutyebi bezixhobo zolwimi kwingqokelela yabo yeelwimi nto leyo ethi ibonwe njengengxaki. Le nto yokujonga abantwana njengabaswelelo indikhuthazile ukuba ndiqale iphulo lokuncedisa, eliquka abaququzeleli nabantwana ekwakheni kunye iqela lelitherasi elilwimi-ninzi nelisebenzisa ubugcisa bokunxibelelana ngeendlela ezininzi ezingelolwimi luthethwayo. Le ndawo yendibanisela yeelwimi nezinye iindlela zonxibelelana yaziwa ngokuba yindawo yesithathu/ephakathi kuba ayizahluli iilwimi ngenxa yokuba iyilelwe ukufezekisa izidingo zolwimi nelitherasi zabantwana abalwimi-ninzi kunye nophando.

Eli phulo belifuna ukuphendula le mibuzo yophando ilandelayo: yakhiwa njani indawo yesithathu/ephakathi ekusetyenziswa kuyo iilwimi ezininzi nobuye ubugcisa bokunxibelelana kwiqela lelitherasi elingelolasikolo? Bakubona njani ukufunda ilitheresi abantwana abavela kwiindawo zokuhlala ezihlelekileyo? Iyintoni inzuzo yokusetyenziswa kweelwimi ezininzi

neendlela zobugcisa bokunxibelelana ekufundeni ulwimi nelitheresi kwiqela lelitheresi? Kwaye, abantwana bazibonisa njani iimvakalelo, iimbono nemisebenzi yabo kwindlela yokufundisa emisela iindlela zabo zokuthetha nokunxibelelana kubutyebi abanabo bokwenza oku? Ukuphendula le mibuzo ndisebenzise i-ethnografi yeelwimi njemethodoloji yokwenza olu phando.

Okokuqala iziphumo zophando zibonakalise ukuba abantwana abathetha iilwimi ezimbini nangaphezulu, badinga iindawo zeendibano ezibonisa uthando nobuntu nezidibanisa iilwimi zonke abazithethayo kunye neendawo ezininzi ezahlukeneyo zokufundela. Bakwadinga neendawo zokufundisa ezixabisa yaye zithathele ingqalelo ngokumiselweyo izixhobo nobutyebi abeza nabo emakhaya nasekuhlaleni abantwana, eziquka iilwimi ezininzi, obunye ubugcisa bokunxibelelana, ulwazi, iindlela abasebenzisa ngazo iilwimi ukudala inyani yabo (discourse), kunye neendlela zokubona, ezokwenza, ezokufunda nokubhala ilizwe labo. Ngoko iqela lelitheresi lidale indawo yokufundisela njengendawo yesithathu/ephakathi emisela unqamlezo lweelwimi olucwangcisiweyo okanye unqamlezo lweelwimi oluzenzekelayo ukufumanisa intsingiselo endaweni yokuzahlula ezi ndlela zokunxibelelana. Nangona abaququzeleli becwangcisa imisebenzi enokwenziwa ngolwimi ngalunye kwezisetyenziselwa ukufunda nokufundisa kwindawo yabantu abathetha iilwimi ezimbini, abantwana bayazinqamleza iilwimi khona ukuze basebenzise ubutyebi obukwingqokelela yabo yeelwimi ukufumanisa intsingiselo nakwimisebenzi ekufuneka beyenze ngolwimi olunye, amaxesha amaninzi bevelisa iitekisi ezilwimi-mbini. Indlela abayifumanisa ngayo intsingiselo kwimisebenzi abayenzayo ibonakalisa ukuba abantwana abasahlumayo ekuthetheni nasekubhaleni iilwimi ezimbini bakumanqanaba awohlukeneyo kumsinga wophuhliso lweelwimi ezimbini nelitheresi engeelwimi ezimbini kwaye ukusebenzisa izixhobo ezikwingqokelela yabo yeelwimi kuyabancedisa ukuba bazibandakanye ngokupheleleyo yaye bafumanise intsingiselo kwimisebenzi abayenzayo.

Okwesibini, iziphumo zikwabonisa ukuba ukusebenzisa iilwimi ezininzi zodwa nje akwanelanga ekufumaniseni intsingiselo ngokupheleleyo, koko abantwana badinga amathuba okuxhaswa ekufumaniseni intsingiselo egqibeleleyo ngokuthi bavunyelwe basebenzise nezakhono zabo zokusebenzisa ezinye iindlela zokunxibelelana ezifana nokubalisa amabali, ubugcisa bokuzoba, obokuvuma iingoma, obokudlalisa nokwenza imidlalo yeqonga. Ukwenza

oku kukubaxhobisa ngentsingiselo etyebileyo. Ukusetyenziswa kweelwimi ezininzi nezinye iindlela zokunxibelelana ngokuphelelyo kudala indawo yesithathu/ephakathi engadibanisi nje iilwimi ezithethwayo nezinye iindlela zokunxibelelana koko ikwadala amathuba emfundo esekelwe neyakhela kubutyebi abantwana abaza nabo emakhaya nasekuhlaleni. Okwesithathu, olu phando lubonisa ukuba ukufunda ulwimi nelitheresi kudinga ilitheresi efundiswa ngokuthe ngqo, nelitheresi ezikhulelayo ngokuxhomekeke kwiindlela esisebenzisa ngazo ukufunda nokubhala kwimihla ngemihla esiphila kuyo. Le ndawo yesithathi ithi ke idibanise ukufundwa kwezakhono zokufunda nokubhala kunye neyokuqonda ukuba iindlela ekusetyenziswa ngazo ukufunda nokubhala kwintlalo yethu.

Okokugqibela, imisebenzi efuna intsebenziswano kubafundi ingundoqo kunxibelelwano ngeelwimi ezininzi nangeedlela ezininzi kwaye iseka inkqubo yokwaba izakhono ebantwaneni khona ukuze umntwana ngamnye afake igalelo kumisebenzi weqela ngezakhono anazo. Iindlela ezininzi zokunxibelelana kunye nemisebenzi ekusetyenziswanayo kuyo ayityebisi nje izibhalo zabo nakuluphi na ulwimi ekufanele itekisi ibhalwe ngalo koko idala indawo yabantwana ebadibanisayo ngothando, nto leyo ethi isuse uxinzelelo oluthi longamele abantwana xa besebenza bebodwa benyanzeliswa ukuba bakhuphisane. Ukongeza, ukusebenzisa ubutyebi obukwingqokelela yabo yeelwimi nengqokelela yezinye izixhobo zokunxibelelana kuncedisa abantwana ukuba bakwazi ukuyenza ngempumelelo imisebenzi ezima efunisa ukutyenziswa kwamathambo engqondo, equka ukuguqulela iitekisi. Ukuguqulela, ukutolika, ukunxibelelana ngeelwimi ezininzi nangeendlela ezininzi kunye nokuphuhla komqondo weendlela iilwimi ezahlukeneyo ezisebenza ngayo zizakhono ezikumgangatho ophezulu ezidala amathuba okuba abantwana bacinge nzulu nangobungqondi ngomisebenzi abawuchopheleyo, kuvelise ngqo indlela abacinga ngayo kwintetho yabo efuniselayo nakwizinto naxa bebhala phantsi into abayicingayo.

## **Abstract - English**

This thesis was motivated by my own family's language biography, and the social justice work I have been doing over the years in bi-multilingual education. This work has involved challenging the continuation of Apartheid language in education policy in practice in schools for Black African language speaking children, the neglect of the multilingual Language in Education Policy of 1997, and the narrow perspective on literacy learning in the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement enforced by the Department of Basic Education and the provincial departments of education. Connected to the continuing subtractive, Anglonormative, monoglossic and monolingually oriented bilingual language in education policy in practice, which teaches languages in silos as Home and First Additional Languages, is the deficit construction of Black African language - emergent English speaking bi-multilingual children. This study argues that the curriculum's construction of separate Home and Additional Language periods continues to be calibrated to the needs of White English and Afrikaans monolingual children who speak one language at home, learn it at school as Home Language, and a second language as a First Additional Language. This same policy is imposed on Black bi/multilingual children, largely regarding as problematic their rich linguistic repertoire and language resources. This deficit positioning of these children inspired me to start an intervention which involved facilitators and children in co-constructing a multilingual and multimodal literacy club as a third space that calibrated language and literacy learning to their multilingual needs and to research this intervention. My research aimed to answer the questions: How is a bi-multilingual, multimodal third space co-constructed in an after-school literacy club? How do children from marginalised communities conceptualise language and literacy learning? What are the affordances of a bi/multilingual and multimodal approach to language and literacy learning in an out-of-school literacy club? And how do children respond to a bi/multilingual, multimodal pedagogical approach which legitimises all the semiotic resources in their repertoire? To answer these questions, I drew on linguistic ethnography as my methodology.

The findings show, first, that bi/multilingual children learning language and literacy desire and need the affective, social, and linguistic third spaces, physical third spaces and pedagogical spaces that value and legitimise their sociocultural resources and include their full semiotic

repertoire. Thus, the literacy club, instead of perpetuating binaries, was created as a pedagogical third space that legitimised both translanguaging pedagogy and spontaneous translanguaging for meaning making. Though facilitators might plan for pedagogical translanguaging in activities to take place in any of the languages used for teaching and learning in a bilingual learning space, the children spontaneously translanguaged, and drew on their hybrid linguistic repertoire for meaning making even in tasks that required them to work monolingually, in many cases producing bilingual texts. Their meaning making processes while engaging with the activities demonstrated that emergent bilinguals are at different stages in the bilingual and biliteracy continuum, and that drawing from their hybrid repertoire helps them participate and engage meaningfully with the activities.

Secondly, the findings show that multilingual languaging on its own is not sufficient for meaning making, and multimodal communication alongside their use of their multilingual repertoire enriches children's meaning making. Drawing on a full semiotic repertoire creates a third space that does not just transcend language and non-verbal communication: it creates education opportunities that build on children's sociocultural resources. These include knowledges, languages and discourses, and ways of seeing, doing, reading, and writing the world. Thirdly, the study shows that language and literacy learning require both pedagogised literacy and social uses of literacy, thus transcending both autonomous and sociocultural understandings of literacy. Finally, collaborative activities were shown to be central in both multilingual and multimodal communication. These also allow for a distributive system of skills that children bring to their language and literacy activities. This multiple languaging and collaborative process not only enriches their final written product in whatever named language the activity is assigned but creates an affective social space that takes away the pressure and stress often placed on individual learners who are forced to compete. Additionally, drawing on their multilingual and multimodal repertoires assists children in achieving cognitively demanding tasks, including translation. Translation, interpreting, multiple languaging, and metalinguistic awareness are higher order skills that create opportunities for children to think deeply about the task at hand, make explicit their thinking processes by engaging in exploratory talk, and write to express what they know and feel.

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## List of Acronyms

ANAS - Annual National Assessments  
BACEMS – Bachelor of Arts in Contemporary English Language Studies and Multilingual Studies  
CAPS - Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement  
CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis  
CELL - Children’s Early Literacy Learning  
C2005 - Curriculum 2005  
DBE - Department of Basic Education  
DHET – Department of Higher Education and Training  
ECD – Early Childhood Development  
EGRA - Early Grade Reading Assessments  
EGRS - Early Grade Reading Studies  
FAL - First Additional Language Learning  
FRISC - Free Reading in Schools Project  
GPLMS - Gauteng Province Literacy and Maths Strategy  
HL - Home Language Learning  
PIRLS - Progress in Reading Literacy Study  
LiEP (1997) - Language in Education Policy 1997  
LOITASA Project – Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa  
LOLT – Language of Learning and Teaching  
NCS - National Curriculum Statement  
NECT - National Education Collaboration Trust  
NGOs - Non-Governmental Organisations  
NMI - Nelson Mandela Institute for Education and Rural Development  
OBE- Outcomes Based Education  
PRAESA - Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa  
PrimTED - Primary Teacher Education Standards  
RNCs - Revised National Curriculum Statement  
STLC# - Stars of Today Literacy Club#  
UCT - University of Cape Town  
UWC - University of the Western Cape  
WCED - Western Cape Education Department  
WITS - University of Witwatersrand  
ZYE- Zisukhanyo Youth Empowerment

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## Chapter 1: Background and personal motivation for the study

### Introduction

Studies on multilingualism describe multilingualism as a way of life amongst African people, a natural resource and asset (Bamgbose, 2005; Wolff, 2011) and argue that debates about the medium of instruction in education always create a dichotomy of a choice between African indigenous languages or European language such as French, Portuguese or English. These scholars argue that in doing so, the debates ignore the reality of African indigenous multilingualism as they seek to replace one form of colonial monolingualism with a form of African monolingualism (Ouane & Glanz, 2010). To prove Africa as a multilingual continent, some of the studies count that Africa has between 1, 200 and 2000 or 2138 languages, and sometimes count languages in one country (for example 60 languages in Burkina Faso, 6 major national languages in Senegal, 12 languages in Mali) (Wolff, 2011; Wolff, 2017). Banda (2010) and many South African scholars count 11 official languages in South Africa. Caught up between many languages, African states settle for 'official monolingualism' modelled through European monolingualism (Wolff, 2017:2) as can be seen through inherited colonial policies (Bamgbose, 2005). These states often seek to use one 'neutral' and 'unifying' language for official business (Wolff, 2017) and see multilingualism as a threat to economic development in Africa (Ouane & Glanz, 2011).

Added to the notion of languages as bounded and countable is the disparity between the counting of languages and the languages, dialects and varieties that people report to speak. Thus, the issue of multilingualism is not limited to named languages but extends to the many dialects and non-standardised varieties and unofficial languages that people speak (McCormick, 1986; Nomlomo, 1993; Makoni, 1998; Bamgbose, 2005). African states therefore find themselves having to create another dichotomy by having to make a choice between using one standardised language and recognising, acknowledging, and valorising non-standardised languages and diversity in education. In language and literacy studies, not only is multilingualism seen as a problem, but also children's use of non-standard varieties is also seen as a problem (Pretorius & Currin, 2010). In filling in information about the children's

biographical details for record keeping in schools and by the departments of education, urban and rural families with multilingual repertoires are often forced to choose one named language in their repertoire as the home language (McKinney & Molate, in press). Sometimes, if they are a minority (for example in pockets of fairly homogeneous speech communities), they are made to choose the majority language of the community as a home language. It is important to note that even in rural and urban areas, where languages are learned through school (Grosjean, cited in Reynolds, 2013) and where there is mobility to the cities leading to families oscillating between rural and urban homes (McKinney & Molate, in press) bi/multilingualism rather than monolingualism is the norm. However, in the counting and naming of languages and the descriptions of children as having many dialects and non-standard varieties in their repertoire, there are few studies in South Africa, apart from McCormick's (1986) study of 'Children's use language in District 6' that give detailed descriptions of family language biographies, family language policies and socialisation practices. Reynolds (2013) reviewed studies that followed McCormick's study done by Barnes and Fedele, Bosch and De Klerk, De Klerk, Anthonissen, Dyers and Deumert, but these studies focused mostly on White or Coloured families with only two studies, one by De Klerk and one by Deumert which focused on Black African language speaking families. Some of the studies used quantitative methods though De Klerk's, Dyers', Anthonissen's and Reynolds' used qualitative and ethnographic methods. Furthermore, apart from studies of children's home literacy practices done in Black families (Prinsloo, 2004; Stein & Slonimsky, 2006), which mention that the children are bi/multilingual, there are very few studies that have described family language socialisation practices, language shifts and maintenance and Family Language Policy (Mkhize 2016). One of the most recent ones is a study by McKinney and Molate (in press) which describes and analyses how a Black middle-class family navigates between maintaining indigenous multilingualism and giving in to dominant language for schooling through its implicit or explicit family language policy.

Spolsky (2012) argues that the domain of language planning has focused on the role of the state for protecting and promoting languages and this has excluded the role of families and other domains such as the church and the workplace in language policy planning. However, Curdt-Christiansen and Lanza (2018: 128) argue that maintenance and promotion multilingualism [and the development of African languages] should not be seen as the sole

responsibility of families, but also the responsibility of the schools. However, since the education system is reluctant to play this role, and many families are overburdened with the responsibility for the promotion of multilingualism as a way of maintaining their indigenous multilingualism while also adding on English, this thesis explores third spaces as an alternative to the state's homogenising, monolingualising and Anglicising agenda and a space between home/families and school where multilingualism can be legitimised. The thesis explores strategies for co-construction of spaces that legitimise multilingualism and multimodality as means of communication and meaning making, thus drawing on children's sociocultural resources and building on them for language and literacy learning. I argue that policy makers need to take these language practices in families and in communities and in out-of-school spaces into consideration in policy decision making for schooling.

Below, I provide a detailed family language biography of my own family to situate this study by showing my own personal positionality and interest in bi/multilingual education. Where relevant, integrate it with similar empirical arguments to emphasize the points I make. I use it as an example of a family that has had to make decisions about how to sustain indigenous multilingualism and how monolingual policies in African languages in the foundation phase and English in the intermediate phase to Grade 12 are not calibrated for such families. In doing so, I show that decisions about family language policies are very important for multilingual development and sustainability (Spolsky, 2012; Curdt-Christiansen and Lanza, 2018). I also believe, it is on such family language biographies, that language policy planning for schooling needs to build.

### **Family language biography and the foundations of my interest in bi/multilingual education**

As a rural child growing up in Zwelitsha Village in the uMhlanga Region, an area huddled in a triangle between the three small towns of Cacadu (former Lady Frere), Indwe and Dordrecht, and close to farms, I knew no other language before I attended school, except for the isiXhosa variety that I spoke. It is easy for people to assume that all isiXhosa speakers come from the same speech community, meaning that we all speak the same variety of isiXhosa and that we all know and have similar conventions of speaking. But my isiXhosa borrowed a lot from

Afrikaans, especially because of the influence from those Afrikaners living in Indwe and Dordrecht, and from the village workers who commuted to and from the farms zakwaBotha nakwaSitshwane or did seasonal migrant labour in Free State farms. It was common for us, for example, to refer to a big house as 'ihesi' from the Afrikaans word for house, 'huis'; flat house as 'iplati' from the Afrikaans 'plat' (flat), fence as 'idrati' from the Afrikaans word, 'draad' for wire, and many more such words. Both the school, and books published in isiXhosa, however, used words like 'uxande' for 'ihesi' (big house), and 'ucingo' for 'idrati' (fence). Behind our house we had neighbours who were of the amaHlubi group. They did things a little bit differently from those of us who are of the abaThembu group, from ceremonies to ways of speaking and doing. Our neighbours spoke with a different variety to ours, and their pronunciation of some of the words we used was different to ours: words such as 'amalongwe', 'ubulongwe, for 'cow dung', for example, and they used completely different words for things like 'ukuxovula' – 'ukuxova' for kneading dough, and 'isincumbela-imbola' for 'ochre'. This was not a problem for us; we spoke our own varieties and understood one another.

McKinney and Molate point out that, "mobility across regions within the country, contributes to sustaining multilingualism" (in press: 263). Reynolds (2013) on the other hand shows that there is an on-going relationship between processes of language maintenance and shift and that marriage patterns are part of the factors that influence these processes. Both mobility and marriage, played a major role in my family's language shifts. For example, my grandfather's brother's family moved to Pretoria with their children, my aunts, and uncles, in the early 1980s. My aunts and uncles' children, my cousins, were born there. My isiXhosa speaking uncle, James Guzula, married a Setswana speaking partner and they speak both languages at home with their children. My aunt, Nomthandazo Nokoko Guzula, has two sons who, though she spoke isiXhosa to them, learnt to speak Setswana in the community and learnt isiZulu as a home language in school. Though born in Pretoria to an isiXhosa speaking mother but with isiZulu and Setswana as dominant resources in their repertoire, yet these cousins who have never lived in the Eastern Cape amongst AmaXhosa, claim that they are isiXhosa speaking. McKinney and Molate (in press) explain this as loyalty and affiliation to the paternal family [and to the maternal family if the mother is not married and in my cousins'

case] in the same way that the urban family they studied reports isiXhosa as home language, despite the children living and attending school in an English-speaking suburb and having English as a dominant language resource. McCormick (1986: 295) argues that the social milieu of the community [or patriarchal family] does not allow children to make language choices themselves. “The family assumes the role of custodians over children’s language practices” and [choice] and as is shown by Nandi (in Curdt-Christiansen and Lanza, 2018: 128) children assume their parents’ linguistic identities, even if they don’t speak their language themselves (McKinney & Molate, in press). This reporting challenges the certainty of education officials about the languages that multilingual families report as home languages and about children having taken assessments in their mother tongue languages. This reporting can also have consequences for the monolingual and standardized assessments that children must take.

My own mother, Nombuyiselo Guzula, moved with her siblings to Limpopo Province in 1985, lived there until 2017, and brought up her siblings, Mncedisi and Fezeka Guzula and their children in a rural village there. At school, my isiXhosa speaking aunts and uncles and cousins had to learn isiZulu, and later isiNdebele as home language, while they had friends who spoke isiNdebele in the community. My own stepfather, John Mahlangu, and stepbrothers, Lucky and Amos Mahlangu, were isiNdebele speakers who learnt isiZulu at school. My uncles, aunts and stepbrothers all learnt English as a First Additional Language, though English is not necessarily their second language. My mother (a teacher), on the other hand, speaks isiXhosa, English, isiNdebele, isiZulu, and Sepedi. This is because she had to teach isiZulu, and later isiNdebele. She learnt Sepedi as the language spoken by some of her colleagues and used uncompromisingly by officials in the department of education from 1985-2017. My children, Boitumelo Mbali Molekwa and Thabiso Khwezi Molekwa, spoke isiXhosa and English from before they started preschool, and have the desire to learn Setswana and isiZulu, their father’s languages now that they have learnt their mother’s language, isiXhosa.

For a family with a rich multilingual repertoire like mine, it is hard to pinpoint one mother tongue. For some of my cousins, and my children, bi/multilingualism is their ‘new’ mother tongue (McKinney & Molate, in press). Yet, the school forms capturing learner details and the Progress in Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS), systemic evaluations and Early Grade Reading Assessments (EGRA) assume that children grow up with one language, their so-called mother

tongue, and that this ‘mother tongue’ aligns with one of the 11 official languages in South Africa. Standardised assessments and the official curriculum assume that my cousins, who identify themselves as AmaXhosa, but who are learning isiNdebele and isiZulu as home languages in school, have the same language resources as children for whom isiNdebele or isiZulu is spoken at home. For all these children, the standard variety used in the classrooms in their schools can be very different from the language resources they bring with them to school. Prinsloo (2020:3) problematizes the “assumption that is made, that South African children will have most ease in reading and responding to these passages [in PIRLS] in one standard South African language amongst the 11 so-called national languages which is identified as being the ‘mother tongue’ of each child”. He traces these language ideologies to colonial linguists who “ignored the variability and complexity of the language resources they encountered when they chose to name distinct languages that identified groups of people” and argues that this colonial legacy continues efforts to categorize students into users of “mother tongues” that do not map onto their complex linguistic realities (Flores, 2020:2), in the way I have described above. For those of us, like myself, who started off with isiXhosa, and lived in semi-stable speech communities with less movement and language mixing in the community than many of these children, and who added other languages later, it is easy to claim isiXhosa as a mother tongue. However, this is not the case for many whose languages have been affected by mobility, diversity, and by influences from other languages. In fact, the appropriation of Afrikaans words in my isiXhosa variety described above is something many isiXhosa speakers refuse to acknowledge when they advocate for isiXhosa ‘esisulungekileyo’ - pure isiXhosa.

Regarding literacy learning, in my home where I grew up there were no children’s books to read for pleasure except for the big isiXhosa yellow Bible of stories for children, novels belonging to my older aunts, and their school textbooks. The yellow Bible included bible stories such as those of Noah and the great flood, David and Goliath, and many other stories, all illustrated with big pictures, and fascinating to us. Every Thursday, the nuns, Sister Dorothy, and Sister Veronica, used to lead a bible study from different homes in our village for our parents. I used to accompany my grandmother to the bible study, and the nuns would read from the Bible and discuss the scriptures with the adults. My grandparents could not read and write. They never went to school, but they valued education very much. When I was eight

years old, my mother left the Eastern Cape Province to teach in the Limpopo Province, as mentioned above, leaving me in the care of my grandparents. Reading and writing became more central in my grandparents' home than it had been prior to my mother's departure, as they had to keep communication going between them and my mother. Though neither of my grandparents could read and write, they made reading and writing a part of our daily lives. They dictated lists of groceries for us to buy at the shop, because they did not want us to forget what we were sent to buy, and because of our playfulness on the way to the shop. They asked me to read the isiXhosa Bible before evening and morning prayers. Meanwhile, my mother wrote monthly letters to them as a way of keeping communication and family bonds strong. I read the letters to my grandparents from Grade 3 to 9 (my younger aunt, Thandi Guzula, took over when I left for boarding school), and I wrote back to my mother on their behalf every single month. My grandmother always asked me to read back the letters I had scribed for her to hear if I had included everything she had dictated. During ceremonies and rituals in my family, my grandmother dictated invitation letters for the relatives from different villages, which we then had to duplicate. Letter writing became such an important communication tool for other villagers too, that we would wait at Nongxa's, the local shop, whose postal address the villagers used to receive letters from their loved ones working in the cities and in mines. We also gave letters to, and took delivery of letters from, taxi and bus drivers who were taking people to and from Cape Town.

Others factors central in processes of language shifts as mentioned in Reynolds (2013) are the school peer group, socio-economic status and attitudes factors. It was in high school, at a boarding school in Cofimvaba, for example, that I started to become keenly aware of the differences in how we spoke, depending on where we grew up. First, I started to take conscious notice of differences between my isiXhosa variety (with its Afrikaans influence) and that spoken by my peers. They used more of the standard isiXhosa variety words, examples of which I provided above, than the ones I used in the village. They also tended to borrow more from English than Afrikaans, because English holds more power than Afrikaans or because Black people had chosen English as the language of liberation from Apartheid. Strategies for appropriating and enforcing English came in various ways. First, to fit in with my peers, I decided to learn their variety, and that of the standard isiXhosa used in class, and kept my variety for use at home during the holidays. Secondly, the availability of only English

books in the trolley library of the was also testament to the enforcement of the English language and marginalisation of isiXhosa. Furthermore, because learners were also aspiring to total fluency in English, and preparing to go to English medium universities, we felt the need to improve our English language skills by reading more books written in English and bringing novels and magazines from home to share with each other. Lastly, Alidou and Brock-Utne (2011:164) point out that “use of unfamiliar languages in education forces teachers to use coercive measures to force children to speak in the language of instruction”. Thus, as in the experiences of school children in the stories of Ngugi wa Thiong’o (1986), and Gloria Anzaldua (1987), speaking one’s mother tongue was punishable as the nuns at my school forced us to speak English and taped our mouths for speaking isiXhosa.

My teacher training education at university was conducted through the medium of English with no reference to my isiXhosa resources and the potential isiXhosa speaking learners I was going to teach. The assumption was that I was going to – or had no option but to - fit in well within the education system that expects everyone to learn in English, in a country where children learn through the ‘home languages’ (though not always their real home languages, as explained above) for the first three years of schooling and then are expected to switch abruptly to an English medium instruction in Grade 4. Though the medium for teacher training at the university at the time was English, my graduation certificate stated that I could teach through both the medium of ‘English Higher’ and ‘isiXhosa Higher’ (since I studied isiXhosa 1). This fascinated me on two levels: the fact that I was trusted to be able to teach in isiXhosa simply by virtue of speaking it, and by virtue of having studied isiXhosa 1, and not having been trained in pedagogy in the language or practice and during the supervision of my teaching in isiXhosa in schools. In my view, this is an underlying reason for why many teachers struggle to teach African languages with sufficient competence in the Foundation phase, in the schools teaching predominantly African language speaking children, through no fault of their own. They were simply not taught how to teach through the medium of African languages.

My interest in bi/multilingual education was motivated by the family language biography described above as well as by the findings of the Overage Study of Learner Progress and Achievement Study Project (LPAS) (Hoadley, Guzula & Jacklin, 1998b). Overage was caused by high repetition and school drop-out rate of Grade 9 learners in selected high schools in

Khayelitsha, Cape Town. It was during this overage study that I became drawn on the issue of language because when I interviewed high school learners about their schooling histories, and the reasons for them being over age, these learners cited migration from the Eastern Cape to the Western Cape. They reported that there was an expectation on the part of teachers and Western Cape Education Department (WCED) for them to speak, read, write, and learn in English as some of the reasons for their failing, having to repeat a class, and very often ending up dropping out (Hoadley, Guzula & Jacklin, 1998:22). They also reported difficulties with understanding teachers, textbooks, questions in an exam and with self-expression in English. As researchers, we also observed this problem during classroom observations and studying students' written work in their classwork books. This problem of learners struggling to understand teachers and the learning materials they read in their grades concurs with Brock-Utne and Alidou's (2011: 189) argument that children in many African countries, struggle to learn mainly because 'they don't understand what the teacher is saying' when they learn in an unfamiliar language. Brock-Utne and Alidou show how English only medium silences learners and makes them feel stupid when they can express the knowledge in their languages. In fact, Brock -Utne and Alidou (2011) also point out that the struggle with the language that learners experience is a struggle that teachers also contend with and that the switch to a familiar language liberates both the teacher and the learner creating a warm and more humane learning environment.

Another contributor to my interest in bilingual education was sparked by my observations, as a field worker for the Children's Early Literacy Learning (CELL) Research Project of children learning literacy in both their formal learning environments (schools and preschools) and in informal learning spaces (home and community and as they played in the streets). It was equally interesting to compare what children were doing with language, reading, and writing in classrooms, and the creativity with language, they displayed during play in the streets (Prinsloo, 2004). The differences between learning in these in and out-of-school learning spaces may have influenced my early ideas about both in-school and out-of-school learning spaces. The work for the CELL Project led me to the biliteracy work in the Project for the Study of Alternative Education (PRAESA) and the Nelson Mandela Institute for Education and Rural Development (NMI) both in in-school and out-of-school spaces. Such out-of-school projects include the Vulindlela Reading Clubs with the Zisukhanyo Youth Empowerment (ZYE) activist

group in Langa (Alexander, Bloch, Jogee, Guzula, & Mahobe, 2011), the Nal'ibali National Reading for Enjoyment Initiative, Nompumelelo Reading Club in East London and the Phemba Mfundi Writing Camps in rural Qunu and Mqanduli. Involvement in such projects also altered and enriched the understandings of simultaneous biliteracy development, building on the Battswood Biliteracy Project done by my PRAESA colleagues, Ntombizanele Nkence and Carole Bloch (Bloch & Alexander, 2003; Bloch, 2006). Like the out-of-school projects described by Alidou and Brock-Utne (2011:169), such as the Zambian Primary Reading Programme, REFLECT and *Malian La Nouvelle Ecole Fondamentale* all of which emphasized reading and writing in multiple languages and promoting functional literacy, working in these projects had an influence on children's biliteracy development and the facilitator's bi/multilingual pedagogy. The out-of-school work in these reading clubs and writing camps also challenged some of the views I had on sequential/successive and separate biliteracy development as shaped by the Additive Bilingualism Approach (starting off with providing learners with firm grounding in mother tongue literacy and adding on English as a subject and later using both languages as mediums of instruction) we took at PRAESA on teacher development.

### **This Study - The construction of the Stars of today Literacy Club# as a third space**

Over the years, the bulk of my work around language and literacy learning which took place in the different literacy projects in out-of-school learning spaces and school contexts I mention above, remained as old data that did not get published and is thus anecdotal. A lot of my previous research work on biliteracy development was either written up by others or was not written up at all. This research was overshadowed by my activism as a biliteracy teacher trainer, family, and community literacy activist. I was frustrated with classroom-based research which describes classrooms as they are rather than reimagining, and seeking to change, the conditions and practices taking place within them. The reason I started this PhD study was to conduct an empirical study that could contribute to research-based understandings of how young bi/multilingual children learn language and literacy, and about spaces that are conducive to this type of learning in ways that can contribute to changing how these children are positioned by education researchers and teachers, and how teachers teach in their classrooms. I also feel that the work deserves to be studied to enrich and extend current understandings of biliteracy and multilingual literacy development

The work I am involved with in this project is grounded and embedded in my multilingual family languaging practices, the work on additive bi/multilingualism I was involved in with colleagues at PRAESA, and the Writing Camps and teacher training at the NMI, all of which have been described above. It is also influenced by the work done by colleagues at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) in the Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa (LOITASA) Project, and the Bachelor of Arts in Contemporary English Language Studies and Multilingual Studies (BACEMS) degree at the University of Limpopo. However, my work now goes beyond additive bilingualism, in recognition of the way mobility has affected what are considered stable speech communities (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). It recognises the phenomenon of mixed families speaking different languages, even in rural communities; the mobile language resources; the different contexts for language learning, and the fact that children are already learning two languages from Grade R, making them emergent biliterates (García, Kleifgen, & Falchi, 2008). It also recognises people's daily uses of language and literacy, their desires to learn and speak more than one language, and the arguments that colonised people must not be forced to choose between either colonial language, such as English, or their own when they can use them together productively (Bamgbose, 2005; Ouane & Glanz, 2010). It situates language and literacy learning in the ways in which people use language and literacy in their daily lives, and problematises the planning of language and literacy education from above, seeing this as being in contradiction with language and literacy practices in society. Examples of this disjuncture can be seen in many South African primary schools, where children speak different languages, or varieties of these languages, as I have shown through my family's linguistic repertoire. Children are also expected to develop bilingual competence in Home Languages (they must either choose one from their repertoire or learn the one offered in the school they attend) and in English as early as Grade one. The curriculum thus constructs them as emergent bilinguals from Grade 1, yet they are expected to function as monolinguals.

There is also a tendency by education policy makers and curriculum writers "to assign African languages to a subsidiary role, such as in initial literacy and cultural activities" (Bamgbose, 2005:232) or to use them as means to an end for achieving proficiency in the second language (Ndayipfukamiye, 1996). This tendency also extends to reduction of Southern

multilingualisms (Heugh, 2021) or Indigenous multilingualism (McKinney & Molate, in press) to Home Language learning and First Additional Language learning when there are many multilingual situations in families like mine described above. How can it be therefore, that children who already speak two or more languages at home are expected to end up learning, English as a First Additional Language at school, instead of English being one part of their multilingual repertoires? How can it be, that those children speaking different varieties of English and isiXhosa are forced to learn one variety of these languages amongst the many that they speak, and why is it that standard varieties cannot be, or accepted as, one amongst the many varieties that children speak? Lastly, why is that text-based literacy is privileged over, and above oral African literacy practices and other performance based and artistic communication practices?

Working within a sociocultural and third spaces perspective, which I theorise and review in Chapters 2 and 3, I challenge the deficit positioning of African language - emergent English bilinguals. In the section below I discuss how such a deficit view of the African language - emergent English bilinguals has come about. I argue that historically, it is the result of the dominance of White English speakers in the development of government policy, and in NGOs, and their narrow conceptualisation of literacy learning for the African language speaking child as well as their monolingual bias.

### **Dominance of White English speakers in developing policy and in NGOs**

Poor performance by South African children in the many international and South African assessments has prompted the Department of Basic Education (DBE) to come up with its own interventions to solve the 'literacy crisis'. The Progress in International Reading Study (PIRLS) is an example of the international studies while South African assessments include former Annual National Assessments (ANAS), the Systemic Evaluations, and the new Early Grade Reading Studies (EGRS). At the same time the DBE is seeking, or being offered advice by, selected universities in South Africa as well as by international (UNICEF, the British Council) and local NGOs. In addition to the DBE's reading interventions (see PIRLS, 2011 for a comprehensive list of these interventions), including the recent National Framework for the Teaching of Reading in African languages, and the Primary Teacher Education Standards (PrimTED) for teacher educators, there have been interventions by Non-Governmental

Organisations. These NGO interventions play a supportive and complimentary role to government interventions. They include Funda Wandu, the National Education Collaboration Trust (NECT) and the Gauteng Province Literacy and Maths Strategy (GPLMS). The focus of both the DBE and the NGO interventions is on teaching what are called the 'big 5' of literacy skills: phonemic awareness, phonics, fluency and accuracy, vocabulary, and comprehension (Vesay & Gischlar, 2013). In fact, findings from these interventions have been used to advise the DBE on its interventions. However, the focus of these interventions on the 'big 5' privileges the psycholinguistic and cognitive literacy learning perspective (an approach that integrates psychology and linguistics which explores what happens in the brain when children learn to read), together with an autonomous model of literacy (Street, 1993). An autonomous model of literacy emphasises the teaching of literacy skills in a decontextualised and abstract way as though literacy is not connected to people's daily social lives, and these skills usually refer to decoding or learning of letter sound relationships, language conventions and rules. Both the framework for teaching reading in African languages and the PrimTED standards are informed by monoglossic ideologies (ideologies which privilege standardised named languages that are to be learned in silos) which position children as if they are monolingual speakers of African languages (Bua-lit Collective, 2019).

During the process of representing the School of Education of the University of Cape Town, where I work, in the workshops on the developed PrimTED Standards for Language and Literacy Education, I have observed that the drafters and presenters have been White English-speaking colleagues who are addressing a room filled with newly appointed Black lecturers who are now teaching language and literacy at various universities. The tone of the speakers, and the content of their presentations, as I perceived these, carry the implication that the literacy 'crisis' has been caused by these lecturers. From this observation it was clear to me that not only Black African language speaking children, and their Black teachers, but now the Black African language speaking teacher trainers, are being positioned as causing the literacy 'crisis' the country is experiencing. The message constructed is that the languaging practices and orientation to language and literacy learning of African language speaking children, teachers, and teacher educators needs to be corrected through state designed frameworks and standards drafted and presented by White English-speaking academics, mandated by the Black ruling elite. The worst aspect of this is that, even the writing of the National Framework

for the Teaching of Reading in African languages has been done by academics who do not speak, read, and write these languages. In the workshops introducing these frameworks and the standards it sounded from the presenters as if the problems with the teaching of reading in African languages have been caused by poor conceptualisations of language and literacy teaching by Black academics, when historically White lecturers and teacher trainers have been teaching language and literacy for the longest time in our universities and colleges, and in the NGO space. It can be argued that it is the conceptualisations of these lecturers of literacy, their approaches, and teacher training models which have brought us to where we are today. However, they do not appear to be taking responsibility for, or reflecting on, their failure; instead, they are seeking more of the same solutions to the problems they have created and blaming Black teacher trainers and teachers for failing to teach the 'science' of reading in their schools. Ramadiro (2019:8), from the University of Fort Hare, and the NMI, in a keynote address at the Literacy Association of South Africa (LITASA), argued,

...a case in point is a series of curriculum reform initiatives, viz., OBE, NCS, RNCs, C2000, CAPS (Outcomes Based Education, National Curriculum Statement, Revised National Curriculum Statement, Curriculum 2005, and Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement), led by English-speaking White middle class people are widely acknowledged to have been largely unsuccessful and at least partially a reflection of lack of appreciation of the implications of teaching and learning through African languages.

### **Over-emphasis on reading with relative neglect of writing and other modes of communication**

The work done to address the 'literacy crisis' nationally, driven by government and the NGOs mentioned above, focuses narrowly on improving reading habits and reading skills through programmes that emphasize the 'big 5' literacy skills, reading, and decoding to be specific, more than any other aspects of literacy. What this means for African language speaking children is that they are offered an impoverished literacy curriculum, which extracts content from what they must learn, such that what they learn does not make sense to them. They can decode without making sense of what they read. Developments in multiliteracies and multimodal literacies (New London Group, 2000), the development of new digital technologies and communication changes, the Four Resources Model developed by Luke and Freebody (1999), and the synthesis model for critical literacy of Janks (2011), all show us that language and literacy learning is a complex phenomenon. Multiliteracies is a perspective on

literacy which values diversity – cultural, linguistic and diversity of modes of communication with a pedagogical framework that focuses on situated practice, overt instruction, critical framing, and transformative practice (New London Group, 2000). The Four Resources Model is a model of literacy which emphasizes text decoding, participation in meaning making, text production and critical analysis as important aspects of literacy learning (Janks, 2011; Bua-lit, 2018). Janks' critical model of literacy emphasises teaching about dominant forms of language and literacy - focusing on power, issues of access, diversity and redesign (Janks; 2010: 24-26). These developments are ignored and for African language speaking children in South Africa and elsewhere, literacy learning is made simplistic (Fleisch & Schöer, 2014): language and literacy must be taught through a linear and hierarchised process and must always be pedagogised. This linear view positions reading as a 'first skill' currently and is persistently believed by these educators to be a prerequisite for children's learning to write. The limited research on South African learners' writing, however, shows us that our learners have very limited opportunities to produce expressive and extensive writing in any of the languages they learn at school (Hendricks, 2006; Needu, 2012; Dornbrack & Dixon, 2014). The narrow focus on reading creates unnecessary binaries and hierarchies, for example between reading and writing, hierarchies that can exacerbate the existing neglect of writing.

### **Over-emphasis on writing as an isolated individual activity**

In addition to the limited focus and time allocated to writing, writing in classrooms, and in curriculum documents, is conceptualised as an isolated, individual activity. Our Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS, 2011) foregrounds writing as skill as more time is allocated to teaching of handwriting and spelling skills than process and genre-based approaches. These approaches tend to focus largely on the mental processes of the individual, a problem not only limited to South Africa but experienced internationally (Bourne, 2002; Dyson, 2010). Furthermore, studies of children's writing in South Africa have also focused on writing as a product rather than on the process of how young learners get to the final product (NEEDU, 2013; Lillis & Mckinney, 2013:429). In addition to critiquing writing as a solitary practice, I echo scholars such as Kiramba (2017), in arguing that in Africa, there is little research on children's writing, let alone writing in bi/multilingual settings. Where children's

writing has been studied, it is in the context of writing in an additional language (e.g., Hendricks, 2006). Thus, we know little about how young bilinguals learn to write bilingually. However, despite writing being marginalised, written language as a sole or primary means of communication is privileged in schooling, to the extent that other modes of communication, such as art, music, oral storytelling, and drama, are ignored or treated as extracurricular activities. There is no connection made between them and the written language, or recognition of how multiple modes together as an assemblage (Stein, 2008) can shape and enhance children's meaning making processes in literacy learning. A South African novelist, play writer and short story writer, Miriam Tlali, in an interview with Cecily Lockett (1988), explained that the reason why she wrote plays is that she believed that plays are an important cultural experience in black people's lives, especially for the people who have no time to sit and read, as living under Apartheid made it difficult for black people to dream and reflect on their lives. She also believed that they are relevant for art-oriented people who like action and believe in singing and drama as a way of reflecting on their life. Thus, without the enriching multimodal and multilingual communication practices, literacy pedagogy for the African language-English speaking emergent bilingual child remains impoverished.

### **Effects of the narrow conceptualisation of language and literacy by DBE and of standardised testing**

The narrow conceptualisation of language and literacy learning as involving reading mainly, or the teaching of the 'big 5' in one standardised language, has led to the deficit positioning of African language - emergent English bilinguals. These children are expected to think, read, and write as though they are monolinguals, and to leave their family and community literacy and linguistic practices outside the classroom for them to be able to learn schooled literacies. Thus, when the children underperform, language debates are often triggered about their and their families' using poor language, or being semi-lingual, and calls are made for teachers to revert to teaching 'basic skills'. In South Africa, the debates about language have tended to concern only Black African language speaking children rather than White English and Afrikaans speaking children and they construct Black African children as learners with deficits and fail to acknowledge their linguistic resources and repertoires (Guzula, 2018). At the same

time, policy makers, academics, educators, and parents fail to critique the unjust system to which these children are subjected and of which they are victims. Thus, the categorisation of children as speakers of one named African language for example fails to acknowledge the complexity of linguistic practices in homes, families, and communities, practices which do not map onto one mother tongue. Though, it might seem that Foundation Phase children (6-9-year-olds) have the same benefit of being taught in their home languages as the English and Afrikaans<sup>1</sup>-speaking children, linguistic and literacy practices of African language speaking children in their homes, families and communities, teacher training (in English for teachers teaching African languages) and the material resources are neither equal nor equally valued.

Thus, pronouncements by the DBE, education researchers, and policy makers about the poor performance of African language speaking children in local and international assessments construct African language speaking children as deficient monolinguals (McKinney, 2017). In the Foundation Phase (Grades 1-3) these children are constructed as monolingual African language speaking children with a deficit despite studying two languages at school in addition to negotiating and using the linguistic repertoires they bring to school. In a discussion of the PIRLS results Intermediate Phase (Grades 4-6) children are constructed as monolingual African language speaking children with a deficit, despite their having to make the abrupt transition in Grade 4 to English medium with all the accompanying resources in English, and very few resources such as non-fiction texts in the so-called home languages. They are also constructed as deficient English monolinguals when they fail in the subjects they study through English as a medium of instruction. These children are viewed as passive, as failures, as having low levels of comprehension, as unable to decode, as needing remedial assistance, as non-readers, and as non-producers of meaning (Janks, 2011; Prinsloo, 2020). They are referred to by some educators as children with no language, which signals that they are not proficient in any of the languages they speak, read, or write, since current school language practices also reflect the autonomous view of literacy (Street, 1993). Flores (2020) contends that this framing by education policy makers and researchers of racialised communities' language practices as being deficient amounts to their "seeing as a colonizer", and this can be traced to

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<sup>1</sup> For so-called coloured children (or Black children if preferred), their variety of Afrikaans and their English/Afrikaans bilingualism is also not valued in relation to the standard Afrikaans of White speakers in the curriculum (McCormick, 2002)

raciolinguistic ideologies. Kapp (2006) shows how English as a singular language in South African schools is value laden, with connotations of progress, modernity, knowledge, and empowerment, all of which are also firmly entrenched in notions of literacy and education. Thus, notions of progress, development, and modernity are associated with colonial languages, while backwardness and underdevelopment are associated with indigenous languages. Indigenous languages are thus marginalised and invisibilised in the education system, and hence their speakers can never be good enough, or of value, in the eyes of the coloniser.

The view of some children as not proficient in any language has resulted in the push for learning English from Grade 1 as set out in the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) (Department of Basic Education, 2011). CAPS entrenches the abrupt switch to English medium immediately after Foundation Phase, thus rewriting the 1997 Language in Education Policy through the back door (McKinney, 2017:45). It neither supports home language education nor bilingual education. It is biased towards English as the language of instruction from Grade 4, and it has the support of some parents who are under the impression that learning through English from a young age is the best way for their children to become proficient in English. It is therefore not uncommon for people against the use of African languages as language of instruction to argue that there are no materials in African languages, or that African languages do not possess the capacity/vocabulary for teaching content subjects even though we know that historically in South Africa, these languages were used to teach content subjects up to Grade 8, and even though many scholars have been at great pains to dispel these myths (Heugh, 2002; Ouane & Glanz, 2010). The absence of reading materials in children's home languages, written by African language speaking writers, means that children continue to be exposed to a type of colonial and Apartheid education. Readers written by missionaries during colonial times and under Apartheid, and currently by English speaking writers, continue to be impoverished in terms of relevant content, and fail to reflect children's lived experiences in township and rural settings (Maake, 1991). One widely distributed reading resource, The Vula Bula readers (<https://vulabula.molteno.co.za/>) for example, has been packaged into anthologies for children to read in their homes. While such anthologies may be of value for developing children's accuracy and reading fluency, and for

strengthening their decoding skills, and while these readers make for a good learner reading programme, one that builds on levelled readers, such readers are not as rich as storybooks for bedtime reading, nor do they help with the development of children's imagination and creativity. Heugh adds that:

Debates on linguistic and sometimes also on 'cultural' diversity do not necessarily include close attention to what different systems of knowledge, faith and being might contribute to educational curricula, or if they do, this is often overlooked in policy and planning requirements. If education were to be inclusive, then it would be important to ensure that the knowledge and systems of knowledge that students bring to the classroom are included in the curriculum in ways that challenge the hegemony of 'northern' or 'western' epistemologies. Heugh (2021:29)

The writers of the readers conceptualise the material through a White, English speaking and middle-class gaze, and as a result translation of this material is based on English source texts as determinants for how African languages should be written, and which ideas and knowledge are normalised. Mkhize (2016) argues that, even in many cases where African language literature exists, "textual production (fiction and non-fiction) has historically been heavily bent towards conservative themes, in which cultural pride, propriety and identity take centre stage - that is, a literature that speaks to 'Good Bantus'" (2016:147). It is also interesting to note that the Grade 4 and 5 children whose literacy is assessed through the PIRLS in their 'home languages' are being assessed using non-fiction information texts, although these children have had very little experience with non-fiction in their African languages. They are exposed only to English non-fiction texts in the form of textbooks from Grade 4 and this is barely acknowledged in reports and discussions of results of large-scale testing (Ramadiro, 2019). While efforts in producing children's literature in African languages have focussed mainly on literature for the Foundation Phase (Grades 1-3), Intermediate Phase children hardly ever have access to information texts nor to a range of genres of children's literature in African languages at school. Efforts at developing literature in African languages in the Intermediate Phase are dwindling as the expectation on the part of the CAPS curriculum is that children should now focus on improving their English proficiency to help them learn through the English medium in this phase. Investment in African languages is therefore seen as worthwhile only insofar as it helps the acquisition and mastery of English, rather than as an end in itself (Ndayipfukamiye, 1996; Ramadiro, 2019).

Thus, instead of supporting instruction in children's home languages and investing in bi/multilingual literature, together with bilingual education, with the materials for this purpose, CAPS elects, under the banner of equal education, to solve what they have defined as educational inequality by offering all children of South Africa the same curriculum, materials, teacher training, and language of teaching and learning, regardless of the socio-cultural context within which children live and with which they engage daily. With the recent process undertaken to review CAPS once again, there was no attempt to reconcile curriculum with language education policy (Ramadiro, 2019). The abrupt and early switch to English medium continues despite the well documented challenges that African language speaking children experienced during Apartheid when switching to one of the two official languages in Grade 5 (Macdonald & Burroughs, 1991). This is the reason I am interested in finding alternative pedagogies for teaching bi/multilingual learners. This I see as being achieved by creating third spaces for these learners that legitimise their language resources, linguistic repertoires, and their other sociocultural resources.

I am going to describe third spaces briefly here, but it is in Chapter 3 that I theorise third spaces fully. Third spaces are spaces 'in between' and beyond two binaries, conceptualisations and discourses that are often thought as separate and uncombinable (Anzaldúa, 1987; Bhabha, 1990; Soja, 1996; Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, & Tejeda, 1999a). These spaces are characterised by hybridity, and dynamic and shifting perspectives, which transcend traditional binaries of first spaces or second spaces (Bhabha, 1990, Soja, 1996). Because third spaces allow for multiple perspectives, inhabitants of these spaces often encounter ambivalence, and assume multiple identities, including "being monolingual, bilingual, or multilingual, speaking a patois, and being in a state of perpetual transition" (Anzaldúa, 1987:100). The purpose of hybridity is not about being able to trace two original moments from which third space emerges; rather hybridity is a third space which enables different positions to emerge (Bhabha, 1990). The mixing of different perspectives and ideologies in one space should be viewed positively as it leads to a 'third element', 'a new understanding or a new consciousness' which transcends our differences (Anzaldúa, 1987; Gutierrez, Baquedano-Lopez & Tejeda, 1999). Thus, bilingual, or multilingual, children do not operate as separate monolinguals, but occupy a linguistic third space with one linguistic repertoire consisting of all the languages they speak (Flores & Garcia, 2013). The linguistic

third space children occupy requires us as literacy teachers to have a multilingual orientation to language and literacy learning rather than a monolingual orientation. Children cannot be forced into being African language speakers or English speakers because they are both African language speaking and English speaking no matter where they are in the bi/multilingual continuum. The fact that the curriculum requires children to make use of two languages for meaning making from Grade 1 already constructs our children on the emergent bi/multilingual continuum, while some may already be multilingual by the time they get to school. Thus, operating from a multilingual and multimodal orientation requires the establishment of a third space, as an alternative space to the current monolingual orientation in schools and classrooms. The third space constructed for the purposes of this study is constructed in an after-school literacy club. The literacy club was deliberately constructed to answer the following research questions:

### **Research Questions**

- How is a bi/multilingual, multimodal third space co-constructed in an afterschool literacy club?
- How do children from marginalised communities conceptualise language and literacy learning?
- What are the affordances of a bi/multilingual and multimodal approach to language and literacy learning in an out-of-school literacy club?
- How do children respond to a bi/multilingual, multimodal pedagogical approach which legitimises all the semiotic resources in their repertoire?

### **Research Goals**

The aims of the study are:

- To take seriously a learner centred approach which considers children's perspectives on what and how they wish to learn and builds on these;
- To resist the deficit positioning of African language-English speaking emergent bi/multilinguals by describing their meaning-making processes.
- To explore an alternative pedagogical approach in the teaching of bi/multilingual learners which can be taken up in similar contexts.
- To calibrate language and literacy learning to the needs of bi/multilingual learners.

- To explore literacy pedagogy that can be taken into mainstream classrooms.

### **Chapter overview**

This chapter provides a background and rationale for the study.

Chapter 2 provides the theoretical framework and literature review of a socio-cultural approach to language and literacy learning.

Chapter 3 provides the theoretical framework and literature review on third spaces.

Chapter 4 describes the methodology used for the study and the research design.

Chapter 5 describes and analyses the construction of the Stars of Today Literacy Club as an affective, social, and linguistic third space.

Chapter 6 describes and analyses the construction of the Stars of Today Literacy Club as a physical third space.

Chapter 7 describes the construction of the Stars of Today Literacy Club as a pedagogical third space.

Chapter 8 provides a summary of the findings, recommendations, and conclusions.

## **Chapter 2: Theorising Language and Literacy Learning**

### **Introduction**

This chapter presents the first part of my theoretical framework and a review of the literature relevant to this study. It provides the South African language and literacy context, theorises language and literacy learning upon which this study builds, and lays the basis for the third spaces theoretical framework presented in Chapter 3. The chapter is divided into three sections. Section One discusses language ideologies that have shaped the language and literacy curriculum and assessment policies and focuses on how these ideologies have constructed African language-emergent English-speaking bilinguals with a deficit. Then, it presents an alternative conceptualisation of language for bi/multilingual children, one which constructs the children as having strengths rather than as deficient. Section Two theorises literacy learning drawing from the conception of literacy as a social practice. It poses a challenge to the over-emphasis in studies and theories of literacy as a social practice on language as a sole means of communication in literacy events and practices. I present multimodality as an alternative and all-inclusive approach to literacy learning, an approach that draws on both linguistic and non-linguistic modes of communication. Section Three brings together concepts of multilingual repertoires and multimodal repertoires to conceptualise language and literacy learning for bi/multilingual learners. It proposes the concept of a semiotic repertoire as an integrated perspective through which we should calibrate language and literacy education of bi/multilingual learners. By combining multilingual and multimodal repertoires, and through this, bringing together multiple and complex tools for scaffolding children's biliteracy learning, the concept of semiotic repertoires intersects with the third space theory which I present and discuss in Chapter 3.

## **Section 1: Dominant Language Ideologies: what counts as legitimate language and the construction of deficient monolinguals**

Language is one of the most important tools in education because it is needed to communicate ideas, and to negotiate understanding; for this reason, particular named languages are used as mediums of instruction (García & Torres-Guevara, 2009). However, it has become a norm in multilingual countries that one named language, usually a dominant language, is chosen as a medium of instruction, even though it is not spoken by many learners, or within their families and their communities (Bamgbose, 2005; Wolff, 2011; Wolff, 2017; Benson, 2018; Taylor-Leech & Benson, 2017). Blackledge (2000) argues that the dominant ideology of monolingualism, or 'oneness' (Makalela, 2015a), in multilingual societies raises issues of social justice and has a potential to exclude and discriminate against those who are either unable or unwilling to fit the monoglot standard, and to advantage those whose language is taken as the legitimate one for learning. Makoe and McKinney concur with Blackledge about the role of language in creating social inequality, and in fighting for social justice, stating that:

it is important to understand the mechanisms through which inequality is reproduced in the micro workings of daily life in schools and the ways in which it is challenged, if we are to interrupt such reproduction of inequality (Makoe and McKinney, 2014:18).

In South Africa, the fact that English speaking, and some Afrikaans speaking, children learn through their home languages at school, while African language speaking children must learn through the medium of English from Grade 4 onwards, creates huge inequalities in the educational attainment of African language speaking children. As mentioned in Chapter 1, those schools teaching African language speaking learners are often reported as the most underperforming schools (PIRLS, 2006, 2011, 2016), and the learners at those schools, and their teachers, are constructed as having a deficit. The South African Language in Education Policy (LiEP, 1997) promotes an additive approach to the education of African language-emergent English-speaking bilinguals. In an additive approach:

the objective is the use of mother tongue as a medium of instruction throughout the school years (with the official/foreign language taught as a subject) or the use of

mother tongue plus official/foreign language as two (dual) media of instruction to the end of school. In the additive education model, the mother tongue is never removed as a medium of instruction and never used less than 50 per cent of the day/subject. Therefore, the target is a high level of proficiency in the mother tongue plus a high level of proficiency in the official/foreign language. Heugh (2011:114)

The approach also allows single medium education and the teaching of other languages as additional languages. There are several compelling questions to ask: how is this symbolic domination maintained post-Apartheid? Why has the LiEP of 1997, which promotes bi/multilingual education, not been implemented, and why is it that the linguistic resources children have for meaning making are continuously seen as a problem for Black African language speaking learners and not for White English and Afrikaans speaking children?

Blackledge (2000), Makoe and McKinney (2014), McKinney (2017) and Wolff (2017) offer us an alternative explanation for the lack of implementation of multilingual education in South African schools. They argue that the study of linguistic ideologies provides us with a bridge between language practices and social theory, linking considerations of language use, attitudes, and beliefs with considerations of power and social inequality. Makoe and McKinney define language ideologies as “sets of beliefs, values and cultural frames that continually circulate in society informing the ways in which language is conceptualised and represented as well as how it is used” (2014:659). They claim that the study of linguistic ideologies is important in understanding, making visible, and analysing the mechanisms that construct African language - emergent English bilinguals as deficient monolinguals, and which make the language resources available to them problematic. McKinney (2017) asserts that the colonial and Apartheid language in education policy is maintained by colonial language ideologies that policy makers, teacher-trainers, teachers, and society hold about language. Bua-lit (2018:16) argues,

‘Who’ informs curriculum decisions, especially in terms of their own language resources, histories, and social class, as well as racial positionings, matters. Monolingual English (or at best bilingual English and Afrikaans) curriculum writers, policy-makers and textbook writers are often unable to see beyond their own limited language experiences.

At the same time, those in power, who have in the past been subjected to the symbolic violence of monoglot standardization comply with their symbolic domination, and with that of the rest of the South Africans for whom they make decisions. Ramadiro (2017) details how the African National Congress (ANC), whose members were subjected to an inferior education and in a language they did not speak well from Grade 4 onwards, after the Soweto Uprisings, never really wanted to promote African languages as official languages post-Apartheid. As Ramadiro (2017) argues, the ANC insisted on recognition of nine named indigenous languages in the Constitution only because the Afrikaners resisted English being the single official language, and the ANC could not support the continuation of the Apartheid Afrikaans-English bilingual language policy. Wolff (2017) on the other hand argues that African states are confronted with nation state ideologies and African Renaissance ideologies in policy making. He argues that nation states ideologies are modelled on 'Western' mind-set premised on homogenous nations while the African Renaissance ideology is informed by anti-colonialist struggle and anti-imperialist philosophy. Thus, the study of language ideologies helps to explain the lack of political will to implement the LiEP of 1997, and why many schools that teach Black learners find themselves still having to switch to English medium in Grade 4. Below, I demonstrate that it is because of these ideologies that many children are forced to continue to suffer an inferior education, and one that continuously constructs them as deficient.

### ***Monolingual and Monoglossic Language Ideologies and the notion of homogeneity***

Ideologies which inform the conception of language policy in South Africa are monolingual, monoglossic and Anglonormative ideologies informed by the 'Western' mind-set. Blackledge (2000), Garcia and Torres-Guevara (2009), and Makoe and McKinney (2014) define a monolingual ideology as an ideology of a single legitimate language for schooling, and one which prevents teachers from using multilingualism as a productive resource for meaning making in language and literacy classrooms, as well as in the rest of the school subjects. They also define a monoglossic ideology as a conception of languages as being stable, bounded entities which are clearly differentiated from each other. Though the LiEP of 1997 shows some discontinuity from the monolingual ideology in the Afrikaans-English bilingual education policies of the Apartheid era, it also maintains a monolingual orientation by mandating

mother tongue in the Foundation Phase which in many ways, though important for building a strong foundation for learning (Dutcher, 1997), also prevents teachers from introducing concepts in English, the default language of textbooks and teaching in Grade 4. The result is that children are underprepared for English medium, whether it is going to be used in a dual medium model, as suggested by the LiEP of 1997, or in a single medium model as in the current situation where the home languages are abruptly erased as mediums of instruction in Grade 4.

In my classroom observations in Grade 3 classes, teachers reported that they do not feel obligated to teach English, despite the requirements of the curriculum, because assessment in the Foundation Phase is in the home language. Even though classroom observations show that teachers do not use only English when teaching, Intermediate Phase teachers feel compelled to report that English is the only medium of instruction from Grade 4 onwards in their schools. This is because they are trained in English, are provided with textbooks in English only, and curriculum and subject advisors expect them to use English as the sole medium of instruction, rather than taking guidance from the LiEP of 1997. They are also often censured for translinguaging. Thus, language policy, as it is currently implemented, continues to follow the subtractive bilingual policy (i.e., the newly introduced language replaces the home language) of the Apartheid regime. The construction of African language speaking children, firstly as African language monolinguals in the Foundation Phase, and secondly as English monolinguals in the Intermediate Phase in the implementation of language policy, in curriculum and assessment policies, in learning materials, and in pedagogy, is largely informed by policy makers' beliefs about what counts as good language practices and use in society, and what counts as 'best' in terms of languages for teaching and learning (Blackledge, 2000; Makoe & McKinney, 2009; McKinney, 2017). Since policy makers currently belong to the dominant classes in society, and thus to the classes which control the country's economy and wealth, their beliefs, and ideas about what is good – or desirable - language use tend to be imposed on the rest of the people in our society (Alexander, 1989; Nomlomo, 1993).

Alexander (1989), Blackledge (2000), Flores and García (2013), and Makalela (2015b) and Wolff (2017) argue that the views of this dominant class about what languages should be used in education, and what counts as good, or appropriate, language and literacy learning, are

largely influenced by Eurocentric and colonial ideologies that came with the formation of nation states in Europe. According to this view and historical perspective, the diverse regional varieties of indigenous languages in this country were homogenised by missionary linguists in favour of one 'pure' – and fixed - single standard language (Makoni, 1998; Makoni & Pennycook, 2005, Bamgbose, 2005). This separation, bounding and privileging of language(s) can be compared to the way geographical boundaries were drawn during the formation of nation states, thus determining what was regarded as constituting a particular language, who its speakers were, and those who are in or outside this boundary. One example is how French replaced Breton and Castilian, and marginalised Catalan after the French Revolution, and English replaced Gaelic in Ireland (Blackledge, 2000:30). Thus, the notion of the 'invention' of languages is not only applicable to African languages. Pennycook (2007) challenges the notion of monolithic English in the context of globalisation, where there are world Englishes and other Englishes. Makoni (1998) argues that, unless standardised written forms of language can be recast through a process of an egalitarian reinvention, discourses about the promotion of African languages are likely to be received with scepticism. He argues that the process of invention of African languages should involve the introduction of a variety of African speech forms, through what he calls "egalitarian re-invention" (248). Pennycook (2007), building on the same notion of egalitarian re-invention of languages, problematises the polarisation between English as a homogenising language and the heterogeneity of the language, thus arguing for an integration of the language where all varieties of language are accorded the same status, value, and legitimacy.

The monolingual and monoglossic ideology of pure, fixed, bounded, and autonomous named languages remains a strong ideology underpinning the CAPS and its conceptualisation of languages in South Africa and in the curriculum as Home Languages and First Additional Languages. This conceptualisation of languages excludes those children who may speak varieties of the said 'standard' languages, or a combination of the two as well as the children who grow up in multilingual communities and families. García and Torres-Guevara (2009) and Blackledge (2000), using a USA example, argue that this monoglossic orientation to language expects Latinx children in the USA to replace whatever traits perceived to make them 'different' with characteristics which make them more American in the United States. Among these characteristics is spoken and written standard English. Blackledge (2000) argues

however, that this homogenising and monolingualising nation-state ideology is not uncontested. In the USA for example, the Bilingual Education Movement supports an ideology of linguistic heterogeneity. Even so, Shannon (1999 cited in Blackledge, 2000) argues that, despite the explicit orientation towards multilingualism in society, the Bilingual Education Movement in the USA has effectively supported and maintained the ideology of monolingualism as it has been used as a means towards achievement of English monolingualism. Transitional bilingual education programmes have been designed to provide linguistic minority students with support until they have sufficient command of English to leave their home and community languages behind (Blackledge, 2000). Furthermore, Garcia and Torres-Guevara (2009) argue that, even in bilingual education, bilinguals in the USA are often perceived as being two monolinguals in one, capable of using English or Spanish in different contexts. They argue, however, that use of two languages is not simply like having two balanced wheels in a bicycle. Instead, “bilinguals use their two languages as an all-terrain vehicle, adjusting the unbalanced wheels to the ridges or craters of the communicative act” (2009:184).

Like the USA, additive bilingualism in South Africa also maintains monolingual ideologies (Banda, 2010). Banda argues that use of Mother Tongue as a medium of instruction for 6-7 years before adding English as a second medium of instruction is tantamount to one form of monolingual education. Though the 6-7 years of Mother Tongue have not been implemented, use of one language as a medium in the Foundation Phase classrooms, and separation of languages into Home Languages and First Additional Languages, is monolingualising, and thus ignores the language resources of those children who grow up with more than one language. It also ignores children’s emerging bilingualism through the learning of an additional language from as early as Grade 1 and in some cases in Grade R. In fact, though the notion of additive bilingualism informing the 1997 LiEP is better than subtractive bilingualism in terms of reducing the monolingualising of learners, and to some extent affirming African language-emergent English-speaking bilingual children, it has not been implemented in South African classrooms as schools have simply carried on with the abrupt transition to English medium in Grade 4.

In South Africa, single medium or parallel medium schools, and many schools offering subtractive bilingual education (teaching through the mother tongue for the first three years and transitioning to English medium in Grade 4), uphold the principle of Mother Tongue Education and can be described as bilingual schools because two languages are taught as subjects in the schools. However they are considered by advocates of bi/multilingualism to offer a weak form of bilingual education compared to dual medium education, which does not expose children to only one medium of instruction, but to two mediums of instruction (Malherbe, 1943; Heugh, 2002; Garcia, 1999). Despite dual medium education being a stronger form of bilingual education, historically, it has tended – and continues - to apply in classrooms where there were equal numbers of learners speaking Afrikaans and English. In addition, dual medium education has constructed bilingualism as referring to proficiency in English and Afrikaans, rather than being inclusive of African languages. Historically, this required teachers to code-switch from one language to another to expose each group of children to their mother tongue as well as to give them access to the other language (Malherbe, 1943). This notion of dual medium education evolved and informed ideas about an additive bilingualism approach in the Language in Education Policy of 1997, or the notion of Mother Tongue Based Bilingual Education (MTBBE) (Heugh, 2001; Alexander, 2003a) for schools attended by many Black African language- emergent English speaking bilingual children.

The notion of heteroglossic language practices within the same language adds another layer of complexity to the monolingualising and monoglossic ideologies in both the 1997 LiEP and the CAPS. Heteroglossia is a Bakhtinian term which is defined as “the complex, simultaneous use of diverse registers, voices, named languages or codes in our daily lives” (Bakhtin, 1981, cited in McKinney, 2017:22). Ndhlovu (2013:21) explains this heteroglossic complexity by claiming that:

Multilingualism should be understood as a concept that encompasses multiple and diverse views on lexis, language forms and other communicative modes including symbolic, metaphorical, and discursive ones. African understandings of the notion of language are more complex and broader in the sense that they encompass any or all of the following: dialect continua, cultural practices and identities, discursive practices, traditions, customs, social relationships, connections to the land and nature, religion, spirituality, worldviews and philosophies, proverbial lore, and so on. In other

words, the concept of language does not always refer to a noun; it can be an action word or even a describing word.

Heteroglossia however, also draws attention to the potential tension between different kinds of registers and voices, depending on competing ideological points of view, whether situated in one language or within complex communicative repertoires (Lian, 2014, cited in Blackledge & Creese, 2014). Thus, although the principle of Mother Tongue Education in the Foundation Phase is important in both transitional models of education and in single medium, parallel medium, and dual medium education, it still fails to account for heteroglossic language practices within the same language. Collins (1999, cited in Blackledge, 2000) argues that, while contemporary linguists regard all languages and language varieties as equal in value, political and popular discourses often come to regard official languages and standard varieties as essentially superior to unofficial languages and non-standard languages. Thus, while the heteroglossic nature of language requires us to view multilingualism beyond just the named languages, this is an aspect of multilingualism that the South African education system consistently fails to address in both the written language in education policy documents and in practice. While bilingual education for African language- emergent English-speaking bilingual children means learning in their home language and in English, heteroglossia usually involves children speaking in varieties and different registers of the named languages in which they are required to learn. For isiXhosa speaking children, for example, these varieties include dialects such as isiBhaca, isiHlubi and isiMpondo, isiBomvana, and isiNtlangwini, as well as urban varieties of isiXhosa and English (Nomlomo, 1993) and SePitoli (Pretoria Sesotho) in Limpopo in Limpopo and Pretoria where children are assumed to all speak other named African languages (Pretorius & Currin, 2010). There is all too often a linguistic mismatch between the language of teaching and learning, and the languages children use at home when writing in standard languages used at school. Blackledge (2000) argues that this culture of standardisation comes from a modernist ideology that implies clarity, logic, and unity, and this depends on the adoption of a monoglot standard variety in public discourses. Thus, in their efforts to give children access to these 'standard' languages, schools often undermine and devalue children's non-standard varieties. This works in turn to maintain dominant monoglossic language ideologies.

## ***Anglonormativity***

Another language ideology central to the conceptualisation of what counts as legitimate language in education in South Africa is the ideology of Anglonormativity. McKinney (2017:80) defines Anglonormativity as “the expectation that people will be and should be proficient in English, and are deficient, even deviant if they are not”. The fact that African language speaking children continue to transition to English medium in Grade 4, assumes the continued (accepted) hegemony of the English language and Anglonormativity. McKinney (2017) argues that this compulsory, or expected, command of English is further linked to the valuing of a narrow range of linguistic resources associated with prestige varieties of English, and often associated with whiteness. Equally implicated in coloniality, monolingual and Anglonormative ideologies, is CAPS. The current insistence on an English only language of instruction policy, as implied in CAPS and evidenced through the provision of only English materials from Grade 4 onwards, the provision of teacher training only in English, and the practice of teaching through English from Grade 4, all serve to maintain coloniality, homogenisation, monolingualism and Anglonormativity in the South African education system. McKinney summarises the myths that follow from a monoglossic orientation to language and which then circulate in South African society:

- Monolingualism or high level of proficiency in a single named language is the norm
- Nations are made up of speakers of one language: one language, one nation or one geographical territory.
- Linguistic purity is inherently superior, or good language use keeps named languages separate from each other while deficient language use is mixed
- Bi/multilingualism is understood as multiple monolingualisms, or as equivalent proficiency in two or more named languages, the so called “balanced bilingualism”
- Bi/multilingualism is undesirable/a problem.

(McKinney, 2017:20)

What we observe is that school language policies and curriculum policies, both written and tacit, are underpinned by a form of coloniality that is working to position African language

speaking children with a deficit (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1986, 1986; Anzaldua, 1987; Christie & McKinney, 2017). There have been no attempts in South African language policies to imagine other models of bilingual education, nor to develop policies which are not based on nation state ideologies of separate, bounded languages.

### **Alternative Concepts: Changing what counts as legitimate language**

#### ***Heteroglossia and the notion of heterogeneity in language***

As mentioned earlier, the dominant monoglossic and Anglonormative language policies discussed above are not uncontested. The examples alluded to above of bilingual education in the USA and in South Africa appear to support an ideology of linguistic heterogeneity, although they maintain monolingualism through traditional bilingual practices of language separation (Blackledge, 2000). Makoe and McKinney (2014), and McKinney (2017), argue that the dominant monolingual, monoglossic and Anglonormative ideologies discussed above operate in contradiction to people's everyday language practices, discourses and performances. Alexander (1995), Flores and Garcia (2013), and Makalela (2015) argue that the rootedness of these ideologies in the Eurocentric notion of one nation, one language is problematic in countries where citizens speak many languages. However, Blommaert and Rampton (2011), and Blommaert (2014), argue that there have been major revisions of fundamentalist ideologies about languages, language groups and speakers as well as about communication. They outline shifts in epistemologies in research on multilingualism which are taking a turn towards poststructuralism and critical approaches in the study of language. Blommaert and Rampton (2011:3) claim that, "...Rather than working with homogeneity, stability and boundedness as starting assumptions, mobility, mixing, political dynamics and historical embedding are now central concerns in the study of languages, language groups and communication".

The development of critical and post-structuralist perspectives in social theory has led to a turn towards heteroglossia in the study of language. Heteroglossia as an all-encompassing concept of linguistic diversity is linked to globally expanding mobility, leading to super-

diversity, and changes from homogenous linguistic and cultural contexts to heterogeneous linguistic and cultural contexts (Blommaert, 2014; Busch, 2014). Post-structuralist scholars, therefore, are moving away from the study of language as a monolithic construct of discrete sets of skills towards a conceptualisation of language as a series of social practices and actions that are embedded in social relations (García and Leiva (2014). The concept of heteroglossia has therefore given rise to several new terms that describe varying linguistic practices, including translanguaging (Canagarajah, 2013), translingualism (Garcia, 2009; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Garcia & Wei, 2014), linguistic resources (Ruiz, 1984), linguistic repertoire (Busch, 2012; Blommaert & Backus, 2013), and semiotic repertoires (Blommaert, 2014; García & Wei, 2014; Kusters, Spotti, Swanwick, & Tapio, 2017a) . Viewed this way, heteroglossia is multifaceted, encompassing a diversity of meanings.

Four concepts emerging out of heteroglossia as a theoretical lens, which I intend to draw on in understanding language practices of bilingual learners in the literacy club, are the concepts of language as a resource, multilingual repertoires, multimodal repertoires, and semiotic repertoires. The reason for working with the concept of language as a resource is that it challenges what counts as language and takes into account the full range of all human communication online and offline (Martin-Jones & Martin, 2016:5). It also subverts the deficit positioning of multilingual speakers. I draw on the concept of a multilingual repertoire because it is an inclusive term for all language practices and their varied uses at different moments and in different situations. Multimodal and semiotic repertoires are important in this study in problematising language as the sole means of communication as they draw our attention to non-linguistic forms of communication as well as serving as tools for enhancing meaning making and for integrating both multilingual and multimodal repertoires into a semiotic repertoire. Finally, concepts of multilingual repertoire, multimodal repertoire and semiotic repertoire offer us a chaos and complexity perspective that subverts the rule bound, linear, and orderly approach to language and literacy learning. Blommaert (2014) claims that complexity as a perspective offers us freedom to imagine, and that chaos is not an absence of order, but a specific form of order characterised by increased interaction, interdependence, and coherence between different parts of a system.

### ***Linguistic resources, linguistic repertoires, and multilingual repertoires***

The notion of linguistic resources was first proposed by Ruíz (1984) when he challenged the perception of bilingualism or multilingualism as a problem. This work has been taken up by scholars working in the field of bi/multilingual education, such as Busch (2012); Makoe and McKinney (2014), and Hult and Hornberger (2016) amongst many others. Hult and Hornberger argue that the notion of language as a problem which is dominant in society, reflects a set of values that stem from a monolingual ideal and assimilationist mindset (2016:34). They argue that, according to this view, linguistic diversity is seen as a threat to national unity which is best achieved with a single common language, and that language policies growing out of the 'language as a problem' orientation aim to limit or eliminate multilingualism in a society in favour of encouraging the development of the dominant language. Ruiz (1984:19) argued that linguistic minorities, which in the case of South Africa are the numerical majority, are framed with a deficit perspective which focuses on their lack of linguistic abilities in the dominant language, rather than focussing on their bi/multilingual repertoires. Thus, their languages are seen, not as an asset, but as a disability to be overcome. Therefore, many educational programmes in South Africa seek to deal with this perceived deficit by adopting subtractive models of bilingual education that emphasize transition to the dominant language in Grade 4, and position emergent bilinguals as linguistically deficient monolinguals in the dominant language.

Language as a resource orientation thus offers us a counter narrative to the dominant deficit perspective. Hult and Hornberger (2016:38-39) summarise several ways in which Richard Ruiz (1984) argued linguistic diversity could be viewed as a resource rather than a problem. They argue that language as a resource orientation could be used to envision a future policy and practice that promotes societal multilingualism by expanding individuals' linguistic repertoires. Secondly, it serves as an antithesis to the language as a problem orientation. Thirdly, multilingualism and cultural diversity are valued and seen as fully compatible with national unity. Furthermore, rather than being agents of divisiveness, speakers of marginalised languages are a source of specialised linguistic expertise that is useful for themselves, their communities, and society. Finally, language as a resource orientation is seen in terms of an additive perspective in which languages are not pitted against each other in

either a minority language or majority language conflict; instead, the ability of speakers to develop advanced bilingualism both in the national language and another language is seen as desirable. Hult and Hornberger (2016) argue that language as a resource orientation encompasses the development and expansion of new multilingual resources as well as conserving existing resources.

One way to make visible the resources that individual learners have, and those they aspire to, is through the study of the linguistic repertoire (McKinney, 2017:27). According to Blommaert and Backus (2013:11), and to McKinney (2017:27), Gumperz (1972) defined the linguistic repertoire as a totality of linguistic resources, including both invariant forms and variables, such as languages, distinct language varieties, dialects and styles, which are available to members of particular speech communities. Busch (2010:284) on the other hand defines a linguistic repertoire as a “bundle of linguistic dispositions that is subject to transformation or modification over time”. She elaborates on the notion of ‘dispositions’ and argues that they refer on the one hand to knowledge of language, varieties, registers, and pragmatics, and on the other hand to emotions and desires linked to linguistic practices. Busch (2010:293) proposes a speaker centred approach to the study of the linguistic repertoire and argues that this approach is about acknowledging, making visible, and valorising heteroglossic resources present in a school community, as well as developing strategies which guarantee comprehension and mutual understanding and enable people to make themselves heard.

Blommaert and Backus (2013) on the other hand propose a usage-based approach which draws attention to how the repertoire is linked to competence and knowledge of a language. They foreground an individual’s personal experiences, emotions, desires, histories, and competencies over and above those of the community, such that repertoires are no longer attached to communities but to individuals (Blommaert & Backus, 2013; Busch, 2012; McKinney, 2017). McKinney (2017) argues that the reworking of Gumperz’ linguistic repertoire by both Busch (2012), and Blommaert and Backus’ (2013) has social justice motivations that push for institutional change. She claims that they aim to make visible the invisible and unrecognised language and literacy resources of displaced people and children from non-dominant groups, and to unsettle the problematic conceptions of language underlying standardised testing in schooling and beyond. This is significant for children in that

“the recognition of their full linguistic repertoires as resources for meaning-making will enable them to take up positions as knowers, and as legitimate learners from their entry into formal schooling” (McKinney, 2017: 28). Of even more significance is the plurality of linguistic repertoires of multilingual children, resources which include not only heteroglossia within one named language, but also knowledge of a variety of named languages. For colonised societies such as South Africa, however, we are challenged to recognize, valorise, and promote marginalised named languages as well as non-standard varieties which were further marginalised with the standardisation and reduction of African languages into writing. Thus, there is often a tension between promoting African languages as named languages that have been previously disadvantaged, while also recognising and acknowledging that multilingual people have multilingual repertoires (Abdulatief, Guzula & McKinney, 2021). According to Busch (2012), Bristowe, Oostendorp, and Anthonissen (2014a), Lin and He (2017:229), and Heugh and Stroud (2019), multilingual children have multilingual repertoires which include both named languages and standard and non-standard varieties. Thus, dominant standard languages should be regarded simply as part of the repertoire rather than as superior to non-standard varieties, and children should be encouraged to use both standard and non-standard varieties to navigate different life worlds. These new understandings challenge the monolingual orientation and the focus on structure and grammar of a named or dominant standard language, which dominate language and literacy teaching and learning, while also recognising issues of power and access.

Empirical studies that have drawn on language as a resource, and on children’s linguistic repertoires, include studies on translanguaging. Rampton (2011, cited in Busch, 2012) argues that studies on translanguaging are less interested in distinct codes people draw on, and what affiliations these codes refer to, than in how different communicative practices are employed to create meaning, and what such communicative linguistic practice means to speakers. García and Li Wei (2014:1) refer to linguistic repertoire by defining translanguaging as “an approach to the use of language, bilingualism and bilingual education that considers the language practices of bilinguals not as two autonomous language systems (...), but as one linguistic repertoire with features that have been societally constructed as belonging to two languages”. Similarly, Otheguy, García, and Reid (2015:281) define translanguaging as “the deployment of a speaker’s full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to

the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages". Garcia, Makar, Starcevic and Terry (2011) show that, in one Latino Kindergarten class in New York, translanguaging was used for various purposes in the classroom, such as for the children to acquire a second language, to mediate understanding, to co-construct meaning, to include, to exclude, and for children to demonstrate what they know. Creese and Blackledge (2010) present two case studies from a larger project on heritage language learning where they found that teachers in Gujarati and Chinese classrooms and assemblies construct and participate in flexible bilingual pedagogy. They argue that in these spaces there was recognition that languages did not fit into clear bounded entities, and that all languages were 'needed' for meanings to be conveyed and negotiated, amongst other skills that participants exhibited.

Some studies, like those of (Manyak, 2001a, 2008) and Cummins (2008), though they do not use the term linguistic repertoire explicitly, refer to sociocultural resources in which translation, code-switching and interpreting played a role as translanguaging strategies. For Manyak (2001) the study of Grade I children's language practices during a Daily News classroom session in an English immersion school for Spanish American children in Los Angeles led to heightened child participation because the children were given free choice over the language they wanted to share their news in. Because most literacy instruction was done in English anyway, the Daily News session played an important role in nurturing children's biliteracy development (Manyak, 2001). Cummins (2008) on the other hand found that translation became an integral part of creating dual language identity texts and played an important role in enabling bilingual newcomer students to participate fully in instruction.

In South Africa, Makoe and McKinney (2009) also show how one Grade 1 learner who was fluent in three languages, including English, facilitated her peers' access to the language of schooling through her multiple reflexive identity positioning as an interpreter and translator of the teacher's instructions from English to Sepedi. They conclude that the learner became a language broker, mediator of curriculum knowledge and of social interaction, and a disciplinarian. Her hybrid language practices made her highly attentive to the teacher's discourse and had the potential to enhance her learning.

Bloch (2002) and Bloch and Alexander's (2003) language and literacy study known as 'The Battswood Bilingual Project', the study of language in mathematics classrooms in South Africa done by (Setati, Adler, Reed, & Bapoo, 2002), and Probyn's (2015) study in science classrooms all concluded that codeswitching is important as a pedagogical strategy for teaching bilingual children. For Bloch, code-switching seems to have been the major pedagogic strategy, with either of the two teachers team teaching a class of isiXhosa-English and Afrikaans-English speaking learners starting lessons in one language and providing summaries in another. For Setati et al., (2002) codeswitching enabled learners to explore ideas and concepts in a familiar environment. In studying eight science classrooms in South Africa, Probyn (2015) found that teachers either used code-switching or translanguaging in exploratory talk in their lessons, and that this enhanced learning in these classrooms. She also found that, in using codeswitching, teachers were responding on the spot to learners' body language which signaled to them when learners did not understand English as the language of teaching.

There are a few challenges to the valorisation of heteroglossia and use of translanguaging in classrooms. One of these challenges is that, in a society where purist and monolingual ideologies prevail (Garcia, 2009), hybrid language practices continue to be viewed negatively, with people labelling the dual language use of Spanish and English-speaking learners 'Spanglish', and in South Africa, for example, isiXhosa learners who translanguage are labelled in a deficit way as speaking 'Xhenglish', meaning they know neither English nor isiXhosa (Paxton & Tyam, 2010). Another limitation of both translanguaging and heteroglossia is their lack of alignment with assessment which is monolingual (Heugh & Stroud, 2019). There is also a perception and fear that translanguaging pedagogies, if not implemented well, might limit learners' access to valued and powerful standardised languages and have serious consequences for their futures (Heugh, 2015; Jaspers & Madsen, 2016; MacSwan, 2017; Jaspers, 2018; Heugh & Stroud, 2019). Cenoz and Gorter (2017) also caution that translanguaging can pose a threat to minority languages like the Basque language as the dominant language tends to dominate, though they also acknowledge opportunities that translanguaging enables. Janks (2004), however, helps us out of this "access paradox" by designing a synthesis model for critical literacy education that pays attention to issues of domination (or power), access, diversity, design/redesign. Janks (2010:23) argues that, with

regards to domination, children need to learn that texts are constructed and that language and other modalities, and symbolic forms, are used to represent, maintain, and reproduce relations of power. The issue of access challenges educators to think about how one provides access to dominant forms, while at the same time valuing and promoting the diverse languages of students and of a society. Diversity is about recognising that different ways of speaking, reading, and writing the world in a variety of modalities are a central source for raising consciousness and in this way allow us to reflect on different ways of saying (writing), doing, thinking, and valuing (2010:24-25). Finally, the issue of redesign encompasses the idea of productive power, together with the ability to harness the multiplicity of semiotic systems across diverse cultural locations to challenge and change existing discourses. Redesign recognises the importance of human creativity and the ability to create an infinite number of new meanings. The model recognises the need to give access to dominant (standard) languages and literacy practices as well as to expand what counts as dominant languages and literacies, challenging a monoglossic perspective and revealing it to be the outcome of unequal social relations.

## **Section 2: Literacy Learning – What counts as literacy learning**

The increased use of international standardized assessments in reading, such as the Progress in International Reading Study (Howie et al., 2017; Howie et al., 2006), and the persistent poor performance of South African children in these assessments, has led to the intensification of national assessments through the former Annual National Assessments (ANAs), the Western Cape Province's systemic evaluations, as well as the recent Early Grade Reading Assessments (EGRAs) in some provinces. The continuing poor performance of South African children in these assessments has sparked provincial government led interventions, such as the Literacy and Numeracy Strategy in the Western Cape, the Gauteng Primary Languages and Mathematics Strategies (GPLMS), National Education Collaboration Trust's language and literacy intervention, and NGO designed interventions such as the Funda Wandu reading intervention. These interventions have further influenced the development of the Department of Higher Education and Training's (DHET) intervention for teacher training in the form of Primary Teacher Standards (PrimTed Standards), and the Department of Basic Education's National Framework for Teaching Reading in African languages (Department of

Basic Education (DBE), 2019) as well as the benchmarking report (Jukes, Pretorius, Schaefer, Tjasink, Ropert, Bisgard, 2020) were interventions meant to deal with the continuing 'literacy crisis'. Common to all these interventions is the conceptualization of literacy as what Street (1993) describes a discrete set of skills that can be taught autonomously and universally across contexts, and thus applied in all South African universities to influence teacher training, and to all South African public schools to improve literacy standards. The model of literacy that teaches phonemic awareness, alphabetic knowledge, fluency, vocabulary, and comprehension, otherwise known as the 'big 5' skills in literacy instruction (Vesay & Gischlar, 2013) has come to prescribe what counts as literacy learning, as well as the hierarchy of these skills and the order in which they ought to be taught. The foregrounding of reading, particularly decoding and oral reading fluency, in these interventions, positions them as the most important aspects of literacy instruction. This flies in the face of what is supposed to be an integration of speaking and listening, reading, and writing skills. Written language is prioritized over other modes of expression (art – visual and creative and performative, oral literature, and gesture). It seems that the national approach to the teaching of reading is taking on an exclusively cognitive approach to learning as opposed to a combination of both cognitive and sociocultural approaches to literacy learning (Bua-lit Collective, 2019).

### *Literacy as a social practice*

Street (1993) described the conceptualisation of literacy as a group of discrete, neutral, stand-alone technical skills that can be taught and assessed universally across contexts as an autonomous model of literacy. He argued that literacy viewed in this way can be imposed on those societies viewed mainly by the West as 'illiterate societies' and considered able to be assessed 'objectively' through large scale comparative studies. According to this model, to assess literacy, one needs an objective definition of literacy for each age tested, up to and including adults. Thus, what seems to count as good literacy learning in South African classrooms is aligned with this autonomous model of literacy. Scholars using the autonomous model focus on teaching technical skills that are assumed to be transferable (phonological awareness – phonemic awareness, phonics, fluency and accuracy, vocabulary, comprehension). Thus, the teaching of reading, starting off with decoding, followed by phonemic awareness is foregrounded, with comprehension seen as an end goal after mastery

of decoding. Literacy skills are not just hierarchised, but a binary is created where written language counts more than other forms of literacy, leading to the hierarchies of literacy, with reading versus writing, writing versus oral language, and writing versus visual and expressive arts. Within this view children's socio-cultural resources (which include oral literature in the form of storytelling, poetry, songs, rhymes, games, and creative arts) are ignored, and literacy learning is seen as something that starts at school, with the developing of knowledge of letters and sounds before anything else.

Street (1993:2) criticises the autonomous conceptualisation of literacy and argues that "neutrality of literacy practices disguises their significance for distribution of power in society and for authority of relations". Frustrated by the autonomous model of literacy which fails to consider creative ways in which people transform literacy to their own cultural concerns and interests, and which ignores the richness and diversity of literacy practices, meanings and uses, scholars in the New Literacy Studies (NLS) began to consider an alternative conceptualisation of literacy as a social practice (Street, 1993). These scholars came to "view literacy practices as inextricably linked to cultural and power structures in society and to recognise the variety of cultural practices associated with reading and writing in different contexts" (Street, 1993:7). Street's ideological view of literacy became an alternative model to the autonomous model of literacy, because, instead of viewing literacy as a neutral technical skill that can be taught similarly across contexts, it addresses power issues in literacy. Thus, the ideological model is concerned with whose literacy matters in schooling and is linked to Heath's (2005) claim that middle class communities' ways of knowing are the ones that are exclusively valued in schooling. In order to avoid reifying literacy, scholars from the NLS studied social practices rather than 'literacy-in-itself' (Street, 1993; Kell, 2006). Heath's ethnographic study of literacy practices and events revealed that literacy differs in different contexts, and points to different ways in which people use literacy in their daily lives, and to the ways in which power is distributed. Her study of different ways of socialising children in Maintown, Trackton and Roadville recognises the ideological model of literacy proposed by Street (1993) of the role of literacy practices in reproducing or challenging power and domination (Street, 1993).

Scholars in literacy as a social practice view literacy not only as an ability to read and write, but as a process that develops over time and which takes place in a social context. According to some of these scholars, literacy skills and practices interact with both oral and written language rather than there being a divide between orality and written language. Street (1993:4) however, prefers talking about the overlap, mix, and diverse functions of literacy skills in context rather than as a continuum. NLS scholars (e.g. Barton & Hamilton, 2000; Heath, 2005; Street, 1993) distinguish between literacy practices and literacy events. Heath (1983, cited in Street, 1993:12) defines a 'literacy event' as "any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of participants' interactions and their interpretive processes". Barton and Hamilton (2000) describe literacy events as activities in which literacy has a role. They claim that there is usually a written text or texts that are central to the activity and that there may be talk around the text. Thus, they claim that the notion of literacy events stresses the situated nature of literacy, pointing to how we should always view literacy in a social context.

Street on the other hand employs 'literacy practices' as "a broader concept, pitched at a higher level of abstraction", and referring to both behaviour and conceptualisation related to the use of reading/and or writing' (1993:12). To explicate this further, Barton and Hamilton (2000:7) describe literacy practices "as cultural ways of using written language which people draw upon in their lives". They claim that literacy practices are what people do with literacy, not observable units of behaviour, since they involve values, attitudes, feelings, and social relationships. They are internal to individuals and include people's awareness of literacy, constructions of literacy, and discourses of literacy including how people talk about and make sense of literacy (Barton, 1994, Barton & Hamilton, 2000). Thus, Barton (1994) and Barton and Hamilton (2000) emphasize the historicity of literacy practices, the social situatedness of literacy practices, and the psychological aspects of literacy. In their view, literacy scholars should not only focus on the psychological aspects of literacy, as scholars operating within the autonomous model do, but consider also the social and historical aspects of literacy learning. It is this combination approach that sociocultural scholars propose that helps me in this study to think beyond the binaries of psychological, historical, and social practice aspects of literacy. This combination approach has been embraced by scholars such as Anita Wilson (2000), who, in her study of literacy within prisons also challenged the binary that some social practice scholars create between autonomous and ideological models. She argued that the

study of literacy should create a third space that embraces both the skills and social multiplicities of literacy. Secondly, the exclusive focus on oral and written language in the social practice approach of literacy has also come up against criticism from scholars of multimodality and multiliteracies. It is this approach that I turn to below.

### ***Multimodal Literacies***

The emergence of multimodal social semiotic theory within socio-cultural approaches to the study of language and literacy learning, influenced by new technological advancements and media, led to a critical review of traditional approaches to language and literacy learning. According to Stein (2008:1), “traditional theories of communication are monomodal in their focus on how language communicates meaning while a multimodal theory of communication holds that meaning is made, always in the many different modes and media which make up a communication ensemble”. Thus, according to Stein (2008), a multimodal approach to language and literacy learning conceptualises meaning making beyond language, and views language as one mode amongst many others, including gesture, colour, sound and movement, images etc. Stein (2008:20) argues that a social semiotic theory is based on a social semiotic account of language developed by Halliday in 1978, in which meaning making is conceptualised as a choice from a range of interlocking options. Halliday, (1978 cited in Stein, 2008) argued that language is not a set of rules, but a resource for making meanings. This view of language became “the basis on which Hodge and Kress (1988) developed their theory of social semiotics which was interested in accounting for different ways in which human beings have engaged with semiotic resources of all kinds of society in history” (Stein, 2008:20). Stein (2008) with her claims that social semiotics focuses on the social aspects of how human beings represent and express their meanings in the social world, thus challenges the idea of stable systems of representation in which humans are portrayed only as users of the systems rather than as actively engaged and transforming semiotic resources.

Since schooling is partly about preparing children for the constantly changing and dynamic workplace, scholars within the sociocultural and social semiotic paradigm who perceive the world as being increasingly mediatised and technology driven, argue that literacy curricula and pedagogy have to be relevant to the needs of the workplace (Kress, 1997; New London Group, 2000). These scholars claim that innovation and creativity in the workplace may be

enhanced by a pedagogy that views language and other forms of representation as dynamic, constantly changing and being remade by meaning makers in changing contexts (New London Group, 2000). They place emphasis on creativity, agency, and development of children as sign-makers who design meaning and exercise semiotic choices. This places human beings at the centre of meaning making, as designers and interpreters of meaning and active makers of choices, according to their interests, from the semiotic resources available to them (Bock, 2016; New London Group, 2000; Stein, 2008).

One of the two central ideas from the New London Group (2000) which has been taken up in South Africa by Stein (2008), Newfield (2011), and Bock (2016) is the idea that language can no longer be viewed as the sole means of communication. According to Newfield, language needs to be “orchestrated with other modes” (image, sound, music, gesture, space, and movement) in the process of meaning making (2011:29). These scholars thus challenge the primacy of language as the object of study in schooling and argue that curriculum and pedagogy must consider different modes of representation which people make use of and incorporate, not as modes additional to language, but by taking all modes as foundational means of meaning making. They argue for a view that all communication is multimodal, and that children work seamlessly across a variety of materials and modes using the semiotic resources available to them (Bock, 2016; New London Group, 2000; Stein, 2008). Thus, emphasis is put on the interrelationship of different modes of meaning making.

The New London Group (2000) argues that it is not enough to define what literacy is and how it is used: we need to think about how literacy is to be taught and developed. They argue that the design of multiliteracies pedagogy should focus on both the what (content) and the how (method). As far as the “what” of literacy pedagogy is concerned, the New London Group (2000) suggests a concept of “Designs of Meaning”, where learners are positioned as active meaning-makers who make use of “Available Designs”, for example, grammars of several semiotic systems, orders of discourse, personal experiences, and interests, to create “the Redesigned”. Thus, they shape new meanings through re-articulation and recombination of ‘Available Designs’. Stein (2008) takes a critical perspective in relation to multimodal semiotics, arguing that classrooms have the potential to become ‘transformative’ sites in which learners’ representational resources can be used productively and critically to develop

a curriculum and pedagogy which speaks to a diversity of global societies and development of student voices. Thus, to describe and evaluate different representational resources afforded by different modes (linguistic, audio, spatial, gestural, visual, and multimodal), teachers and students need a metalanguage of multiliteracies.

Like sociolinguists, scholars in multiliteracies and multimodality argue that pedagogy should focus on a design of meaning making which is not governed by static rules but seen as an active dynamic process. They also propose that hybridity and intertextuality should be used as means to describe multimodal meanings. Hybridity highlights elements of creativity and culture as process, while intertextuality helps us describe complex ways in which meanings are constituted in relation to each other or to other text types. In other words, we should be concerned with properties, uses, and effects of different modes in different contexts and how these modes are connected to one another and work together to make meaning (Stein, 2004).

Language and literacy studies which have been influenced by a multimodal approach and multiliteracies pedagogies have given us some insights into the affordances of multimodal and multiliteracies approaches. Stein (2003, 2008) and Newfield (2011) discuss three school-based projects in Johannesburg, which applied a multimodal approach. They argue that these projects not only led to improved cognitive, social, and affective engagement in learning activities, but provided the learners with agency and voice in the sense that Paulo Freire described. As in Janks' (2004) study, where children drew their school playground in creative ways, and whose meanings got lost when they had to write about their drawing in English, a language they were not proficient in, Lungile's performance of storytelling in Stein's (2008) study enabled her to express and communicate meaning and to be acknowledged and recognised as a good storyteller while her writing of the same story led to loss of meaning. Newfield (2011) elaborates on these affordances, and argues that, when engaged in multimodal communication activities, learners released inhibition and resistance towards the use of English, their semiotic activity increased in quality and quantity, and an adaptable and flexible disposition to meaning making developed. She also adds that learners were constituted as meaning makers and became designers and were no longer being copiers and passive recipients of knowledge. Out-of-school resources and epistemologies and histories

were integrated, and this led to confidence in these learners, together with a sense of dignity and motivation.

In Stein's (2003, 2008) Olifantsvlei Project, where children rejected the paper maché project they were doing at school and created fertility dolls instead, in collaboration with families and people in the community, learners positioned themselves and their communities as knowers who drew from knowledges and resources in their own lifeworlds. In Newfield and Maungedzo's (2006) Thebuwa Poetry Project, the introduction of different modes of representation allowed high school learners to find relevance in poetry by connecting it to their own lives, languages, and stories. In a study of how children learn English as an additional language Mkhize (2016) shows how Lindi, the child in her study drew as semiotic resources for meaning making from both a story told by a grandmother and the book titled, "The day Gogo went to vote" by Elinor Sisulu. She also shows how Lindi made text to text connections between the two stories. In the Kenyan context, Kiramba (2017a) shows how children's innovative drawings and art, which portray them as having strengths, are marginalised in the classroom with a teacher who narrowly defined literacy as an ability to read and write in a particular valued language. The above studies show the use of multimodal pedagogies constructing learners as agentic sign-makers in the classroom, and this results not only in improved cognitive, social, and affective engagement with learning in all age groups, but in the development of agency and voice. The studies show how the use of multimodal pedagogies engenders creativity and agency in learners as it allows them the freedom to make use of a variety of modes to produce more effective variations and constructions of meaning, drawing on their own backgrounds of social and cultural knowledge.

### **Section 3: Multilingual, Multimodal, Semiotic Repertoires and their intersection with Third Spaces**

As mentioned above, there are few empirical studies that investigate the combination of multilingualism or linguistic pluralism and multimodality for meaning making. Many sociolinguistic studies neglect multimodality and non-verbal modes, while multimodal research often neglects multilingual language resources. As early as the year 2000, the New London Group, though only concerned with heteroglossia within the English language (recognising many English varieties such as British English, American English, Australian English, Pidgin Englishes, and World Englishes) as opposed to the linguistic pluralism that we experience between and within languages, has argued for a pedagogy that values cultural and linguistic differences of learners and which should develop an epistemology of linguistic and cultural pluralism. Their understanding means:

That there can be no standard; that the most important skill students need to learn is to negotiate regional, ethnic, or class-based dialects and variations in registers that occur according to social context; hybrid cross cultural discourses; code switching found in texts among different languages, dialects, and registers; different visual and iconic meaning and variations in gestural relationships and material objects. (New London Group, 2000:14)

The New London Group (2000) thus argues for recognition, acknowledgement, and valuing of diversity and advocates for schools and literacy pedagogy to be arbiters of difference instead of imposing standards. The group argues that we need a pedagogical orientation in which differences are the norm. Finally, the New London Group (2000) argues that literacy pedagogy must make spaces available for different life worlds, considering that people assume multiple identities, and that it may not always be ideal to separate individuals into clearly bounded life worlds, but instead welcome them in spaces that accept and respect diversity of languages, discourses, and registers. Therefore, the New London Group (2000), Stein (2008), and Newfield (2011) argue for a pedagogy that opens possibilities for greater access to an education in which productive diversity, civic pluralism and multi-layered life worlds are the new universals, as the basis for a transformed pedagogy of access. However, they also argue that such pedagogy does not involve overwriting of existing subjectivities with the language of the dominant culture, nor does it mean erasing othered or different subjectivities.

However, although proponents of multiliteracies pedagogy in language and literacy learning make claims about the need for language diversity in the curriculum and pedagogy, with the exception of a few South African studies focusing on multiliteracies in primary schools (Stein, 2008) and high schools (Newfield, 2011), there are very few multiliteracies studies that foreground bilingual and multilingual practices alongside multimodality. More recently studies in applied linguistics, including those of Canagarajah (2007), García (2009), Busch (2010, 2017), Bristowe et al. (2014), Pietikäinen and Pitkänen-Huhta (2014), Blackledge and Creese, (2017), Kusters, Spotti, Swanwick, and Tapio (2017), Wei (2017), Lin and He (2017b), and Tyler (2019) are emphasizing that communication involves not only multilingual repertoires but also multimodality and semiotic repertoires. However, many scholars arguing for this are in the Global North. Studies done by Guzula, McKinney, and Tyler (2016), Mkhize (2016), Kiramba (2017) and Tyler (2019) are some of the small number of studies that combine a focus on multilingual and multimodal communication in the South. Kiramba (2017:267) claims that “educators’ and schools’ understandings of literacy would benefit from being broadened to include the multilingual, multicultural, multimodal, flexible, pragmatic and other literacies that children bring to school as measures of competency and success”. García and Kleifgen (2019) also argue that, although the New London Group foregrounded linguistic diversity in their rationale for multiliteracies, this has not had a sustained focus. The field of multiliteracies has focussed on linguistic diversity within the English language rather than on multilingualism in diverse named languages. For example, in South Africa, though in Stein’s (2008) studies, children were able to use their home languages to communicate, the researcher does not draw attention to or analyse the use of multilingual repertoires and practices, focusing rather on multimodality. Thus, one could argue that Stein’s study positions and foregrounds multimodality as an effective strategy for teaching English as a Second Language, rather than exploring how multilingual children draw from both their multilingual and multimodal repertoires simultaneously to enhance their learning of English. Garcia (2009:53-54) argues that

...in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century bilingualism involves a much more dynamic cycle where language practices are multiple and ever adjusting to the multilingual-multimodal terrain in the

communicative act with language interaction taking place in different planes including multimodalities, that is different modes of language as well as multilingualism.

The work of Busch (2010, 2012) and of Bristowe et al. (2014), on linguistic and multilingual repertoires combine with language portraits which are body silhouettes that research participants colour in, to represent in image and colours their multilingual repertoires, after which they explicate them through language biographies. Blackledge and Creese (2017), and Kusters et al. (2017), point to the importance of the body in communication in multilingual contexts, emphasising the limits of language, and the affordances of gesture and sign in communication. Wei (2017:9) draws on the perspective of distributed cognition “in ecological psychology” - where languaging “refers to an assemblage of diverse material - biological, semiotic, cognitive properties and capacities which multilinguals orchestrate in real time”. Therefore, like Canagarajah (2007) and Garcia (2009), Wei argues that language is a multilingual, multisensory, multi-semiotic, and multimodal system connected with other identifiable and inseparable cognitive systems. By this he means that multilinguals recruit resources across varieties within the same language and draw on different language resources. Additionally, in languaging, they involve other perceptual skills, such as visual, auditory and movement skills, as well as multimodal skills, such as gesture (facial expressions and body movement). Thus, in theorising translanguaging as theory and practice, Wei (2017:16) mentions the role of multiliteracies in communication and argues that “translanguaging reconceptualises language as a multilingual, multisemiotic, multisensory and multimodal resource for sense and meaning making and therefore has a potential to enable us to explore the human mind as a holistic multicompetence”.

It seems, therefore, that scholars working within dynamic language practices, linguistic repertoires, or translanguaging, acknowledge the interconnectedness of languages and multimodality over and above those who work within traditional models of bilingualism. Since, from a social semiotic perspective, communication includes sign production, reception, and transformation, language, like the various other modes of communication, is a semiotic resource available to children to draw on in meaning making. Stein (2008:3) argues that, since children in her study drew on multilingualism, gestures, and visuals of performance, she had to look for a new theory of multi semiotic representational resources. Like her, in this present study, which legitimises multilingual and multimodal repertoires, I find it useful to use the

concept of semiotic repertoire to refer to these multi-semiotic representational resources. Kusters et al. (2017:219) argue that “the lens of semiotic repertoires enables synergies to be identified and provides a holistic focus (addressing ideologies, histories, potentialities, constraints) on action that is both multilingual and multimodal”.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter I have shown that the implementation of bi/multilingual education, as promoted by the LiEP of 1997, has been constrained by monolingual, monoglossic, and Anglonormative language ideologies held by policy makers, education officials, curriculum developers and teachers at the Department of Basic Education, as well as by parents. Thus, the continuing subtractive bilingual education model of the Apartheid regime is maintained by the persistence of these ideologies. I have also argued that these ideologies do not go uncontested: I have shown that alternative heteroglossic ideologies manifested in concepts such as linguistic or language resources, linguistic repertoires, and multilingual repertoires have been found to be more helpful for describing language practices of multilingual children, and I have shown how these concepts help to subvert the deficit positioning of these children. I have also shown how the sociocultural approach to language and literacy learning challenges the autonomous view of literacy learning. This I have done by conceptualising literacy, not as a universal skill that can be taught and assessed uniformly, but from a social practice perspective, which sees literacy practices and events not as being neutral or random events or actions, but as being socially situated and linked to issues of power. I have also shown how written language as a means of communication evident in literacy events and practices is challenged by a multimodal and social semiotic theory of communication.

In sociolinguistics working within multilingual repertoires creates a third space between named languages and between language varieties, thus disrupting binaries between first and second languages and or standard and non-standard varieties. Working with multimodality in literacy studies disrupts the binaries between modes of representation, such as written language versus visual expression, and embodied performance. However, working in language and literacy studies in multilingual settings and in education forces us to consider an even more chaotic and dynamic third space which combines hybrid language practices and

hybrid activities in ways that are even more complex than simply working with multilingualism and multimodality as separate concepts. Due to the fact that there are very few studies in South Africa that investigate combined multilingual and multimodal repertoires in meaning making, I was motivated to create an out-of-school literacy club that would enable and legitimise multilingual and multimodal communication practices. In so doing, I could explore how such a bi/multilingual, multimodal third space is co-constructed, how children from marginalised communities conceptualise language and literacy learning, and what the affordances of such a multilingual and multimodal approach to language and literacy learning are in an out-of-school literacy club. Finally, I was able to explore the various ways in which children respond to a bi/multilingual approach which legitimises all language resources in their repertoires. The next chapter provides a second theoretical framework and expands on the concept of third spaces in education.

## Chapter 3: Conceptual framework: Third Spaces in Education

“...It is the in between space that carries the meaning and burden of culture, and by exploring this Third Space, we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as others of ourselves” Homi Bhabha

### Introduction

In this chapter I focus on third space theory and related literature as a second framework for my study. Third spaces build on the notion of multiplicity relating to language and literacy already briefly discussed in Chapter 2. Debates in education about which languages should be used to teach multilingual learners often result in oppositional positionings of the learners as either monolingual “mother tongue” speakers of African languages, or as monolingual speakers of English. This reduces these children’s linguistic repertoires to simplistic monolingualism. This positioning either constructs them as having monolingual identities or constructs their bilingualism as separate monolingualisms. These constructs hide the complexity of children’s multilingual repertoires. Studying language and literacy education of bilingual and multilingual primary school African language- emergent English bilingual learners from underserved communities propels me to find a framework that would help academics, policy makers, language and literacy practitioners, and teachers to calibrate language and literacy education to the needs of bilingual and multilingual children. This means resisting the monoglossia, monolingualism, and Anglonormativity that is currently a norm, as discussed in Chapter 2. Since language is intertwined with culture and identity, helping us to express who we are as people and how we see the world, viewing bilingual and multilingual learners as having multilingual repertoires, has implications for these learners’ identity formation, their meaning making processes, their world view of what literacy is, and how they ought to be taught in ways that can develop and affirm these.

In Chapter 2 I also discussed how in literacy learning, written language is often valued as the sole means of communication upon which being literate or ‘illiterate’ is assessed and judged

to the exclusion of other non-linguistic modalities, such as audio-visual, performative, gestural, and oral literacies. In this way binaries, such as written language versus oral language, reading versus writing, and writing versus art and drama, are created, with written language being the most prioritized form of literacy. I have also discussed how multimodality has challenged this monomodal conceptualization of literacy. Except for a few studies that combine multilingual and multimodal analysis (Gutiérrez, Bien, Selland, & Pierce, 2011; Pietikäinen & Pitkänen-Huhta, 2014; Bristowe, Oostendorp, & Anthonissen (2014); Blackledge & Creese, 2017; Kusters, Spotti, Swanwick, & Tapio, 2017; Lin & He, 2017; Kiramba, 2017; Tyler, 2019), there are very few studies in South Africa and internationally that combine multilingual and multimodal analysis. Therefore, going beyond examining language practices in third spaces, I am also interested in exploring the creation of third spaces that combine both multilingualism and multimodality. I am thus proposing a more complex conceptualization of language and literacy learning as a social practice, and one in opposition to a simplistic conceptualization of literacy.

This chapter draws on a post-colonial, feminist, and post-structuralist theorizing of identity, using third space theory to deconstruct fundamentalist, modernist, and essentialist constructions of difference, and their implications for language and literacy learning. I draw on Anzaldúa's (1987) notion of borderlands as geographical or physical space, on Anzaldúa (1987) and Bhabha's (1990, 1994) notion of third space as a discursive or conceptual space, and on Soja's (1996) notion of social space. Physical space in this thesis examines, for example, how the Stars of Today Literacy Club# (STLC#) as a learning space challenges the binaries of home/school, classroom/playgrounds, school/libraries, and school/theatre. The social dimension of the literacy club examines how the club, through repeated linguistic practices, was collectively constructed as a learning space. The discursive or conceptual space will examine ideas about how language and literacy learning is conceptualized in the space, together with the pedagogy that accompanies such a conceptualization. This chapter therefore is divided into two parts. Part one reviews literature on third spaces as physical spaces, as social and linguistic spaces, and as conceptual and pedagogical spaces, and provides examples of these spaces in education. Part two integrates the discussion on the discourses of third spaces from Bhabha, Anzaldúa, and Soja with the review of empirical work in education. Throughout the course of this discussion, examples are provided of how third

spaces have been capitalized on in education, and the key features that are taken up in this study.

### **Part One: Literature Review on third spaces**

Literature reviewed in this section is divided into the three broad themes which frame and conceptualize this study. The themes are categorized as follows: physical third spaces, social and linguistic third spaces, and conceptual and pedagogic third spaces. Below, I discuss and review each of them separately, while also providing examples of how third space theory has been used in education.

#### *Physical and third spaces*

Anzaldua (1987) begins her book *Borderlands* by using the geographical location of her birth in the Mexican/United States of American border as a source of her theorizing. She establishes the border between two countries as a metaphor for all kinds of crossings – between geopolitical borders, sexual transgressions, social dislocations, and crossings necessary in plural linguistic and cultural contexts. I discuss Anzaldua’s theorizing of third spaces as spaces between and beyond geopolitical borders, and relate them to the binaries of, home and school that are created around learning. I draw on her metaphor, “Like a turtle, I carry home on my back wherever I go” (1987:38), to demonstrate how these home and school binaries can be bridged and opened to allow for free flow of ideas, knowledge, languages to and from either side of the bridge. According to Anzaldua, a border is a dividing line, a narrow strip along the steep edge set up to define spaces which are safe and unsafe, and to distinguish ‘us’ and ‘them’. It is neither fully Mexico nor fully United States and is occupied by people who are not wanted on either side of the border. Her experiences of growing up as a child of farm workers who migrated from place to place, and her eventual migration to California, and discovery of how Mexican culture was considered inferior in the US, had a profound effect on Anzaldua’s thinking and ideas. She writes about Mexico as a geopolitical place of cultural tyranny, where dominant paradigms and predefined concepts are transmitted through culture, existing as unquestionable, and unchallengeable. As a rebel who refused to take orders from outside authorities, and who hated constraints of any kind,

including impositions, she writes about leaving her home on her own accord because she felt that nothing in her culture approved of her. She claims, “Not me sold out my people but they me” (1987, 43), and thus she moved to California where she witnessed the horrors of migration and experienced the denigration of Mexicans and Mexican culture. She could not assimilate into the new oppressive culture in California, which sought to discourage her from enrolling for Chicana studies and policed her speech, nor isolate herself as a Mexican in a culture she experienced as sexually and gender oppressive in equal degrees. This border between two countries becomes an example of physical spaces that are kept separate. To close the borders, she created a new space for herself, a discursive one that carried traces of both her home in Mexico and the new home in California and used this space for theorizing a third space. This concept I see as having a profound influence on how we think about communities, homes, and schools as sites for learning, and leading us to imagine or reimagine how we can bridge the borders that exist between them.

Moje et al. (2004) argue that some scholars refer to the in-between space, or hybrid space, as a third space by explicitly emphasizing the role of the physical space in which people interact. In education, the first spaces constructed in opposition to one another are home and school, or out-of-school and inside school spaces. Scholars in education have used the concept of the physical third space to study the continuity between the first space of home and the second space of school (Gutierrez, Rymes, & Larson, 1995; Gutiérrez et al., 1999, 2011; Pahl & Kelly, 2005; Cook, 2005). Gutiérrez et al. (1999, 2011) and Gutiérrez et al. (1995) studied an after-school computer lab as a physical space that had influences both from a formal school context and the community in which it is located. In this space, unlike formal places of learning, play and learning are built into the collaborative computer gaming activities in which the children participated, drawing from their sociocultural and linguistic repertoires. Gutiérrez et al. (1999) argue that practices in this after school club strategically incorporated local knowledge from both home and school. Home and school were constantly bridged, and local practices, knowledges, and beliefs of both community and the classroom were brought to bear in everyday classroom practices. The learning environment was designed to exploit the hybridity of different age groups, educational experience, social class, and language differences, and joint or collaborative activities were encouraged.

Working throughout the primary school age range, with twelve primary school teachers in the United Kingdom, Cook (2005) established a role play area in classrooms in Merseyside primary schools as a physical third space to bring 'home-type' or 'home-like' contexts and pedagogies into classrooms. Cook's aim was to bring in children's out-of-school texts, such as the ones they construct at home, and to explain the connection between schooled and unschooled texts. Manyak (2001) elaborates on developmental biliteracy, hybridity, and active participation of the children in the class 'Daily News' activity to conceptualise language use, the confluence of home experience and school literacy, inclusive participation, and shifting language identities. He shows how the writing of the news in English fostered a culture of translation and codeswitching from Spanish to English by the children and assisted the transition to developmental biliteracy. However, when the children took over the scribing of the news, hybridity intensified, at which point Spanish took over from English as the only written language, with children supporting the teacher's resistance to an English only policy.

Pahl and Kelly (2005) argue that studies of learning in out-of-school settings, such as in play centers and youth clubs and other 'liminal spaces', have theorized the way children's cultural spaces often lie in-between more settled material entities, such as home and school. They created family literacy classrooms which could be understood as third spaces within primary school and nursery settings in the United Kingdom. They argue that third spaces may be physical and material, for example, where curriculum resources travel to and from home, or where there is a parents' room within the school. The idea of resources travelling from home to school, and vice versa, is captured in Anzaldúa's metaphor of carrying home wherever she goes (1987:38), alluding to the mobility of home and school experiences, knowledges, and ideas. These spaces are then characterized by home and community discourses as well as those of school, or other institutions, which then come to be used to further the aims of both.

Up until 2020, and despite these studies, schools as physical spaces dominated in the world as sites of learning, while after-school programs were peripheral, and homeschooling was confined to a few families with resources. The Covid-19 Pandemic, which befell the whole world in 2020, has intensified not only my own thinking about how we think about physical learning spaces about which I was writing prior to 2020, but has radically called everyone involved in education, including governments, education ministers, schools, parents, children,

and communities across the world to pay attention, think differently, and to imagine alternative and innovative ways of thinking about learning spaces. At first, another way of thinking about a learning space besides face-to-face teaching in the classroom during the pandemic was the introduction of Emergency Remote Learning and Teaching for many universities and elite schools. However, material challenges for most of South African society have forced schools, education officials and civil society to confront and to reckon with the persistent deep inequalities, and to think more creatively about, alternatives for children from underserved communities, and alternatives which are also just and equitable. It is also interesting how some schools have been forced to change the way they think about learning spaces by having to organize themselves to teach groups of learners for two or three days, or every alternate week, and to encourage learning at home in the days in between to allow for social distancing, thus recognizing that children can learn at both school and at home simultaneously.

This study's aim is to examine what happens to children's meaning making when they bring together home and school discourses and knowledges, as well as those discourses and knowledge from other learning spaces, such as the library, theatre, and the playground. At the same time, the study recognises that everyone is being challenged to think about how we all carry our experiences on our backs wherever we go. I am interested in the flexible and dynamic shifts between physical spaces and how the discourses brought together from these spaces enhance and deepen children's language and literacy development.

### ***Social-linguistic and affective third spaces***

Soja (1996) argues that for a long time third spaces theory has been confined to geographers, urbanists, architects, and others for whom spatial thinking is a primary preoccupation. He challenges this sole confinement of third spaces thinking to spatiality (physical, geographical, and environmental) or mental projects only, and argues that the world needs to be understood as historical, social, and spatial simultaneously. Soja examines the dualism between physical geographical space (as it relates to place, location, locality, landscape, environment, home, city, region, territory, and geography), and space as a mental construct (ideas about and representations of space and social significance). He evaluates this dualistic

approach to create an alternative way of thinking about space, one that goes beyond physical and mental dimensions of space, thus bringing together the historical and social. Soja sees humans as spatial beings, and therefore, "...are active participants in the social construction of our embracing spatialities" (1996:1). He challenges us to broaden our geographical imagination of space as first space, and the conceptual dimension of space as the second space, and to realise that space is also socially and historically constructed. Thus, central to the notion of third spaces as social spaces is the understanding that third spaces are socially, interactionally and collectively constituted and constituting, (Lefebvre, 1990 cited in Soja, 1996; Gutierrez, 2008). Therefore, Soja challenges us to see beyond the first spaces and second spaces of the physical and conceptual, and to foreground the historical and the social. For the purposes of this study, in addition to the physical space discussed above. I am interested in social dimension of space. I review literature on the social dimension of space in education in this section.

Gutiérrez (2008) claims that, to consider third spaces as historical and social spaces, we have to work with the notion of sociocritical literacy as it historicises everyday and institutional literacy practices and texts, and frames them as powerful tools oriented towards critical social thought. To do this, she uses the notion of collective third spaces which are interactionally constituted spaces to contest traditional conceptions of academic and literacy instruction of students from non-dominant communities (Gutiérrez, 2008:148). She argues for the redesigning of what counts as teaching and learning for poorly performing students in ways which challenge colour blind, one size fits all, and English only curricular policies and practices driven by high stakes assessments. By so doing, she proposes a more humanist and equity oriented research agenda drawing on third space theory. She is interested in the design of a particular social environment, a collective third space in which children begin to reconceive of who they are and what they might be able to achieve academically at school and beyond. This notion of collective third spaces that challenge top-down, narrow, and weak conceptualisation of literacy learning is of particular relevance for the process of the establishment of the Stars of Today Literacy Club# upon which my study is based. Gutiérrez (2008) defines third spaces as spaces where teacher and student scripts, the formal and informal and the official and unofficial spaces of the learning environment intersect, creating a potential for authentic interaction and a shift in the social organisation of learning and what

counts as knowledge. Gutiérrez, Rymes and Larson (1995) argue that third spaces as social spaces are therefore spaces within which counter hegemonic activity, or contestation of dominant discourses, can occur for both students and teachers. They draw on Bakhtin's notion of dialogic meaning and social heteroglossia to illustrate that the classroom is multivoiced. Their research, which combines ethnographic classroom research and micro-analysis of language use, examines how power is locally constituted through various configurations of talk and interaction in the classroom. They argue that power relations in the classroom influence classroom practices, and they illustrate how the teacher's power in the classroom is maintained through a form of monolingualism and monologue that attempts to stifle dialogue and interaction as well as the students' and the teacher's potential for taking up a critical stance. The authors argue that the teacher's epistemic stance, revealed through the monologic script, helps to define what counts as valued knowledge and language in the classroom, and thus determines whose knowledge and language is constructed and who has access to it. They claim that it is this ideological construction of the link between power and knowledge, which causes domination by the teacher, erasure of students' sociocultural resources, and resistance by the students, leading to more tension and conflict in the classroom. It is this erasure of students' knowledge, languages, and cultures which creates the space for student's counterscript to develop. Gutiérrez et al. argue that

... in the face of a rigidly monologic and monolingual teacher script, the only space where true interaction or communication between the teacher and the students can occur in the classroom is in the middle ground, or "third space" in which the Bakhtinian social heteroglossia is possible (1995:446).

They use third space to describe how these spaces might intersect and create the potential for more authentic interaction and heteroglossia, and they argue that, by departing from their scripts, the teacher and students let go, slightly, of their defensive hold on their exclusive cultures. They argue that interaction between scripts creates a third space for unscripted improvisation where the traditional binary relation of the student and teacher script is disrupted.

Gutiérrez (1993) (in Gutiérrez et al., 1995) argues that a prerequisite for a dialogic and potentially disruptive script is a responsive or collaborative script. Gutiérrez et al. (1995)

describe this creation of a third space, where various cultures, knowledges and discourses are made available to all classroom participants, these thus becoming resources for learning, as effective classroom practice. The authors emphasize that the construction of such classroom spaces requires more than simply “adding on” the student script. It requires joint or collective construction of a new socio-cultural terrain in the classroom, where the teacher not only actively resists the monologic script, but creates a meaningful context for collaborative, shared, and co-constructed learning. Curriculum as a social heteroglossia is a constructed text, a mosaic of multiple texts of participants, and is a social practice of the classroom. Gutiérrez et al. (1995) conclude by arguing that, through joint participation in the third space, both teachers and students are afforded the opportunity to relinquish traditional notions of power and the need for rigid and structured power relations as prerequisites for learning.

One of the features of social and pedagogical third spaces for Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, Alvarez, & Chiu (1999) is collaboration or joint activity. They describe joint participation as collaborative practice, a socially mediated process that can be understood not only in terms of the more expert learner assisting the less capable, but in terms of human beings utilizing social processes and a variety of cultural resources to construct potential zones of proximal development known as ZoPeds. They describe collaboration as a “process in which participants acquire knowledge through co-participating, co-cognising and problem solving within linguistically, culturally and academically heterogeneous groups throughout the course of task completion” (1999:87). They argue that joint activity must be the ongoing feature of normative practices of formal and non-formal learning contexts in order that productive collaboration can occur in dyads and groups. The goal is to create rich zones of development in which all participants learn by jointly participating in activities in which they share material, sociocultural, linguistic, and cognitive resources.

Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, Alvarez, and Chiu (1999) claim that central to the notion of hybridity is collaborative learning. They present data from their study of an afterschool computer club called Las Redes and illustrate how hybridity is a resource for building collaboration as part of pedagogic practice and for promoting literacy learning. They give examples of how EL Maga (a mythical computer Wizard) and first year undergraduate students, working collaboratively with the children, seriously and strategically utilised their

own linguistic repertoires involving Spanish-English bilingualism, and created new contexts of development. The teacher was able to draw on linguistic and cultural resources that came from the hybridity in the club, as well as from the conflict that resulted from this hybridity, to create third spaces. The hybridity of linguistic resources allowed for a nuanced negotiation of meaning in the classroom as well as for learners to incorporate their local knowledge into their meaning-making. These creative linguistic practices challenged the normative scripts, practices, and participation frameworks of the official curriculum, and became viable tools for meaning making (Gutiérrez et al., 1999:293). Thus, this demonstrated the potential power of hybrid language practices in the third space as coming from the broader range of linguistic and sociocultural resources and experiences available to both individuals and the larger interpretive community.

From this perspective language and literacy emerges as a central mediating tool in fostering productive joint activity. Collaborating individuals use their literacy skills, including language, to clarify their own emergent understanding of the task and its goals, share knowledge, assist each other, and shift roles in the process. Kell (2000), in studying letter-writing practices in literacy classes for unschooled adults in South Africa, argues that the common understanding of literacy, influenced by school teaching practices and understandings, is that literacy is an individual capacity and a solitary activity. She claims, however, that “amongst people with a limited exposure to schooling, literacy is often a collective and shared event with multiple social actors performing different social roles depending on their skills and location” (Kell, 2000:211). She proposes that a metaphor of a ‘distributed system’ is appropriate where effective performance does not require equal skilling of all parts but effective integration of the whole system. Gutiérrez (2008) argues, however, that collaboration is not just of individuals, but collaboration of different activity systems, i.e. it involves the role of language and embodied practices in the constitution of third spaces to create interdependent Zones of Proximal Development. In this process, Gutierrez argues, like others mentioned in Chapter 2, communication involves multimodality rather than just language as a sole mode of communication. This process of utilising multiple, diverse, and even conflicting mediational tools promotes the emergence of third spaces or zones of development, thus expanding learning.

Though data collection for my study was done long before the Covid-19 pandemic, I am mindful that the Pandemic, and the need for social distancing in classrooms, has been and is threatening the collaborative and social approach to language and literacy learning. Soja (1996) claims that the organization of physical space affects the socialization of human interaction, while social spaces also shape the physical. We are now observing how the reorganization of physical learning spaces impacts social spaces and social learning. The required social distancing of learners in classrooms, and homes, together with Emergency Remote Teaching and Learning, is affecting the innovative pedagogical approaches that put collaborative work at the heart of learning. Teaching is once again becoming one sided and presentational, returning to the banking of information (Freire, 2017:45). Learning is becoming more and more individualistic and less dialogic and collaborative. However, I hope to show through the data collected before the pandemic, and the analysis of this, how the social and collaborative approach shapes children's meaning making.

### *Conceptual and pedagogical third spaces*

The notion of conceptual third spaces relates to the ways in which language and literacy are conceptualized, and how in multicultural societies dominant forms of knowledge, language and literacy marginalize knowledges, languages, and literacies of non-dominant learners. Third spaces have been defined as spaces 'in-between' and beyond two binaries, conceptualisations, and discourses that are often thought of as separate and uncombinable (Anzaldúa, 1987, Bhabha, 1994:1, Soja 1996:5, Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, & Tejeda, 1999). Bhabha (1990) Bhabha, in an interview with Rutherford, argues that it is common for plural democratic societies to claim that they encourage and accommodate cultural diversity, and to come up with policies that endorse cultural diversity as a bedrock of multicultural education. An example of this is our South African LiEP of 1997, which is intended to promote linguistic diversity. Bhabha argues, however, that despite these societies' claims to promote cultural diversity, racism ensures that there is a corresponding response of containment of cultural difference. These societies constitute a norm created by the dominant culture which says, "these other cultures are fine, but we must be able to locate them within our grid" (1990:208). Bhabha attributes this to a liberal relativist perspective which, he argues, "generally does not recognize the universalist and normative stance from which it constructs

its cultural and political judgments” (Bhabha, 1990:208). The result is that, though the different cultures, knowledges and languages are permitted for use within these societies, people coming from diverse cultural backgrounds are expected to assimilate to the norms of the dominant culture.

The containment of cultural diversity is of particular relevance to South Africa because, even though South Africans come from different racial, ethnic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds, and the various education policies recognize this, a construction of a norm has taken place, what McKinney calls Anglonormativity, “the expectation that everyone will and should speak English” (2017:80). It is a norm, mandating all schools teaching African language speaking children to switch to English medium of instruction from Grade 4 onwards. Black African children’s languages and cultures are ignored in the curriculum and assessment policy statement and in pedagogy. In some cases, when children attending former Whites only schools use African languages, this is punishable (McKinney & Guzula, 2016) as I have mentioned in Chapter 1 and drew comparison with Ngugi and Anzaldua.

In dealing with the concept of cultural difference, Bhabha places himself in the position of liminality – “that productive space of construction of culture as difference, in the spirit of alterity or otherness” (Bhabha, 1990:209). He argues that different cultures cannot be accommodated within universalist frameworks and that it is counterproductive to try and fit them together and pretend they can easily coexist. Bhabha (1990) suggests hybridity as one way through which we can accommodate diversity. He argues that third spaces have a transformational value which lies in the re-articulation, or translation of elements that are neither one nor the other, but something else which contests territories of both, thus setting up new structures of authority. Wilson’s concept of third space draws on Bhabha’s (1990; 1994) ‘liminal space’. She draws attention to the need to reconsider the perceived homogenous nature of cultural identity, proposing that the recognition of a third space provides a precondition for the articulation of cultural difference. As outlined in Chapter 2, language and literacy education in school settings, is conceptualized through the autonomous model of literacy, which views literacy as a set of isolated, neutral, and decontextualized skills that are to be taught universally, regardless of the social context (Street, 1993). To challenge the autonomous model, Street proposed an ideological model of language and literacy

education, drawing attention to power issues as well as to the notion that literacy is a social practice. Wilson (2000) however, studying literacy within the prison context, argues that theoretical aspects of literacy and prisons need to be seen beyond the binary contexts of the autonomous and homogenous versus sociocultural and heterogeneous. She feels that the existence of autonomous literacy has often been overlooked, or not foregrounded in studies which have been concerned with the social nature of vernacular literacies which claim to subsume it. Wilson argues that the debates between autonomous and ideological models of literacy reduce the discussion about how literacy learning ought to be conceptualized as an either-or proposition (Kell, 1998).

Wilson (2000) draws a theoretical framework from salient aspects of autonomy and social multiplicities within which to make visible a third space that supports its own culturally specific discourse, generated, influenced, and sustained by the interrelation of these notions of prison literacy. She proposes an acknowledgement of a third space that allows fresh and original perspectives to be recognized regarding the prison environment, its discourses and the influences of its literacy-oriented activities and materials. An example she gives of this is that of a prisoner using the conventions of letter writing by addressing the 'symbolic other', the Governor, conventionally as 'Dear Sir', yet challenging his authority by the informal unconventional content of his letter. Another example is how prisoners, having been given a list of things to order from the canteen, insert their own orders, such as breasts, or machine guns. This demonstrates the interplay between formal and informal literacies, and how the prisoners subvert the autonomous prison literacy by using both conventional and unconventional literacies. Wilson then proposes that constructions of literacy as autonomous, and literacies as social practices, are both of relevance, and each contributes to the generation of communicative practices within penal arrangements. This is currently of relevance to the South African context, especially where there is a strong focus on the autonomous model with a particular focus on reading as cognitive skill (phonemic awareness, alphabetic knowledge, fluency and accuracy, vocabulary, and comprehension) to the exclusion of writing and social uses of literacy. We can see this in the Department of Basic Education and in those literacy organisations that influence government policy, while at the same time we see a push back from those taking a sociocultural approach to literacy (Department of Basic Education (DBE), 2019; Bua-lit Collective, 2019).

Concurring with Wilson, Levy (2008) problematizes the narrow skills-based approach for defining reading by drawing on Kress and his notion of multimodality. Multimodality has been discussed in Chapter 2, but it is worth noting that Levy also draws attention to it as it relates to third spaces. She asks for a redefinition of literacy and to note new uses of the term 'text', arguing that, although it has been acknowledged for some time now that 'reading' is more than an ability to decode print, it appears that schooled reading remains strongly focused on breaking the code of print. Levy's (2008) study sought to understand what is happening in the 'in-between' discourses of home and school, and how children's perceptions of reading are challenged or shaped by the meeting of different knowledges from home and school. She used third space theory, not as an intervention to promote continuity, but rather as a tool to help reach new conceptual understandings. Thus, conceptually, the new ways of defining texts and redefining literacy combine autonomous and sociocultural approaches to literacy and broaden the sociocultural approach to literacy by injecting multimodal literacies into print-based literacies as discussed in Chapter 2. Levy argues that little research exists which has sought to use third space in this way.

Cook (2005) argues that third spaces may be considered conceptual if they use curriculum and teaching resources that derive from children's out-of-school experiences, for example, their exposure to, and engaging with, popular culture. Gutiérrez, Baquedano-Lopez, Alvarez, and Chiu (1999) and Gutiérrez et al. (2011) offer a more educationally and linguistically explicit perspective on third spaces. They argue that many discourses to which students have access, or with which they are confronted, can be viewed as resources for helping students develop a stronger understanding of the natural world, both in content area classrooms and in their everyday lives. They see children's multilingual and multimodal resources as resources for mediating learning, though these are often unrecognized resources in formal learning environments. They also view the different discourses used to generate third space as together constituting the mediational context and the tools necessary for children's future social and cognitive development. This third space is therefore a scaffold used to move students through zones of proximal development towards better honed knowledges.

Gutiérrez et al. (1999) argue that tension and conflict in various learning activities can lead to a transformation in the activity, as well as in the participation and discourse practices. This can lead to productive literacy learning. Third spaces are therefore discursive spaces where alternative and competing discourses and positionings transform conflict and difference into rich zones of collaboration and learning. Also, expanded activity where the object of the activity is extended, and the activity itself organized, results in new opportunities for learning and in zones of proximal development. To make visible the concepts of hybridity and third space, and how to transform conflict into a rich zone of collaboration and learning, the authors provide a real-life in-class experience, where the teacher, together with her primary school children, constructs a learning unit concerning human reproduction. In the course of this process, one student called another student a “homo”. While addressing the conflict, a series of student questions about homosexuality and human reproduction erupted, and this led to the creation and teaching of a special unit on the human reproduction system and on human sexuality in the classroom. This unit became a conceptual third space as it was not part of the normative practice of school or home and thus invoked novel forms of participation. The unit’s origin and content were different to other learning units in significant ways, especially in its ability to mediate home and school knowledge and language practices. In the classroom, points of rupture (for example children mocking one another, giggling, commenting, or having conversations on the side, challenging the assigned activities), instead of being distractions or irritants, became points of negotiation which opened the possibility for other voices to become part of the official curriculum.

Gutiérrez et al. (1999) also combine analysis of bilingualism with gesture (multimodality), arguing that children draw from a larger linguistic repertoire than simply words/verbalising. In a later study Gutiérrez et al. (2011) show that children are likely to experiment with English and academic genres, while also taking on powerful identities as learners and language users when formal and informal modes of communication are leveraged. This occurs when multimodality and language crossing are encouraged, and the use of both home and academic vernaculars are promoted within a context that values social relationships and the playful imagination. In these discursive practices, the teacher allows code-switching or translanguaging and, in collaboration with students, uses such opportunities to expand vocabulary in both languages. Thus, the teacher and the students are in a new hybrid space,

a third space, where student knowledge, including alternative representations of meaning such as gesture, become new tools for meaning making (Gutiérrez et al., 1999; Gutiérrez, 2008). Also, the use of formal and informal registers is not a random act; instead, it is a conscious use of both registers and forms of knowledge as mediating tools for language and content development. The learning of new concepts and skills, as well as the development of a collective identity, is facilitated through a range of language, reading, writing, and performative practices that embody or enact key concepts, emotions, and theories (Gutiérrez, 2008).

## **Part Two: Third spaces in educational research: key features taken up in this study**

Third spaces, whether physical, social, conceptual, or pedagogical, have features which distinguish them from the fundamentalist first and second space positionings. Though these features have been built on by many scholars in the fields of Postcolonial Studies, Political Science, Philosophy, and Cultural Studies, are now also being drawn on in education. These features, according to Moje et al. (2004) and Levy (2008), have been identified and capitalized on in education in various ways. They include third spaces: as hybrid spaces; as flexible and dynamic spaces that enable multiple perspectives; as discursive and linguistic spaces; as bridging/mediational spaces; as navigational spaces, and as spaces for cultural, social, and epistemological change. In this study I draw on these concepts to analyze third space discourses in the construction of the STLC# as a physical third space in Chapter 6. Below I discuss each of the ways in which this concept has been capitalized on in education, and by various theorists and education practitioners, and how I use them in Chapter 6.

### ***Third Spaces as Hybrid Spaces***

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Anzaldúa (1987) uses the border to theorise third spaces. For Anzaldúa, the border as a geopolitical space is susceptible to hybridity and is constantly in a state of transition. Anzaldúa argues that living in the borderlands creates a third space between cultures and social systems. She explains hybridity using racial, ideological,

biological, cultural, and linguistic cross pollination. Using race, for example, she points out that,

... the confluence of two or more genetic streams, with chromosomes constantly 'crossing over', and that this mixture, rather than resulting in inferior being, provides a rich gene pool and that from this mixing, an 'alien' consciousness', a consciousness of borderlands is borne. (99)

The hybridity and mixing that is central to the US -Mexican Border makes cultural diversity and difference a norm. Bhabha's notion of 'liminal space' also highlights how cultural differences can be drawn on productively through hybridity. Gutiérrez et al. (1999) and Gutiérrez (2008), as described above, have shown how hybrid language practices and activities enhance meaning making.

South Africa is a diverse country whose various borders were historically constructed during the colonial and Apartheid regimes to divide and rule the citizens, thus creating an 'us and them'. The geopolitical creation of Bantustans, with their own delegated separate languages, coupled with the Bantu Education System for all Black children, which was different from the Christian National Education for all White English and Afrikaans speaking children, as well as the creation of borders within townships in urban areas, each with its officially designated language and ethnicity, was an attempt to prevent hybridity and mixing. Thus, Apartheid attempted to construct separate, bounded, and 'pure' ethnic cultures. However, the opening of borders between rural and urban areas after 1994 and the official abolition of Bantustans, the free movement of people from the different provinces to the cities, the desegregation of former White English and Afrikaans schools to provide access to and accommodate Black African language speaking children post-Apartheid, rehybridizes South African communities. It creates monolingual, bilingual, multilingual, multicultural, and multiracial school communities. Bhabha argues that all forms of culture are constantly being hybridized, leading to no 'pure' cultures. For Bhabha (1990), the hybridity is a 'third space' which enables other positions to emerge. Like Soja (1996) and Anzaldúa (1987), he argues that hybridity bears traces of those feelings and practices which inform it, but also puts together the traces of certain other meanings or discourses (1990:211). According to Bhabha (1990:209), "the process of cultural hybridity does not give these structures authority of being prior in the

sense of being original but gives rise to something different, something new and unrecognizable, a new era of negotiation of meaning and representation". He argues,

If you have a notion of people as being constructed through cultural difference and hybridity, then you avoid the very simplistic polarity between the ruler and the ruled, and that any monolithic description of authoritative power based on that kind of binarism is not going to be a very accurate reflection of what is actually happening in the world. (1990:220).

The concept of hybridity and third spaces is both relevant and useful in education, and in this study, to help us elude any cultural, linguistic, conceptual, and physical binaries that have been constructed by modernism. In language and literacy education, such binarisms include: being English speaking versus being African language speaking; autonomous constructions of literacy versus social/ideological constructions of literacy (Kell, 1998; Wilson, 2000); linguistic/print modes versus multimodality (Bock, 2016; Stein, 2008); reading versus writing (Department of Basic Education (DBE), 2019); written literature versus oral literature (Opland, 2018); school knowledge or literacies versus home knowledge or social uses of literacy (Kell, 1998; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzale, 1992). Anzaldua's foundational work on borderlands and identity formation, and Bhabha's work on culture and third spaces, has been useful for explaining hybridity in education. Anzaldua's description of her own learning experiences, where difference, especially linguistic hybridity, was suppressed and devalued, illustrates the normative practices that continue to exist today (Gutiérrez et al, 1999:288). Bhabha's concept of the 'liminal space' and the containment of cultural difference in culturally diverse societies has influenced the creation of third spaces that transcend the binaries in classrooms and out-of-school learning spaces (Pahl & Kelly, 2005). In this study, the sociocultural knowledges of the children, including linguistic diversity and the use of hybrid physical learning spaces, activities, and linguistic practices are central to the creation of a third space that legitimizes children's multilingual and multimodal repertoires in their meaning making. These challenge normative ideologies and pedagogies in terms of what counts as good language and literacy learning.

Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, and Tejeda (1999a) conceptualise the concept of hybridity, not only as a useful theoretical tool for understanding the complexity and conflictual nature of

each learning context, but also as a guide for organising learning activities. Their assumption is that learning communities are inherently characterised by diverse and often conflicting discourses, languages, cultures, and practices, and argue that learning communities create and participate in both normative scripts, related to the official curriculum, and counterscripts, developed in unofficial spaces of the classroom. Therefore, learning contexts are “immanently hybrid – polycontextual (official, unofficial and third spaces), multivoiced and multiscripted, polylingual, and polycultural” (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-Lopez, & Tejada, 1999:286). Thus, conflict, tension and diversity are intrinsic to these learning spaces, for example, the conflict and tension between scripts and counterscripts. Gutiérrez et al. (1999) argue that, although scripts and counterscripts have stable and predictable features, they also lend themselves to improvisation, i.e. a potential for change and development. They argue that in many classroom communities teachers may not recognize, nor have the training necessary to see diversity and difference, and the resulting hybridity, as resources for creating new learning spaces. Such an understanding is especially productive in ethnically, racially, culturally, and linguistically diverse learning communities.

### *Third spaces as flexible and dynamic spaces that enable multiple perspectives*

Being in an in-between space, being torn between two ways, or having to embrace both ways, leaves one in a state of ambivalence because it is hard for one to hold on to ‘absolute sides’ in conflict and, as a result, borderlands/third space theory is important for social action, empathizing as it does with different perspectives and coalition building (Anzaldúa, 1987). Because inhabitants of borderlands are a hybrid of people coming from different socio-cultural, political, philosophical, racial, and ideological backgrounds, borderlands become a place of contradiction, conflict, and tension. However, Anzaldúa (1987) argues that, by developing tolerance for contradictions, a tolerance for ambiguity, people learn to juggle cultures, develop plural personalities, and operate in pluralistic mode.

Both Anzaldúa (1987) and Bhabha (1990) claim that the basic concept of borderlands or third spaces resists singularities and involves the ability to hold multiple social perspectives. Their insights help us to understand and theorize the experiences of individuals who are exposed to contradictory social systems. Anzaldúa (1987) argues that, although the ambivalence from

a clash of voices results in mental and emotional states of perplexity, and this internal strife results in insecurity, indecisiveness and restlessness, ambivalence is a product of transfer of cultural and spiritual values of one group to another. That is, one begins to put their feet into someone else's shoes and starts to see through their eyes. This coming together of two internally consistent but habitually incompatible frames of reference cause a cultural collision. Anzaldua argues that this is the beginning of a fusion of opposites and a synthesis of duality. She claims that individuals living in multiple social worlds develop a gift – the agility to challenge monocultural, monolingual and other predefined and set conceptions of social reality. Both Anzaldua (1987) and Bhabha (1990; 1994) view the in-between space full of contradictions as a productive space for construction of cultural difference, a new, third way characterized by flexibility, and by dynamic shifts of ideas, positionings, and conceptualisations. Soja (1996:2) concurs with this by defining 'thirdspace' as "a purposefully tentative and flexible term that attempts to capture what is a constantly shifting and changing milieu of ideas, events and appearances and meanings". He also describes thirdspace

... as a space of extra-ordinary openness, a place of critical exchange where geographical imagination can be expanded to encompass multiplicity of perspectives that have heretofore been considered by epistemological referees to be incompatible, uncombinable. (p.5).

In educational research, Gutiérrez et al. (1999:286) have conceptualised third spaces as spaces in which alternative and competing discourses and positionings transform conflict and difference into rich zones of collaboration and learning. They argue that, although learning communities change and shift over time, some learning communities try to ignore, resist, and suppress these changes, whereas others recognize these points of disruption as the building blocks for potential learning. They show how in one teacher's class tension and conflict around a homosexuality insult was capitalised on rather than being ignored or suppressed by the teacher. In this way conflict became a catalyst for expanding learning in the third space. Thus, in changing the way we perceive reality, the way we see ourselves, and the way we behave, we can create a new culture, a culture in the spirit of alterity or otherness, a new story to explain the world and our participation in it, and a new value system (Anzaldua, 1987; Bhabha, 1990).

In South Africa the notion of ambivalence and the holding of multiple perspectives is both relevant and valuable in language and literacy learning, particularly for learners who have been marginalized through the effects of colonialism and Apartheid, who have had no choice but to live in multiple worlds, straddling two knowledge systems, languages, and cultures. It is particularly relevant for addressing issues relating to bi/multilingual education, biliteracy development and multiliteracies education. These are areas where debates around education of multilingual children often propose monolingual education either in Mother Tongue or English, and the literacy education of these children is often narrowly conceptualized through autonomous and print oriented models of education. We must ask the question: whose reality is being modelled in these monolingual, monocultural, and monomodal approaches to language and literacy education of African Language-English speaking multilingual children?

### *Third spaces as linguistic spaces*

Bhabha (1994) uses third space in a more explicitly discursive frame and argues that third space is produced in and through language as people come together, and particularly in a space where people resist cultural authority, thus bringing together different experiences to bear on the same linguistic signs or cultural symbols, and different signs and symbols to bear on the same experiences. Moje et al. (2004) argue that Bhabha's notion of third space evokes a sense of instability of signs and symbols, and this becomes a challenge to dominant conceptions of unity and fixity of culture and language. When applied to schooling, Bhabha's view of third spaces suggests that "academic knowledges and Discourses need not be accepted on absolute and exclusive privilege precisely because there is potential for re-articulation of both academic and everyday knowledges as well as discourses constituted by communities that produce such knowledges" (Moje, et al, 2004:43).

Anzaldua (1987), using her schooling experiences, questions language as a set of fixed and stable signs and puts up resistance to those who hold rigid linguistic boundaries. She asks:

For a people who are neither Spanish nor live in a country in which Spanish is the first language; for a people who live in a country in which English is the reigning tongue, but who are not Anglo; for a people who cannot entirely identify with either standard Spanish nor standard English, what recourse is left for them but create their own

language? A language which they connect their identity to, one capable of communicating the realities and values true to themselves – a language with terms that are neither *español ni ingles* but both. We speak a patois, a forked tongue, a variation of two languages. (Anzaldúa, 1987:77)

Anzaldúa argues that there is no one Chicana language and points to how heteroglossia allows for multiple positionalities. In researching classrooms where teachers put Spanish and English alongside each other, many times with features that are ‘trans’- blends of both, Flores and García (2013) argue that such an approach makes classrooms into linguistic or translanguaging third spaces capable of transforming traditional views of language in the US, as well as American ethnolinguistic subjectivities. The term ‘linguistic third spaces’ is inspired by Soja’s (1996) concept of third spaces referred to above. The relevance of third spaces in language and literacy education has been shown in work by Gutiérrez et al. (1999), Makoe and McKinney, (2009), Flores and Garcia (2013), and Makalela (2015). They demonstrate how languaging and meaning making is dependent on the simultaneous use of children’s languages and their varieties in diverse classrooms. Wei (2017:15) uses the term ‘translanguaging space’ to refer to a space that “allows language users to integrate social spaces (and thus linguistic codes) that have been formerly separated through different practices and different places”. An example of separated practices through separate places would be a classroom which focuses on English and standardised variety, while the home uses another language and or non-standardised variety or varieties.

Creating translanguaging third spaces involves deliberately disrupting boundaries between languages, and changing the legitimate language, and the interactional regime, to one that favours the notion of a linguistic repertoire (Busch, 2012). Garcia and Li Wei (2014) distinguish between translanguaging as an adaptive space viewed by policy makers, educators, and learners as a ‘necessary evil’, and translanguaging as an established space, where “the translanguaging norm of bilingual communities” is authorized (García & Li Wei, 2014:133). In South Africa we are familiar with *adaptive* third spaces. These are in monolingual classrooms where teachers, upon reflection on action, might allow learners to use their home languages at times, but revert to English as the medium of instruction (Probyn, 2015). The translingual character is thus a pragmatic response to existing inappropriate language policy in practice. In contrast, *established* third spaces are spaces deliberately created and set up to allow for

hybrid language practices and activities from the start, and these spaces feature multilingual reading clubs, etc.

Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, Alvarez, et al. (1999), Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, and Tejeda, (1999b), and Gutiérrez et al. (2011) suggest that diverse schooling contexts with many instances of linguistic and cultural hybridity can make use of this hybridity to create a third space in the classroom. This would result in more effective learning experiences for learners who are traditionally seen as deficient and counter to the norm in schooling. As discussed above, Gutiérrez et al. (1999) have shown us how, in a combined Grade 2 and 3 hybrid class consisting of many Latinx learners, working class learners, as well as middle class Anglo and African American learners, the teacher drew on hybridity for lessons in her classroom and in the after-school computer lab called Les Rede. They argue that hybridity is manifest in the co-existence, commingling of, and contradictions among different linguistic codes and registers during everyday activity in these spaces (Gutiérrez et al., 1999:289). They also argue that, although hybrid language practices are most visible in the after-school computer club, such language practices are always present, though not always legitimised, and utilised, in formal learning contexts. Thus, we can see that, while in the study conducted by Makoe and McKinney (2009), a South African teacher in a desegregated school in Johannesburg, did not openly recognise nor value heteroglossic language practices, the teacher in the hybrid classroom culture studied by Gutiérrez et al. (1999), discussed above, encouraged heteroglossic language practices.

### *Third spaces as bridging/mediational spaces*

Moje et al. (2004) argue that it is important to acknowledge the many different funds of knowledge developed in homes, peer groups, and other systems and networks of relationships that shape the oral and written texts young people make meaning of and produce as they move from classroom to classroom, and from home to peer group, to school or to community. These networks also shape ways of knowing, reading, writing, and talking, and in the process, the discourses that youth use or try to learn in school. The authors claim that the meeting of different disciplinary knowledges, discourses, and texts throughout a single day in school requires sophisticated uses of language and literacy by teachers and

students as they explore upper-level content concepts such as those found in science, history, literature, geography and maths. The authors also add that teachers and students bring different instructional, home, and community knowledges and discourses to bear on classroom texts. Therefore, there is high potential for competition amongst students to be heard in classrooms where students come from backgrounds and experiences that are different from those of their peers or teachers. This requires on the part of the teacher strategic integration of various knowledges, discourses, and literacies that students bring to and experience at school. Following Bhabha (1994), Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, and Tejada (1999), Gutiérrez et al. (1995), and Soja (1996), Moje et al. (2004:41) call

... this integration of knowledges and discourses from the different spaces the construction of a “Third Space” that merges the ‘first space’ of people’s homes, communities and peer networks with ‘second space’ of the discourses they encounter in more formalised institutions such as work, school or church.

Moje et al. (2004) also argue that the naming, or sequencing of ‘first and second’ spaces can be vice versa, but that the important thing is that these spaces can be reconstructed to form a third, alternative space of knowledges and discourses. I argue that the reconstruction of a third space transcends the binaries of first space and second spaces as it does not seek to name spaces but sees all spaces as hybrid.

Gutiérrez et al. (1999) argue that third spaces as learning zones are promoted and sustained by hybrid language and schooling practices that bridge school and home. The after-school computer club at Bell Elementary School where Gutiérrez et al. (1999:289) did their study incorporates the local knowledge of home and school, and organises the roles, participation frameworks, division of labour accordingly, resulting in new activities and outcomes. Third spaces are, therefore, a way to build bridges from knowledges and discourses often marginalised in school settings to learning of conventional academic knowledges and discourses. This third space is important because it provides a bridge between academic and out-of-school marginalised knowledge (Scherff, 2015) and opportunities for success in traditional school learning, while also making a space for typically marginalised voices. Gutiérrez et al. (2008:43) argue that third spaces are not just spaces where new types of knowledges are generated, but also constitute a scaffold to move students through zones of proximal development toward better understood and honed academic or school knowledges.

This means, that third spaces play a dual role, that of generating new and diverse knowledges while also providing access to dominant languages and knowledges. These studies show how learners demonstrate increased engagement, participation, and learning gains when third spaces are built in classrooms.

In many South African classrooms where there are children from working-class communities and families, teachers rely mostly on the textbook to teach learners, and rarely welcome their out-of-school knowledges as part of the curriculum. With the advent of scripted lessons by the Department of Basic Education, teachers are being turned into robots, parroting what has been scripted for them, and written by external lesson plan writers, who barely know, or are interested in, the children's socio-cultural backgrounds, knowledges, values, and beliefs. Thus, the curriculum and scripted lesson plans, modelled on the ideal middle-class, English-speaking learner (Guzula, 2018) further marginalise the various and rich knowledges and resources of these children. The studies of Levy (2008), Pahl and Kelly (2005), Cook (2005), and Wilson (2000), reviewed above, demonstrate how third space theory makes explicit the ways in which very young children and young adults make sense of home and school literacy practices in formal settings. Moje et al. (2004) argue that building bridges is a necessary part of what makes third space because this process helps learners to see connections as well as contradictions between the ways in which they know the world and how others know the world. They also claim that this bridges building connects people from one kind of knowledge or discourse to other kinds of discourses.

### *Third spaces as navigational spaces*

Third spaces have also been capitalized on by researchers and educators as navigational spaces providing students with the means to cross and to succeed in different discourse communities (Levy, 2008; Moje et al., 2004; New London Group, 2000; Scherff, 2015). Moje et al. (2004) argue that this has been a dominant perspective at secondary school level because of the need for students to cross discursive boundaries posed by different disciplines as students begin to encounter specialized texts in content areas. I consider this third space approach to be relevant for Intermediate Phase children in South Africa. They encounter different disciplines from Grade 4 and are mandated to learn these disciplines in English, as

emergent speakers of this language. According to the New London Group's (2000) framework for multiliteracies, it is essential that language and literacy pedagogy include situated practice. This means that children get immersed in meaningful practices within a community of learners – playing multiple roles based on their backgrounds and experiences. According to this approach, teachers are expected to recruit learners' previous and current experiences as well as their extra school communities and discourses as an integral part of their learning experience (teaching from lived experiences). Finally, with this approach, pedagogy need also to consider the affective needs and sociocultural identities of learners. Moje et al. (2004) argue that such practices indicate that navigational skills via students' everyday knowledges have led to students' growth in developing conventional academic knowledges and literacy skills. These studies also suggest that third spaces that engage students in exploring multiple funds of knowledges and discourses related to science can support their abilities to navigate different contexts by drawing from the skills they possess across informal and formal, and social and cultural contexts.

### *Third spaces as spaces for cultural, social, and epistemological change*

According to Levy (2008) and Moje et al. (2004:44), third spaces have also been viewed, conceptualized, and capitalized on in education as spaces for cultural, social, and epistemological change in which competing knowledges and discourses of different spaces are brought into conversation to challenge and reshape both academic content literacy practices and the knowledges and discourses of young people's everyday lives. Moje et al. (2004) believe that, in bringing together discourses and knowledges as productive scaffolds for young children's learning, and that explicit engagements with texts of competing discourse communities will help young people to navigate multiple texts and communities successfully and productively. However, they add that the ultimate goal is to work towards a third space that brings texts that are framed by everyday discourses and knowledges into classrooms in ways that challenge, destabilize, and ultimately expand the literacy practices that are typically valued in school to include those from students' everyday worlds. This is an area of focus for decolonial studies, and one in which I am interested. Thus, I hope that that this study on third spaces will pave the way for us to work towards decolonising the language and literacy curriculum, and pedagogy.

## Conclusion

This chapter has provided a theoretical context for my study on third spaces. As discussed, Bhabha conceptualises space as a discursive space, while Anzaldua conceptualises third space as both a discursive and a geographical space. Soja (1996), on the other hand, critiques the dualism in the way space is imagined as a geographical or a discursive/conceptual space, and challenges us to pay attention to the social and historical dimension of space. The chapter has also reviewed how third space, originally conceptualised by post-colonial, feminist and spatial scholars, has been taken up in education. Third spaces in learning environments are understood in a multidimensional way, as constituting a hybrid space, a flexible and dynamic space enabling multiple perspectives, as a discursive and linguistic space, as a bridging or mediational space, as a navigational space, and as a space for cultural, social, and epistemological change. I therefore intend in this study to use the concept of an education third space as:

- the affective, social, and linguistic third space;
- the physical third space;
- and the pedagogical and conceptual third space

I make use of this multi-perspective third space concept to create an overarching framework for organising and presenting the analysis of my data in three analytical chapters, even though in reality, these dimensions co-exist. I draw on the characteristic features of third spaces discussed above as tools for analysing the discourse of third spaces in the construction of an after-school literacy club as a pedagogic third space which legitimises children's multilingual and multimodal repertoires.

## Chapter 4: Methodological Approach

### Introduction

Given my extensive experience in creating out-of-school learning spaces for language and literacy learning since 2006, and the lack of opportunities to formally research this, my PhD study is designed to research how a bi/multilingual, multimodal third space is co-constructed in an out-of-school literacy club. Secondly, it seeks to examine how children from marginalised communities conceptualise language and literacy learning. It then seeks to understand the affordances of a bi/multilingual and multimodal approach to language and literacy learning in an out-of-school literacy club. Finally, it seeks to understand how children respond to a bilingual, multimodal pedagogical approach which legitimises all language resources in their repertoires.

I decided that creating a language and literacy club as a third space would be an ideal demonstration site for exploring the route towards transforming language and literacy pedagogies. Ouane and Glanz argue that:

“non-formal education sector plays a significant role in many countries in the development of African languages and literacy. Its strength lies in its flexibility which gives space to the development of innovative approaches that meet the diverse demands of out-of-school children, youth and adults, (e.g. *Ecoles Bilingues* [programme] in Burkina Faso.” (2011:38)

Ouane and Glanz (2011) also argue that the non-formal education programmes build bridges between non-formal and formal education. Socio-cultural approaches to language and literacy, together with the conceptual understandings of third spaces discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, provide me with the lenses with which to work towards finding alternative conceptions of language and literacy learning that challenge the dominant colonial, Eurocentric and universal constructions of language and literacy learning. Thus, in my attempts to redesign what counts as language and literacy learning pedagogy for children from underserved communities, to challenge the dominant monoglossic, monolingual and Anglonormative ideologies, and to create a more humanist and equity-oriented research agenda, I became interested in the notion of established third spaces. Like Gutiérrez (2008) I became interested in the design of a particular social and physical environment, a collective third space in which children could begin to reconceive who they are, what language and literacy learning means

to them, how they learn, and how they might be able to achieve academically at school and beyond. Therefore, to realise the transformative power of third spaces, I engaged in a process of establishing the literacy club as a third space. This necessitated negotiating with the children the kind of approach the club would take to promote a culture of literacy that is not predetermined for children, but co-created, collectively with children, thus building on their socio-cultural resources, interests, and their own ideas.

### **Methodological Approach– Linguistic Ethnography**

Despite its colonial and imperial history anthropology has made a huge contribution to educational research by bringing the study of culture into education (Jordan & Yeomans, 1995), and by offering the methodology of ethnography to educational qualitative researchers who have now adapted these contributions to their particular contexts and issues (Spindler & Hammond, 2000). Spindler (in Spindler & Hammond, 2000) argues, however, that not all qualitative research in education is ethnography, and provides us with four tenets of ethnography which sets it apart from other forms of qualitative research. He argues that the first feature and starting point is observation, frequently described as participant observation. Secondly, ethnographers usually work in a site for exceptionally long periods of time. Spindler argues that a year is considered a short period of time for studying whole communities or groups, and most anthropologists often spend more time than that. Martin-Jones and Martin (2016) argue that in research on multilingualism, spending more time in the field enables researchers to track social and ideological processes as they unfold or change over time, and to build accounts of particular social and linguistic practices as they unfold. Another feature of ethnographic research, according to Spindler (in Spindler & Hammond, 2000), is the volume of data that ethnographers tend to collect by taking notes, recording on audio and video tapes, and making use of photographs and other stimuli. Finally, Spindler argues that in the initial stages of the research, ethnographers should not work out specific hypotheses, or even highly specific categories of observation, or prepare specific lists of questions, in this way predetermining what is observed or elicited from informants. He argues that the problem must be allowed to develop without predetermination, and views of ‘natives’ must be allowed to dominate. Ethnographers seek emic knowledge of informants and must suspend their etic knowledge for a while, even though it is important to bring it in at a later stage during the

compilation of a final research report (Blommaert, 2005; Copland & Creese, 2017; Burawoy, 1998). Martin-Jones and Martin (2016) argue that gaining insights into the emic perspectives, beliefs, and values of research participants creates the possibility of building an understanding for the participants themselves of the significance of ongoing social and ideological processes.

Shifts in the field of sociolinguistics to ethnography and critical approaches from 1980-1990s reflected the wider turn across the social sciences towards poststructuralist and postmodern approaches to understanding social life (Martin-Jones & Martin, 2016a). These shifts challenged traditional ethnography which produced social accounts of structures like class, patriarchy, and racism in which human actors never appear. The shifts emerged from a dissatisfaction with cultural accounts of human actors in which broad structural constraints like class, patriarchy and racism never appear. Such shortcomings led to the development of critical ethnography. Critical ethnographers tended to view ethnographers as too atheoretical and neutral in their approach, and thus to be avoiding recognizing power as an important factor in social relations. Critical ethnographers also criticized traditional ethnographic methods for being tied to positivism, which borrows from natural sciences (Anderson, 1989; Fabian, 1998; Jordan & Yeomans, 1995; Burawoy, 1998).

As an alternative to positivist science, Burawoy (1998) proposed reflexive science, which is central to extended case study method, and which, according to him, takes the intersubjectivity of the scientist and the subject of study as its premise. Burawoy claimed that the reflexivity process starts from the research site in seeking to understand the local and immediate, and then going outwards to understand the relationship between the local and the broader social world. Thus, Burawoy (1998) and Anderson (1989) were claiming that, by following this process, critical ethnographers are concerned with unmasking dominant social constructions and the interests these social constructions present. Their purpose in studying society in this way was at the time to free individuals from sources of domination and repression.

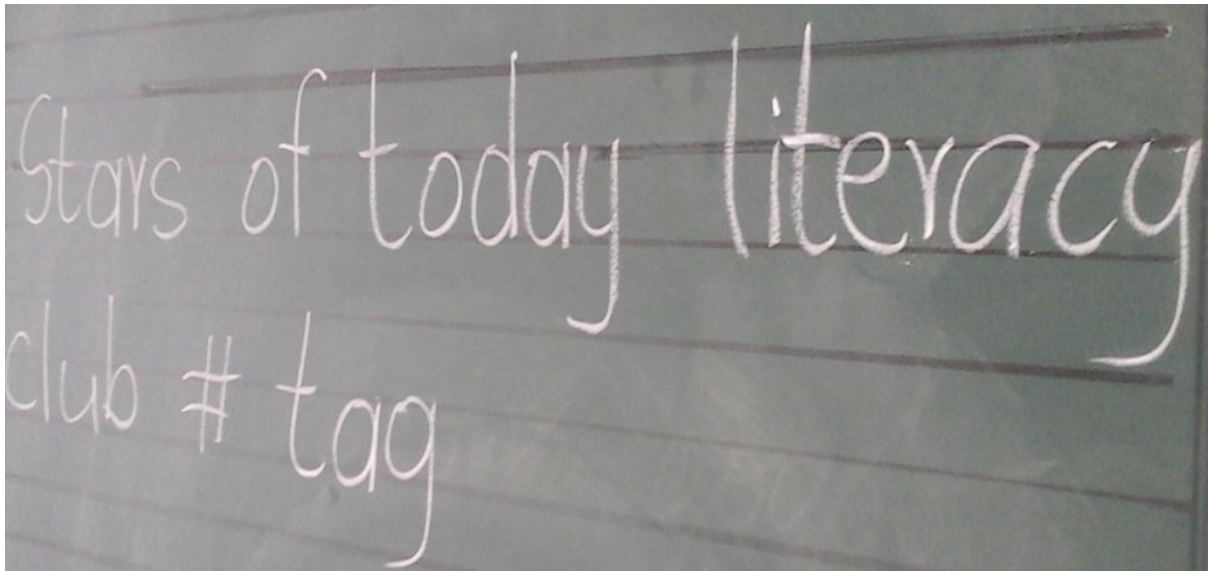
Drawing from these contributions, and in seeking to refine understandings of critical ethnography, Copland and Creese (2017:1) define Linguistic Ethnography as an interpretive approach which studies the local and immediate actions of actors from their point of view and considers how these interactions are embedded in wider social contexts and structures. Rampton (2007:2) adds that,

... linguistic ethnography holds that contexts of communication should be investigated rather than assumed because meaning takes shape within specific social relations, interactional histories and institutional regimes and is produced and construed by agents with expectations and repertoires that have to be grasped ethnographically.

He also claims that linguistic ethnography “investigates communication within situated social processes which involve persons, their situated encounters and institutions, networks and communities and the assumption is that these are all interlinked” (2007:2). Linguistic ethnography is therefore a strand of critical ethnography on which I draw in this study to analyse language practices and other kinds of semiotic data that are essential in understanding communication and meaning making at an out-of-school literacy club, called the Stars of Today Literacy Club# (STLC#),<sup>2</sup> together with its significance and position in the education world in South Africa. Figure 4.1 below is a photograph recording the naming of the Stars of Today Literacy Club# at its first meeting. After a discussion and agreement on the name, it was written on the board.

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<sup>2</sup> Stars of Today Literacy Club# (STLC#) is the name given to the literacy club by the children. Though the hashtag usually comes before theme or idea, (e.g. it would be #STLC if written conventionally) the children wrote it at the end. The hashtag is significant in that children observe at home how people use digital technologies and social media platforms like twitter to make trending topics, themes, or ideas easy to find and filter.



*Figure 4.1 Naming the literacy club*

The choice of Linguistic Ethnography as a frame of inquiry in my study has been inspired, first, by its key features as outlined in Copland and Creese (2017:27), and in Martin-Jones and Martin (2016a:4), as follows: Linguistic Ethnography troubles modernist ideas about language and about particular social groups, or between whole populations and nation states which see languages as stable and pure, countable, bound, structured and communities as homogenous. Post structuralist scholarship deconstructs these social constructions, and the deconstruction process involves pulling apart dichotomies such as ‘order versus disorder’, ‘purity versus impurity’, ‘normality versus abnormality’, monolingualism versus multilingualism’. Thus, it debunks reifications and essentialization of languages, dialects, ethnicities, and cultures that arise in the economic and social process of globalization. The debunking of these dichotomies is central for policy making in African states which contend with the dilemma of using indigenous languages or foreign languages such as English, French or Portuguese despite multilingualism being a way of life (Bamgbose, 2005; Ouane & Glanz, 2010; Wolff, 2017). It is also central to my study of the STLCL# as a third space which embraces hybridity, flexibility, dynamism, difference, and creativity, and which transcends binaries, leading to the transformation of knowledge and the emergence of new understandings. This process and framework are also central to my investigation of how children conceptualise language and literacy learning.

Secondly, Linguistic Ethnography investigates the construction and robustness of social categories and categorization processes, as well as certain taken-for-granted assumptions about groups, categories, and people. This is especially important in this study for understanding how people are positioned as either competent or deficient, based on these constructions. Thirdly, it links the micro to the macro, the varied to the routine, the individual to the social, the creative to the constraining and historical events/the past to present and future. This linking is central to understanding language ideologies that operate as macro structures, and how they are reinforced through policies and practices in schools. Furthermore, linguistic ethnography views language as a communicative action functioning in social contexts, in ongoing routines of people's daily lives, and it looks at how language is used by people. This is important in the study in terms of what it can tell us about how people use language, linked to wider social constraints, and ideologies. Lastly, through rich description, the use of audio, video transcripts, a range of interview techniques, and other textual documents, and photographs, the researcher attempts to appreciate the relevance of signs in ongoing communicative activity and situated social action. The relevance and value of this to this study is the combination of the linguistic and non-linguistic modes of communication (verbal and non-verbal signs) which are central in understanding the value of a linguistic and semiotic repertoire for meaning making, and for transforming language and literacy curricula and pedagogies. Thus, the choice of linguistic ethnography has largely been inspired by the shifts from the decontextualised study of language structure in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics and systems to how language is used in everyday life, and the shift from language as the sole means of communication to multimodality, and the implications this has for meaning making.

Burawoy's 1998 advocacy for reflexive science in his extended case study method became the first inspiration for my 'linguistic ethnography with intervention' approach. Below I outline a model that he articulates:

- Intervention— In the view of reflexive science, intervention is not only an unavoidable part of social research but a virtue to be exploited. It is by mutual reaction that we discover the properties of the social order. Instead of prohibition against reactivity, which can never be realized, reflexive science prescribes, and takes advantage of, intervention.

- Process— Reflexive science commands the observer to unpack those situational experiences by moving with the participants through their space and time. The move may be virtual, as for example in historical interpretation; real, as in participant observation; or some combination of the two, as in the clinical interview. But there is another complication. Not only does each situational experience produce its own "situational knowledge," but the knowledge may be discursive or non-discursive.
- Structure— Reflexive science insists, therefore, on studying the everyday world from the standpoint of its structuration, that is, by regarding it as simultaneously shaped by, and shaping, an external field of forces. This force field may have systemic features of its own, operating with its own principles of coordination and contradiction, and its own dynamics, as it imposes itself on multiple locales.
- Reconstruction— This relates back to the second point, the prioritising of the social situation over the individual, a process which problematizes sampling based on individuals. Burawoy argues that generality cannot be inferred, and that instead of inferring generality directly from data, we can move from one generality to another, to more inclusive generality. We begin with our favorite theory, but seek, not confirmations, but refutations that inspire us to deepen that theory. Instead of discovering grounded theory, we elaborate existing theory. We do not worry about the uniqueness of our case since we are not as interested in its "representativeness" as in its contribution to "reconstructing" theory.' (Burawoy,1998:14-16)

The first point of Burawoy's model, on intervention, and the third point on structure, deeply inspired the establishment of the STLC# as a third space, as a way to demonstrate how research participants have the power within to disrupt the structures that hold the education system to ransom. Thus, the intervention aspect places human agency at the forefront of social change. In terms of validity, Anderson (1989:254) concurs with Burawoy's reflexive science by arguing that "the most pressing issue facing critical ethnographers today with respect to validity or trustworthiness of their accounts is exploration of reflexivity, that is self-reflexive processes that keep their critical framework from being the container into which data is poured". Jordan and Yeomans (1995) specifically propose a 'reflexive materialist approach' in which ethnographers can reflect on their own institutional or material standpoint within the everyday world. Copland and Creese (2017), Creese, Takhi, and

Blackledge (2016), Martin-Jones, Andrews, and Martin (2016) have also highlighted the centrality of reflexivity in linguistic ethnography by focusing on reflexivity, voice, and representation. They argue for reflexivity by researchers at all stages of the research process to show awareness of the ways in which researchers' historically and socially situated subjectivity shapes the different stages of the research process.

The second inspiration for the establishment of the STLC#, and one which also instigated my deviation from the limitations of linguistic ethnography, has been the development of both a theory and a model of participatory research, one which is relevant to our education system. This would be one which has the potential to disrupt the existing hegemonic model of classroom power relations and pedagogy around children's meaning making, as described by Anderson (1989):

... persistent criticism of educational critical theory for its tendency toward social critique without developing a theory of action that educational practitioners can draw upon to develop a 'counter-hegemonic practice' in which dominant structures of classroom and organizational meaning are challenged. (Anderson, 1989:257).

Jordan and Yeomans propose the creation of a pedagogical relation to the everyday world where "really useful knowledge" and action research are understood as constituting potential foundations of critical theory of contemporary society. Gramsci (1974), (cited in Jordan and Yeomans, 1995), argued that social relations are always essentially pedagogic. Jordan and Yeomans (1995) recognize the value and respectability that critical ethnography has achieved in challenging the methodological fundamentalism of traditional ethnography, linking the micro to the macro, and place particular value on the kind of reflexivity proposed in Anderson (1989), in Burawoy (1998) and in Copland and Creese (2017). However, they argue that reflexivity does not go far enough. They argue that "academic success and respectability is one thing; and changing the world is another thing" (Jordan & Yeomans, 1995:399). While critical ethnographers have been successful in addressing academic audiences, it is less clear whether they continue to be committed to seeking out or building alternatives that will change the lives of those people who do not sit in ivory towers. To overcome these issues, Jordan and Yeomans (1995) argue that we need to connect critical ethnography with the 19<sup>th</sup> century concept of 'really useful knowledge' (which came from attempts by working class

radicals of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to establish independent forms of education) and action research. The idea of 'really useful knowledge' has appealed to me and has inspired the kind of ethnography and intervention research I have engaged in. This is research which troubles both critical ethnography and linguistic ethnography and extends reflexive science ideas in an extended case study method by focusing on the pedagogic intervention. Thus, the use of linguistic ethnography as a frame of inquiry in this study, coupled with intervention through the establishment of the STLC#, highlights the ways in which I have both drawn on, and deviated from, linguistic ethnography.

The notion of 'really useful knowledge' has also appealed to me because its four elements have inspired and guided the establishment of the club as a third space which aims to disrupt monolingualism, monoglossia, Anglonormativity and autonomous literacies in the education system. Below I outline the four elements of the notion of 'really useful knowledge' as described by Jordan and Yeomans (1995:399). With each of the elements, I highlight the essential similarities with the STLC#, and in line with the particular aims and characteristics of the STLC#:

- It was oppositional to state forms of schooling. In the case of STLC#, it challenges the monoglossia, monolingual bias and Anglonormativity as well as the autonomous literacy model pervasive in the system of education.
- It entrenched alternative practices of learning which were concerned with self-education. The STLC# legitimizes multilingualism and multimodality as well as orality, thus entrenching alternative practices to language and literacy learning from those promoted in the curriculum.
- It was pre-occupied with education, politics, knowledge, and power. The STLC# is concerned with how multilingual children learn language and literacy and challenges both the dominant Eurocentric and universalist approaches to language and literacy, and the dominant monolingual bias. It is also concerned with children's sociocultural knowledges and the power of language ideologies.
- Its focus was on the formation of autonomous (independent) education practices which served practical ends for the learner, from his or her situation within the world. It was counter hegemonic to the social regulation sought through formal schooling.

The STLC# as an established third space works independently from the existing school practices, and this is what distinguishes it from adaptive third spaces in schooling. Thus, to create alternative practices, the STLC# had to operate independently from everyday schooling and classroom practices.

Jordan and Yeomans (1995) also argue that 'really useful knowledge' learning spaces relied on popular culture for their content and form. The STLC# was different, in that it drew mostly on what could be described as 'high' culture in the form of book clubs, library programmes, theatre, drama, art, children's literature, and storytelling in an Afrocentric way, though there were times when children drew on popular culture. In a similar way to other ethnographic education researchers and theorists, such as Hammond (in Spindler & Hammond, 2000), Kell (2006), McKinney (2003), and Tyler (2019), and many other educational researchers, my purpose as an educational researcher differs from that of ethnographers and sociolinguists: it is problem solving. Observing, describing, and analysing social interaction was not enough for me to justify my involvement and participation in the creation of the STLC#. While for ethnographers, explanation marks the end of an inquiry, and is a step towards problem solving amongst educational researchers (Spindler & Hammond, 2000), it does not include research whose specific aim is to find a real, actionable solution to a problem. While the present study draws from linguistic ethnography, and grows out of an intervention, the study is not a full ethnographic study. Instead, it draws on linguistic ethnographic methods, or it can be taken as an extension of linguistic ethnography in education and can perhaps be regarded as 'linguistic ethnography within a pedagogic intervention'.

Intervention and participatory research are not without challenges. Hammond (in Spindler & Hammond, 2000) observes that for the observer, extended participant observation while at the same time being involved in an intervention is not easy. However, running the literacy club on a Saturday gave me opportunities in the week, during the data collection period to attain an etic view. Secondly, Spindler, (in Spindler and Hammond, 2000) amongst his tenets of grounded theory, states that observers should not begin with specific hypotheses but should let the cultural process unfold through immersion in data and the environment. Educational researchers on the other hand tend to take a more directed approach as they

seek to solve problems. This tension between an open-ended and directed research approach relates to my study, in particular to the third space, because the very creation of a third space could be interpreted as a hypothesis of the problem already developed from theory. However, I consider the question I wanted to investigate, “How is a bi/multilingual, multimodal third space co-constructed in an after-school literacy club?”, to be exploratory rather than a hypothesis. Though I, the researcher, was central in creating the space, and have been an engaged participant observer, I did not have answers to the question above at the outset. For the question to be answered, the alternative space needed to be created, because in ordinary classrooms, multilingual and multimodal practices are neither valued nor encouraged, particularly in situations where skills approach to literacy, monolingualism, and Anglonormativity are valued and entrenched practices.

### **The Research Process: A Case Study of the Stars of Today Literacy Club# as a Third Space**

As I mentioned above, this is a qualitative and interpretive research study of the STLC# as a third space, one which draws on the methodological and analytic tools of linguistic ethnography, and which involves an intervention. The study reports on STLC# as a full case study, though for pragmatic reasons, interview data and interactional data on translation activity from one group of several groups of children within the club have been selected for analysis in some parts of the thesis. Yin (2003:13) defines a case study in terms of the research process as an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, specifically when boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clear and the researcher has little control over the phenomenon and context. Merriam (1998:27) makes use of Smith’s (1978) definition of a case as a bounded system and using this notion of a case as a ‘bounded system’, together with Stake’s (1994)’s notion of a case as an integrated system, views the case as a single entity, a unit around which there are boundaries, thus ‘fencing in’ or selecting what researchers are going to enquire about. Merriam perceives the case study as a human construction, an actual and conceptual selection of what is to be studied rather than something waiting to be discovered. By concentrating on a single phenomenon, the researcher aims to investigate the interaction of important factors characteristic of the phenomenon (Merriam, 1998:29). Merriam (1998) further defines

qualitative case studies by their characteristics, i.e. as being particularistic, meaning that they focus on a particular situation, event, programme, or phenomenon; they are descriptive—offering thick descriptions of the phenomenon under study, and they are heuristic, thus illuminating the researcher’s understanding of the phenomenon.

In defining the case, I draw on the notion of the case as a ‘bounded system’ constructed for the purposes of understanding and interpreting an aspect of human interaction in its complexity and abstractness. The bounded system I am exploring in this study is how a bi/multilingual, multimodal third space co-constructed in an afterschool literacy club. Working within literacy as a social practice, and drawing on linguistic ethnography, I observed and documented social interaction between the children and the literacy club facilitators, and the interactions between the children themselves rather than observing what the children were doing individually. I construct and analyse thick descriptions of language and literacy practices that take place and how these enable children to take hold of literacy.

### **Research site - Construction of the Stars of Today Literacy Club# as a third space**

The research was carried out at Jabulani<sup>3</sup> Primary School in Khayelitsha where the literacy club sessions took place initially every Friday from 13h30-15h30, which later changed to a Saturday from 10h00-12h00 during the school term. It was also carried out at the Harare Library during the three-day holiday programmes at the start of the school holidays from 09h00-12h00. Jabulani Primary School is situated within Khayelitsha, one of the large sprawling townships on the outskirts of Cape Town. It is positioned at the start of the formal and stable housing section which is separated by a main road from Site B, a working class informal and unstable settlement with an underserved community. Learners come from both the informal settlements and the formal settlement, the school being near to both, while others travel by bus or taxi from the furthest parts of Khayelitsha. Schools in this vicinity are classified as quintile one schools, meaning that they categorised by the DBE as serving children from low- income socio-economic backgrounds. Quintile one schools are known as

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<sup>3</sup> Jabulani Primary is a pseudonym used in this study to maintain the confidentiality of the school where the literacy club took place.

‘no fee-paying’ schools. Most of the residents in Khayelitsha are speakers of the various varieties of isiXhosa, having come from different parts of the Eastern Cape, while some have isiXhosa and Sesotho language resources. These people would have migrated from the Eastern Cape, a province which has vast rural areas. Most of these ‘migrants’ would have come to the Western Cape looking for better job opportunities in Cape Town and for better education for their children. The community also engages in communication in urban varieties of isiXhosa and of English.

As discussed in Chapter 3, a distinction is made between adaptive spaces viewed by policy makers, educators, and learners as a ‘necessary evil’, and established spaces, where for example, “the translanguaging norm of bilingual communities” is authorized (García & Li Wei, 2014: 133). In South Africa we are familiar with *adaptive* third spaces, where there is a mismatch between English as language of instruction and learners’ home languages, and where teachers code-switch or translanguage across English and African languages to enable learner understanding but revert to English as medium of instruction. In contrast, *established* third spaces are spaces deliberately created and set up to legitimize hybrid language practices and activities from the start. Thus, the third spaces perspective is a way of life rather than being drawn upon only when there is a need (Anzaldúa, 1987; Gutiérrez, 2008; 1994; Soja, 1996). Though some scholars argue for the creation of linguistic third spaces (Flores & García, 2013; García, & Wei, 2014), or translingual spaces or translanguaging spaces (Canagarajah, 2015; Manyak, 2004; Wei, 2017) within monolingual spaces, I understand these scholars to be demonstrating a need for adaptive third spaces rather than established third spaces. While I support these adaptive translanguaging spaces for including minority groups of learners in a dominant culture, I argue that adaptive translanguaging spaces do not succeed in radically disrupting and transforming the system at a macro level. They are pre-occupied with using other resources as means for improving understandings in English, thus reinforcing English dominance. Thus, adaptive third spaces, or translanguaging spaces, merely become coping mechanisms, or act as bridges or steppingstones towards the normative. For example, adaptive spaces still value giving learners what is referred to as ‘powerful language’, rather than disrupting what counts as ‘powerful language’. They tend to use learners’ languages as bridges towards English, or varieties as bridges towards standard languages, especially since

there is research which demonstrates that skills in the mother tongue transfer to learning of additional languages (Dutcher, 1990; Ndayipfukamiye; Ouane & Glanz, 2005; Cummins, 2008). The literacy club would in contrast, become an established demonstration site, an alternative space for educating bi/multilingual children, and a space for conducting research.

In the establishment of the club, I drew on Soja's (1996), Gutierrez' (2008), and Lefebvre's (1991, cited in Busch, 2017) notion of space as socially constituted and constituting. This means that the construction of the STLC# space was not an individual activity, but a collective one, involving the children who participate as members of the club, the literacy club facilitators, and myself as a lead facilitator with the theoretical and methodological influences that I was bringing into the space. I tried recruiting fellow facilitators through Facebook and word of mouth as can be seen in Figure 4.2 below.

Figure 4.2: Recruitment of facilitators and asking do donations on Facebook



4.2a

4.2b

However, I was not successful in recruiting facilitators through Facebook, nor in getting teachers from the school to become facilitators. The teachers were invited during initial meetings when we explained the project but the Grade 4, 5 and 6 teachers declined to participate. That left three teachers from Grades 1-3 volunteering to participate. Two of these Foundation Phase teachers retired later that year, and that left only the Grade 3 teacher as a

facilitator from the school. Word of mouth recruitment amongst the people I knew helped: I managed to get five volunteers who committed to become facilitators, and that made us seven facilitators, including the Grade 3 teacher from the school. The facilitators who volunteered to run the club with me were a mix of differently skilled people based on the advert above. They were all bilingual, with the majority (6 out of 7) being bilingual isiXhosa-English speakers and having other language resources in their repertoire. One was an English-Afrikaans bilingual. There was one visual artist; two (including myself) were experienced language and literacy teacher trainers; two teachers (one from the school used as a research site and one from another school) and two university students (one studying language and literacy and the other Early Childhood Development while also working at a literacy organisation). Initially, my role was that of lead facilitator of the literacy club, a role which included coordination of facilitators and planning for literacy sessions with fellow facilitators. I also sought children's literature and stationery donations, and trained literacy club facilitators by modelling heteroglossic language and literacy practices to both the facilitators and the children. Guided by the children's expectations for the literacy club, activities took the form of games, songs and storytelling, read-alouds, shared writing and shared reading, all performed in whole group plenary session, followed by pair work or smaller group or activities. Facilitators were initially assigned to groups of 6-8 children to assist with group activities (group art, group writing, group reading and discussions) and later when they were more confident, they offered to lead whole group activities during the planning sessions. As bi/multilingual teachers, teacher trainers storytellers, artists and readers, all of us had something to contribute towards the club in realising the vision of multilingual and multimodal pedagogies in multilingual contexts. In Chapters 5, 6, and 7 I analyse how all of us co-constructed the club as a physical, social, and conceptual, pedagogical third space with the children.

The club is made up of between 30 and 60 isiXhosa-English emergent bilinguals who attend Jabulani Primary school in Khayelitsha township, where large numbers of people have continued to be underserved since the Apartheid Regime. Children at this school experience subtractive bilingual education in that they learn through their 'home language' isiXhosa from Grade 1 to Grade 3, and then the medium of instruction changes to English in Grade 4, with them having to learn isiXhosa as a subject. The children were purposefully recruited across Grades 3-6 (9-12-year-olds) because I was also interested in how age boundaries could be

transcended, thus creating a third space for learning in recognition of the children's socio-cultural lives, where young children learn from their older peers (Joseph, Ramani, Tlowane & Mashatole, 2014:26; Gregory & Williams, 2003). I was also interested in working both with the children who were still learning through the isiXhosa, and with those who had already made the switch officially to English medium instruction. In their school isiXhosa and English are taught as separate bounded entities, with a focus on standardised versions of the languages with phonological awareness and grammar dominating as an approach to literacy. There is less focus on appreciation of literature and storytelling as important aspects of language and literacy development.

Nutbrown and Hannon (2003, cited in Levy, 2008) argue that very little research into aspects of literacy development exists that has attempted to use or amplify children's voices in the research. They concluded that reliable consultation with young children is possible, and that new methods to facilitate their participation must be developed, promoted, and used widely. Thus, both the data selected on children's expectations for the literacy club, the focus group interview data, the group translation activities, and whole group discussions amplify the children's voices.

### **Data Collection**

The study employed linguistic ethnographic data collection methods. As with both linguistic ethnography and case study research, multiple sources of data are required for the researcher to appreciate the relevance of all signs in on-going communicative activity and situated social action (Copland & Creese, 2017; Stein, 2008) and for the researcher to attend to the validity of the research. Copland and Creese (2017) argue that linguistic ethnography does not prescribe a set of data collection and analysis tools but suggests that observations; interviews (formal-structured and informal-semi-structured); interactional data (recorded through audio and video); documents, and artefacts all constitute linguistic ethnographic data. Though there are some linguistic ethnographers who tend to foreground interactional data, thus making other kinds of data play a supplementary role, Copland and Creese (2017:52) do not believe there to be a need to have core and supplementary data. They believe that "linguistic ethnography's strength derives from its support of combining different data collection and

analysis processes rather than separating them out... and that it is in the combining of approaches that robust and nuanced findings emerge” (2017:52).

For the purposes of my full case study, I used participant observation methods, interactional data collection methods through audio and video recordings, a focus group interview, the collection of physical artefacts produced in the sessions (such as writing, artwork), and photographs. Participant observation meant that my role was not merely that of a passive observer. I played an active role in the design of the third space, participating with others in making key decisions about the pedagogy, co-planning for the club’s activities, and training of literacy facilitators through demonstrations. During group activities I interacted both with the club members as a whole group and with a small group allocated to me. Yin (2003) argues that there are a number of benefits deriving from being a participant observer. These include being able to gain access to events and groups that would otherwise be inaccessible for research, getting an opportunity for the researcher to perceive things from an insider’s point of view, and lastly the participant observer role provides opportunities for one to make minor changes in the programme in the course of the research.

#### *Observation data*

Data collection started in the form of field notes (written immediately after the club finished) as the literacy club was being established. I knew I needed to build relationships before recording both the children and the facilitators, but we introduced a video camera from the first session so that the children could get used to it being in the room when it was put into action for later recording of observations. We initially thought that we would split the 60 children into three groups of 20, and that my allocated group of 20 children would be the case study. Despite children having returned 60 consent forms to join the literacy club, the voluntary nature of the club, attendance in Saturday sports activities, Grade 5 and 6 children being pulled out for assessment preparation classes by their teachers which took place on Saturdays and children having to assist parents at home, made it difficult for the club to have regular attendance of a total of 60 children in any given day. The practice of ‘drilling’ children for assessments happened more often than we would have liked. The number of groups for small group activities depended on the number of facilitators and children present on the day and when they were not present, I worked with the whole group. Therefore, I decided that the whole group would constitute a full case study, but I would also choose to show selected

data from the small group of 8 children allocated to me during group activities. The children were also not divided into different age or gender groups but were divided into mixed gender and aged groups for activities. The group of 8 children allocated to me as my group had to be two children (a boy and a girl) from Grade 3, 4, 5 and 6. This mix of children had to reflect those still learning through isiXhosa as a medium of instruction in Grade 3, those who has just started learning through the medium of English in Grade 4 and the Grade 5 and 6s who have had some experience with English as a medium of instruction, but who were older peers to reflect how children learn and play in mixed age group in their homes and communities. The club started in July 2015 and operated on Friday afternoons until Dec 2015. From 2016, the club operated on Saturdays from 10h00 to 12h00 because Friday afternoons did not work out properly in term 4 when the children were taking assessments and preparing for end of year functions.

The second data collection method I used was direct observation with the use of video and audio recordings. Formal video and audio recordings commenced during the first holiday programme we held for three days from the 5th to the 7th of October 2015. It was important to record these sessions as a set of continuous, unbroken data collection from three sessions happening consecutively one after another to show the linkages between activities from day to day of the three days, from day one to day three. This is something we were unable to do during the Saturday sessions. For the holiday programme we received additional consent and confirmation of the attendance of the children on all of the three days, unlike their intermittent attendance during the Saturday sessions.

The use of the video and audio recording meant that from time to time I could withdraw as a participant to engage in observations by taking field notes and observing the language and literacy practices of the children. This enabled me to offer an outsider description of the social interaction and formal observations. The way in which we planned the holiday programmes helped a great deal to facilitate my doing this because we decided to invite experienced performance artists (storytelling, drama, music) to co-present with us so that I would not be the lead facilitator, which allowed me time to take field notes and to record the sessions while also exposing both the children and facilitators to enriching literacy experiences. I also invited a videographer to assist with taking videos, particularly when I was going to lead some of the sessions. I took photographs of the whole group, of individual children, and the children in

small groups, to document certain characteristics of the club. Field notes provide details of social interaction between facilitators and learners, in various groups, and supplement video recording in cases where the static video camera is only capturing one side of the room. In comparison with video recording, audio recordings with the cellphone were much easier to do, even when I became the lead facilitator. An example of audio recorded data analysed in Chapter 7 is the translation activity and this interactional data provided me with the children's meaning making processes through their languaging in the process of translation. Transcripts of video recorded interactional data are also analysed in Chapter 7 and both these transcripts amplify children's voices.

### *Multimodal Texts*

Working within a socio-cultural and linguistic ethnographic approach to research led me into collecting the kinds of data which constitute physical artefacts. I collected children's multimodal texts, such as drawings, artwork, videos of children's drama and poetry performances, and their participation in storytelling and singing events, their written texts, and photographs as data. These multimodal texts are forms of material which are treated as semiotic objects that bear concrete traces of the cognitive and affective work involved in the process of production (Copland & Creese, 2017; Stein, 2008). They are also central as multimodal data to illustrate the construction of the literacy club as a physical third space, social and pedagogical third space. The photograph of the children's expectations is very central to the conceptualisation of the whole study as a pedagogical third space. Its data is categorised into the affective, social and linguistic third space; physical third space and pedagogical third space. The expectations data guided the facilitators on activities to plan for the literacy club considering children's wishes, desires and interests. In the absence of the video recording and audio recording at the time when the club was established, this image in particular, captured the children's voices in written form.

### *Focus Group Interviews*

Finally, later in the data collection process, I conducted one focus group interview with a group of Grades 3-6 children with whom I often worked during group activities, and audio recorded the interview. The interview was conducted in isiXhosa and translated into English and presented in both languages in data analysis. The interview data provided the views of

the children about what the literacy club enabled them to do, in comparison with the school and home. Yin (2003) and Copland and Creese (2015) argue that interviews are beneficial when they are used both as guided conversations and structured queries, meaning that there should be flexibility and fluidity during the interview, rather than rigidity or lockstep structured questions. Thus, interviews may be informal and open ended and or focused, and questions need to be asked in a non-biased manner. Below, I provide an overview of the data collected.

*Table 4.1 Overview of data collection*

<b>An overview of data collected for the study</b>	
Category	Description
Field notes – 10 months of field notes of each literacy club session	
Interactional Data – 22 x Two Hour Literacy Club Sessions over 13 months	Audio Recordings from phone recorder
	Video Recordings from phone recorder
Interactional Data – Three Holiday Programmes  2 x Three-Day Holiday programmes of three hours/day  <b>05- 7 October 2015</b>  <b>22-24 March 2016</b>	<b>18-hour video recordings</b> from one static camera for two three-day holiday programmes
	2-hour audio recordings from phone recorder
1 x Two Day Holiday Programme of three hours/day  <b>30 June-01 July 2016</b>	15-minute video recordings from phone video camera
	<b>2-hour audio recordings</b> from phone recorder
Transcribed Data	<b>716 pages</b> of transcribed interactional data (from audio and video recordings)
Interview data	One-hour long focus group interview with 6 of the 8 children in my group
Photographs	Children’s written work  Joint facilitator’s and children’s written board or flipchart work

	Children's artwork Children engaging in reading and book activities Children's interaction with facilitators including myself
Artefacts	Children's written work Flipchart work Artwork

### **Ethical Considerations**

Robson (2002) claims that ethics refers to rules of conduct, typically to conformity to a code or set of principles that guide many professions involving working with people. These rules are general principles that guide our actions as to what we ought and ought not to do. Ethics apply throughout the course of our research work, from the questions we ask, right through to the choice of people to work with or even the site. They mostly cover issues of fairness, respect, consent, and voluntary participation, choice of participants in the study, transparency about what participants are getting themselves into, safety and confidentiality of participants, responsibility of the researcher for the participants' concerns and welfare, choice of participants in the study, participants' rights and privacy. Ethical responsibilities refer to the reporting to the appropriate authorities of the occurrence of anything illegal or harmful, such as sexual or physical abuse of children.

My ethical approach in this study involved, first getting consent for children's participation from the school, the principal, the teachers, the children's parents, and assent from the children themselves and from the volunteering facilitators at the club. I visited the school and addressed the learners. I introduced myself to them and explained what the club might involve so that the children could make an informed choice about whether to participate or not. I then provided the principal, staff, and parents with written information about the literacy club, about the holiday programmes and about the research, as well as written consent forms. About 60 children signed and returned the consent forms. Secondly,

indemnity forms were given to parents, especially for the three-day holiday programmes where we needed to transport the children to and from the library where the holiday programmes were to be held. Written consent for partnership between the Harare Library, one of the City Libraries and literacy club was also obtained. A code of conduct and child safety guidelines were drawn up and discussed with all the literacy club facilitators. This was given to them to sign as proof that they are aware of the code of conduct and safety guidelines governing the literacy club. Consent for video and audio recordings was sought from the school and the parents and participants were informed that their names and the name of the school would be kept confidential in the reporting of data (see appendices 1, 2, 4). To protect the children, I asked for parental consent for the use of video, audio, and photo material for academic purposes, and for promoting the work of the literacy club through Facebook. Initially, starting a Facebook page where we shared the early work we were doing worked well and this helped us to source funds. These were to cover the holiday programme, sandwiches and juice after school, and fruit and juice when we shifted to Saturday mornings, as well as blankets, cushions, and stationery. However, in following the university rule for working with young children and being obliged to ask for consent for every photo or video we were going to load, we decided to stop posting on the Facebook page. Ethically, I also felt uncomfortable posting children's photos on a public forum in a real and virtual world that is very unsafe.

The club continued to operate after I had finished data collection in November 2016 and I continued to work as a facilitator until the end of 2017, at which point I handed over the club to the teacher-facilitator at the participating school. From the beginning of the project, I saw the club as continuing and being a sustainable initiative that will continue to empower teachers, learners, and community volunteers as they develop beyond this space. Indeed, on April 16th, 2019 we launched a comic book that the children co-wrote with two experienced authors, a well-known cartoonist, and me. This was a moment of celebration and jubilee for the school and the children. Some of the Grade 5 and 6 children who had participated in the project were already in high school and had to be invited back to the primary school to celebrate their book. However, the publishing of the book presented us with a challenge: whether we should acknowledge the children's major contribution and include their names

in the book or not. We decided to create a collective name for the book and named the authors as Jabulani Kunye (Happy Together). Inside the cover in the prelims, we acknowledge the children by name. It felt right to do this so that the children can claim their rights to their creative work. Secondly, trying to keep the identity of the school confidential also presented us with a challenge when we had to invite people to attend the book launch. But the school, the teacher, and the children were so proud of their achievement that they were keen to be identified.

### **Researcher Positionality**

Stein (2008) and Copland and Creese (2017) argue that it is important for the researcher to declare their history and interests in doing the research as well as to explore how they are implicated in unequal power relations between themselves and their research participants. Copland cautions against the researcher claiming 'neutrality':

Traditionally, ethnographies were given by writers who did not write themselves into the narrative. But in recent times, it has been recognised that the ethnographic account is highly influenced by the ethnographer who brings a range of biases, ideas, emotions and feelings and ideologies, knowledge, and experience (2015:97).

In Chapter 1, I provided a comprehensive history of my literacy socialisation, family language biography and experience, together with my activism and positionality in the field of language and literacy. Throughout my work experience, at both the PRAESA and the Nelson Mandela Institute for Education and Rural Development, I have been exploring how to implement bilingual education in the schooling context. I have engaged in social justice work on language, and promoted Mother Tongue Based Bilingual Education, which I am building on and challenging in this study. Working in schools I have come to realise how difficult it has been and is to change dominant practices around language and literacy, given that the schools continue to conform to government policies rather than challenging them. The work I did in the out-of-school space through the Vulindlela Reading Clubs, Nal'ibali National Reading for Enjoyment Initiative (at PRAESA) and Phemba Mfundi Writing Camps (at NMI) enabled me to work in unconventional ways in the development of children's literacy. The fact that not every reading club facilitator had had these experiences positioned me as the lead facilitator in the

STLC# club. Even though I did not flaunt these experiences, facilitators were aware that there were things I knew more about than they did, and this made them hold back instead of unleashing their own creativity from the start.

As mentioned earlier, I relied on people I knew to become literacy club facilitators, and recruited Lola, Thandiswa, Sibabalwe, Sive, and Marlene (all pseudonyms but the last). Ethical issues regarding a researcher's choice of participants raised by Copland, (in Copland & Creese, 2017) were relevant to my study. She demonstrates that the ethical issues in her own work revolved around whether it was ethical to recruit participants who are well known to the researcher. Questions that arise revolve around what kind of choice participants have when it comes to taking part if you know them, or if they later decide to withdraw, given the relationship? Copland resolved these issues by weighing up what she considered to be likely to bring about the greatest good. In my study I was faced with similar issues. I knew Lola from Jabulani Primary School. She is the only teacher who volunteered to participate in the club in her school. I had collaborated with her before in forming a reading club that combined children from her school and another school across the road from where I was mentoring in-service teachers. I had also trained her in how to start up a reading club with the Nal'ibali National Reading for Enjoyment Initiative in 2012. Thandiswa is my aunt, who is also a teacher in a school closer to Jabulani. She has continually supported me in community work since the start of Vulindlela Reading Clubs. She had started a reading club at her school but felt she would gain more experience by interacting with a group of facilitators doing similar work. I had known Sibabalwe as a Facebook friend, and as a postgraduate student in my department. She was new to the field of language and literacy, and interested in family literacy, and felt she needed experience with younger children. Viwe and I met in Port Elizabeth where he had a literacy club for high school students. He had attended a workshop I ran on reading clubs. Later, he worked in the rural school in Mqanduli, in the Eastern Cape which was closer to where I was working for NMI. He had come back to Cape Town and was working in an organisation that supported early literacy. We were both eager to reunite in Cape Town after working in rural areas. Yandi and I had once served as board members in another organisation. I discovered then that she was a visual artist and was doing art projects in the townships. She was happy to share her experience with the members of the STLC#. Marlene

and I knew each other as teacher trainers. We were both interested and fascinated by children's writing as a starting point for literacy, and we were happy to work together in an out-of-school space. I had seen a magazine of children's writings that she had produced, and I had shared with her a journal of learner writings from the Phemba Writing Camps of the NMI. She has years of experience in teacher training and I was grateful, for my own learning, to have her as a facilitator in the club. There were special guests, such as Kyoko Kimura, Gilly Southwood, Vuyo Katsha, Primrose Mrwebi and Nompucuko Zakaza, all of whom participated on the special occasion of the Holiday Programme, offering skills such as drama, storytelling, music, and origami.

In looking at what constitutes the greater good, I had to consider the benefits of working with participants I knew, taking into consideration the children's safety. I had to weigh the value of having these familiar people with me working with children in terms of what was in the best interest of the children's safety versus recruiting people I did not know, especially as child trafficking has been on the rise in South Africa. It was important for me to ensure the safety of the children in out-of-school spaces, as young children are particularly vulnerable.

The experiences I had of transitioning to English medium of instruction in Grade 4 onwards in my own schooling enabled me to identify with the children's struggles. However, by virtue of my age, recruiting the children to the literacy club would have made it impossible for them to refuse. I resolved this by getting both their assent and consent from their parents and made the club voluntary so that they did not feel obliged to attend when the club no longer served their interests. Knowing that children enjoy trips, and would have agreed easily to participate in them, it was important to ask for further consent from their parents for each holiday programme trip and for each theatre and festival trip we took. This consent was sought over and above the original consent forms the parents signed which gave permission for children to attend the club. This form requested permission for their children to participate in these outings.

## Data Analysis

Merriam (1998) defines data analysis as a process of making sense of data; this involves consolidation, reducing, and interpreting what people have said, and what the researcher has seen and read – a process of meaning making from the data rather than one which relies simply on intuition and impression. The process of making sense of the data for this thesis took place simultaneously with the collection of the data and has been on-going throughout the course of data collection and transcription. It is through the many iterations of relistening, rereading, analysing, theorising, and rewriting, sometimes of chapters if the analysis does not accurately reflect data selected, that one finally manages to reduce and hone down to the selection of the most relevant data. My process of making sense of the data followed the following stages:

### *Stage 1: Data storage and transcription*

After each visit to the literacy club, I came back with my field notes in my notebook and typed them into a Word document, integrating the notes with still photographs of children's activities for that day in the document. I created about 27 folders dated as per the date of data collection. Amongst these folders I have a field-notes folder in which I can count about 18 sets of field notes files of up to 5 pages long. The rest of the folders include video recordings, audio recordings and photographs taken on the day of the literacy club session, or of the holiday programme. Accompanying the storage of field notes, video, and audio recordings, especially those for the three-day holiday programmes, are the planning documents with the programme for the day. After writing up the fieldnotes, I highlighted some information and used comment boxes from the review tool to make analytic notes as I read through the notes.

I then decided to transcribe all the video and audio data collected during the three holiday programmes we offered the children (5-7 October 2015; 22-24 March 2016 and 30 June-1 July 2016). I then selected video and audio recordings of the Saturday literacy club sessions and transcribed them with the help of three bilingual isiXhosa-English transcribers, Juliet Mnqeta, Madoda Ndlakuse and Nandipha Tatoba. The selection of audio recordings from the literacy

club sessions depended on whether the audio and video recordings were sufficiently audible or not, and on the quality of different activities such as storytelling, discussions, play and games, collaborative activities involving reading and writing, as well as the performances that the children engaged in. I guided transcribers through the transcription conventions and asked them not to translate or change anything from the data. Thus, they presented the data verbatim, and in the linguistic repertoires used. After receiving the data from the transcribers, I created a transcription folder with about 28 transcribed documents. I further collated the transcribed documents into one single file which has amounted to 716 pages. I printed a hard copy of the transcribed document and saved the data collection folders and transcribed documents on the google drive for safe storage.

### *Stage 2: Translation and making sense of data*

On receipt of the transcriptions, I read through the data, listened again to the videos, correcting any errors that the transcribers had made, especially in the songs, games, and rhymes with which I was familiar, filling in gaps and ensuring that the same conventions were used with consistency. I also provided the names of the participants where the transcribers did not know who was interacting. To reduce the data further, I was guided by the data I selected for analysis to share with fellow doctoral candidates, by workshops and conferences, as well as by what I found significant during the process of rechecking the transcriptions. I selected data Extracts which had the potential to answer my research questions, and created another folder labelled 'Data for further analysis and write up'. I divided the interactional data into two columns, one in the repertoires that the children used column, and the second column with the English translation for whoever will be reading the thesis and needing to make sense both of the data and my analysis. This translation process gave me a further opportunity to immerse myself in the data, by listening and making sense of what was being said. The work of translation impresses upon one to read and reread, making sure one understands what is being said before translating it into another language.

*Stage 3: Selecting data extracts and artefacts and deciding on analytic resources*

The data selection process followed stage 2 above. To answer the main research question about how a bi/multilingual, multimodal third space is co-constructed in an afterschool literacy club, I had to engage in a process of selecting data that would help me respond to this question and to the sub-questions which I will outline shortly. Since the process of data analysis for the thesis follows the tradition of linguistic ethnography that draws on a range of linguistic ethnographic analytic resources, I had to simultaneously decide on the analytic resources that I would use. Below, I present a table that outlines the research questions, the kind of data selected to answer the questions and the resources for analysis.

*Table 4. 2: Overview of research questions and the kind of the data analysed*

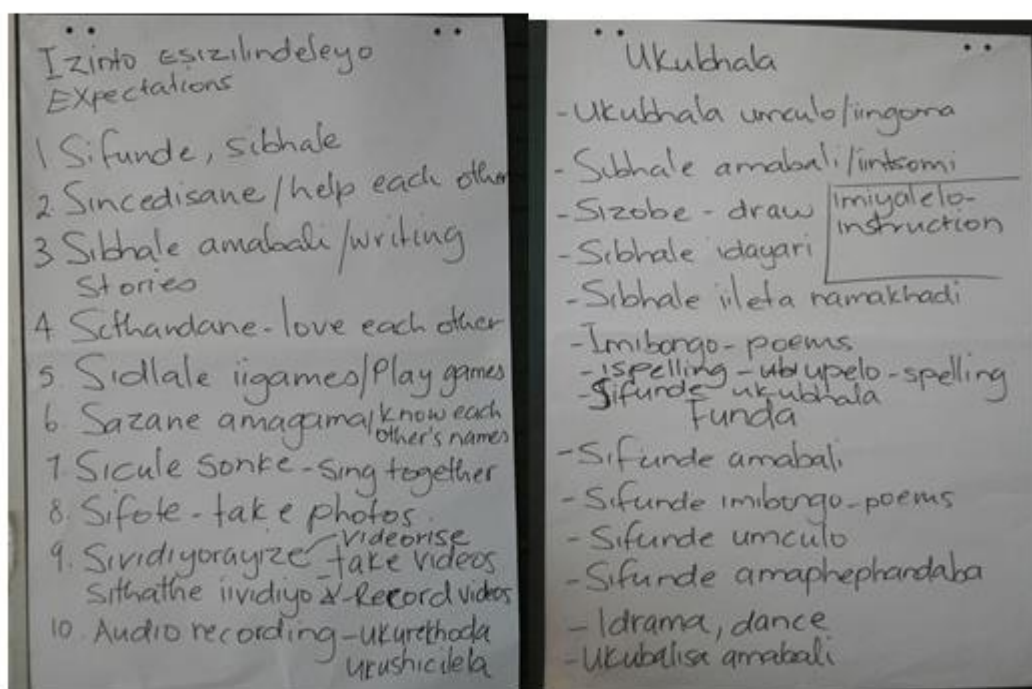
<b>Research Question</b>	<b>Approach to data analysis for each question</b>	<b>Data Analysed</b>
1. How is a bi/multilingual, multimodal third space co-constructed in an afterschool literacy club?	Thematic analysis pertaining to social physical, and pedagogical third spaces and Discourse Analysis – third spaces discourses, and language and literacy discourses.	Textual data – written children’s expectations of a literacy club  Planning document for literacy club programme  Field notes – at the first phase of the literacy club  Interactional data on language and literacy activities – group discussions while writing, children’s written work, and translation activities
	Multimodal Social Semiotic Analysis	Photographs – different physical third spaces - classroom, playground & library, and their affordances. Materials and objects. Games, songs, drama, storytelling data Extracts

2. How do children from marginalised communities conceptualise language and literacy learning?	Critical Discourse Analysis	Spoken and written interactional data – club expectations data
	Multimodal Social Semiotic Analysis	Children’s artwork, roleplay, expectations
	Interactional analysis	Children’s written work (shared writing with Marlene)  Children’s translations
3. What are the affordances of a bi/multilingual and multimodal approach to language and literacy learning in an out-of-school literacy club?	Thematic and Interactional Analysis  Multimodal Social Semiotic Analysis	Focus group unstructured interviews with selected children  Children’s group translation interaction  Children’s shared writing of the retelling of the monster story  Children’s multimodal interactions and artwork
4. How do children respond to a bi/multilingual, multimodal pedagogical approach which legitimises all language resources in their repertoires?	Critical Discourse Analysis	Focus group unstructured interviews with selected children  Spoken and written interactional data – club expectations data  Children’s translations  Children’s written work (shared writing with Marlene)  Children’s artwork

The process of analysis began first by employing thematic analysis. Thematic content analysis involves establishing codes or categories and identifying the instances when those categories are used in a particular item of text (Silverman, 2011). The initial stages of analysis entailed looking through the photographs, some of which were photographs of the written work done on the board or flipchart with the children, as well as reading through the field notes. Looking repeatedly through the photographs led me to photos of different physical spaces where children were learning, to materials that were moving from one place to another, as well as to activities that shifted from one space to another. Photo data in Chapter 6 demonstrate learning spaces being the classroom, the playground, the library, theatre, and festival, thus showing the dynamic, shifting spaces that the children were exposed to.

Below is an image of the text created when the children and facilitators co-constructed expectations for the literacy club the first time we met. The children had dictated what they would like to see happening in the literacy club while I wrote on the newsprint pages on the board. I selected field notes and children's written expectations of the literacy club and photographs as data for this thematic analysis.

Figure 4.3 Expectations of the literacy club: 21 July 2015



After selecting this photo of textual data, I translated the expectations into English as can be seen below. After this selection and translation, I used the textual data in the photo above and the theoretical framework together to construct a coding frame or categorisation scheme that fits both the emic perspectives of the participants (Blommaert, 2005; Copland & Creese, 2017; Rampton, 2010) and theory. In this process I was mindful that paying attention to children’s voices privileges their perspectives (Rampton, 2010). Copland and Creese (2017) argue that, after trawling through your data a researcher should be settling on some ideas they wish to develop further, and this is the significant stage in the research as it is time to connect description and theory. Lytra, Gregory and Ilankuberan (2017) also argue that, although ethnographic enquiry takes on an insider perspective of data collection, and, by so doing, taking on interpretation and analysis, and privileging the participant’s perspectives, it is also widely acknowledged that researchers bring to the field their own biographies and identities. These have a bearing on their understandings, interpretations, and representations of the participants practices, beliefs, and identities. Below is a table of the themes that arose from the children’s expectations’, and below this table, an additional coding frame devised from the photographs shown above.

*Table 4.3 An overview of categories of analysis, examples from data, and the kinds of data collected*

<b>Overarching categories</b>	<b>Examples from the data</b>	<b>Kind of Data</b>
Affective, Social and linguistic Third Spaces	Expectations of the children recorded by facilitator in session 1	Photo image of handwritten expectations (21.7.2015)

Physical Third Spaces	<p>Data examples from different learning spaces used: – playground; classroom; public library; theatre trip</p> <p>Materials that travel between learning spaces – Books, blankets, dolls, drums, art materials</p> <p>Activities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- singing, drumming and art in the library</li> <li>- Shared writing in the library</li> <li>- reading in the playground</li> <li>- teaching from playground games in the classroom</li> </ul>	<p>Photo data</p> <p>Photo Data</p> <p>Photos and transcripts of play in the playground, shared writing, reading, and of materials</p>
Conceptual and Pedagogical third spaces	<p>Expectations of the children recorded by facilitator in session 1</p>	<p>Photo image of handwritten expectations (21.07.2015)</p> <p>Planning document for the holiday programme (5-7 October 2015)</p>
	<p>Use of the linguistic repertoires</p>	<p>Expectations data and planning document for the holiday programme (21 July 2015 &amp; 5-7 October 2015)</p> <p>Shared writing with Marlene (05 October 2015)</p> <p>Transcribed audio of Translation Extracts (30 June 2016)</p> <p>Transcribed video of a Discussion Extracts (06 October 2015)</p>

	Noni's discussion of the positive aspects of the lion hunt game	Audio recording of discussion of the Lion-hunt game (5 March 2016)
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The analysis of photographs and field notes, and the thematic analysis of the children's expectations of the literacy club, resulted in themes about space. It was the careful scrutinization of a list of children's expectations for the literacy club data that led to three categories of third spaces: firstly, the affective, social, and linguistic third spaces, secondly, the physical third spaces, and thirdly, the pedagogical and conceptual third spaces which inform the construction of STLC# as a pedagogical third space. This is the reason this image of the children's list of expectations for the literacy club is used repeatedly in all three analytical chapters. The same data from this image is mined and carefully analysed and used in each chapter to make a different argument about the construction of third spaces. The images of physical learning spaces shown in the photos led me into thematising them as physical third spaces. After organising the themes, with the integration of theory, I started to frame three analytic chapters for this study around third spaces. I am aware that the sequential analysis of the third spaces in chapters 5, 6 and 7 encourages the reading of these aspects of third space as separate, while in fact they are integrated aspects of a pedagogical space; this reading would thus make a false distinction. However, in analysing them separately, I can clearly articulate their separate features, in such a way that readers can understand all the spatial pedagogical components needed to create a space that legitimises children's multilingual and multimodal repertoires.

Within these broad thematic categories of third spaces, I have drawn on other linguistic ethnographic resources, such as discourse analysis, interactional analysis, and multimodal social semiotic analysis. Drawing on discourse analysis means identifying the discourses of third spaces at the STLC#. Kress (cited in Makoe, 2007:57) argues that discourses provide a set of possible statements about a given area and organise and give structure to the manner a particular topic, object or process is spoken about. Blommaert (2005) explains that

discourse is not just language, but language-in-action, comprising of all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity seen in connection with the social, cultural, and historical patterns, development, and use. The non-linguistic semiotic 'stuff' constitutes the action part of language in action. Thus, Blommaert (2005) claims that in discourse we need to pay attention to both language and action. In Chapter 3, various scholars in the literature reviewed argued that third spaces in education are capitalised on as hybrid spaces, as flexible and dynamic spaces that enable multiple perspectives, as discursive and linguistic spaces, as bridging/mediational spaces, as navigational spaces, and as spaces for cultural, social, and epistemological change. Thus, identifying the features of pedagogical third spaces through identifying discourses on third spaces could help in transforming children's learning environment into a socially and culturally meaningful one (Blommaert, 2005).

In my analysis I also draw on multimodal semiotic analysis and interactional analysis, both of which are accorded the same level of analytical attention in the form of linguistic ethnography proposed by Copland and Creese (2017). In analyzing physical third spaces in all three analytic chapters, for example, I draw on multimodal social semiotic analysis to analyze the role that the different modes of communication, material objects, and movement across space play in the construction of the STLC# as a social, physical, and pedagogic third space that legitimizes children's multilingual and multimodal repertoires. I look at the potentials and constraints of these various modes of communication for children's meaning making. Stein (2008) and Rampton (2010) argue that multimodality looks at how people make meaning using the semiotic resources available to them, such as seating arrangements, body posture, dress, gesture, gaze, writing, and speech. Rampton argues that, when analysing communication, we ask, "which semiotic resources do people use and combine to make meaning?" We also ask, "how do these modal resources work, what can you do with them and what are their affordances for meaning making?" For example, why did we choose the library to conduct the three-day holiday programmes as opposed to the classroom? During the Saturday literacy club sessions, I had to ask myself various questions regarding the appropriateness of choices of spaces for meaning making: what were the potentials that the playground offered for meaning making, and what were the potentials and constraints of the classroom? How useful were the seating arrangements redesigned for the literacy club sessions as opposed to those

of the normal school day in the same classroom? What were the benefits of using multiple spaces, the classroom, the library, and the playground for children's language and literacy development?

Stein (2008) and Rampton (2010) claim that the starting point for multimodal social semiotic analysis is to acknowledge and recognize that, from a multimodal perspective, language is always only one mode among others, and that language operates together with these as ensembles. Rampton (2010) also argues that one of the tenets of linguistic ethnography is how signs, actions, and encounters fit with interactional processes over longer and broader stretches of time and space. He argues for them to be drawn on in investigating communication within the temporal unfolding of social processes. Therefore, in answering the question of what are the affordances of a bi/multilingual, multimodal approach to language and literacy learning, I include descriptions of the spatial lay-outs of the classroom, the library, and the playground. I also pay attention to distances and angles between participants, the duration and direction of the gaze of participants, objects of interaction, such as pens and papers, and the moments of writing, the posture of participants when they shift and maintain posture, the direction of their body and its alignment with other participants, their gestures, and objects. I focus on how these gestures determine the ways in which meaning is made in that moment, as suggested by Rampton (2010).

Furthermore, Stein (2008) argues that children's multimodal texts constitute one form of data, and that meaning making is understood as a multi-semiotic, material social practice in which children as sign makers recruit the semiotic resources they need to communicate. Therefore, in answering the two questions, first, how children from marginalised communities conceptualise language and literacy learning in an out-of-school space, and second, how children respond to a bi/multilingual and multimodal approach which legitimises all semiotic resources in their repertoire, I draw on multimodal social semiotic analysis to examine children's interactional, written texts in terms of the multimodal resources they draw on and produce.

To understand the affordances of a heteroglossic approach in the creation of the social space and the pedagogical space for language and literacy learning, and in order to understand how the children responded to a bi/multilingual, multimodal pedagogical approach which

legitimises all language resources in their repertoires, I also draw on alternative theoretical concepts such as linguistic repertoires, hybrid linguistic repertoires, linguistic third spaces to challenge the dominant ones. This assists me in analysing the ways in which the children challenged the monolingual, monoglossic and Anglonormative ideologies, as well as monomodal approaches to language and literacy learning, by constructing the STLC# as an affective, social and linguistic, and pedagogic third space.

Finally, to analyse how the children's translation activities positioned them with linguistic and intellectual competences, and in addition to analyse how they were drawing on their linguistic repertoire to complete the various activities, such as shared writing, discussion, and translation, I draw on interactional analysis. I also use interactional and thematic analysis to analyse the focus group interview with the children, focusing on their position and voice, and the significance of these in the world (Rampton, 2016) as they responded to a bi/multilingual, multimodal pedagogical approach. Then I select data from the children's multimodal activities such as their drawings, drama and story retelling performance, and the interactional data that led to the final written text by the children to demonstrate how the children's multimodal and multilingual conceptualisation of literacy was realised in the club, thus forming STLC# as a pedagogical third space.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter I have outlined the methodological approach as a linguistic ethnography and extended case study. I have explained the specific ways in which this study deviates from linguistic ethnography by combining linguistic ethnography with the creation of an intervention to create the opportunity to explore the STLC# children's multilingual and multimodal meaning-making when they are not constrained by the official curriculum. For data for this study I drew on field notes, interactional data such as transcribed video and audio data, images, artefacts, written texts (expectations data, shared writing, translation) as well as on a focus group interview with the children. I have also explained how this study combines thematic, discourse, interactional, CDA, and multimodal social semiotic analysis. In the next chapter I analyse how the STLC# was co-constructed as a social, linguistic, and affective third space.

## **Chapter 5: Co-construction of STLC# as an affective, social, and linguistic third space**

### **Introduction**

In this chapter I focus my analysis on the co-construction of the STLC# as an affective, social, and linguistic third space. I draw on the list of expectations for the club generated by the children as well as on the focus group interview with members of the STLC# as data to describe and analyse how the space was affectively, linguistically, and collectively established as a social space by the children and the facilitators. I draw on thematic analysis, to analyse social themes that emerge in the children's sharing of their expectations for the club, showing how this constructs the STLC# as a social third space. I then draw on on the third spaces as hybrid spaces discourse, to analyse how the children constructed the STLC# as a linguistic third space that legitimises heteroglossia. Finally, I draw on interactional analysis and multimodal analysis to examine how the children understand affordances of a heteroglossic approach to language and literacy learning and how they respond to a bilingual, multimodal pedagogical approach which legitimises all language resources in their repertoires. I begin by presenting the data.

### **Presentation of data**

The Stars of Today Literacy Club# was established in the winter of July 2015 as discussed in Chapter 4. Establishing a literacy club which legitimizes multilingualism and multimodality as a way of responding to the needs of bi/multilingual children involves a deliberate intervention that sets up an alternative space to mainstream classrooms. The children and adults in this space would relate to one another in alternative ways to the ways they relate in a mainstream classroom. The creation of the literacy club as an alternative learning space began with volunteer facilitators imagining a learning space which would be an alternative learning space to that which they had experienced as learners themselves. The facilitators talked about the coming winter season and reflected on the cold and poorly insulated classrooms. They also shared their negative experiences of reading and writing, which included being made to read in front of the class when they could not yet read and how that humiliated them in front of

everyone; they talked about teachers who gave them a hiding when they were not yet able to read according to the conventions and the rules, and with expression; of not having writing materials which rendered them unable to write anything in the given time, as they had to wait for their friends to finish writing, to borrow their pencils, leading to further punishment. They also spoke about positive experiences of reading at home, especially experiences of reading in winter, or on cold days, and about how they still enjoy tucking up in bed with a book, or sitting snugly on the couch, supported by soft cushions. They discussed what they wished they had had as children learning to be literate. Afterwards, they had a conversation about how to share their warm and positive experiences with literacy with the children. The facilitators were also very aware of how children's voices about what interests them, what they would like to learn, are often not included in top-down interventions, such as the curriculum or 'remedial' interventions. Thus, the facilitators, though they had their own ideas of what a literacy club could look like, decided it was important to establish a literacy club that incorporated the children's ideas about what to do and how to do it. Below I present and describe the children's list of expectations for the club, a list that was generated by them on the first day. I also present a focus group interview as data collected at the end of the data collection period, whose purpose was to hear the children's views about whether they thought the literacy club had met their expectations, and about what it meant to them.

For the first meeting of the literacy club on 25<sup>th</sup> July 2015, the facilitators decided to start the club by documenting the children's expectations, seeing these as guiding the activities of the literacy club in a way that would reflect the children's interests. As a lead facilitator, I was expected to document the children's ideas through a shared writing process (a practice often used in formal writing instruction by teachers), which was planned as a strategy for modelling collaborative work with the children. Facilitators chose this collaborative approach as a strategy to avoid the humiliation they had experienced with literacy at school, when learning was individualised, and when they felt unsupported. Frank Smith (cited in Routman, 1991) had argued that one of the ways to socialise children into writing is to write with them. Cunningham and Allington (1994) describe the process followed in the 'shared writing' methodology and argue that the most direct and relevant way to demonstrate to the child the power of writing is through joint construction of texts by teachers and children. The stages involved in this process include the teacher initially acting as a scribe and prompter, while a

child or children dictate to the teacher what they want to say. The teacher helps the children to get ready to write by asking them to talk about an idea, and then to select what they want transcribed; the teacher says the words out loud as she writes, and comments informally on the conventions featured in writing; the teacher invites children to participate in the composing process; the teacher reads back the entire text, pointing briefly to each word and moves a finger or a pointer along the lines of text; the children read their writing aloud with the teacher and are invited to offer responses and suggest revisions. To engage in this joint construction of a text therefore, the literacy club appropriated this strategy not only for teaching the children how to write, or to improve their writing, but also for socialising them to working collaboratively. The children were called to come closer to the board so that all of them were able to see the progress of the writing as there was no flipboard that could have been used. This is something that facilitators have had to do for many of the literacy club sessions. With the children gathered closer together, the facilitator gets the children to focus, to participate, and to see properly, while in many large classrooms the children sitting at the back are usually forgotten, tend to not see what they copy from the board, and they can hide when they do not understand and fear telling the teacher that they need help.

I transcribed the children's expectations one by one on the flipchart paper the facilitator had pasted on the board (see Figure 5.1a and 5.1b below). During the session, the facilitators encouraged the children to do most of the talking, joining in the discussion only when they considered this necessary. During this time, the school had granted permission to the facilitators to start the literacy club. Before this first meeting the facilitators gave the children letters requesting their and their parents' permission to use video and audio recordings. To accustom the children to the presence of the camera, the facilitators brought it into the room. Thus, the presence of the camera, and its mention in the consent forms, may have had an influence on some of the expectations listed by the children, particularly those mentioning video and audio recordings. Figure 5.1 below shows the list of expectations generated by the children, and which I recorded through shared writing.

Figure 5.1: Expectations for the literacy club: 21 July 2015

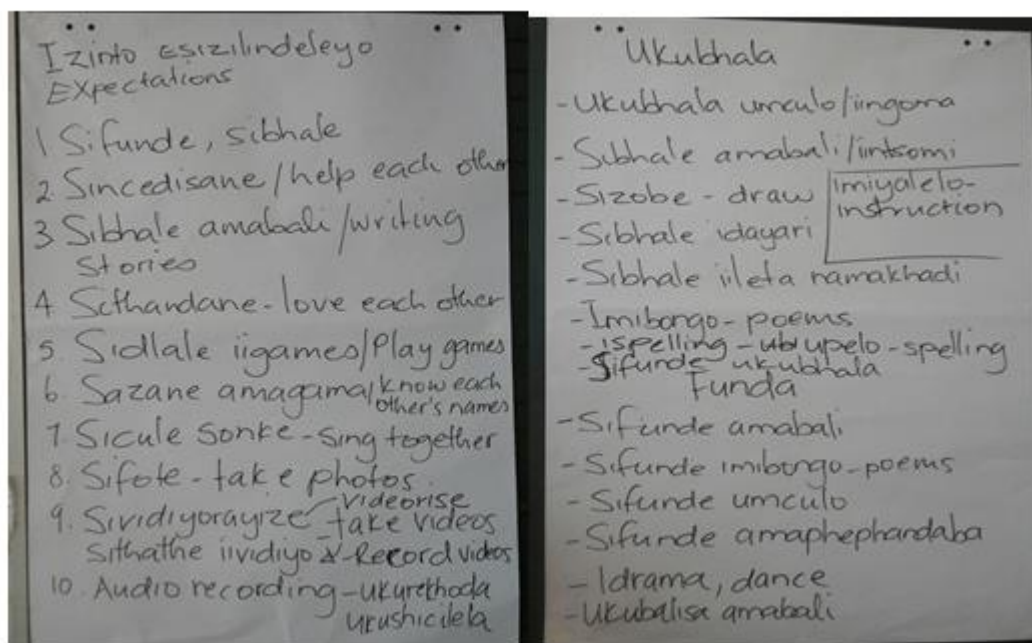


Figure 5.1a

Figure 5.1b

English translation of Figure 5.1a and 5.1b:

Expectations	Writing
1. to read and write	write songs
2. to help each other	to write stories/folktales
3. to write stories	to draw
4. to love each other	to write messages/instructions
5. to play games	to write diaries
6. to know each other's names	to write letters and cards
7. to sing together	to write poems
8. to take photographs	to do spelling
9. to record videos	to learn to write
10. to make audio recordings	to learn to read
	to read/learn poems
	to read/learn songs
	to read newspapers
	drama
	dance
	to tell stories

The second set of data that I present below is an Extract from the focus group interview with the group of six children that was assigned to me for literacy club activities. I was asking them to talk about the differences between learning at the school, at the literacy club and at home. Close listening and reading of the interview data opened a window for me through which to understand the reasons behind the expectation about ‘loving each other’ in the expectations list above. It also became a window through which I could glean ways in which the club transformed and was transforming children’s home and school experiences.

<b>Extract 5.1 Focus group interview – difference between learning at school and at the club -26 November 2016</b>	
<b>Interview</b>	<b>Translation</b>
1. <b>XOLISA:</b> Nicing’ukuba ukufunda aph’eklabhini kuyafana nokufunda esikolweni? Kuyafana ukufunda eklabhini nokufunda esikolweni? Zintle?	Do you think that learning at the club and learning at school is the same? Is learning at the club the same as learning at school? Zintle?
2. <b>ZINGISA:</b> A-a [indistinct]	No, no [indistinct]
3. <b>XOLISA:</b> Khawuqhabalake uschazele. Kutheni usithi akufani.	Please elaborate and tell us. Why do you say they are not the same?
4. <b>ZINTLE:</b> Ingxaki esikolweni kubhalwa itest, ireading club zona azibhali test.	The problem is that tests are written in school. Reading clubs don’t give tests.
5. <b>XOLISA:</b> Ja. Okay. Yes? Olwethu?	Yes. Okay. Yes Olwethu?
6. <b>OLWETHU:</b> Kuba esikolweni ba akudlalwa iigames.	Because games are not played at school.
7. <b>XOLISA:</b> E-e? In school, no games. And then eh Siphokazi?	Yes? In school, no games. And then eh Siphokazi?
8. <b>SIPHOKAZI:</b> Siyabethwa esikolweni.[Laughter].	We get beaten at school. [laughter]
9. <b>NATHI:</b> Uyadika maan.	You are forward man.

<b>10. NATHI:</b> Sobethwa esikolweni.	We get beaten in school
<b>11. XOLISA:</b> Do you want to tell uMarlene what she just said, Siphokazi? Yes?	Do you want to tell Marlene what she just said, Siphokazi? Yes?
<b>12. SIPHOKAZI:</b> At school we are getting beaten	
<b>13. XOLISA:</b> Oh and at the club?	
<b>14. NATHI:</b> We are beaten.	
<b>15. XOLISA:</b> Noni ubuza kuthini wena?	What were you going to say Noni?
<b>16. NONI:</b> Hayi uyithethile.	No, she has already said it
<b>17. XOLISA:</b> You were going to say the same thing? [Laughter]	
<b>18. NONI:</b> Seyitsho yonke. [laughter]	He's said it all [Laughter]
<b>19. XOLISA:</b> Three people...	
<b>20. NATHI:</b> Uyibile.	He has stolen it
<b>21. XOLISA:</b> Uyibile?	He has stolen it?
<b>22. NATHI:</b> E-e, uyibile	Yes, he has stolen it
<b>23. XOLISA:</b> Has stolen what she wanted to say [laughs] so um...so it's different in that way. Do you want to ask a question?	
<b>24. SAMKELO:</b> Siyangxoliswa.	We get scolded at
<b>25. NATHI:</b> Yho!	Wow!
<b>26. SAMKELO:</b> Yitsunami.	It's a tsunami (disaster)

<b>27. XOLISA:</b> E-e? So we get shouted at. But at the club it's different, how different is the club, tell us about the club.	
<b>28. NATHI:</b> Benzothi mna siyapanishwa nopanishwa kuthwa masi-cleane iitoilets.	I was going to say we get punished and we are made to clean toilets
<b>29. XOLISA:</b> Oh ok.	
<b>30. NATHI:</b> Abanye bacham'eback kwathiwa maba-cleane iitoilets. Zange bazicleane.	Others who pee at the back were told to clean toilets. They did not clean them
<b>31. XOLISA:</b> So you get punished and you clean toilets. Mhm?	
<b>32. SAMKELO:</b> Yahluke ngokuba...	It is different because...
<b>33. XOLISA:</b> So how is the club different from school	
<b>34. NONI:</b> Eklabhini asibethwa, asingxoliswa, asikliniswa zitoyilethi kuthethwa nathi kak'hle into masiziyenze. Esikolweni yho! Yitsunami...	At the club we don't get beaten, we don't get scolded or shouted at, we are not made to clean toilets, we are spoken to decently when they need us to do something. At school, yho! it is a tsunami
<b>35. OLWETHU:</b> Shawutwa, shawutwa.	Shouted at, shouted at.
<b>36. SAMKELO:</b> Hayi yitsunami.	No it's a tsunami
<b>37. NATHI:</b> Yho!	Wow!
<b>38. NATHI:</b> Wanceda uDenis ukuthi hayi yitsunam lena.	Denis helped when he said this is a tsunami
<b>39. NONI:</b> Hayi, yitsunami.	No, it is a tsunami
<b>40. XOLISA:</b> [Laughs] it's a disaster, tsunami. Okay, do you want to just tell Marlene in English what you just told? Okay.	
<b>41. NONI</b> I said at school we get beaten, shout and punish; clean the toilet. But at the	

reading club nothing! I feel <i>free</i> ! I am just talking: this thing is wrong, this one is right. At school [raises her voice] <i>pepepepeppe!!</i> Yoh ha hayi. (Oh, no) [Laughter]	
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26 November 2016

In Figure 5.1, three themes emerge relating to the construction of the STLC# as an affective, social, and linguistic third space. The first theme is how language practices used in the space created a linguistic third space. The second theme that emerges is how the STLC# was co-constructed as an affective social third space, and thirdly, as a collaborative social space. Below, I elaborate on the analysis of how the STLC# was co-constructed as a linguistic third space, an affective, and a collaborative third space.

### **Analysing the construction of the linguistic third space**

In the data presented in Figure 5.1, I used an adapted version of shared writing to suit a multilingual context as a strategy for the collaborative generation of expectations for the literacy club to provide children with the opportunity and agency to decide on what they wanted to do and how. At the top of the newsprint I wrote in isiXhosa, 'Izinto esizilindeleyo' with its English equivalent, 'Expectations' below this. The question I had posed to the children was, 'Ziintoni esingathanda ukuzenza eqeleni lokufunda?' [What do we expect to do at the reading club?]. The children responded in full sentences, and using a school-like register in isiXhosa, for example, "Singathanda ukuba sifunde", "Singathanda ukuba sibhale", translating to, "We would like to read", "We would like to write", as can be seen in point 1. This was to be expected as teachers often insist on formal school register and request learners to respond in full phrases and sentences as well as to use one language. I drew the children into using two languages by asking them to translate into English or isiXhosa to legitimise the use of two language resources at the same time. The register changed as they reached point 9, which I analyse further below. As the lead facilitator, I also held understandings about pedagogy from the New London Group's (2000) multiliteracies framework which considers situated practice, a practice which requires adults to draw on children's lived experiences of language as well as using overt instruction to provide them access to the standard forms of language valued

by the school. Thus, by committing spoken communication into writing, I translated oral language into legitimate language, but by drawing on multiliteracies I legitimised in writing both standard and non-standard varieties (point 9 on the flip chart). However, due to limited flipchart space, I shortened the long sentences into short action phrases. Instead of “we would like to read”, “we would like to write”, I abbreviated: ‘sifunde’ [to read], ‘sibhale’ [to write], ‘sincedisane’ [to help each other] to save space. These verbs in isiXhosa start with the prefix ‘si’ to signal agreement with the pronoun ‘si’ (we) in the word ‘singathanda’ at the beginning. As the children dictated their expectations to me, I helped to negotiate these with them by asking them to translate what was said in isiXhosa to English, and vice versa, hence the English or isiXhosa translations on the right from point 2 in Figure 5.1a. However, not everyone offered their contributions in the standard variety, or gave an initial response in isiXhosa, as can be seen in “audio recording” in point 10, and “dance” in Figure 5.1b, and not every contribution was translated. In Figure 5.1b, for example, only ‘sizobe’ [draw], ‘ispelling’ [upelo] and ‘imiyalelo’-[instructions’] are translated into English or isiXhosa.

Drawing on critical discourse analysis and building on the discourse of third spaces as hybrid spaces, and the discourse of third spaces as discursive and linguistic spaces, I analyse the ways in which the STLC#, as an after-school literacy club, disrupts and challenges the dominant monolingual, monoglossic and Anglonormative ideologies that determine what counts as legitimate language and literacy practices in schooling in South Africa. First, by modelling an English translation of “izinto esizilindeleyo’ into ‘Expectations’, and by asking the children to give an English translation from point 2 onwards, I demonstrated to the children how, from the start to make use of two named languages as a norm, thus challenging the notion of languages in silos. As they negotiated their expectations, I encouraged the children to engage in flexible and dynamic communication practices, and to draw from their full linguistic repertoire in various ways, in this way valuing and legitimising their linguistic resources. Some of these dynamic languaging practices include code-switching, translation, and use of one linguistic repertoire, all of which are encompassed in the concept of translanguaging (Garcia, 2009; Garcia & Li Wei, 2014).

Thus, by writing expectation one, in isiXhosa first, I was valuing the language resources children bring to school, and which one child used in giving the response. By writing the

responses bilingually from point 2 onwards, I demonstrated to the children how, through translation, the same phrase can be written in two languages simultaneously. While this might still seem to emphasise two separate languages used side by side, bilingual writing was both novel and significant for children who are used to talking of named languages, who are expected to always use a formal register, and who are never allowed to use the two named languages and formal and informal registers simultaneously. Busch (2012) acknowledges that knowledge of named languages is part of the linguistic repertoire.

In these early stages of the establishment of the club a lot of work still needed to be done to resist the school's monoglossic ideologies, and to encourage children to value their full linguistic repertoires. By asking for a translation from isiXhosa to English, and vice versa, by writing in both languages simultaneously, and by including the children's informal register as evidenced by words like 'ispelling', 'videorise', I was challenging the monoglossic approach. I was also demonstrating how the two languages co-exist, and how learning of one language is dependent on the other (Makalela, 2015). Thus, I was challenging both the monolingual bias and the power dynamics between categories, disrupting the practice where texts are usually written first in English and then translated into African languages, or written in English only on the board, while African languages are restricted to oral discourse. With the covering of the flip charts with expectations through my prompting, the children and I were continuing to draw on our full linguistic repertoires through translation, as can be seen in "sincedisane [help each other]; sibhale amabali [to write stories]; sithandane [to love each other]". Thus, through translation, we used isiXhosa resources as a way of introducing English to the children, especially the Grade 3 children, who were still learning through the medium of isiXhosa, and who needed to learn and acquire the English resources to succeed from Grade 4 onwards.

The children began to draw on their full linguistic repertoire by also translanguaging when they deviated from offering responses in isiXhosa first, as can be seen in "audio-recording" and "dance", which they initially offered in English. Translation continued as the children now had to translate 'audio-recording' into 'ukurekhoda' in isiXhosa, though the word 'ukushicilela' was offered by Lola, one of the teachers participating as a facilitator. Finally, the children also made use of their interconnected linguistic repertoire when they

'Xhosalised' English verbs and nouns (Paxton & Tyam, 2010), such as, 'sivideorize' [to take videos, to record videos]; 'sidlale iigames' [play games]; 'sibhale idayari' [write diaries], 'sibhale amakhadi' [write cards], 'ispelling' [spelling], and 'idrama' [drama]. A dialogue ensued as we began to translate words such as 'sividiorize', with the children suggesting to 'videorize' and different adults suggesting 'to take videos' and 'to record videos'. These acts of translation showed the facilitators and the children coming together in the club, bringing their varied discourses, beliefs, knowledges, histories, and ways of talking (Gutiérrez et al., 1999; Scherff, 2015; Li Wei, 2017; Busch, 2012). They also acted together as a pedagogic scaffold between 'powerful language', or academic knowledge, and out-of-school knowledge (Scherff, 2015: 82). The different translations also demonstrate the different varieties within one language that participants made use of, thus affirming heteroglossic practices. The act of writing down everyone's suggestions, with no preference for a particular translation, demonstrates how I challenged and disrupted the status quo, where the only answers deemed to be 'correct' in the classroom are usually those given in standard languages. The recording of all responses created opportunities for members of the club to cross between discourse communities in a way that was opening up their world view and helping them to navigate different life worlds.

Busch (2012) and Li Wei (2017) argue that translanguaging creates a social space for multilingual language users to bring together different dimensions of their personal histories, experiences, and environments. While children may experience a range of communication practices, such as 'sivideorize' or 'videorize', and 'ispelling' and 'idrama' in their environments (home, community, school), including from television, adults like the participating teacher facilitators may have experienced standard language communication practices through the work they do as language teachers, or through their ways of talking in the context where they grew up. These ways of talking may be different from those of urban township children. Engaging in these communication practices at the STLC# surfaced participating facilitators and children's personal histories and experiences and freed them up to talk instead of being silenced as can be the case when they are expected to speak one language or variety. It also enabled the children's full participation and inclusion in the generation of expectations for the club. The coming together of facilitators and children in the act of offering different translations to words like 'sivideorize' and 'audio-recording' [ukurekhoda and ukushicilela]

created a 'freed-up' space for more dialogic and inclusive talk (Scherff, 2015), with no regard for which language/s and varieties the children and facilitators ought to be using. Writing the children's translations next to the adult offerings also demonstrated inclusivity without evaluating which responses were the best or were correct: I was intentionally not setting up any standard way of communicating. This created opportunities for adults and children to both demonstrate their knowledge and draw on their socio-cultural resources. Freeing up the children's voices in the running of the literacy club also created a more inclusive partnership in the discussion between the children and the facilitators. This is in contrast with the insistence in schooling on the use of one named language at a time, or the use of standard varieties, and even the switch to another medium of instruction, the process of which fails to show ubuntu to children who may not have the language resources required. This abrupt, insensitive switch violently silences the children and casts them with a deficit. While quality of instruction is important for literacy development in addition to language (Pretorius & Currin, 2010; Spaul, 2016)(Spaul, 2016), it is important to point out that language proficiency is one of the most basic resources that need to be in place when children arrive at school, in the same way the physical infrastructure is necessary. This is certainly taken for granted in English and Afrikaans medium schools, even before issues of quality of instruction are discussed. Thus, this recording of the children's expectations, written on a flipchart, and captured in a photo, illustrates not only the children's oral multilingual repertoires, but legitimises their full linguistic repertoires in written form, and in a way that deviates a little from the commonly used pedagogy of shared writing process, and more significantly from the methodology of those teachers who allow for oral translanguaging, but discourage bilingual written text and writing in non-standard forms.

#### *Co-construction of STLC# as an affective social third space*

Analysis in this section of the chapter is divided into two key aspects of affect that arise out of the data on expectations in Figure 5.1: the first is an aspect of "loving each other", and the second is an aspect of "play" that children raise. In addition to analysing these aspects in the expectations data, I also draw on the focus group interview which I conducted with the children at the end of the data collection period in November 2016. Drawing on thematic analysis, I first analyse the aspect of "loving each other", and what the children mean by,

'sithandane' [loving each other]. Within this theme, I draw on the sensitising concept of ubuntu which Makalela (2015) defines as an African ubuntu philosophy of interdependence: "I am because you are, and you are because I am", upon which he coins the term 'Ubuntu translanguaging' (the interdependence of languages in languaging and meaning) (p27). I use ubuntu more broadly to encompass values such as compassion, dignity, respect, and care.

Figure 5.1 shows how, from the data, I draw on multimodal social semiotic analysis to analyse children's desire for play and performance, which they express as wanting 'to play games'; 'to sing together', 'to do drama', 'to tell stories' and 'to dance' Figure. I argue that these expectations are a call for the creation of an affective social space that mobilizes imagination, emotion, cognition, and collective social practices (Nicolopoulo et al, 2006). The sensitising notions of third spaces as 'emotional spaces' (Scherff, 2015), as well as 'World Travelling and Playfulness' (Lugones, 1987) also help in analysing the construction of the STLC# as an affective social and playful space. I also corroborate the expectations for play and performance with the interview data to analyse how children understand and respond to a bilingual, multimodal pedagogical approach which legitimises all language resources in their repertoires.

#### *Sithandane - to love each other*

One of the expectations from the children that I could not overlook was the call for members of the club to love each other. Freire once claimed, "I think, if I had to put a finger on what I consider a good education, a good radical education, it wouldn't be anything about methods or techniques. It would be about loving people first" (Horton, Bell, Gaventa, & Peters, 1990:177). I argue that the call by children for people to love one another is not just limited to love, but encompasses treating each other with compassion, dignity, and care, which is one of the core values of ubuntu. The children expressed this expectation amongst others on the very first day of the convening of the literacy club. At the time I did not pay further attention to what they meant until I conducted a focus group interview with some of the children almost a year and a half later. Above, I presented Extract 5.1 from the interview where I asked the children to talk about the differences between learning at the school, at the club and at home. Close listening and reading of the interview data opened a window for me through

which I was able to understand the reasons behind the expectation about loving each other at the beginning of the literacy club. It also became a window through which I could glean ways in which the club had transformed children's home and school experiences. The issue that the children raise in turns 8, 10, 12, 14, is that of the physical and emotional violence of being beaten, shouted at, and punished at school. The children agree with each other by saying that what they were going to say has already been reported on, or the person who reported it 'has stolen' their idea or 'has said it all', and they are jokingly being told by others that they are being 'forward' for responding first. In turn 27, I asked the children how they experience learning at the club, but they do not seem to want to leave the topic of school violence. It is interesting to note how, even when the interview moves on to the club, the children want to dwell on the school issues while also finding humour in this. It seems that they want to reveal more about what happens at school by continuing to talk about their experiences. It is in turn 34 that Noni offers her opinion about how she experiences the club, by saying, "Eklabhini asibethwa, asingxoliswa, asikliniswa zitoyilethi kuthethwa nathi kak'hle into masiyenze. Esikolweni yho! Yitsunami... [At the club we do not get beaten, we don't get scolded or shouted at, we are not made to clean toilets, we are spoken to decently when they need us to do something. At school, it is a tsunami - a disaster...]". Her description of learning at the club directly contrasts with how they report their school experience.

In addition to the violence of corporal punishment and being constantly shouted at by the teachers at school, in turn 4, Zingisa says, "The problem is that tests are written in school. Reading clubs don't give tests." Here Zingisa points to the writing of tests as a problem. She does not elaborate, and, upon reflection, I think I missed an opportunity here to probe further the reasons she thought giving of tests is a problem. But given that Zingisa constructs test writing as 'a problem', we can be confident that she does not enjoy test-taking. This could be because there is fear that, in writing a test, one will be exposed as either 'performing' or 'underperforming', as 'achieving' or 'underachieving', as a 'failure' or an 'achiever'. These fears are not unfounded, considering the discourses about underachievement of many South African children, especially those attending schools in lower socio-economic contexts, and especially those who speak African languages who have been reported as underperformers in the PIRLS (2006; 2011;2016) reports.

Also, of interest is how Samkelo takes up and emphasizes the metaphor of a ‘tsunami’<sup>4</sup> from Noni to describe how they experience school. In turns 33, 36, 38, 39 we see Olwethu, Nathi, and Noni agreeing with Samkelo that school is a tsunami. A tsunami is a natural disaster. Grade 5 teachers have confirmed that Tsunami is being taught as part of the curriculum on natural disasters. It is possible that the grade 5 and 6 children have learnt about the tsunami from Natural Sciences, or that adults use the term ‘tsunami’ whenever they talk about disasters and the children may have appropriated the term. However, the children’s use of the metaphor of a tsunami when talking about school indicates their experience of school as destructive and possibly indicates their powerlessness against this disaster. A tsunami is an overwhelming disaster that no one can control, and it makes people suffer. This means that children are expressing their experience of school as a fearful, destructive, and violent place of suffering where they have no power to challenge adults.

In turn 41 above, Noni dramatically summarises for Marlene, one of the English-Afrikaans speaking facilitators at the club, by translating to English what has been said to me in isiXhosa. Her use of the word, ‘pepepepe!!’ in the interview is an onomatopoeic way for her to imitate the noise of a whistle being blown, and it demonstrates her experiences of teachers constantly scolding children as if they are blowing a whistle. In isiXhosa, a whistle is called *impempe*, and if one talks too much, they might sound as irritating as a whistle being stridently blown all the time. It is also common to call the chatty ones ‘Nompempe’ [Mother of the whistle]. Though the children do not explicitly say they are not loved, it can be inferred from the description of their experiences that there seems to be lack of compassion, care, and dignity in the way they are treated by the adults around them at school.

The punishments, including beatings and scolding, that the children experience at school date from colonialism and Apartheid when Black people endured constant violence. The authoritarian Afrikaner Broederbond saw education as the most effective way of gaining power over the British brand of colonialism, and ensured obedient school principals and teachers (MacDonald, 1992). This authoritarianism made its way into Black schools and

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<sup>4</sup> According to the National Geographic, “A tsunami is a series of ocean waves that sends surges of water, sometimes reaching heights of over 100 feet (30.5 meters), onto land. These walls of water can cause widespread destruction when they crash ashore”. <https://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2004/12/deadliest-tsunami-in-history/>

ensured harsh control of teacher behaviour, and deviance was not tolerated (MacDonald, 1992). Because the Afrikaner Broederbond ensured a hierarchical and patriarchal structure of control, children also came to be at the receiving end of authoritarianism and control. Corporal punishment was used as a means of control. Mayisela (2017) argues that this harsh discipline became rife in Black schools for 'offences' such as late coming, not doing homework, disrespecting teachers, lying, stealing, and disregarding a teacher's authority, amongst others, even though many of these offences were a result of the children's poor socio-economic conditions. Post 1994, corporal punishment was abolished by the South African Schools Act (1996), on the grounds that it constitutes physical abuse, and moral arguments relating to children's poor socio-economic conditions added more weight to the abolition processes. However, corporal punishment continues to this day because many teachers and adults who themselves experienced corporal punishment believe that it helps them to maintain control over children's unruly behaviour, particularly in crowded classrooms where the teacher does not have the teaching skills or resources to maintain learners' interest or attention, and especially when s/he has her back to them while writing up on the board all the stuff they have to transcribe (while fighting over pencils) and rote learn. Though many teachers deny using corporal punishment, pipes and sticks are still seen in their classrooms, and children mention them as one of the tools that teachers use to maintain discipline (Mayisela, 2017). Though teachers deny using corporal punishment, and often blame the department of education for abolishing it and leaving them with no tools for disciplining the children, the STLC# members attest to its continued use.

In addition to expecting members of the club 'to love each other', the children also express the freedom that they get in the club in comparison to the lack of freedom at school. They feel that they can take risks and say what is wrong and what is right without fear. Their use of "yho hayi" [oh no] expresses how unbelievable the school is. To them, 'Yho Hayi' is enough to express negative experiences at school without describing them any further. It is an isiXhosa way of showing disbelief and shock at how things are which could be translated as 'wow – no way'. Similarly, the home as a first space is also experienced uncomfortably by some of the children. In Extract 5.2 below, Noni draws a comparison between her experiences at home and those in the club.

*Extract 5.2 Focus group interview*

1. **XOLISA:** Ja at home, what's the difference between learning at home and learning in the club?
2. **NONI:** At home when you want to do a homework, when you just ask your mother or a friend...your brother "I am busy, I am busy, I am busy!" But e-reading (at the reading) club you are helped. When you are doing your homework late "why do you do your homework at morning?" "I was washing the dishes" "So why don't you leave the dishes and write your homework?" And you go to bed. Next morning teacher wants homework: "I was busy." Come with a pipe *pa-pa-pa-pa*, that's that.

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Noni in Extract 5.2 talks about how, for her, the home is like the school in its lack of nurturing and compassion. In fact, the home space is not supportive of her and works to get her into trouble with the school. Everyone is always busy when the children need help. Noni is also pointing to the discontinuities between home and school. While teachers expect children to do homework with the support of their families at home, parents see their role differently. Valdés (1996, cited in Dantas and Manyak, 2011), in her study of diverse families and their values regarding school, found that families held profoundly "familistic values". This meant that, though parents believed in the importance of school, family activities did not include, or centre around, children's school lives, and parents' views about their success or failure as parents were not closely tied to their children's academic success. Lareau (1989, cited in Dantas and Manyak, 2011:3) also found that "working-class parents viewed the school and family domains as largely separate and the teachers as having the requisite expertise, and thus as bearing the responsibility, for teaching academic skills to their children." Noni explains that, after arriving home from school, the children must do home chores, but thereafter they get tired and go to bed with the intention of doing homework in the morning. When they do their homework in the morning, they get scolded by adults who conveniently forget that they asked the children to prioritise chores at home after school. It seems that the focus on home chores, respect for adults, and other familial activities clashes with teachers' expectations and

assumptions about the role of parents in their children's education. This often lands children in trouble with teachers, if and when teachers are not aware of the families' values, assumptions, and expectations of school. Thus, Noni reports that, when the children arrive at school without having done their homework, teachers cane them with a pipe. Noni animates both the hiding and the scolding by using onomatopoeic sounds like 'pa-pa-pa-pa' for caning with a pipe and 'pe-pe-pe-pe' for talking too much, to show the ongoing nature of these 'disciplinary' measures at school and at home. From the interview data and what children describe, it seems that the home as a first space, and the school as a second space, may not always be experienced as spaces where the children have positive emotional experiences.

At the club, however, children seem to be asking for a 'third way', a radically different space that can be an escape from home and school. Lugones (1987), a post-colonial feminist scholar, wrote about "World-Travelling" as a way for cross-cultural and cross-racial loving and affirmation of plurality. She argued that to love the other is to travel to their world and see the world through their eyes. I find her work influential in imagining how we can encourage adults within the same culture to travel to the child's world. Lugones (1987) writes about the flexibility and shifting from one's mainstream construction of life (in this case, from that of an adult) to another construction of life (i.e., that of a child) where one is at 'home'. This conscious, deliberate travelling by an adult to the child's world, might help in dealing with the adult's often 'arrogant' perception of, or failure to identify with, the child's world, needs, and motivations. The act of identification with another is particularly important here for both Lugones (1987) and Bhabha (1990). Lugones argues that a failure to love is a failure to identify with another person, or to see yourself in another person. It is a failure to understand that 'I am because of you and you are because of me', which is the meaning of ubuntu that the children are calling adults to return to. For adults, travelling to the child's world is to recognise the child in them, to realise that they can inhabit both the adult and the child in them. Inhabiting both worlds creates "a third space that does away with totalisation of oneself and makes one ambivalent because of the recognition of that otherness in themselves (for example, an adult recognises a child in herself) and helps in one shifting her/himself through identifying with the other" (Bhabha, 1990:211). In this way, one is therefore able to deal with the absolute self and can shift from one way of doing things, for example, from being aggressive, to loving the child, or to become a loving being. Loving here is seeing through the

child's eye and being humanely bonded with the child. Since third spaces are flexible and are spaces for shifting perspectives, the way the children describe learning at the club seems to provide a different adult perspective of the children. Combined with what Lugones calls 'playfulness' (openness to surprise), adults could discover the power of being a child, to not have to worry about self-importance, not taking norms as sacred but finding ambiguity as a source of wisdom and delight for themselves too. Their lives could therefore be transformed as well if they open themselves up to new ways of interacting with children.

From the data extracts above, it seems that the school the children in the club attend may not be a place that gives the children joyful, loving, compassionate, and positive affective experiences, and since they have no control over what happens, they laugh about it. Though they are sharing horrible experiences, they are also deriving pleasure from being able to talk about this. The laughter could be embarrassment, disbelief, or fear mixed with pleasure which they use to create a distance from their suffering at school. They know that their treatment is wrong. It is even ridiculous how wrong it is, and the contrast between school and the club is so great that this itself becomes a funny question to answer. Through their playful responses, the children show how they have observed and experienced school. They show an awareness that the differences are so stark as to be laughable, and ridiculous to compare. Though the interviews were done a year and 5 months after the club was started, it seems that the real reason for children suggesting 'loving each other' in their expectations of the club is the absence of ubuntu, humanity (dignity and compassion) in how they are treated at school, and that they are calling for the return to it in the club. They are imagining a different space, where they will be constituted as humans and treated with dignity, as articulated by Noni in turn 34 of Extract 5.1 when she says, "...we are spoken to decently when they need us to do something". However, they are not only imagining this space, but also constructing it with their words, and experiencing it.

In theorising second language acquisition Krashen (1982) emphasized the role of positive affect or emotions on attitudes and motivation to learn. He conceptualised a theory of the affective filter. In explaining this, he argued that pressure on, and high anxiety accompanying the learning of, a second language could lead to a mental block which might have a negative or hindering effect on comprehension and conceptualising. He argued for the kind of

environment which lowers anxiety and stress levels in second language acquisition - which I would extend to all learning - and he suggested encouragement, positive affirmation, and empathy from adults as some of the ways to lower children's anxiety levels. The children's aspirations of 'loving each other', are a plea for the creation of a radically different space that considers emotions and affection as an important aspect of interaction. They wanted an affective environment that is radically different from the one they experience constantly at school and, for some, at home. Thus, judging from their own words during the interview, it seems that the club took their expectations seriously by providing loving and playful experiences, thus demonstrating a radically different way of interacting and relating to the children.

#### *Play and the construction of an affective social space*

The second aspect of the construction of the STLC# as an affective social space pertains to play. The children expressed the need for play and performance in the space. This indicates that the children are consciously challenging the binaries between work and play, formal and informal learning, and academic and affective aspects of learning. The interview data is also useful here for understanding why the children suggested playing games at the beginning of the literacy club, and whether the club met their expectations in the end. Five of the expectations for the club expressed by the children in Extract 5.1 which I think are important in the construction of an affective social space include 'playing games', 'singing songs together', doing 'drama', 'dance' and 'telling stories'. In Extract 5.3 below, we see children also alluding to play and expressing what they find problematic about learning at school. In this part of the interview, I asked the children whether they had been attending the club regularly or not since it began, and how attending regularly, or non-attendance made them feel.

*Extract 5.3: Focus group interview*

Interview	Translation
<p><b>1. XOLISA:</b> And the grade 3's? Bebengezi okoko eklabhini. Beninqandwa yintoni nina?</p>	<p>And the grade 3s? Those who did not attend regularly at the club. What stopped you from coming?</p>
<p><b>2. ZINGISA:</b> Ingxaki, mna bendimane ndihamba ndise umakhulu wam ekliniki...esibhedlele.</p>	<p>The problem is that I often had to accompany my grandmother to the clinic...hospital</p>
<p><b>3. XOLISA:</b> Esibhedlele?</p>	<p>To Hospital?</p>
<p><b>4. ZINGISA:</b> E-e.</p>	<p>Yes.</p>
<p><b>5. XOLISA:</b> Ebegula? So bekufune umane uyombona neh? Ok. wena Olwethu?</p>	<p>Was she sick? So you had to go and visit her, hey? Ok. Olwethu?</p>
<p><b>6. OLWETHU:</b> Cricket.</p>	
<p><b>7. XOLISA:</b> Mhm?</p>	
<p><b>8. OLWETHU:</b> Cricket.</p>	
<p><b>9. XOLISA:</b> I-cricket. Cricket also took you away from the club. So how did you feel when you were doing these other things during the time you were supposed to be in the club?</p>	
<p><b>10. SIPHOKAZI:</b> Mna, I was feeling bad because of the things that they do at the Saturday classes, they don't do at the reading club. Like playing games. You must always think, think, think. You don't have time to stop thinking and just do something. You don't have time. <i>Think, think, think.</i></p>	<p>Me, I was feeling bad because of the things that they do at the Saturday classes, they don't do at the reading club. Like playing games. You must always think, think, think. You don't have time to stop thinking and just do something. You don't have time. <i>Think, think, think.</i></p>
<p><b>11. XOLISA:</b> [Laughs]</p>	
<p><b>12. NONI:</b> It's worse kuMathematics.</p>	<p>It is worse in mathematics.</p>
<p><b>13. XOLISA:</b> [Laughs] Nathi? Ubuphakamisile?</p>	<p>Nathi, was your hand up?</p>

<b>14. NATHI:</b> E-e...a-a.	yes...no
<b>15. XOLISA:</b> Samkelo? Beniziva kanjani xa ningezanga eklabhini?	Samkelo? How did you feel when you couldn't come to the club?
<b>16. SAMKELO:</b> Uyibile.	S/he has stolen it/already said it.
<b>17. XOLISA:</b> Ok. She said the same thing: you were feeling bad.	

Apart from Zingisa, who reported having to take her grandmother to the clinic or hospital on Saturdays, and Olwethu who played cricket, Siphokazi in turn 10 said, "Me, I was feeling bad because of the things that they do at the Saturday classes, they don't do at the reading club. Like playing games. You must always think, think, think! You do not have time to stop thinking and just do something. You don't have time. *Think, think, think!*" In turn 12, Noni says, 'It's worse in mathematics'. The children are aware of the experiences that the Saturday tutorial classes run by the school provide for them and how they were different from the Saturday literacy club sessions. It seemed, from the way that they described the school organised classes, that these classes were an extension of the school week for teachers to complete their syllabus or to drill the children in how to answer questions in the Annual National Assessments. These teachers tended to take over the literacy club, even though club facilitators had permission from the principal and parents to work with the children on Saturdays. The tutorial classes also took a lot of our older children doing Grades 5 and 6 for test preparation.

It is true that some of the children missed many literacy club sessions because teachers at the school were offering formal and direct instructional lessons in preparation for their learners taking their assessments and giving children no choice but to attend these classes. We observed the children attending these classes when we came for the literacy club and heard them engaged in choral reading in the classrooms. Sometimes, when the tutoring sessions finished early, while the literacy club session was still going on, the children would come afterwards and join the STLC#. Having attended both the Saturday tutoring classes and the

Saturday literacy club sessions, Siphokazi, in turn 10 is aware of how different the tutorial classes are from the literacy club sessions. According to her, 'thinking' is emphasized more in those classes. While thinking is important, what the child seems to emphasize is that the work they did in these classes was of a more academic nature and required them to engage with academically demanding tasks. The child seems to suggest that academic work is more valued at the school than any other kind of work, for example creativity and learning through play. However, though at the club the children engage with reading and writing, and even critical literacy, it seems that games tended to provide an escape from the more academically demanding and boring, repetitive tasks that replicate classroom practices. At the club facilitators allowed for more free play activities, although sometimes they used games, songs, and drama for overt instruction, to challenge the work/play binary. They did this to enhance the children's enjoyment of reading.

Literacy clubs, and reading clubs more generally, are built on Stephen Krashen's (1993) ideas on free voluntary reading, or reading for enjoyment, such as reading when you want to, selecting your own books and being given time and storybooks for self-sustained reading. Literacy clubs tend to feature reading, storytelling, writing, art, and play. The reading aspect of literacy clubs emphasizes reading aloud and is built from Mem Fox's 10 commandments for reading aloud (Fox, 2013), which include, playing games, having fun, and laughing a lot. It also encourages reading in groups, in pairs, and silent reading. Based on these, facilitators therefore incorporate play to spark children's love for reading, just as the children voiced their expectations that play would be part of the literacy club. Reading for enjoyment differs significantly from the reading experiences that teachers provide for children in the classroom.

Play is a theme that runs across all three data analysis chapters of this study. Olwethu, a Grade 3 child, in the interview seems to have picked up that that the main difference between school and the literacy club, and the Saturday tutorials and the literacy club, is 'kuba esikolweni akudlalwa iigames' [because games are not played at school]. The points made above about lack of play in schools and at the Saturday tutorials, together with the teachers' insistence on thinking, sitting still and choral reading, suggests a different kind of interaction and relationship to that which the children experience at the literacy club. Thus, singing, storytelling and drama performances, and play contradict and or resist traditional pedagogies. They give children a voice by providing opportunities for free expression and expression of

creativity and movement.

What is important to note is that playing games and singing together, engaging in performance of drama, storytelling, and dance are very much intertwined in African language speaking children's lived experiences, which are marginalised in schooling. Joseph et al. (2014) argue that, in collectivist cultures playing in groups is more important than it is in individualistic societies, and individualism is what the schooling system has inherited from colonialism. The idea of 'singing together', included in the children's expectations, captures this collective and social aspect of play. Also, since this is a group of 9-12-year-olds forming a club together, age binaries are transcended; because children play together, they are bound to teach and learn from each other. Joseph, et al. (2014) describe in their study how teenagers are central in passing on games as important cultural artefacts from generation to generation. In so far as children play together as a collective, play is particularly important in building positive social relations and experiences and has been central in the establishment of the STLC# as an affective social third space.

#### *Construction of STLC# as a collaborative social third space*

In the South African education system, the teacher-learner binary, which presents the teacher as an expert and learners as novices, and the adult-child binary, which presents the child as only becoming and, not yet a being, is pervasive. This is not surprising since our education system has inherited Western education systems, and patriarchy. In addition to this, the individual versus collaborative binary, which values an individualistic approach to schoolwork, is also strong. Wenger (1998), Bourne (2010), Dyson (2010), and Dyson and Smitherman (2009) and Brownell (2020) lament the individualistic approach to learning that is often accompanied by drills and assessments, and testing for individual performance. This individualistic conceptualisation of schoolwork, which constructs children as being expected to work on their own, quietly, without talking to their neighbour, and their attainment of high marks is rewarded, leading often to competition, is common in many schools. This is despite African societies being built on the foundations of ubuntu philosophy which embraces values such as ukwabelana, (sharing) and amalima, collectives or collaborative work.

In this section I analyse, first, how the construction of the literacy club as a social space disrupted habitual practices in social and learning spaces. Secondly, I analyse how the children disrupted the individualistic approach to schooling by articulating that they expected 'to help each other', and 'to sing together' at the literacy club. Freire (cited in Horton et al, 1990:157) argues that, when people arrive in a learning space, they bring expectations, ideas, and knowledge. In most cases, they bring opinions about life and about the world they live in, and that they have a right to extend this knowledge when the need arises. With regards to children's literacy knowledge, Smith states that

"...children know much about reading and writing before they get to school, or independently of what they are taught in school. They know many uses of written language, its role in signs, labels, lists, letters, books, magazines, catalogues, computer programmes and television guides" (1985:135).

Thus, regarding decision making and goal setting for the literacy club, the involvement of children in discussing their expectations challenged both 'ageism' and the hierarchy of the relative status of what is considered a 'novice child' and an 'expert' adult or teacher. Studies on childhood challenge the notion that creates the binary of a child as only still becoming, rather than him/her being both becoming and a being, the former representing a notion which gives power and authority to the adult to decide on behalf of the child or learner. The STLC# facilitators initially saw, and sought to establish, a literacy club as a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Lave and Wenger's notion of legitimate peripheral participation is evident in Smith's (1985) arguments that, in joining a literacy club, children join as newcomers with the hope that one day they will become like the experienced members of the club. However, as a lead facilitator, who had read about the notion of legitimate peripheral participation, or how people join communities of practice as accepted novices who learn from experts, I was challenged by scholars writing on third spaces who challenge binaries, including that of the 'expert' versus 'novice' binary (Soja, 1996; Anzaldúa, 1987; Gutiérrez et al., 1999). This means that the notion of a clear-cut binary between experts and novices, as represented by the facilitators and the children, was challenged as I showed that both facilitators and children could become teachers and learners at the same time.

The challenge to individualism first presented itself in the way the children spoke with an inclusive pronoun 'si- ['we'] when they voiced their expectations. Reading Extract 5.1, it is

striking that the children signalled the collaborative social nature of the literacy club from the outset by their use of the collective prefix 'si' (equivalent of pronoun 'we' in English) in isiXhosa rather than the individual 'ndi' ('I'). They – each contributing child - therefore spoke for the group rather than for themselves as individuals, and thus the STLC# was constructed as a social space where group aspirations are shared and seen as scaffolds for the development of more independent individuals. Earlier, I mentioned that the individualistic approach to learning is a colonial and Eurocentric phenomenon, one which has informed how and what the colonised have been taught in schooling. Therefore, to unlearn individualism, and to revalue African ways of doing, the STLC# could be said to be guided by Fanon's ideas of what decolonised institutions or learning spaces should look like in their challenge to the dominant philosophical underpinnings of schooling. Fanon stated, that, in the process of decolonisation,

Individualism is the first to disappear. The native intellectual had learnt from his masters that the individual ought to express himself fully. The colonialist bourgeoisie had hammered into the native's mind the idea of a society of individuals where each person shuts himself up in his own subjectivity, and whose only wealth is individual thought. Now the native who has the opportunity to return to the people during the struggle for freedom will discover the falseness of this theory. (Fanon, 1963:36)

The second challenge to individualism presented itself through the shared writing strategy that was used to demonstrate to the children how to construct texts jointly, a strategy which became a norm in many club sessions. Drawing on the notion of collective third spaces as interactionally constituted (Gutiérrez et al., 2008), I argue that the act of using shared writing, where facilitators like myself write together with the children by becoming scribes while the children dictate what we write, is a well-documented collaborative and social aspect of writing (Routman, 1991; Allington & Cunningham, 1994). Figure 5.2 below shows children in action, having taken up this shared writing strategy to edit the written group work on a flipchart.

Figure 5.2: Children facilitating learning



Figure 5.2a editing of jointly written text

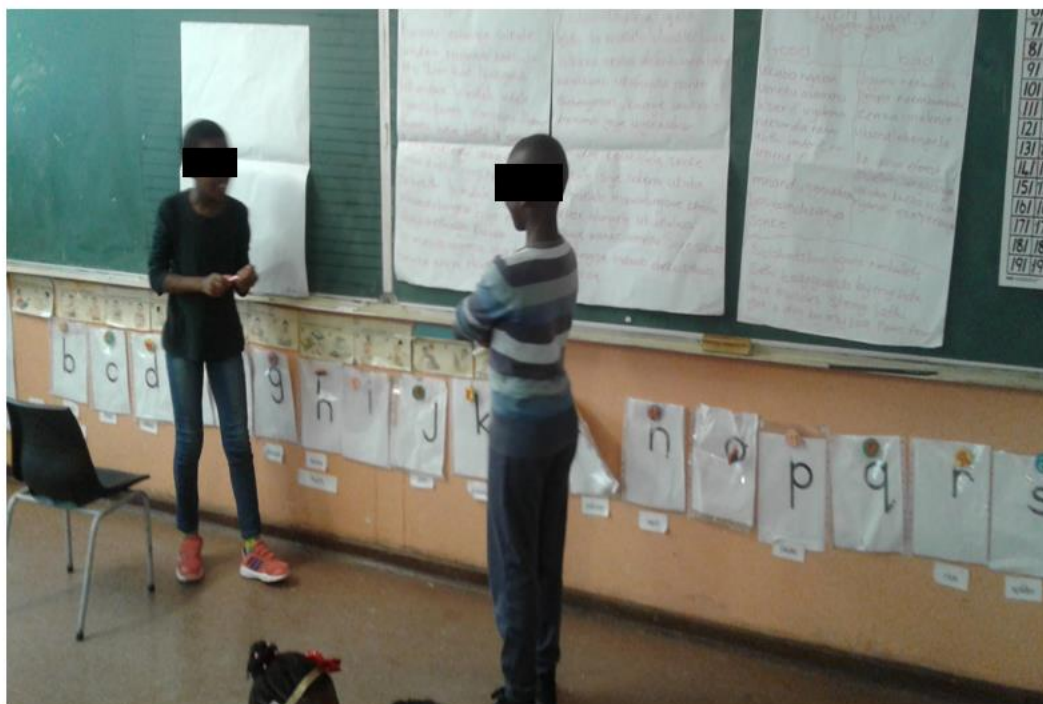
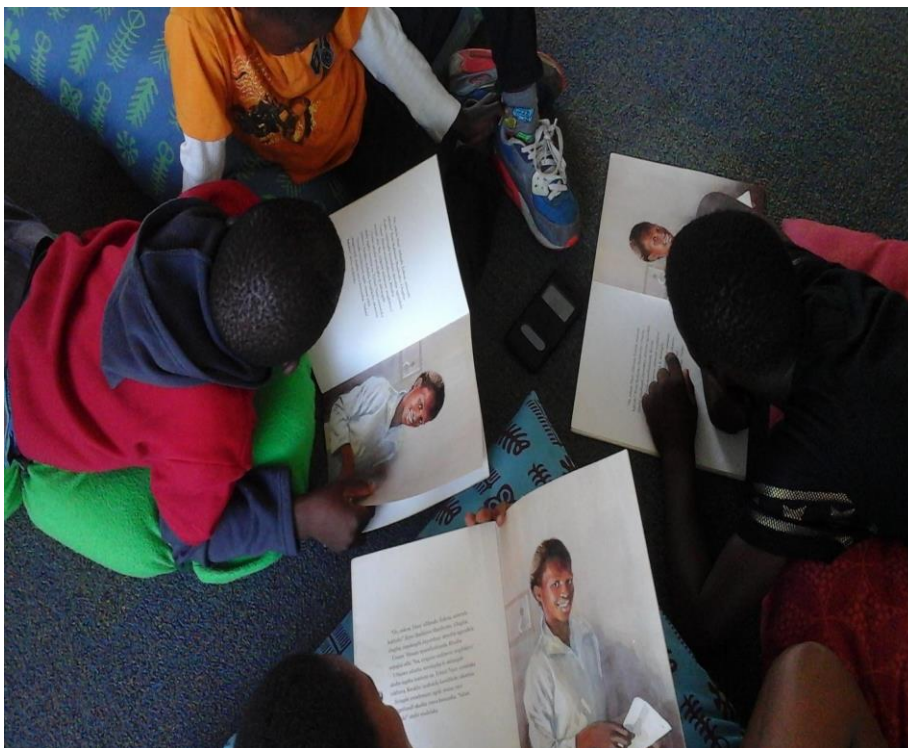


Figure 5.2b editing of jointly written text

In asking for 'sincedisane' (helping one another), the children were calling for a collaborative, social approach to learning through their expectations. They were also asking for an

egalitarian social structure where their knowledge and experience, and participation can be valued in the same way as that of adults in the space. In analysing the children's expectations in data Extract 5.1, especially where they wanted 'to help each other', I argue that the children seem to be drawing on some understanding of the social nature of literacy, thus alluding to collaborative practices that they want to be involved in. 'Sincedisane' [to help each other] means to collaborate with one another, and thus changes the rules of participation for both the facilitators and the children. It could also mean that adults can help children and the children can help adults or their peers. Helping each other 'positions' children as knowledgeable others, sharing their knowledge with peers and adults, and coordinating their work with each other. In the same breath, the children expressed wanting 'to sing together'. Thus, both expressions 'sincedisane' [we help each other] and 'sicule sonke' [sing together] reveal that the children do not conceptualise learning as an individual activity as is often the norm in schooling (Bourne, 2010; Dyson, 2010; Dyson & Smitherman, 2009). The collaborative and collective expectation expressed by the children to help each other is further corroborated during the later focus group interview with some of the children, as well as by moments, as shown in Figure 5.2 above, and 5.3 below.



*Figure 5.3a Children reading together*



Figure 5.3b Children composing and writing together

Below, in Extract 5.5, Noni, upon being asked in an interview about what she likes about the club, expresses that she likes helping other children, particularly younger children, in the group:

Extract 5.5: focus group interview, 24 November 2016

<p><b>NONI:</b> NdinguNoni. Ndithanda ukuba sincede abanye abantwana, sibafundele like uba umntu like nguMarlene... a-andestende into ebesiyithetha. Ulantuza...If njengoba ndithetha isiXhosa omnye atransleythe i-English. Ingaske sincede nabanye abantwana abancinci abangasaziyo isiNgesi basazi isiXho...isiNgesi and then emveni koko basive ngesiXhosa. Ndithanda [ukwenza] loo nto mna.</p>	<p>I am Noni. I like to help other children, reading to them like if someone like Marlene... to understand what we have been saying. Like...as I speak in Xhosa someone translates to English. I wish we could help other young children who do not know English to know isiXho...English and after that know isiXhosa. I like [doing] these things</p>
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Noni feels that younger children need help with their English, thus indicating to us the value of peer learning in non-formal settings (Horton, Bell, Gaventa, & Peters, 1990). At the same

time, she expresses that she can translate for Marlene, who is a bilingual English-Afrikaans speaking facilitator, to understand what has been said in isiXhosa. As such, Noni becomes a language broker translating between the languages (Makoe & McKinney, 2009). Her goal is to make everyone understand what has been said. This indicates a view of children as resourceful, resilient, and creative, and communicates a message about adults needing to stop viewing themselves exclusively as experts (Horton, Bell, Gaventa, & Peters, 1990. In Extract 5.6 below the younger children doing Grade 3 are being asked about how they feel about working with Grade 4, 5, and 6 children.

*Extract 5.6 – Focus Group Interview*

1. <b>XOLISA:</b> Ya. Mhm. So um now we have i-grade 3's here. Ngoobani oo-grade 3's? We have two grade 3's neh?	Yes, Mhmmm. So um we have grade 3s here. Who are the grade 3s? We have two grade 3s right?
2. <b>CHILD:</b> Yes	
3. <b>XOLISA:</b> Ok.UZingisa no...noOlwethu. Akekho uLiya noYoli, neh?	Ok. It is Zingisa and...Olwethu. Liya and Yoli are not here, right?
4. <b>CHILD:</b> NoLwando.	And Lwando
5. <b>XOLISA:</b> NoLwando	and Lwando.
6. <b>XOLISA:</b> So what I would like to know from the Grade 3's, how did you feel working with Grade 4, 5 and 6 in your group? How did you feel? Nizive kanjani kule mix?	How did you feel in this mix?
7. <b>ZINGISA:</b> Ndizive kamnandi kuba bayandinceda kwiEnglish. Bendingayazi.	I felt good because they help me with English. I did not know it.

8. <b>XOLISA:</b> Okay. Wow. Wena Zingisa? Wena Olwethu?	And you Zingisa? I mean you Olwethu?
9. <b>OLWETHU:</b> Ndizive ndikwazi ukufunda iEnglish kakuhle nesiXhosa kakuhle. Ndingathintithi.	I felt good because I know how to read well in English and isiXhosa. I don't stammer.
10. <b>XOLISA:</b> Ewe. Kuba...Yintoni ebangela ukuba ukwazi ukufunda?	Yes. Because...What made you able to read?
11. <b>OLWETHU:</b> [Indistinct] bandincedile ooSamkelo.	Samkelo and them helped me
12. <b>XOLISA:</b> Ewe neh? Alright. Ok. So then nina ke ngoku, mhlawumbi i-grade 6 negrade 5's, nizive kanjani ngokusebenza nee-grade 3's nee-grade 4's? Eh kuqala bani?	Yes, right? Alright. Ok. So then, you know, maybe in grade 6 or grade 5, how did you feel about working with grade 3s and grade 4's? Who's going to start
13. <b>SAMKELO:</b> Mna?	Me?
14. <b>ZINGISA:</b> Noni. Noni.	
15. <b>SIPHOKAZI:</b> Kudala uqala kodwa Samkelo. [Some laughter]	You have been rushing to answer Samkelo
16. <b>SAMKELO:</b> Mna ndiziva ndonwabile njengokuba uOlwethu seyeshilo: Seyekwazi ukufunda iEnglish ngenxa yam. Ndiyavuya kakhulu!	I feel very happy like Olwethu has said. He knows how to read in English because of me. I am very happy!
17. <b>SIPHOKAZI:</b> Nam.	Me too
18. <b>NONI:</b> Ndikwazi ukunceda abanye abantwana.	I know how to help other children

In this extract the older children report enjoying being able to help others, as can be seen in turns 16, 17 and 18. Group work at the club gave children more opportunities to collaborate, and to put into practice their expectations. As a result, it has been rare in the club to find children writing, reading, or playing alone, except during journal writing. This means that children are positioned as resourceful, knowledgeable, and skilled in helping each other in learning. The idea of mixing grades 3, 4, 5 and 6 children, and getting them to teach each other is what I would call a radically different way of doing things. First, it is inclusive of children of different ages, and transgresses the dominant practice of separating children by age and grades in schooling. Secondly, it centres home and community socialisation practices, where younger children engage in play and learning with older siblings (Joseph et al. 2014).

Another aspect of this radical way of doing things is backgrounding the role of adults as teachers, and positioning children as teachers of each other. In turns, 7, 9 and 11, Zingisa and Olwethu, who were in Grade 3 during the time of the interview, upon being asked about how they felt about being mixed with Grade 4, 5 and 6 children responded, “I felt good because they help me with English. I did not know it”, “I felt good because I know how to read well in English and Xhosa. I don’t stammer”. This could mean that Olwethu has gained confidence in reading aloud, and that reading no longer gives him anxiety, a feeling which had previously led him to stammering. Zingisa and Olwethu, therefore, attest to mixed age-groups being beneficial to their learning, and to receiving help from the older learners, especially for learning English. These two learners were in Grade 3, and were still learning through the medium of isiXhosa, whereas Noni and Samkelo, two of the children in Grade 6, were in their third year of English medium education. Meanwhile, Samkelo, in turn 16, agrees with Olwethu, in turn 11, that he enjoys helping him to read in English. Noni emphasizes her ability to help others.

The STLC# third space offers fluidity in which children and facilitators could both be learners and teachers at the same time (Scherff, 2015). In this way, boundary crossing can be observed, where the facilitators release control and allow the children to become teachers. Figure 5.2 above demonstrates children taking over facilitation roles and teaching others. Figure 5.2a shows Siphokazi writing on the flipchart, leading the editing of a story with a friend. Figure 5.2b, shows Noni and Samkelo leading an editing session of the writing on the board. Here

we can observe children showing agency in becoming teachers, and enacting their expectation of helping each other, thus backgrounding the role of facilitators as the only teachers. Part of this collaborative role in learning presents itself in group activities as we can see in Figure 5.3 above, where children take control of group reading and group writing practices. In 5.3a, the children are reading the same page of a book. One child reads at a time, while others follow on their own pages, assisting, rather than correcting, each other when they struggle. In Figure 5.3b, we can see Noni being a scribe in a shared writing session, while the others tell her what to write, and watch and read what she writes. In the top right-hand corner of Figure 5.3b, an adult facilitator is present, yet is not taking over the children's collaborative work. She is in the background while the children are foregrounded in the activity, as captured by the image.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has analysed how the STLC# was co-constructed by both the children and the facilitators as an affective, social and linguistic third space. I have analysed three themes from the data to demonstrate this. First, the construction of the STLC# through languaging practices highlighted how both the children and the facilitators challenge the monolingual, monomodal and Anglonormative ideology that is pervasive in schooling by the use of their full linguistic repertoire in the shared writing of their expectations of the literacy club. Secondly, the construction of the STLC# as an affective space involved the children expressing that there needs to be a loving, compassionate, and caring environment. In sharing their experiences of home and school as learning spaces, they likened the school to a tsunami, and contrasted it with the loving, nurturing, and compassionate environment of the literacy club. Finally, the use of shared writing by the facilitators and the children for writing down expectations, as well as the children's call for helping one another and doing things collectively, constructed the STLC# as a space of collaboration, one that challenges the pervasive individualistic approach of schooling. I have argued that, as much as the children and facilitators have constructed the STLC# as an affective, social, and linguistic third space, the space has also constituted the children as bi/multilinguals who desire a warm, nurturing, and compassionate space that values and legitimises their sociocultural resources and positions them as knowledgeable and resourceful. In the next chapter I analyse the construction of the STLC# as a physical third space.

## Chapter 6: Co-construction of the STLC# as a physical third space

### Introduction

This chapter analyses how the STLC# has been co-constructed as a multilingual and multimodal physical third space. Physical third spaces differ from social third spaces in that they focus on physical spaces, such as home and school, and other out-of-school learning spaces, like playgrounds and libraries etc. To respond to the question of how a multilingual and multimodal third space is constructed, and to analyse the affordances of a multilingual and multimodal approach in an after-school literacy club, and how children respond to it, I draw on the discourses of third spaces discussed in Chapter 3, and on multimodal social semiotic analysis. I challenge and problematise the epistemological basis of rigid first space and second space binaries between home and school, and between in school and other out-of-school learning spaces.

First, using images as data, I present and describe the different physical learning spaces that STLC# members occupied, showing how children carry their sociocultural resources from one space to another, and how these resources can be capitalised on in each space to promote learning. The different spaces represent what Anzaldúa (1987:38) means when she says, “Wherever I go, I carry home on my back”. They also demonstrate to us that we enter new spaces with a baggage, or ‘virtual school bags,’ of experiences, knowledges, dispositions, and discourses from where we come from (Thomson & Hall, 2008) and in return, we carry the new experiences back. These spaces also represent what it means to draw on children’s prior experiences and knowledges in each of the spaces. Drawing on discourses of third spaces, I describe and analyse how the classroom, the playground, the library, and the theatre, as spaces originally designed exclusively for schooling, play, information seeking, and performing arts respectively, have been reorganised, and re-inhabited by STLC# members, and used in different, innovative, enriching, and transformative ways. I analyze the affordances that these physical spaces have for the language and literacy learning of bi/multilingual children, and how together they can enhance and shape children’s meaning making processes. I also analyze the various language and literacy practices valued and legitimized in these spaces.

## **Presentation and description of data**

Providing the children with conducive and enriching alternative physical spaces to engage with literacy required facilitators to think about where the club would take place regularly, and where the holiday programmes could be hosted. Establishing a literacy club that differs from the classroom required facilitators to transform the existing classroom space into a literacy club space. The school was a safer option for the children, but the setting up and organizing of the space for the club needed to be different from that of the ordinary physical arrangement of the classroom. Making the classrooms welcoming, homely, and cosy required material resources which the facilitators could not afford. They had no financial resources to buy warm blankets and cushions, as well as the reading, writing and art materials they were imagining the children would be using. Furthermore, though the few facilitators who started the club had strengths acquired in their teacher training in language and literacy, and in being teachers, they realised that they did not have all the expertise needed to provide for some of the children's expectations, such as drama, music, storytelling, and art. Even though they could see how to integrate some of these ideas in the literacy club, they recognised the value of artists working collaboratively with teachers, and arts as a field that children could also aspire to as they had already shown in their expectations as described in Chapter 5. I suggested appealing to my social media friends for donations and for facilitators. As can be seen in Figure 6.1 below, I wrote a post on my Facebook timeline in May 2015, asking for donations towards fleece blankets, cushions, and bean bags, and invited artists to join the club.

Figure 6.1: Appealing for donations of blankets and cushions for the club



Figure 6.1a The main post

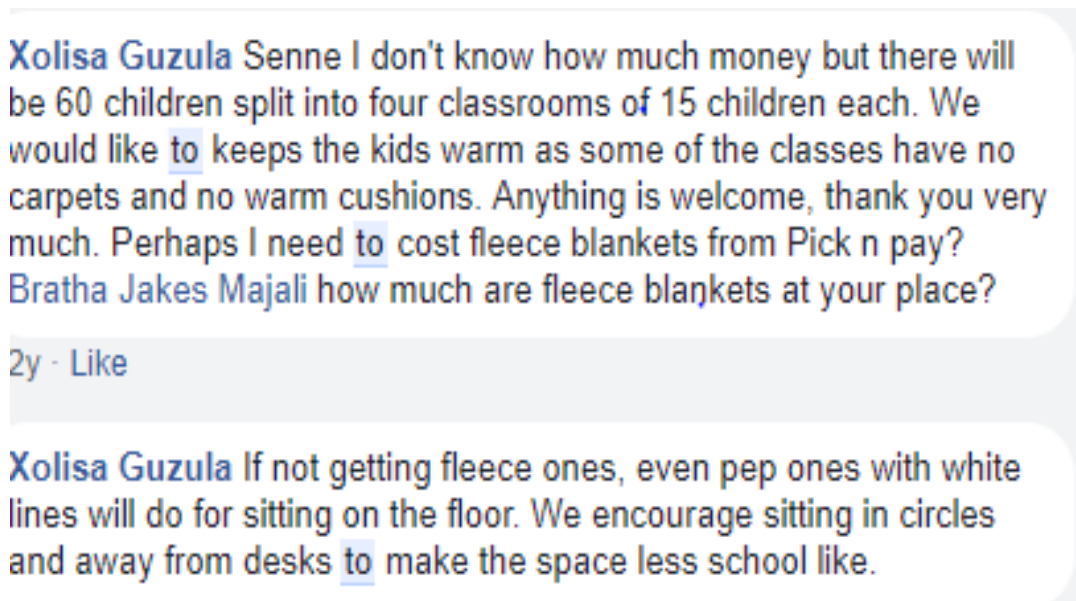


Figure 6.1b Inside thread in the post

My friends on Facebook responded positively by sending me money which I and fellow club facilitators used to buy the items we needed to keep children warm and comfortable. These included stationery and snacks. Below, I present photographs as data to demonstrate how the classroom, the playground, and the library were collectively redesigned and transformed into the STLC#.

*Transforming the classroom space into the STLC# space*

The photographs that follow show us how the children and the teacher Lola, as well as the rest of the literacy club facilitators, redesigned the classroom space, seeing that we ended up using one classroom instead of three as we initially planned, in preparation for the literacy club. Figure 6.2 below shows how Lola and the whole group of children organised and rearranged the classroom one afternoon while waiting for the rest of literacy club facilitators, including myself to arrive. The club was planned to start at 13h30 and finish at 15h30 on a Friday afternoon at Jabulani Primary School.

*Figure 6.2: classroom as redesigned by the children and the teacher*



On our arrival, the team of facilitators and I found the children and Lola having packed up the tables and stacked them against the wall of the classroom. The decision to do this was based on the facilitators' discussion before the start of the club: they had agreed that they did not want the children to experience the literacy club in the same way they experienced a normal classroom. Therefore, Lola, the children's teacher, who is one of the club facilitators, used her agency to work with the children to prepare the space for the club. The redesign of the classroom space was marked by the new seating arrangements. Thus, Lola and the children

reorganised the literacy club space differently from their normal classroom seating arrangement, which usually has tables facing the front in rows. The children and the teacher had moved the teacher's table further to the back and stacked the children's tables against the side walls of the room but not in front of the board. They pulled the carpet that was under the teacher's table at the back to the middle of the classroom and arranged the chairs around the edges of the carpet. Interestingly, this is how the children continued to arrange the classroom on Saturday mornings, because they always arrived first at school when we changed the club from Friday afternoon to Saturday mornings. They used their own agency to do this. If there were more children on any given literacy club day, and there was not enough space on the mat, the children and facilitators pulled the mat more towards the front and put chairs in a semi-rectangle around those sitting on a mat. This became the new seating arrangement for almost all the literacy club sessions. Thus, on that very first day of the meeting of the club, the 25<sup>th</sup> of July 2015, we found all 60 children sitting on the mat in the middle of the classroom.

Figure 6.3a below shows photographs taken on that first day, of the materials that had been donated to the literacy club, which outside of school facilitators brought after appealing to friends on Facebook.

*Figure 6.3: Bringing warm and cosy homely experience into the classroom*



*Figure 6.3a Blankets and cushions for comfort and stationery - 25 July 2016*



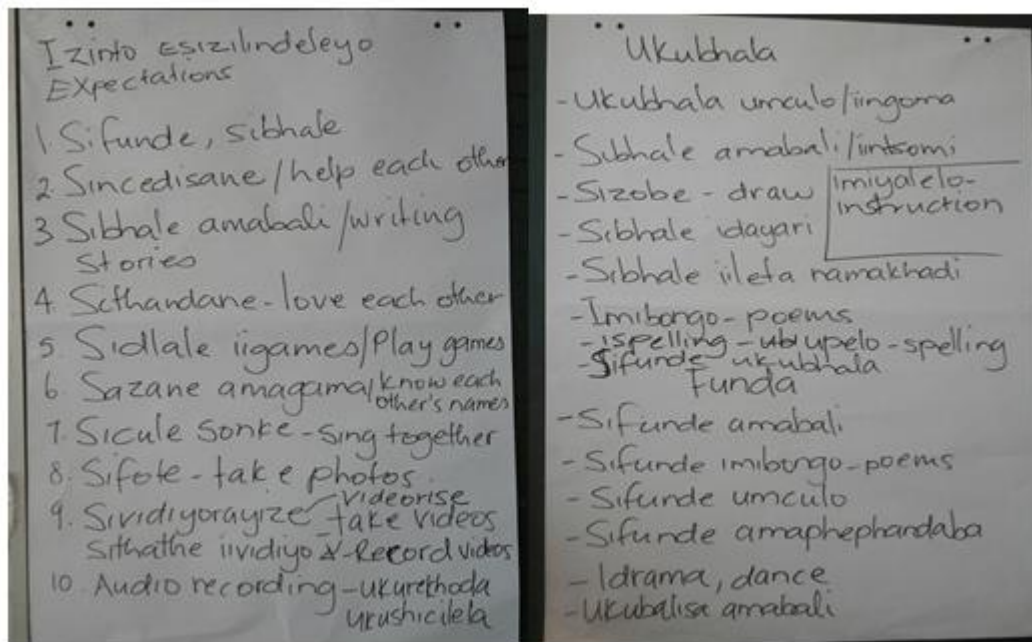
*Figure 6.3b Blankets in use 2016*

The materials that facilitators brought (Figure 6.3a) included stationery, paper, and art materials in the blue and yellow crate, fleece blankets in the plastic bag, and cushions. We informed the children that the materials had been donated to us. In the subsequent literacy club sessions, the children used the blankets, wrapping themselves up to keep warm, or they chose to sit on them. In this way, the children and the club facilitators seem to have integrated aspects of the home within a classroom setting, thus creating a new welcoming and comfortable space for learning, using the available resources.

#### *Transforming the playground into a learning space*

One of the first things we did, after showing the children what was donated to the club, was to discuss with them their expectations for the literacy club, as described in Chapter 5. As can be seen below in Figure 6.4, point 5 of the list was the wish to play games.

Figure 6.4: Expectations of the literacy club: 25 July 2015



To realise the children's expectation of playing games in the literacy club, facilitators decided to build a games session into the weekly literacy club programme. Through our experiences as teacher trainers, Marlene and I often heard teachers talking about how children can learn through play, yet we seldom observed play in the classrooms we visited. Thandiswa, my aunt, who is also one of the facilitators at the STLC#, and I remembered her receiving reports from school about how she played a lot at school rather than completing the 'real' schoolwork. It seemed that play and playing is often constructed as militating against serious schoolwork.

After we had read through the children's expectations, the facilitators discussed how they could explore and examine play-based learning in the literacy club in ways that would enable them to form a link between play and literacy learning. They therefore planned and built the literacy club programme from the list of expectations that the children had come up with. Thus, a literacy club day usually began with the children and facilitators playing games that involve singing, and call and response, also known as 'gamesongs' (Makina, 2009), or musical games (Harrop-Allin, 2014). These games involve movement, gestures, and language, and were played indoors or outdoors, depending on the weather and the types of games. Then facilitators would follow up with activities which include reading, writing, art, storytelling, and drama. During play, facilitators played together with the children, and the games were

introduced either by the children or by the facilitators. One of the songs and games that Lola and Thandiswa and I were familiar with from the clubs we had facilitated before this one, and which we introduced to the STLC# is a song called Ek soek vir Miranda (Ndifun'itshom'iyam/Looking for my friend), as well as a game called 'The Lion Hunt' which I transcribe and analyse later in Chapter 7. The Lion Hunt game draws on the rhyming text of David Axtell's (2007) children's book, 'We're going on a Lion Hunt' and Michael Rosen and Helen Oxenbury's (1997) well-known children's picture book 'We're going on a Bear hunt'. The game is a call and response format with action movements. The words get repeated in the second and third parts with grass being replaced by mud, and mud being replaced by a cave (see Extract 7.9 in chapter 7). Figure 6.5a below shows an example of children and facilitators playing outdoors, and Figure 6.5b shows how facilitators used the Lion Hunt game, for teaching critical literacy and transformed it into a literacy discussion in the classroom. The comment on the board is feedback from a discussion with the children, which I scribed on the board (I analyse this activity in Chapter 7). This happened with many other games the facilitators played with the children.

*Figure 6.5: The playground as a space for playing game-songs and for learning*



*Figure 6.5a Gamesongs outside the classroom*

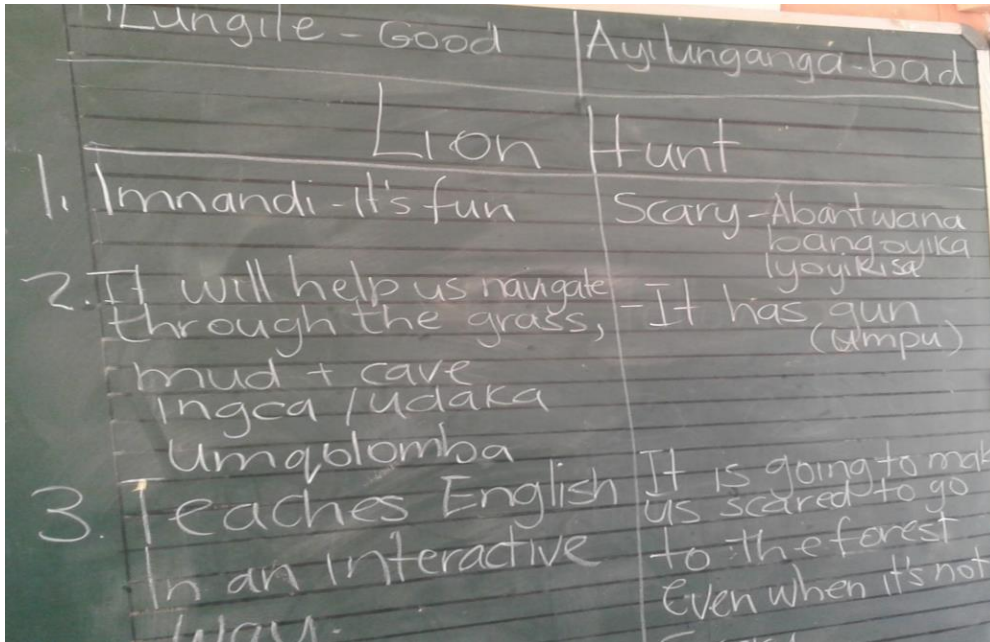


Figure 6.5b Using the Lion Hunt game for teaching inside the classroom

Thus, sometimes, some of the literacy aspects, such as reading and writing, which normally happen inside classrooms, took place outside, in the playground, as can be seen in Figure 6.6a and 6.6b below.

Figure 6.6: The playground as an outdoor classroom



Figure 6.6a Group writing outside, against the school wall



*Figure 6.6b Boys doing paired reading in the playground*

Children at the literacy club work together in a large group for storytelling, read-alouds, and circle or line games. They work in small groups (Figure 6.6a) or in pairs (Figure 6.6b) for writing, making art, and reading. Occasionally they have worked individually on their journal writing, letter writing and in writing wishing cards.

#### *Transforming library space into both a playroom and a classroom*

During school holidays children at the STLC# got opportunities to visit a local library for three days of intensive reading, writing, storytelling, games, drama, songs, and art activities, what we called a holiday club/programme. Many children in Khayelitsha do not get a chance to visit libraries because they live far away from these and would have to pay a taxi fare to travel there. Facilitators made libraries accessible by organising holiday programmes that take place in the library. Organising the holiday programme required permissions from parents and the school, lunch for the children, and transport between their school and the library. It also involved inviting performing artists (storytelling, drama, music) and visual artists as well as sourcing books that can be taken to the library, as the library had a small range of children's literature in isiXhosa or other African languages or bilingual books. Though the library did not

have many of the books which suited our needs, as one of the newest libraries in Khayelitsha, it has plenty of underutilised space. It has a huge Early Childhood Development space at the back to be used by local early childhood centres. It also has an audio-visual section for children to watch children’s programmes including storytelling, and story reading, and has furniture designed as a train that children enjoy hopping into while reading books (see Figure 6.7 below).

*Figure 6.7: Reading in a train at the library*



The library includes a room with a toy library and has toilets and washing facilities for the little ones. It also has a gently sloped auditorium-like space downstairs, a space with cushions, a reading tree upstairs, and soft toys that represent characters in books, for example, ‘The Hungry Caterpillar’. Newly built structures like this library can be underutilised, especially if librarians see their role as only issuing books and helping with information seeking. Thus, by using the library, the literacy club was exploring new ways in which libraries can be utilised for young children. During a holiday programme, the children continue with their familiar STLC# routine, which includes songs and games, inside the library. Figure 6.8a below shows

children playing their usual game-songs inside the library, while Figure 6.8b shows Marlene doing one of the classroom literacy activities in the library, in this case, shared writing.

*Figure 6.8: The library as a playroom and a classroom*



*Figure 6.8a playing games inside the library*



*Figure 6.8b Marlene, teaching writing through shared writing in the library*

*Theatre as a learning space*

In Figure 6.9a below, we see children visiting the Fringe Festival at the Cape Town City Hall, to watch a play called 'How stories began'. In Figure 6.9b, the children were invited to the Jungle Theatre production in the Cape Town Company Gardens, where they watched a play performed through music and body movement.

*Figure 6.9: Literacy Club Trips*



*Figure 6.9a - How stories began: Fringe Festival*



Figure 6.9b Trip to the Jungle Theatre

We felt that it important to expose children to theatre because they said they wanted to do drama at the literacy club. Exposing them to theatre could enhance and shape their dramatic skills and grow their love for plays. In fact, we discovered that one of the 11-year-old boys in the club, Phelo, had acted in a play called “A Man of Good Hope”, which used a lot of music, song, and movement, and during the fieldwork period had travelled to England and the USA with an opera group. He became a role model and inspired others. In the focus group interview in November 2016, children shared that they had read up to 325 pages of the book *A Man of Good Hope* by Jonny Steinberg on which the play was based, a book that would require quite a high level of literacy for children, especially emergent bilinguals. The children were competing with each other for how many pages of the book they had read!

### **Analysing physical third spaces: Affordances and constraints**

In section one above, I have presented and described how the children in the STLC# were exposed to literacy across different physical spaces, such as the classroom, the playground, the library, and theatre. In this section, I draw on the discourses of third spaces to analyse how these physical spaces were dynamically transformed to accommodate the literacy club, and how the club capitalised on these spaces to legitimise children’s multilingual and

multimodal repertoires. In Chapter 3 I argued that third spaces in education are capitalised on as flexible, dynamic, and shifting spaces that enable multiple perspectives; as hybrid spaces; as discursive and linguistic spaces; as bridging/mediational spaces; as navigational spaces, and as spaces for cultural, social, and epistemological change. In analyzing how these discourses radically challenge the way we think about physical spaces in education, I integrate multimodal social semiotic analysis within each discourse to analyse the potentialities and the constraints of each of the spaces in which the club operated, as well as the ways in which the affordances of all these material spaces combined in shaping the STLC# children's meaning making.

*Third spaces as flexible, dynamic, and shifting spaces that enable multiple perspectives*

Drawing on the discourse of third spaces as open, flexible, dynamic, and shifting spaces that enable multiple perspectives, I analyse how the literacy club as a third space was constructed as a learning space that shifted flexibly and dynamically within the classroom, and across the classroom space, the playground, and the library, rather than being fixed in one physical space. I highlight how participants demonstrated openness and flexibility in how they think about space, thus developing new perspectives about learning spaces. As mentioned above, the idea of creating a non-school-like space that I wrote about in a Facebook post (Fig 6.1) was taken up by Lola and the children. This is the reason we found a different set up of the classroom when we are arrived at the first STLC# session.

The affordances of the redesigned classroom arrangement are as follows: first, the chairs arranged at the edges of the mat are used for additional children, and to provide the children with the option of sitting on the chair if they do not want to sit on the mat, thus giving the children flexibility of movement and comfort. It is interesting to note that the teacher's high table is not included in the redesign of the space. It is left at the back of the classroom, and in the same way, the children's tables are moved to the side. Tables and chairs together portray a picture of the classroom that is more formal and rigid, as opposed to a mat and chairs which show an informal seating arrangement. Thus, the redesign of the STLC# by the children and facilitator of the seating arrangement away from that of tables and chairs facing the board in rows, symbolises the club as different from an ordinary township school classroom.

Secondly, the newly created alternative seating arrangement around the mat provides children with different options for movement compared to the absence of options or flexibility afforded by rows of tables. Freedom to move between the mat and the chairs is important in that the children do not feel confined as they were before by being fixed to their tables. The children can move forwards or backwards by pushing the chairs away from the mat. The mat can also be easily shifted closer to the board to allow more children to join us from the back as they enter the classroom, or to help children who have sight challenges to see what is being written on the board. With this arrangement, children are able to be closer to the facilitators and to each other, as well as closer to the board. Thirdly, this sitting around the mat in the way shown in Figure 6.3b is a relevant and familiar African way of seating to the children. The mat is a modern version of a reed mat that African people often use, especially in rural areas, and also in urban areas during ceremonies. Reed mats are part of the children's lived experience and African way of life, which got disrupted through the arrival of modern mats, tables, and chairs. In some cases, even when there are tables and chairs in a room, children choose to sit on the mats or get asked to sit on the mat, if there is not enough space at the table or couch. Sitting on a mat also resembles the old African tradition of children sitting around the fire while listening to adults or older siblings sharing stories with them. Furthermore, in this tradition, it resembles the seating arrangement of women on reed mats next to the big bundle of wood that has been collected for making the fire for cooking, and a place where women sit during social or community events, such as ceremonies. In modern day rural and urban settings, this seating arrangement also resembles families sitting on the couch and children on the mat while watching television. The mat is where the magic of the story, singing and drama, and games are performed. It resembles a stage or platform for a different kind of educational performance than that which children are used to in classrooms. It also brings them closer to the door for ease of going out to the toilet without having to ask for permission to leave the space. Furthermore, it makes it easy to keep eye contact or gaze, and to keep the children focused on the activity in progress.

Soja (1996:5) describes third spaces "as spaces of extra-ordinary openness, a place of critical exchange where geographical imagination can be expanded to encompass multiplicity of perspectives that have heretofore been considered by epistemological referees to be

incompatible, uncombinable.” Thus, the combination of a home-like environment and a school like environment transcends the home-school binaries and opens flexible and dynamic ways of thinking about space, its appearance, and meanings. Many schools serving children from poor socio-economic backgrounds do not have mats in the early years classrooms, or where they do have mats, these are too small for the large number of children in the class. In overcrowded classrooms it becomes impossible to fit all the children on the mat; hence teachers often move it under their own tables. It seems, however that the children are reclaiming for themselves the mat, which is often placed under the teacher’s table and reserved for the teacher’s comfort, or the teacher is also making the mat available for use of the club as we create a new space.

The classroom as a physical space was valuable to the literacy club because it not only provided us with a room to meet in, to keep warm during the winter months, for storing literacy club materials and books, but also for keeping facilitators and children safe from criminal activities in the community. One of the affordances of the classroom as a learning space is that it provides tools for writing, such as the board and chalk. Though writing on the board is not an ideal way of keeping records of written work, as the writing must be erased before a new text is written on it, it is an available resource that the club can use for free, as flip chart paper and kokis cost money. It is also an available space on which flip chart paper can be pasted temporarily if used, and in case we want to keep the teacher’s work from the previous week safe. As mentioned above, on the day we started the literacy club, we planned to document the children’s expectations about what they wanted to learn and do in the club so that facilitators could have these as a reference for planning the programme: we saw it as important for the facilitators to base the club’s activities on the children’s interests.

To document the children’s expectations, and to later write thank you letters to those who had donated the stationery and blankets, on the first day of the literacy club I suggested that the children and the facilitators should move closer to the board. The choice to write on flipchart paper pasted on the board was based on two reasons. The first was to keep a record of written work we could build on for future work in the club, and the second was for research purposes: to keep a record of written texts jointly constructed with children. The facilitators had planned that one of the ways they were going to model collective and collaborative work

for the children, especially around the written work, was to use shared writing (see detailed description in Chapter 5). The children were called to come closer to the board for all of them to see this text being collaboratively written, and this is something that facilitators had to do for many of the literacy club sessions.

*Figure 6.10a: Shifting closer to the board: Preparing to start shared writing*



*Figure 6.10b Shared writing with children sitting closer to the board*



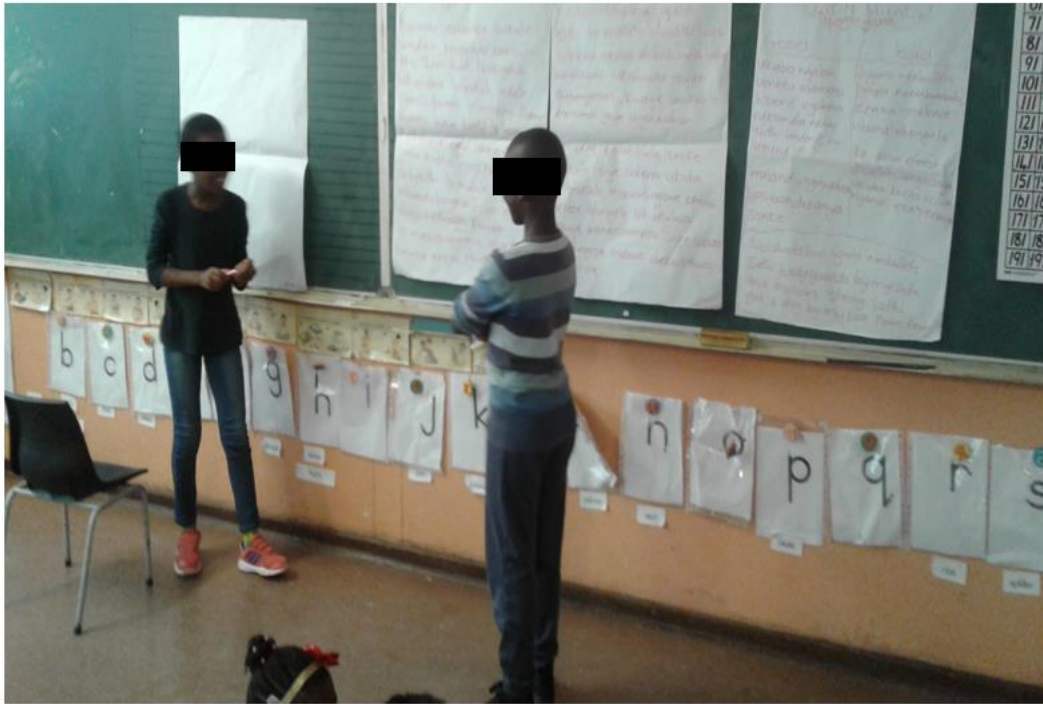
Thus, by suggesting that the mat must be pulled towards the board, I added my own teacher training ideas to those already actualised by the children and Lola, and by moving the mat and chairs towards the board, she enabled easier mobility inside the classroom than was the case when the children sat in rigidly spaced rows at the tables.

Since not all of the children managed to fit on the mat, it was decided that some could sit on chairs behind those sitting on the mat, thus once again using the available resources flexibly and strategically, rather than expecting homogeneity and sameness in the space. However, as facilitators had to resort to using the board whenever they needed to demonstrate writing to the children, this had an impact on how they positioned themselves in relation to the children. Sometimes they positioned themselves as typical teachers, doing the writing standing in front of the board, and sometimes they positioned themselves as facilitators by interacting with children in unconventional ways. The use of a moveable flip chart board could minimise the kind of teaching role which would make the club more like the classroom. By using the flip board the facilitator would not be forced to stand but could write while sitting to maintain the same height as the children. To minimise the traditional formal teacher role amongst facilitators, the facilitators decided to position the children as teachers as well. The photos below show how the children willingly took on the facilitator role by also demonstrating and leading writing activities on the board.

*Figure 6.11: Children leading editing of jointly written texts*



*Figure 6.11a Siphokazi (Grade 5) and Thandeka (Grade 6) leading the editing of a jointly written text*



*Figure 6.11b Noni (Grade 6) and Samkelo (Grade 6) leading the editing process*

In addition, there was a hybrid mix of seating arrangements, including sitting at the tables in the same classroom. This was because different activities, such as writing and art require different seating arrangements, as shown in Figure 6.10b, and this requires flexibility. Thus, the literacy club not only shifted flexibly and dynamically within the classroom, but also shifted in the pedagogical approach from one which centres the adult, to one which centres the children, thus positioning them both as knowledgeable and as teachers. It also shifted from whole group work to smaller group work, pair work, and individual work, with the children choosing appropriate workspaces for the activities they were engaged in.

Figure 6.12: Strategic use of chairs and tables



Figure 6.12a Children sitting closer to the board for shared writing



*Figure 6.12b art and writing at the tables*

Sometimes, as we can see in Figure 12a above, the children would leave the mat altogether, and pull their chairs closer to the board. The chairs are also preferred by some children. Once the club shifted to Saturdays, the children did not have to wear uniforms and so, to protect their precious clothes and keep themselves clean, they preferred sitting on the chairs. Chairs also accommodated more of those children who could not fit on the mat, as seen in Figure 6.10 above, but on the days when there are fewer children, chairs were not necessary. Thus, there is a good deal of fluidity in children's movements between the floor, the chairs, and the tables. These varied seating arrangements mark the differences between how the children interact, move, and relate to one another how they would in a formal, rigidly arranged classroom, as well as establishing the kind of space with which children associate the literacy practices of the club. We can see that the original classroom is not dismissed entirely but is turned into a creative process of redesign that draws selectively and strategically from the

two opposing categories of the school and home, and opens a new and alternative way of doing (Soja, 1996). The facilitators and children sitting at the same level, and together, on the mat or on the chairs, together with the children's engagement in the structuring of the space, therefore, challenges the asymmetries of power and participation between themselves and facilitators. Thus, this, in turn, brings about democratic practices in the space. It also disrupts space from fixity to being constantly shifting and flexible.

### *Third Spaces as hybrid spaces*

Another way of minimising the pedagogisation of literacy has been the exposure of children to learning spaces that provide different affordances to those of the classroom. The use of ethnographic data collection methods has made it possible for me to observe the shifting nature of learning environments, a process which includes not only shifts between sitting on tables, chairs, and the mat, but also shifts between indoors and outdoors, thus creating hybrid learning spaces. One could add to the above extract, 'outside of classroom contexts'. Figures 6.5, 6.6, 6.7, 6.8, and 6.9 shown above, describe the playground, the library, and theatre as the other physical learning spaces within which the club operated. I first analyse the playground as a learning space and follow this by analysing the library and theatre as learning spaces. Lastly, I analyse the potential of these spaces for, and constraints on, children's meaning making.

### *The playground and the classroom as learning spaces*

As an issue closely related to the physical aspects of space, it is important to analyse the repertoire of practices that spaces like the playground allow and legitimise. Gamesongs or musical play, and call and response games, are based on a ring, a circle, or a line; during play performances the children are either standing, sitting, stooping, or dancing in a circle or line Abarry (1989). This is an important aspect of what the playground affords children which is different to what the classroom offers: it is more spacious than the classroom and is without furniture. Although some improvisations can be made in the classroom, as I have shown above, the playground space can expand and contract and shift according to the nature of the

game being played much more flexibly than the classroom space. Abarry (1989) argues that 'playground' is synonymous to the 'stage' and means more than a mere place for playing. One of the educational principles underpinning how young children learn is that children learn through play (Heath, 1995). Thus, in the playground, play and learning are brought together rather than seen as two opposing activities, and this challenges the notion that the classroom is the exclusive learning space. The dynamic use of both the playground and the classroom therefore provides different, and yet mutually reinforcing, spaces for learning.

It has been argued that many adults, including teachers, do not pay attention to children's games. While teachers might supervise in the playground, they do not necessarily participate in children's games, nor do they use them for teaching in the classroom. This can create a dislocation between children's daily life and classroom life (Harrop-Allin, 2014). Harrop-Allin argues that the diminishing of play between first and third generation adults and the children she studied means that both adults and children in the family were being increasingly robbed of spaces for co-creation of shared play engagements, and of maintaining the rhetoric of play as identity. One of the radical ways in which the playground as occupied by STLC# members challenges binaries in education is the fact that play involves the participation of children of different ages, and adult facilitators with different knowledges, skills, and experiences that can be harnessed to enhance and shape children's learning. The multi-age composition of play challenges ageism and encourages intergenerational interaction and transmission of values, knowledge, and sociocultural resources. It helps teachers and adults to observe children at play, with the understanding that children learn informally through play, and with the aim of harnessing play as a pedagogical tool.

Young bi/multilingual children observe and engage with the games together with older and developing bilinguals of the upper grades and get presented with opportunities for informal language acquisition in the playground, and experience formal language learning once the games are brought indoors for overt instruction. The literacy club's differently skilled and knowledgeable facilitators also challenge the notion that knowledge only lies with the teacher. Thus, during the STLC# sessions both the playground and the classroom as physical third spaces are occupied by this hybrid mix of people, and this distinguishes the club from the way school is set up, with same age children in classes, and the teacher as the only

knowledgeable and experienced adult. Thus, by insisting, in their expectations, on the incorporation of games into the literacy club, the children were challenging the adults to listen to them, get to know what interests them, and to build literacy learning on their interests rather than imposing what adults think is appropriate for them. They were asking facilitators to reckon with play more than they have ever done, thus disrupting not only the literacy pedagogy that is solely book and written language based, but also positioning themselves as knowers and active participants in the co-creation of the literacy club programme.

*The library as an alternative learning space, a playroom, and a classroom*

Figure 6.7a above demonstrates children playing one of their multimodal games, involving movement, bodies, and oral language in the library. The fact that facilitators and the children can sing and play and talk loudly shows a radical shift in how the library is being re-organised and used. In this way, for the children the library is not only a space for quiet individual work. On the contrary, learning happens through social interaction in the form of games and discussions. This radical shift transgresses the norms of library use and changes the terms of engagement inside the library. Children can be themselves, bringing their playful beings and voices into the space. Teachers and facilitators show less monitoring of behaviour than they would in the classroom or with children in a library, and they too, join the children in these games as has been argued above.

Figure 6.7b on the other hand, demonstrates how the library can be used as a more formal teaching space. In the picture, we see Marlene, one of the facilitators, doing shared writing with the children on two large pieces of flipchart paper (for a detailed analysis, see chapter 7). The children are sitting in a semi-circle in front of her dictating to her what she should write. As shown above, shared writing is a regular classroom practice for early literacy teachers, but this time it is not confined inside the walls of the classroom. Thus, the library is used flexibly, so that it is not only a space for information seeking, issuing of books, and quiet individual work, but space for collaborative play, formal and informal learning, and for teaching and learning. Facilitators and the children have used the different rooms in the library for art purposes as well. In comparison with the classroom, the library affords the club

large and separate spaces for spreading out while working, and for dividing activities such as playing, singing, reading, writing, and art, whereas at Jabulani Primary, only one classroom was opened for the club. The library also created the sense of an excursion for the children, and provided a different, warm, and nurturing environment from the classroom space at school. Finally, it exposed them to what is available in the library and what they can find and do when they become members of the library.

### *Theatre as a learning space*

The literacy club also made use of theatre as an implicit learning space, where there were no formal direct drama lessons. The children had expressed that they would like to do drama in the literacy club, and indeed one of the holiday programmes we designed for the children had role play built into it. It was not a surprise that the children had asked to do drama, because children engage in many drama performances in their daily lives, through spontaneous and imaginative play. Their skit performances are lived experiences of many black children across Africa. Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1987:37) explains that drama in precolonial African states was not an isolated event, but part and parcel of the rhythm of daily and seasonal life of the community. Ramugondo (2012) argues that games persist from generation to generation, and community events such as weddings, religious rituals, and public works are rich contexts for engagements with play. Games challenge the conceptualisation of language and literacy as only written language, challenging in particular the phonological and grammar aspects of literacy to the exclusion of non-linguistic aspects of communication, and any analysis that focuses exclusively on language. Stein (2008:37) also argues that, in studies of performing arts where storytelling forms a part, analysis of oral performance genres tends to focus predominantly on language as a dominant mode of communication in performance. Her study of children's meaning making recognises that oral performances are multimodal and multi semiotic communication ensembles in which language is only one of the modes for meaning making. Thus, while I am not engaging in an analysis of drama performance in this chapter, as I do in Chapter 7, I argue that visiting theatres was not only a way to expose children to formal theatre, but one of the ways to extend and enhance the children's already existing ideas of their street theatres or drama performances, and a way of shaping their meaning making in the literacy club.

There are many affordances of the theatre visits for children's meaning making. First, when children visit these spaces, they get to meet other children beyond their geographically segregated locations. They meet people and children of different races, languages, and cultures. Thus, these events become contact zones (Pratt, 1991) for children from various backgrounds and transcend the Apartheid geographical locations for Black, White, and Coloured people in Cape Town. Secondly, Apartheid ensured little access to high culture by Black people, positioning libraries and theatres in Whites-only areas as well as prohibiting legitimate access and use of these for 'non-Whites', thus restricting Black people to street theatre. Post-Apartheid, while libraries are being built in all areas, theatres have not been built in townships. To access these spaces, children must travel from afar and they often need to pay for transport. As a result, many never get to visit these spaces unless there is an organisation working in their schools that can subsidize the trips. Thus, the literacy club exposed the children to theatre spaces by fundraising for their trips or organising for free transport. Thirdly, theatre is a space where the children can be immersed in plays to realise one of their expectations of doing drama as shown in Figure 6.4 above. In a theatre they can experience stories told and performed by experienced actors through another mode, and these actors might become their role models for their own drama performances in and outside of the club. They can observe different ways of doing, and ideas about how they could improvise in the club when they direct and perform their own plays. Also, by travelling to theatres, children can draw a link between what they learn and do at the literacy club, and life outside the club. They get to understand that they could be performers of the stories that we tell, read, write, draw, and play at the literacy club in a more 'professional' way, as Phelo had done when he participated in 'A Man of Good Hope'. They learn about the stage, lighting, sound effects, and body movements and their effects on stage, through their senses rather than by being told, or educated, about theatre in the classroom.

### *Affordances of hybrid learning spaces for meaning making*

The act of integrating home and school practices and school-playground practices, library-play and learning practices and experiences, as well as experiences with theatre, creates a hybrid space for learning that helps children to find continuity and make connections between home and school, home and the library, school and the library, and theatre experiences with literature. It builds the children's background knowledge and conceptualises background knowledge, not as a list of activities they know about, but as tied to their sociocultural worlds. By exposing the children to these spaces, the club extends children's socio-cultural worlds beyond those of the home and school. Mobility between these spaces broadens children's conceptualisation of literacy, and creates memories, experiences, and histories with literacy that will inform their future learning. Through the literacy club, both the facilitators and the children re-enter the school and the classroom on different terms. This makes it possible for the children to re-enter their home domain within a school setting (Pahl & Kelley, 2005), meaning that for these children there is continuity between home and school, rather than their leaving home knowledges and experiences at the school gates as they enter the school.

The integration of elements of the home and playground within a classroom setting points us to the value of building home-school, inside school and outside-school connections that build on the families' and community's funds of knowledge (Manyak & Dantas, 2010; Moll, et al., 1992). Manyak and Dantas use the concept of permeability to capture the hybridity that I have just described and argue that

Permeable classrooms do not abandon the teaching of traditional school subjects and the skills that they incorporate. However, when constructing permeable curricula and instructional activities, teachers find ways to incorporate, build on, and extend children's diverse experiences and learning resources. (2010:12)

Thus, the literacy club as a third space demonstrates how learning resources from home, such as those the children use to transform characters by making their own dolls, the musical games, and play can be incorporated in a school setting for the children to appreciate the

interconnectedness of literacy practices across different physical sites such as the home, the library, and the playground (Pahl & Allan, 2011). In this way, the STLC# becomes an example of one of the ways in which school space, particularly the classroom, can be re-inhabited in ways that value both out-of-school and school knowledges, practices, and experiences, instead of devaluing children's experiences. The Covid-19 pandemic has not only challenged us to think differently about learning spaces, but forced us to reimagine, act, and rapidly, with little prior warning or time in which to do so, to innovate, create, and use different learning spaces and to think about how to build connections between these different spaces.

#### *How construction of physical third spaces enables epistemological change*

While at the outset the aim of bringing game-songs to the literacy club was to respond to children's wishes for playing games, it was also primarily about integrating the child's social environment and culture into the learning space. It has been shown that the South African education system, and education in Africa more generally, has for a long time marginalised indigenous peoples' and even urban township children's socio-cultural resources in the form of play, oral verse, games, music and songs, and knowledge (Tracy, 1974; Abarry, 1989; Makina, 2009; Nompula, 2011; Harrop-Allin, 2014). Ramugondo (2012) argues that games diminished in frequency as Christianity and schooling became instrumental in the undermining of the indigenous games of homes and families. Thus church, school, and homes have come to play a lesser role in providing for structured play for children and have created discontinuity between first and third generation games played by grandparents and their grandchildren. To close this generational gap, Ramugondo argues for the creation of opportunities for co-creation of games played by both children and adults. The STLC# therefore, provides a space for such collaboration between adults and young children in co-creating games, and building on both their older and newer experiences with games.

The STLC# showed that literacy could be taken out of the classroom to the playground and back, and to the library, that storytelling, drama, art, games, and songs could be incorporated, together with the fact that collaborative work was always encouraged, even for reading and writing. This points to epistemological changes in the way we think about literacy. Hall (1998) argues that the schooled literacy presented by education policy makers and curriculum

designers as the only legitimate and worthwhile form of literacy, is in fact only one type of literacy. This type of literacy, like other types, is rooted in social and cultural meanings and ideologies. He therefore accuses schools of taking on an autonomous model of literacy which treats literacy as a neutral object to be studied. As argued by Street (1993), schools engage in the pedagogisation of autonomous literacy mainly by separating language and literacy from real life purposes, and by privileging certain forms of written language. Therefore, Hall adopts the ideological model of literacy (Street, 1993), according to which literacy is embedded in social practices, as a way of challenging the pedagogisation of literacy. Dyson (2010), on the other hand, challenges the individualistic ideology of literacy, which is currently dominating literacy instruction at school, especially in schools that serve children from poor socio-economic contexts. This individualistic ideology views writing, for example, as the mastering of basic skills, and creating a skill for self-expression, and regards copying or discussion as “avoiding thinking for oneself” (18). She suggests an ideology of composing, which views writing as taking part in complex participatory dynamics. Thus, in Figure 6.6 above we see children reading and writing outside of the classroom. In some cases, the children read in the library during the times we had holiday programmes. In a focus group interview with the children, they reported that they read at home, and were very eager to report on where they were in Johnny Steinberg’s book, ‘A man of Good Hope’.

Thus, by encouraging reading and writing outside of the classroom space, the literacy club takes a different perspective on literacy to that of the traditional formal approach. First, the children have a choice to engage with literacy inside or outside of the classroom. Secondly, they have a choice to read and write with friends, in pairs, in groups or alone. Furthermore, they can choose what they want to read and write and in whatever language/s they prefer. By doing this, the club disrupts the dominant perspectives of literacy that pedagogise reading and writing. But, as we will see in Chapter 7, with the overt instruction of critical literacy using the Lion Hunt game, and the many other instances where the facilitators guided children’s writing by composing with them, especially through shared writing, the literacy club does not privilege either an autonomous model of literacy or the ideological model of literacy. It also does not privilege either individual or social approaches to literacy, but capitalises on to enhance children’s meaning making processes, thus creating a third space in the way suggested by Wilson (2000). Hall (1998) and Dyson (2010) argue that teachers should guide

children's literacy learning but should simultaneously create opportunities for children to appropriate literacy in ways that make sense to them in their own worlds. In this way, teachers can help children to navigate school literacy by building on their experiences and interests. By bringing together these hybrid language and literacy practices in the hybrid physical spaces in which the literacy club operates, teachers and facilitators can disrupt binaries in language and literacy learning, and help to influence, shape, and enhance children's meaning making.

### *Third spaces as bridging/navigational spaces*

By bringing games from the playground into the classroom, I, together with the rest of the facilitators demonstrate how content, ideas, and experiences travel from one physical space to another, forming a bridge between out of classroom knowledges and inside classroom knowledge. We were also able to allow the children to use their semiotic repertoire in a discussion, rather than insisting on the use of one named language (see the discussion in Chapter 7). Thus, the classroom in which STLC# took place became a place of openness to games, to hybrid language practices, and to hybrid pedagogical resources all of which were intended to enhance meaning making. The classroom and the playground became mutually reinforcing rather than operating in silos. They both became learning spaces for the children in ways that could become memorable through play. Sometimes play took place in the classroom, thus turning the classroom into a playground. Joseph et al., (2014) argues that when children play together, especially children of different age groups, the older children serve as collective mediators and historical agents, transmitting their games, without adult intervention, in what Rogoff (in Joseph et al., 2014) terms, "guided participation". They also argue that ethnographic studies of play show that games are historical and contribute broadly to the finding that communities of children have a stronger agency in the shaping of their own games, and in the transmission of games across time, than previously thought. I argue though, that, by playing with children, and also by observing children's games, adults can learn a lot about how to build instruction for children's play. I also argue that adults, like teenagers, can contribute to children's language acquisition, to the transmission and co-creation of game songs with children, to preservation and use of old games, and to the introduction of new

global and local games. This could serve to help children navigate language learning and literacy learning in the classroom.

## **Conclusion**

I have shown above how the STLC# as a third space integrates and connects children's engagement and experiences with literacy across different physical spaces, such as the classroom, the playground, the library, and theatre. It positions these different spaces, not as hierarchical in terms of first and second spaces, but instead shows how learners can navigate these spaces flexibly while making connections between the learning they achieve in these spaces. The use of school space for the club not only creates bridges between the first and second spaces of home and school, but offers something more, a third element which combines and transcends the boundaries between these. The STLC# offers children opportunities not only for travelling but also for accessing the library, theatre, and festivals beyond the Saturday club sessions. These places become new learning spaces for them as well as contact zones where they meet people from diverse backgrounds, with different knowledges, ideas, and skillsets. They also provide exposure to a larger world beyond their immediate area in the township, and beyond their township. These spaces become learning spaces beyond the confines of their homes and classrooms.

The dynamic and flexible shifts within and between learning spaces highlight the value and affordances, and the constraints of each material space for children's meaning making processes. I have shown that learning opportunities do not lie only in the school classroom space, but that various spaces offer different kinds of information, resources, and learning experiences. The shifts between indoors and outdoors capitalise on the different learning experiences being generated in each of the spaces. They also offer different tools that can be used strategically for teaching and learning purposes. Thus, by integrating the children's socio-cultural resources in the form of game songs and school, for example, the facilitators create third space practices that bring about different knowledges and discourses. This is a political act for ensuring cultural, social, and epistemological change, where the competing knowledges of the school, home, and community challenge and reshape both academic and everyday knowledge (Barton, Tan, & Rivet, 2008). In fact, the shifts between and within

different learning spaces challenge what are currently designated as legitimate places and spaces for learning, and generate new heterogeneous and hybrid knowledges, practices, and experiences. I argue that the creation of third spaces is a political, social, and practical act that centres the typical African language speaking child who has for so long been invisible in South African educational policy.

## Chapter 7: The Construction of the STLC# as a pedagogical third space

### Introduction

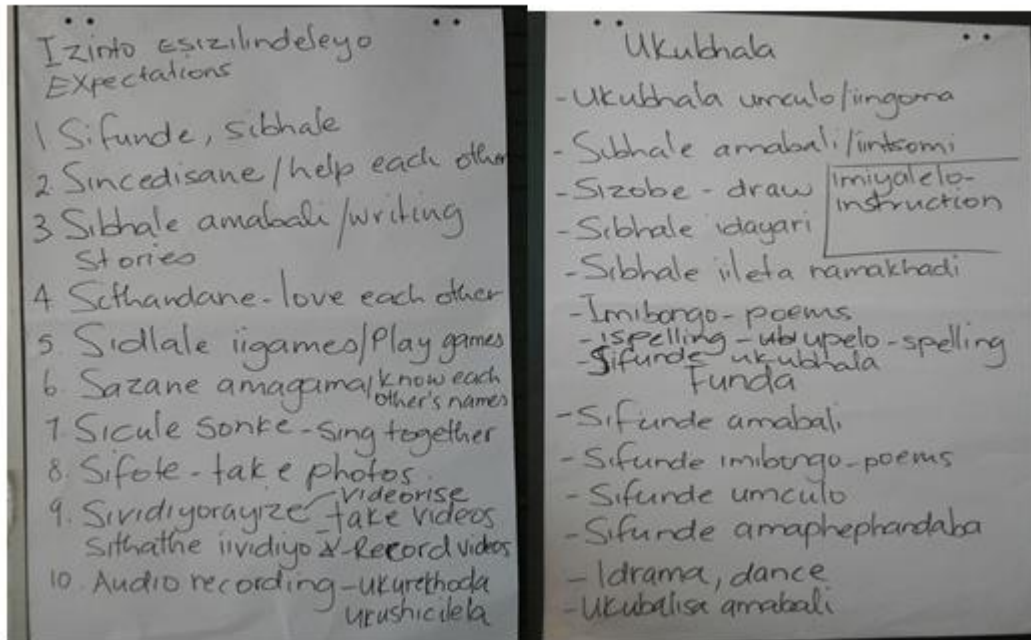
This chapter focuses on the co-construction of the STLC# as a bi/multilingual and multimodal pedagogical third space. A pedagogical third space, in the sense that I am using it, differs from social and physical third spaces discussed and analysed in chapters 5 and 6, in that pedagogical spaces are about how we view or conceptualise language and literacy learning and teaching. Pedagogical third spaces challenge opposing views of what counts as language and literacy. For example, they disrupt and transcend the binaries between named languages, between autonomous and ideological models of literacy, and between modes of communication. They also include aspects of the affective, social, and linguistic third spaces, and aspects of physical spaces.

This chapter is divided into three parts. In part one, to respond to the question of how a bi/multilingual pedagogic third space is co-constructed in an after-school literacy club, I draw on the process of the planning for language and activities by the facilitators for the 5-7 October 2015 three-day holiday programme. In the process I show how the STLC# was collectively constructed as a pedagogical third space. In part two, I analyse the children's desire for songs, storytelling, drawing, and drama, as expressed in their expectations. I analyse the realisation of these as planned activities for the holiday programme in order to respond to the question of how a multimodal third space is co-constructed, and the question of what the affordances of a multimodal approach to language and literacy learning are in an out-of-school literacy club. I then analyse the affordances of a combination of multilingual and multimodal repertoires for children's meaning making and argue that this combination of multilingual and multimodal repertoires creates a pedagogical third space. In part three, based on these analyses, I analyse how a particular child advocates for a multilingual and multimodal approach through her perspective.

Below I revisit, and again present the data from the children's expectations as a reminder of the kinds of language and literacy activities that the children wanted to engage in at the STLC#. As mentioned in Chapters 5 and 6, the children's expectations revealed to us how they

wanted to engage with language and literacy in the literacy club, including the kinds of activities they wanted for this engagement.

Figure 7.1: Expectations for the literacy club-25 July 2015



While the expectations data in Figure 7.1 above were analysed in Chapters 5 and 6, they are also relevant in this chapter as the children's expectations offer us a window into what they think language and literacy learning entails. According to these expectations, literacy learning at the club should involve opportunities to read and write, play, record videos, read stories, read poems, do drama, dance, tell stories, learn to read and write, and to draw. In addition to these expectations, I present data on children's actual exposure to, their engagement with, and their experiences of, multimodal and multilingual literacy events in two literacy club holiday programmes. I have chosen to present this data to demonstrate how the club heeded, and to the extent to which it fulfilled, the children's expectations. I analysed this set of data in Chapter 5, in the club's programme of action. Extract 7.1 below shows the planning for the language activities to be included in the children's first holiday programme which took place in October 2015, during the 3<sup>rd</sup> term holidays. For both holiday programmes, the facilitators organised, in collaboration with the Harare Library in Khayelitsha, to host the three-day holiday programmes for three hours per day, from 09h00am to 12h00pm. The children were transported from Jabulani Primary to Harare Library by minibus taxi. In direct response to the

children’s call for a multimodal approach in their goal setting, or expectations, as shown in Figure 7.1 above, as well as their being inspired by multimodal literacies and biliteracy development, the facilitators organised the first holiday programme as follows:

*Extract 7.1- Language and activity planning for STLC#’s Holiday Programme One – 2015*

<p><b>Day 1</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Songs &amp; Games (isiXhosa, English, Afrikaans).</li> <li>- Storytelling: story of the boy and his drum in isiXhosa (I).</li> <li>- Shared writing of the retelling of the story in English - on flip chart with Marlene.</li> <li>- Discussion of the story – what children liked or did not like about the story, which character they liked the most, ways in which the story is similar or different in our lives, and who might the monster be in real life.</li> <li>- Children draw own monsters and show and discuss their monsters with a friend (all facilitators supervise).</li> </ul>
<p><b>Day 2</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Songs and games (isiXhosa, English, Afrikaans) (all facilitators).</li> <li>- Reading aloud of another monster story by Thandiwe in isiXhosa (Ummadipetsane).</li> <li>- Gallery walk with children looking at their artwork on display, and appreciating each other’s drawings.</li> <li>- Role play about monsters facilitated by Primrose. Children to decide on the kind of monster they want to be, based on the images on the walls. They act how big it is, what it eats, what it looks like, where it lives.</li> <li>- Review of yesterday’s story and discussion about how monsters have been portrayed in the stories told and read, in the artwork and in the role play.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Day 3</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Songs and games (isiXhosa, English, Afrikaans).</li> <li>- Shared writing of Miranda song from day 2 (Afrikaans, isiXhosa).</li> <li>- Origami with Kyoko (isiXhosa, English, Japanese and Afrikaans).</li> <li>- Reading of a story about monsters in English by Marlene.</li> <li>- Brainstorming by the children of a new story of the monster (who was the monster, how did it come to live in the forest, what is his story?).</li> <li>- Discussion of story-elements in isiXhosa and English.</li> <li>- Shared writing and reading of the story of Phelo, the monster (isiXhosa and English).</li> </ul>

Below I present a summary, or the bare bones, of the story of the boy and his drum that the children were exposed to on day one, and which they worked with in various ways throughout the holiday programme. One of the reasons for focussing on the story for this analysis is because it is the main isiXhosa oral literature text we worked with throughout the holiday programme, whereas songs and games could change spontaneously every day or be incorporated into the story.

*Figure 7.2: Summary of the story of the boy and his drum*

## Ideas for the Holiday Programme

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Harare Library: 5 - 7 October 2015

**Monday 5 October**

**WHOLE GROUP**

**A: Start with a Story: *The boy and his drum* summary**

Boy likes to play his drum but his aunt is always irritated by it

Aunt sends boy to the forest to fetch some fruit but boy tells her there is a monster there

Aunt thinks the boy is lying and so the father of the boy suggest the whole family to go to the forest

They get to the forest, start picking up fruit but suddenly a shadow appears behind them

It is the monster which soon gobbles them up starting with the aunt, then the mother and then the father

Boy plays his drum, monster dances until it gets nauseous and vomits each of the parents and the auntie and saves his family

Back home aunt thanks the boy for saving her life and suggests he teaches her how to play the drum

Four thematic categories can be deduced both from the expectations data in Figure 7.1, and from the holiday programme in Extract 7.1. These are those themes showing the children and facilitators conceptualising language and literacy pedagogy. First, both the children's expectations and the planning for language activities in the holiday programme, as designed by facilitators, conceptualise language and literacy learning as involving the use of a multilingual repertoire of literacy events and practices. This view can be said to have been expressed by both the children and the facilitators in the way they used their multilingual repertoires in discussing the goal setting for the club. In Chapter 5, I analysed these multilingual languaging practices and the ways in which they constructed the STLC# as a

linguistic third space. In this chapter I analyse the ways in which the use of language resources by the facilitators in the planning for the holiday programme form part of a pedagogic third space.

Secondly, both the children's expectations data shown in Figure 7.1, and the holiday programme in Extract 7.1, emphasise singing, doing drama or role play, doing drawing or art, and reading and writing. Thus, both the children and the facilitators conceptualise language and literacy pedagogy as involving a multimodal repertoire of literacy practices. Thirdly, Figure 7.1 also shows us that children, in their expectations, further conceptualise language and literacy learning as involving reading and writing of different text types as opposed to focussing only on the narrative genre which dominates Foundation Phase classrooms. Extract 7.1 shows that the writing and reading activities of different text types include writing diaries, letters, stories/folktales, instructions, and reading stories, poems, and newspapers (see full translation of Figure 7.1 into English in Chapter 6). This use of a variety of text types is aligned with functional approaches to genre proposed by Derewianka (2003) and Rose (2009). Finally, the children indicate a conceptualisation of language and literacy learning as involving the use of digital technologies. Digital literacies involve the use of technologies such as cameras and smartphones which, according to the children, can be used to record videos, take still photos, and record activities such as storytelling. Lemphane and Prinsloo (2014) argue that we cannot study children's emergent literacy and language identities without paying attention to how children engage with digital devices. They show that even children living in informal settlements have some access to digital technologies and texts, albeit in a limited way, and often without adult supervision. Through their expectations, the STLC# children expressed that they wanted to video record and take photographs. In this way, they were informing facilitators that they know about these technologies, and that they hoped to extend their existing knowledge and engagement with them in the literacy club. However, because of the high rate of crime in the area, and because many children often walk unaccompanied to school and to other educational spaces, we could not risk their bringing devices to the club. We asked them to leave the devices at home, but they sometimes used my phone to take pictures and record, thus taking on the role of research assistants.

For the purposes of this study, I limit my analysis to the first two themes both of which have to do with the conceptualisation of language and literacy pedagogy. One involves the use of a multilingual repertoire of literacy events and practices, and the other a multimodal repertoire of literacy practices. The reason for adopting this analytical approach is because both these conceptualisations create a pedagogical third space that works with languages and modes in hybrid, fluid, dynamic, and integrated ways. I focus on these two themes, also, because I have found few studies that combine analysis of multilingualism and multimodality in everyday communication, and even fewer studies that address this in relation to language and literacy learning. Earlier, I mentioned that where such studies exist, they are usually based in the Global North. This chapter, therefore, aims to contribute to the application of multilingual and multimodal approaches in language and literacy learning in multilingual settings in the South.

### **Part 1: Language and literacy pedagogy involves the use of a multilingual repertoire**

To analyse the children's use of a multilingual repertoire in their language and literacy learning at the STLC#, I draw on the planning for language use in the holiday programme. The facilitators based this programme on the shared writing of a retelling of the story of the monster with Marlene, the discussion of the monster, and the children's translation of Assumani's story. I draw on critical discourse analysis to analyse the plan for language use in the holiday programme. I draw additionally on textual analysis to analyse the children's shared writing activity with Marlene, and on interactional analysis to analyse the children's and the facilitator's discussion of the monster and the translation activity. I show in both sets of data how the children and the facilitators collectively challenge the dominant monolingual, monoglossic, and Anglonormative ideologies embedded in language and literacy learning. Monolingual ideologies, as explained and reviewed in Chapter 2, are concerned with the use of separate bounded languages, while monoglossic ideologies are concerned with the use of 'pure', standardised languages.

#### *Planning for language in the holiday programme*

Language planning by the facilitators for the holiday programme, shown in Extract 7.1, provides evidence of the use of a multilingual repertoire in language and literacy learning. As

can be seen, the use of language by the children and the facilitators, as conceptualised by facilitators in this planning is not random, as the facilitators consciously planned for how languages would be used in the holiday programme. This process is what distinguishes translanguaging spontaneous or practice and translanguaging as pedagogy (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017). The facilitators planned for the children to sing songs and to perform rhymes in isiXhosa, English, and Afrikaans on all of the three days. They deliberately planned for the story to be told orally in isiXhosa and for children to retell the story through shared writing in English in Day 1. They planned for two other stories about monsters to be read from books in isiXhosa on Day 2, and in English on Day 3. Furthermore, they planned for shared writing of a song in Afrikaans and isiXhosa, and for the use of isiXhosa, English, Japanese, and Afrikaans during the origami session in Day 3. The discussion of the story elements was planned to be done in isiXhosa and English, and the shared writing of the story of the monster from the monster's perspective to be done either in English or isiXhosa on Day 3.

Thus, four named languages feature in this planning: isiXhosa, English, Afrikaans, and Japanese, although isiXhosa and English dominate the programme. One might ask, why these languages, and why the domination of isiXhosa and English? First, many children in Khayelitsha have isiXhosa resources as their families speak isiXhosa at home, although not exclusively. Secondly, they learn through the medium of isiXhosa in the Foundation Phase, and through English in the Intermediate Phase. This switch is not required by the LiEP (1997), and thus for this reason can be said to show continuity with the Apartheid language policy. The CAPS (2011) mandates, under the discrete writing section, that schools must teach only two languages as Home and First Additional Languages, and implicitly supports the switch to English medium of instruction by providing textbooks and assessments for all subjects and teacher training in English only, with the exception of isiXhosa as a subject. Thus, the school which the STLC# children attend has chosen for the children to learn isiXhosa as a Home Language and English as a First Additional Language from Grade 1, with English medium from Grade 4 onwards. Thus, language learning at Jabulani Primary School is limited to isiXhosa and English, even though the LiEP (1997) promotes multilingualism for 'social cohesion'. Thirdly, after 1994 South African provinces were required by the DBE to develop their own provincial language policies. Thus, the Western Cape promotes the use of Afrikaans, isiXhosa, and English as provincial languages, yet Afrikaans is not taught at Jabulani due to CAPS regulations

that limit schools to two languages. Thus, by including Afrikaans in their planning, the facilitators were transgressing CAPS requirements. However, it is taken as a given that the literacy club is not school. We also see the facilitators planning according to the linguistic resources that they have and can offer. For example, Marlene is an English-Afrikaans bilingual, whereas most of the facilitators have isiXhosa, English, and Afrikaans resources. Kyoko has Japanese, English, and isiXhosa resources, and she wanted to teach the children some Japanese. Thus, the facilitators planned for the linguistic resources that the children have and use, as well as for those they do not have. Introducing Japanese thus subverts both CAPS for limiting language learning to two languages and challenges the LiEP (1997), and the Provincial Language Policy for promoting only South African languages.

Planning for language use by facilitators seems neatly conceptualised and done: in one activity, one language, e.g. oral storytelling in isiXhosa, and the retelling of it is in English, although for some activities, such as the discussion of the monster and role play, the language is not specified. However, we see in the analysis that follows how the talk and writing activity planned to be in English or isiXhosa, in practice turned into a bilingual text. This showed children drawing from their fluid and dynamic multilingual repertoire, thus challenging the named languages prescribed for the activities that the facilitators planned. In fact, they were subverting the very naming of the linguistic resources by combining all their available resources. Thus, planning for teaching multilingual children turned out to be more complex and fluid than the plans that the facilitators put in place, challenging the facilitators to think beyond named languages.

#### *Children's complex uses of their multilingual repertoire in shared writing with Marlene*

After the story of 'The boy, his drum and the monster' was told in isiXhosa, the children were directed to retell it in English and in writing with Marlene. Below in Figures 7.3a-d, we see a flip chart that Marlene and the children are working on as they engage in a shared writing activity where the children retell the story. We also see the draft product that they constructed together.

Figure 7.3a Shared writing of the retelling of the story of 'The boy and his drum' with Marlene

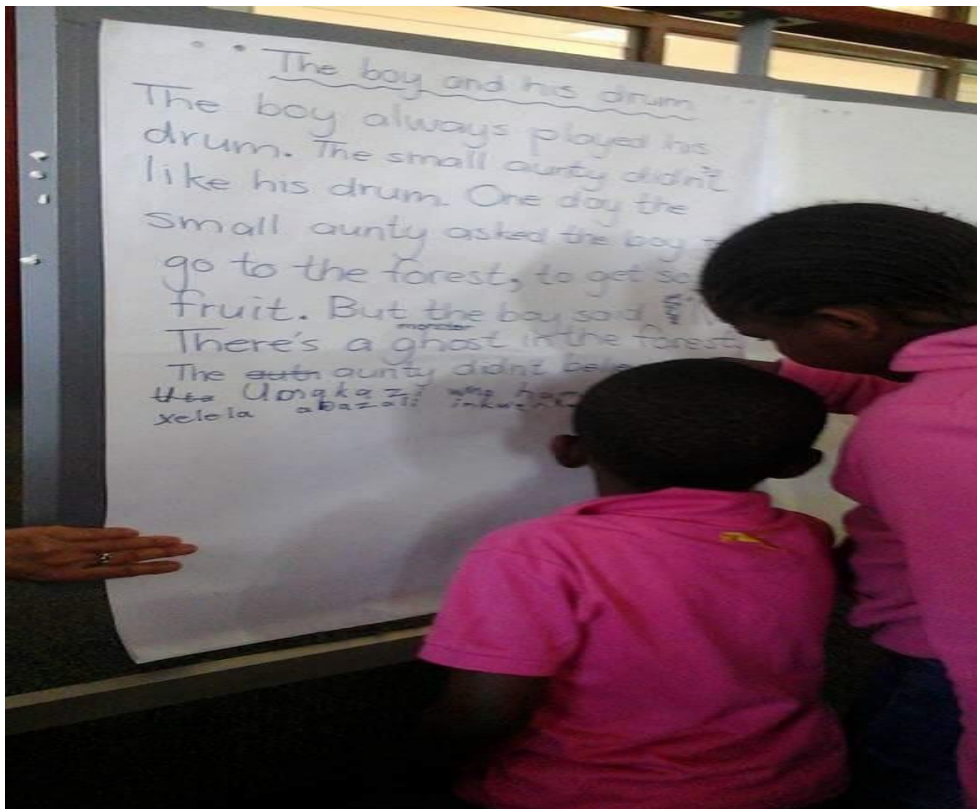


Figure 7.3b Marlene inviting the children to write their responses in isiXhosa, and to help each other

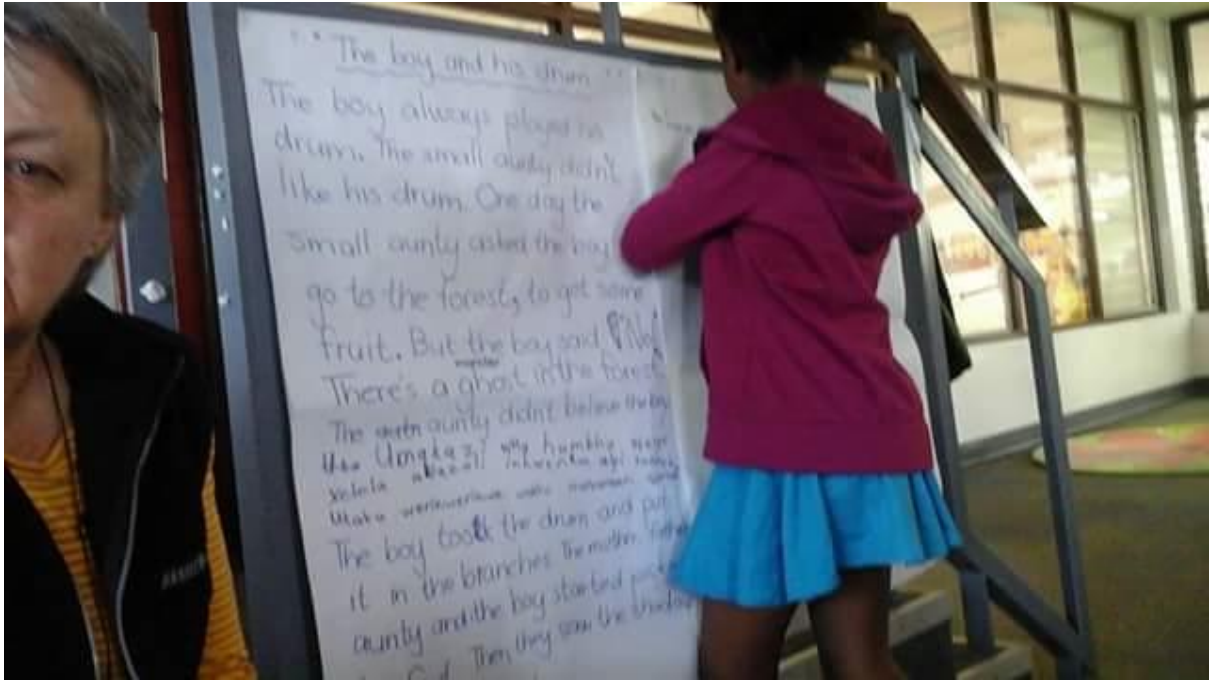


Figure 7.3c More isiXhosa responses being written down by the children



Figure 7.3d Marlene leaning in to watch closely as the children write in isiXhosa

*Extract 7.2 – Transcript of the shared written text of the story of the Boy and His Drum*

1. **The boy and his drum.**
2. **The boy always played his drum.**
3. **The small aunty didn't like his drum.**
4. **One day the small aunty asked the boy to go to the forest, to get some fruit.**
5. **But the boy said NO! There's a ghost [monster] in the forest.**
6. **The ~~aun~~ aunty didn't believe the boy.**
7. **Umakazi wha hambha wayo xelela abazali inkwenkwe ayi tumeki uUtata wenkwenkwe wathi masambeni sonke.** [The aunt went to tell the parents that the boy refuses when she sends him to do things for her and the father said they must all go]
8. **The boy took the drum and put it in the branches.**
9. **The mother, the father and the aunty and the boy started picking the fruit.**
10. **Then they saw the shadow of the big monster!**
11. **Isigebenga satya uMakazi, umama no tata.** [The monster ate the aunt, mother and father]
12. **Inkwenkwe ya betha igubu layo. Saze Isigebenga sadanisa sabane hlaba sakhupa utata, nomama kuqala.** [The boy beat his drum and the monster danced and had stomach pains and then spit up the father and mother first.]
13. **Inkwenkwe yabhetha igubu kwakona wsa x[h]entsa isigenga isigebenga wsa kukhupa umakaszi.** [The boy beat the drum again and the monster danced and spit out the aunt]
14. **Bathatha iziqhamo babaleka baphindela endlini [endlwini]** [They took the fruit and ran away going back to the house]
15. **Then the small aunty started to believe the boy.**
16. **She said, "you must teach me how to play the drum tomorrow." 05.10.2015**

In Figure 7.3a-d the children retold the story of the boy and his drum and the monster with Marlene through shared writing, and Extract 7.2 is a transcribed text from the flipchart. Marlene acts as a scribe as the children retell the story to her. They begin the retelling in English, as can be seen in Figure 7.3a, but Figure 7.3b-d shows the text changing from an English into an isiXhosa text. This is because, when Marlene noticed that not all of the children were confident in giving their contributions in English, she invited them to express themselves in isiXhosa. Not only did Marlene invite them to speak in isiXhosa, but she also invited them

to come to the flipchart to write what they had expressed orally. Thus, Marlene does not let her lack of isiXhosa resources stop her from encouraging the children to use their linguistic resources and repertoires to complete the activity. She actively acknowledges their linguistic resources by inviting the children to come up and write their sentences. Figure 7.3b shows two children who have come up to take over the writing from Marlene and writing in isiXhosa, thus taking charge of the shared writing as Marlene watches. After one child had come up to write but seemed to be stuck, Marlene invited another child to come and help. Thus, Marlene demonstrates what to do when children struggle with their writing. Instead of letting the child struggle alone, she invited another child to help. The children also learn that daring to go to the front should not be a scary thing, knowing that everyone is willing to help, rather than, together with the teacher, apt to judge: after all, this is a jointly constructed text. As a result, instead of creating a pedagogy where writing is an individual activity, possibly to be formally assessed, Marlene “created a ‘distributive system’ in her pedagogy, where effective performance does not require equal skilling of all its parts, but the effective performance of the system as a whole” (Kell, 2000:211). This means that, while Marlene is skilled in writing English, the children are skilled in writing isiXhosa, and they each contribute their skills to accomplish the task at hand. It also means that when one child struggles, another can assist to ensure that the task is completed.

After the first six English sentences shown in Figure 7.3a, the children insert a seventh sentence in isiXhosa, thus legitimising isiXhosa for writing alongside English in the creation of a text. In Extract 7.2, we see that, lines 8, 9 and 10 are written in English again after Marlene took over again, and three more children dictated their three sentences in English, which Marlene wrote down. But then again, four contributions in sentences 11,12,13 and 14 are offered in isiXhosa and written up by the children before the retelling is concluded by a further two English sentences (15, 16). The children also demonstrate for Marlene how to write isiXhosa, in the same way that she demonstrates for them how to write English on the flipchart. In Marlene’s demonstration, she struck through her mistake in line 6, and the children did the same when they made a mistake in line 13 and wrote an alternative for *endlwini* [endlwini] meaning ‘in the house’ as Marlene has done with ‘ghost’ and ‘monster’ in sentence 5, thus demonstrating what she and the children collectively have taken up through shared

writing. Thus, both Marlene and the children are positioned as teachers and learners at the same time.

However, the insertion of isiXhosa in the text changes the facilitator's original plan to have the story retold in English only. While Marlene and the children began their shared writing in English in the first six sentences, the children used their isiXhosa resources in writing and turned the text into a bilingual text. At this point Marlene is not concerned by this. Instead, she invites more children to come up and write using the resources they are comfortable with. She then asks the children to read the sentence they have written in isiXhosa, as is usually the case with shared writing, before prompting the whole group to read from the beginning, thus combining the text into one linguistic repertoire. Her pedagogy also challenges the current practice, where teachers only accept responses in the children's home languages orally, while English is valued, and insisted upon, as the only legitimate language to be used for written texts on the board and in books. Kiramba (2017b) argues that there are very few studies that analyse multilingual texts in classroom settings, particularly in African settings. She attributes this to monolingual habitus, and to the fact that the written text has been considered normative and has tended to have a pedagogical focus. A text, such as the one in Extract 7.2, would therefore be considered by teachers, following this normative principle, an error in the classroom, as children are expected by teachers, and according to the prescripts of the legitimated curriculum, to write monolingually in English.

The third space has transformative opportunities for the conceptualisation of what a literacy pedagogy should and could be. The children's socio-cultural resources and diverse ways of knowing are privileged in the language and literacy 'curriculum' of the literacy club as can be seen in the shared writing activity in Extract 7.2. Her acceptance of their bilingual text demonstrates the facilitator's strategy for using language as a resource rather than viewing it as a problem (Ruíz, 1984). The children's use of isiXhosa during a shared writing session that was originally planned in English could mean that the children were at different stages in their emergent bilingualism (García, 2009b), and had varied individual linguistic repertoires (Bristowe et al., (2014)). While some of the children could put sentences together in English, others understood English, but needed to produce the follow up sentences in isiXhosa without disturbing the flow of the story. Blommaert (2010, cited in Bristowe et al., (2014a)

argues that a repertoire consists of specific bits of language and that we never know all of the language but specific bits of it. This could explain why the children were able to understand the sentences previously given in English and which enabled them to add isiXhosa sentences that kept the flow of the text. It also explains why some learners gave responses in English, while others gave responses in isiXhosa. The distributed knowledge perspective leads to no stigma about not knowing how to respond in English. Instead, as they took charge of being scribes during shared writing, the children positioned themselves as Marlene's teachers by demonstrating to her and their peers how to write and read isiXhosa, while she became their teacher by demonstrating how to write in English. When the children struggled to write in isiXhosa, their peers went up to assist, as can be seen in Extract 7.2, thus making writing a process of joint construction.

*Children's use of a multilingual repertoire in discussing the monster*

Extract 1 shows that on Day 1 the children were to draw their monsters after the retelling of the story with Marlene. Then on Day 2, the children were to do role play, acting as monsters, and, after the role play, the children were to engage in a discussion about a monster. Below, extract 7.3 presents the interactional data of Day 1, and the children discussing how the monster was portrayed in the stories that were told, retold, and read on Days 1 and 2, in the artwork on Day 1, and in the drama on Day 2. The aim of all these multimodal activities was to get the children to think critically about how the monster was represented and constructed in all the activities in which they were engaged. Thereafter, the children were expected to compose a version of the story of the monster from the monster's perspective as a way of critiquing the stories that were shared with them through storytelling and reading, as well as through the artwork and drama. Extract 7.3 below shows a discussion about the monster and how it was portrayed.

Extract 7.3: Discussion about the monster

Discussion about the monster	
Original	Translation
1. <b>XOLISA:</b> Uyabona wena? Uzobona. Ok. Namhlanje... (waits for some children to settle down) Namhlanje nayizolo, nayizolo linye besisoloko sibalisa amabali angezim. Andithi? Izim okanye yintoni ngesiXhosa...elinye igama ngesiXhosa?	Can you see? Will you be able to see? Ok. Today... (waits for some children to settle down) Today and yesterday, and the day before yesterday we told stories of izim (Monster). Not so? Or what is the other name of izim in Xhosa...another name for it in Xhosa?
2. <b>CHILD:</b> Isigebenga	Giant
3. <b>CHILD:</b> Igongqongqo	Monster
4. <b>CHILD:</b> Isiginyabantu	Monster or the one who swallows people whole
5. <b>XOLISA:</b> (Writes on the whiteboard) Izim...hey! Sinamagama amaninzi. Izim. Elinye?	(Writes on the whiteboard) Izim...hey! We have so many words. Izim. Another one?
6. <b>CHILD:</b> Igongqongqo	Monster
7. <b>XOLISA:</b> Igongqongqo (Writes on the board)	Monster (writes on the board)
8. <b>CHILD:</b> Isigebenga	Giant
9. <b>CHILD:</b> Isiporho	Ghost
10. <b>CHILD:</b> Isiporho	Ghost
11. <b>XOLISA:</b> Isiporho ayisisongo isigebenga. Isigebenga (continues to write on the board) neh? Likhona elinye igama?	A ghost is not a giant. Giant. (continues to write on the board). Hey, is there another name?
12. <b>CHILD:</b> Isidlabantu	The one who eats people
13. <b>XOLISA:</b> Isidlabantu (writes on the white board) Isidlabantu. Onke la magama athetha ntoni ngeEnglish?	The one who eats people (writes on the white board) Isidlabantu. All these words, what do they mean in English?
14. <b>CHILDREN:</b> [Indistinct]	
15. <b>XOLISA:</b> Athetha...	They mean...
16. <b>CHILDREN:</b> Imonster.	Monster
17. <b>XOLISA:</b> Imonster (writes on the board) Likhona elinye igama. Noni ngeEnglish? Likhona elinye igama, imonster?	Imonster (writes on the board) Is there another name? Noni in English? Is there another name for monster?
18. <b>NOSI:</b> Dragon.	Dragon
19. <b>XOLISA:</b> Eh maybe you have a giant neh.	
20. <b>NONI:</b> A giant.	

21. <b>XOLISA:</b> We used to have stories of giants and monster. And ghost sisiporho kaloku. Ighost sisiporho neh. Ok. Now kweli bali...kula mabali besiweva neh, izim	We used to have stories of giants and monsters. And ghost is isiporho by the way. Ok. Now, in this story...in these stories we listened to, hey, izim
22. <b>XOLISA:</b> Ok. (Writes on the board) Sithi ke ngoku um...liyoyikeka nhe? Liyoyikeka. Ukoyikeka kwayo sithi yintoni ngesiNgesi?	Ok (writes on the board). We are saying now um...liyoyikeka, hey? Liyoyikeka. What do we call ukoyikeka in English?
23. <b>CHILD:</b> Scary.	
24. <b>THANDISWA:</b> Scared – scary.	
25. <b>XOLISA:</b> Scary. Oh scary (writes on the white board)	
26. <b>CHILD:</b> Linamaqhinga.	It has tricks
27. <b>XOLISA:</b> Linamaqhinga (writes on the whiteboard)	Linamaqhinga (writes on the whiteboard)
28. <b>CHILD:</b> Likhohlakele.	It is cruel
29. <b>XOLISA:</b> Ok. Lana amagama besiwahambisa kunye ne. Likhohlakele?	Ok. All these words go together, hey. It is cruel?
30. <b>CHILDREN:</b> Yes Miss.	
31. <b>XOLISA:</b> Mhm. Omnye ufun' uthini?	Mhmmm. What else do you want to say?
32. <b>CHILD:</b> Liyingozi	It is dangerous
33. <b>XOLISA:</b> Liyingozi. Besesitshilo. (Point on the white board)	It is dangerous. We have already said this
34. <b>CHILD:</b> Yes Miss	
35. <b>XOLISA:</b> Ukukhohlakala kukuthini ngesiNgesi? (Writes on the board) Kuthini ukukhohlakala ngesiNgesi?	What does ikhohlakele mean in English? (Writes on the board) In English, what is the meaning of ukukhohlakala?
36. [Indistinct answers are given]	
37. <b>XOLISA:</b> Rude. Cruel. Cruel (writes on the white board) Cr-u-e-l. Niyambona u-cruel ubahlwa njani?	Can you see how we spell cruel?
38. <b>CHILDREN:</b> Yes Miss	
39. <b>XOLISA:</b> Mhmm. Omnye ufuna ukuthini?	Mhmmm, what else can one say?
40. <b>CHILD:</b> Liyingozi	It is dangerous
41. <b>XOLISA:</b> Liyingozi. Besitshilo.(Pointing on the white board) Dangerous – liyingozi.	Dangerous. We have said this (pointing to the white board). Dangerous -liyingozi
42. <b>THANDISWA:</b> Then uthini udangerous? Yintoni ngesiXhosa?	Then what is dangerous in isiXhosa?
43. <b>XOLISA:</b> Uthi liyingozi.	She says it is liyingozi

44. <b>THANDISWA:</b> Liyingozi.	It is dangerous
45. <b>XOLISA:</b> Ebethe ke dangerous (writes on the whiteboard) neh. Dangerous. Liyingozi. Yho! Liyingozi. Liyingozi. (Points to a child)	She said dangerous (writes on the board) nhe. Dangerous. Liyingozi. Hey! It is dangerous. It is dangerous (points to a child)
46. <b>CHILD:</b> Danger.	
47. <b>XOLISA:</b> Dangerous. Udangerous kukoyikeka?	Dangerous. Dangerous means ukoyikeka?
48. <b>THANDISWA:</b> Ithini kanene?	What does it say again?
49. <b>CHILD:</b> Likhulu.	It is big
50. <b>XOLISA:</b> Likhulu.	It is big
51. <b>CHILD:</b> Big	
52. <b>XOLISA:</b> Big.	
53. <b>CHILD:</b> [Indistinct]	
54. <b>XOLISA:</b> Litheni?	What is it like?
55. <b>CHILD:</b> [Indistinct]	
56. <b>NONI:</b> [Laughs]	
57. <b>XOLISA:</b> Libi (writes on the whiteboard) Heh! Nantsoke. Libi.	It is ugly (writes on the whiteboard). Hey! That's it. Ugly.
58. <b>CHILD:</b> Ugly.	
59. <b>XOLISA:</b> Ugly (writes on the board). Ugly. Liphinde libe njani?	Ugly (writes on the board). Ugly... And how else is it like?
60. <b>CHILD:</b> lirough	it is rough
61. <b>XOLISA:</b> Li-rough? Rough (writes on the whiteboard) U-rough utheth' ukuthini ngesinye isiXhosa?	It is rough? Rough (writes on the whiteboard) What does rough mean in another isiXhosa variety?
62. <b>CHILD:</b> Rhabaxa	Rough
63. <b>CHILD:</b> Rhabaxa.	Rough
64. <b>XOLISA:</b> Lirhabaxa okanye (writes "lirhabaxa" on the white board)... lirhabaxa, okanye li...Xa kuthwa umntu u-rough kutheth' ukuthini? Umntu o-rough.	It is rough.or it is...when we say someone is rough, what do we mean?
65. <b>CHILD:</b> Uyabhulisha.	It is a bully
66. <b>XOLISA:</b> Uyabhulisha? We already have (points to the white board)	It is a bully?
67. <b>CHILD:</b> listout	It is naughty

68. <b>XOLISA:</b> U-stout. Em [writes on the whiteboard] u-stout.	
69. <b>LOLA:</b> Usile bethuna.	The word is silly people
70. <b>XOLISA:</b> U-stout. Usile (writes on the white board) Besitheni elinye igama? Liyabhulisha	Stout, silly. What other word did we use? It is a bully (writes on the board)
71. <b>CHILDREN:</b> [No immediate reponse]	
72. <b>XOLISA:</b> Liyabhulisha. Linetlonti. Yho! Amagama angaka (manages to squeeze in "linetlonti" on the list) Linentlonti	It is a bully. It is a trickster. Hey! Lots of words! It is a trickster.
73. <b>NOSI:</b> Linentlonti	It is a trickstar
74. <b>CHILD:</b> Linamaqhinga	It is a trickster
75. <b>XOLISA:</b> Li_na_ma_qhinga, nhe. Amaqhinga? lingumntu onjani	Tri-ck-ster, neh? It is a trickster. What kind of a creature (writes on board) ? (Some children raise their hands)
76. <b>CHILD:</b> Linomona.	It is jealous
77. <b>XOLISA:</b> Linomona? Lino-mona (writes on the board)	It is jealous? It is jea-lous
78. <b>CHILD:</b> Jealous.	
79. <b>XOLISA:</b> Linomona.	It is jealous
80. <b>CHILD:</b> Jealous.	
81. <b>XOLISA:</b> Line-jealous [writes on the board]	It is jea-lous
82. <b>CHILD:</b> Jealous downs.	
83. <b>XOLISA:</b> Line-jealous down. (Laughs) Uh linantoni?	It has jea-lous down. (laughs) what does it have?
84. <b>CHILD:</b> [Inaudible]	
85. <b>XOLISA:</b> Linamacebo. (Writes on the board) Linamacebo. Amacebo ndizombamba kanjani. Listretejayize neh. Mhm.	It can make a plan. (writes on the board). Plan of how it is going to catch one. It strategises. Mhmm
86. <b>CHILD:</b> Linamazinyo amakhulu	It has big teeth
87. <b>XOLISA:</b> Linamazinyo amakhulu. (Writes on the board) Linamazinyo amakhulu.	It has big teeth. (writes on the board) It has big teeth.
88. <b>XOLISA:</b> Litheni? Likhulu?	What did you say? Is it big?
89. <b>CHILD:</b> Linamazinyo amakhulu...	It has big teeth
90. <b>CHILD:</b> Big teeth.	
91. <b>XOLISA:</b> Big teeth? Big teeth (writes on the board) Big teeth. Ok. Big teeth? Yes?	

92. <b>CHILD:</b> Lifukufuku.	It is hairy
93. <b>CHILD:</b> Limnyama.	It is black
94. <b>XOLISA:</b> Limnyama. Utsho ke yena. (writes on the board). Uthi limnyama. Umnyama	It is black. She says it is black (Writes on the board). She says it is black. Black?
95. <b>CHILDREN:</b> Black.	
96. <b>XOLISA:</b> Black (continues to write on the board)	
97. <b>CHILD:</b> (Raises her hand) Xolo miss amanye amazimawakho black.	Excuse me miss, other monsters are not black
98. <b>XOLISA:</b> Amnyama. Amanye akakho black. I like that. (Writes on the board) Amanye akakho black. Akakho mnyama. (Begins to write “mnyama” but misspells is and has to scratch it out) Yho! Mnyama. Ukungabikho black, kungabikho-mnyama. Anjani amanye? Anjani amanye?	They are black. Some are not black. I like that (Writes on the board). Others are not black...are not black (Begins to write “mnyama (black)” but misspells is and has to scratch it out). Oops! Black...not being black...not being black. How do others look? How do others look?
99. <b>XOLISA:</b> Amanye akakho-black.	Some are not black
100. <b>CHILD:</b> Abrown	they are brown
101. <b>XOLISA:</b> Abrown. (writes on the board) a-brown amanye.	they are brown (writes on the board). others are brown
102. <b>CHILD:</b> White.	
103. <b>CHILD:</b> White?	
104. <b>CHILD:</b> white?	
105. <b>XOLISA:</b> Amanye awhite. Amanye anjani?	Some are white. How are the others?
106. <b>CHILD:</b> Agreen.	They are green
107. <b>XOLISA:</b> Agreen. (writes on the board)	They are green
108. <b>CHILD:</b> Amanye ared.	Some are red

Day 3: Holiday Programme 07.10.2015

To start the discussion, I remind the children of all the activities in which they have been engaged related to the monster theme - which include storytelling, art, and roleplay, and I ask the children about the name of a monster in isiXhosa. As can be seen in turns 2,3,4, the children give names for a monster in isiXhosa as isigebenga (giant); igongqongqo (monster); isidlabantu (one who swallows people whole) which I write down while prompting for more names. In turn 8 another child says, ‘a giant’, while in turn 9 another child says, a ‘ghost’. I correct the child in turn 12 to say that a ghost is not a monster, while another child in turn 13 offers isidlabantu (one who eats people). Through this dialogue the children bring their knowledge to the discussion, and I accept and affirm their equivalent terms by writing them

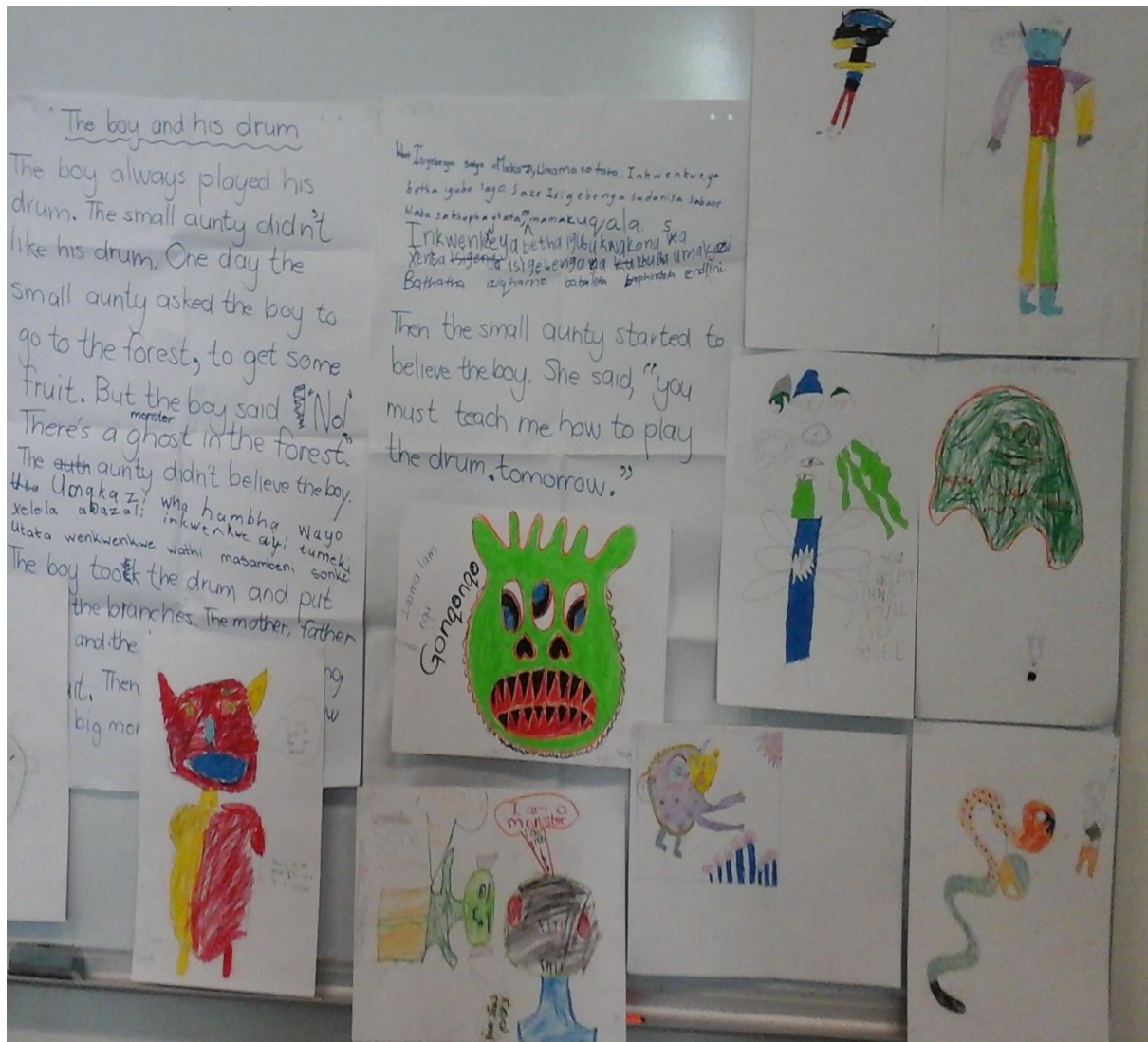
down and by prompting for more. I demonstrate that there are many names for a monster and that it varies for different people, and I accept these, but refuse to accept a ghost as a monster by explicitly saying so. The discussion thus caters for multiple ways of knowing, and expands the existing knowledges, while the few misconceptions are mediated through overt instruction. With regards to how the monster was portrayed, the children were able to read that in all the activities that involved the monster, it was characterised in these multimodal activities in negative terms even though this was not explicitly stated. Thus, the children were able to explicitly state the implicit and underlying message about the monster in the language used, in the art they created, and in their roleplay. This skill of reading meanings of various texts beyond the surface level, uncovering underlying tones, beliefs, and actions is an especially important skill in critical literacy development, and also central to African ways of teaching (Mkhize, 2016; Makalela, 2018).

In turns 60 and 65 above, we observe the power of the non-standard varieties in describing the monster. Words such as 'lirough' in turn 60 [drawing on English 'he is rough'], 'uyabulisha' in turn 65 [s/he/they is a bully]; 'listout' in turn 67 [drawing on Afrikaans word 'stout' meaning naughty [It is naughty] are powerful in expanding the characterisation of the monster, thus making it a very fearsome creature. It is interesting that when the child in turn 67 offers 'listout', and when I begin to write 'listout', their teacher Lola says, 'usile bethuna' [it's silly people, drawing on English 'he is silly'] in turn 69. She is correcting the children's use of 'listout/ustout), under the impression that she is offering them a word in standard language. However, she does not realise that 'usile' is a borrowed word from the English word 'silly', which has been appropriated and naturalised in isiXhosa. The original isiXhosa word would be "ukuba sisidenge" [being foolish in the sense of being silly] but the children could be meaning "u/liyageza" [it/s/he is being naughty]. The prefixes of words 'uyabulisha', 'lirough', 'listout' are also powerful in that the children themselves are not even sure if this monster is human or not. The use of the prefix 'u' in 'uyabulisha' [s/he is a bully] and 'usile' [s/he/they is being silly] offered by Lola makes the monster human because the 'u' prefix denotes a subject concord for a proper noun that refers to a person. However, the use of 'li' in 'lirough' and 'listout' dehumanises the monster. The subject concord 'li' then shows us that it is a thing that is spoken about. The same applies to the standard variety words like 'linomona' [it is jealous] or 'linentlonti' [it is a trickster]'.

The fact that the children know the standard varieties of 'lirough' as 'lirhabaxa', even though lirhabaxa refers more specifically to a rough surface, rather than to a rough person, indicates that the children have an expanded repertoire of standard and non-standard descriptive words, a repertoire which is useful here in understanding what kind of creature the monster is. In Cape Town townships it is also common for people to speak of 'rough areas', referring to the existence of criminals. This supports Kiramba's point (2017:124) about translanguaging in her own student data: "this is an indication that the argument that multilingual language users select different terms to fill a lexical gap may not hold in this student's writing").

In this discussion I gave children a voice by posing open ended questions that got them thinking, encouraged free expression, and valued all their feedback by writing their words down, including the non-standard varieties. This is critical because in the recent discussions around the National Framework for Teaching Reading in African Languages (DBE, 2019 discussions) curriculum advisers and some linguists supported monoglossic ideologies of learners writing using only the standardised forms of language on the board, arguing that varieties will confuse learners, or encourage them to use non-standard language. Finally, from a dialogue such as the one in Extract 7.3, we also see the children positioning themselves as critical thinkers rather than merely reproducing what they have been told. The conversation above, which also draws on the children's multilingual repertoire alongside their multimodal repertoire (drawing ideas from their drawings and their role play), demonstrates one of the ways in which multilingual communication practices integrate with multimodal practices. This process is not widely analysed both by scholars of multimodality and scholars of multilingualism (Blackledge & Creese, 2017; Busch, 2010; Kusters et al., 2017c; Pietikäinen & Pitkänen-Huhta, 2014), and even less so by education scholars (Kiramba, 2017a). It is interesting to note that the children's descriptions of how the monster was portrayed are enriched by their experiences with the integration of artwork and role play. For example, turns 91-108 involve children discussing the physical appearance of the monster, from hairy, to having big teeth, to being black, red, white, green, and brown, as Figure 7.4 below shows.

Figure 7.4: Drawing pictures of the monster



*Analysis of children's translation process and their positioning as competent bilinguals*

The STLC# children's use of words such as "awakho black" for awakho mnyama [they are not black] in turn 97, "abrown" for amdaka [brown] in turn 100, "awhite" for amhlophe [white] in turn 102, "agreen" for aluhlaza [green] in turn 106, and "ared" for abomvu [red], in turn 108, is an example of a learning situation which often gives rise to debates about whether children are likely ever to learn the desired standard language vocabulary. But, as we can see, these children were in fact able to offer the standard language varieties of these words when prompted by me. To contribute to the debates and concerns about bi/multilingual children's ability to use standard languages, and to add to evidence of bi/multilingual learners being able to perform monolingual and multilingual competence, this section presents and analyses

data from the second holiday programme which took place at the start of the March school holidays in 2016. I analyse the children's translation process firstly, to demonstrate first, how the literacy club values translation as a competence that bi/multilingual children have, one which is not recognised in monolingual education systems, and secondly, to show that the translation process is complex, requiring negotiation between the source and target language resources, and the standard and non-standard varieties of these resources. This is in addition to various literacy skills, such as moving from reading an English text, to oral isiXhosa translation, to final co-constructed written translation.

*Figure 7.5a is an image of the cover of the book, a section of which the children were translating*

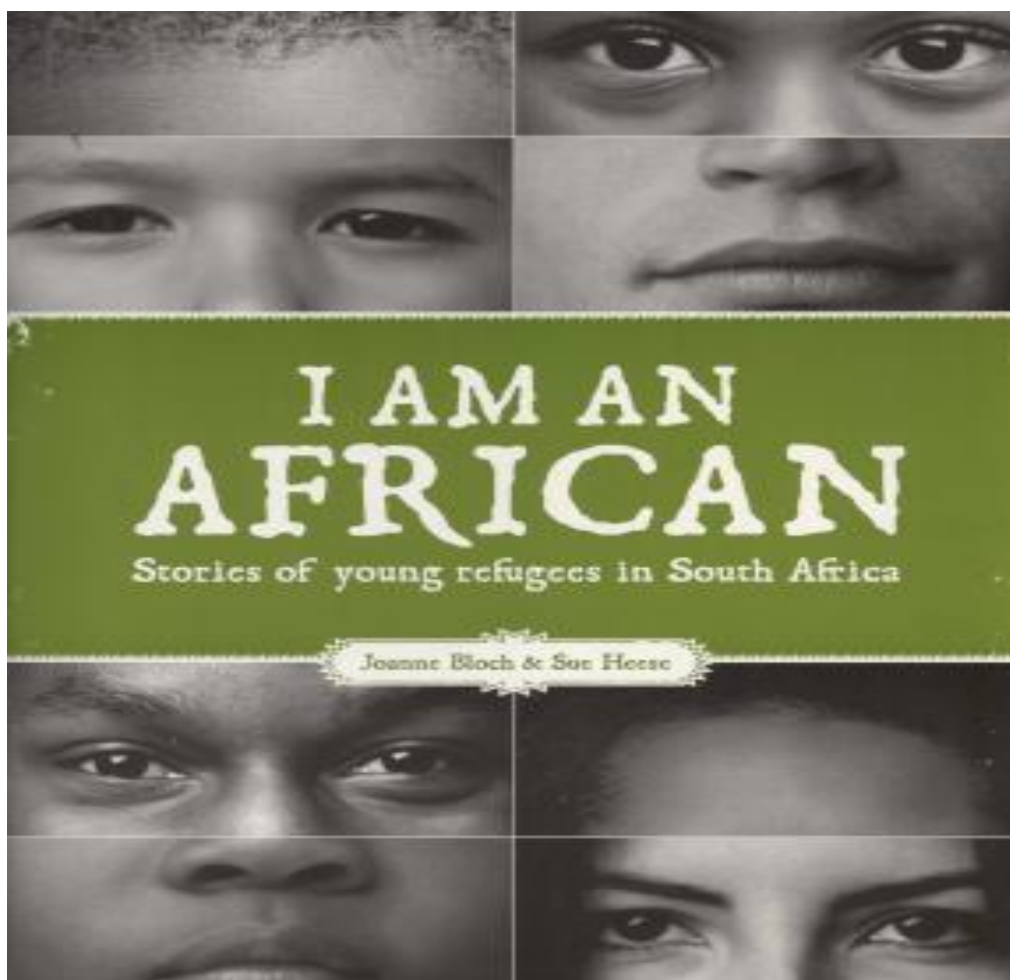
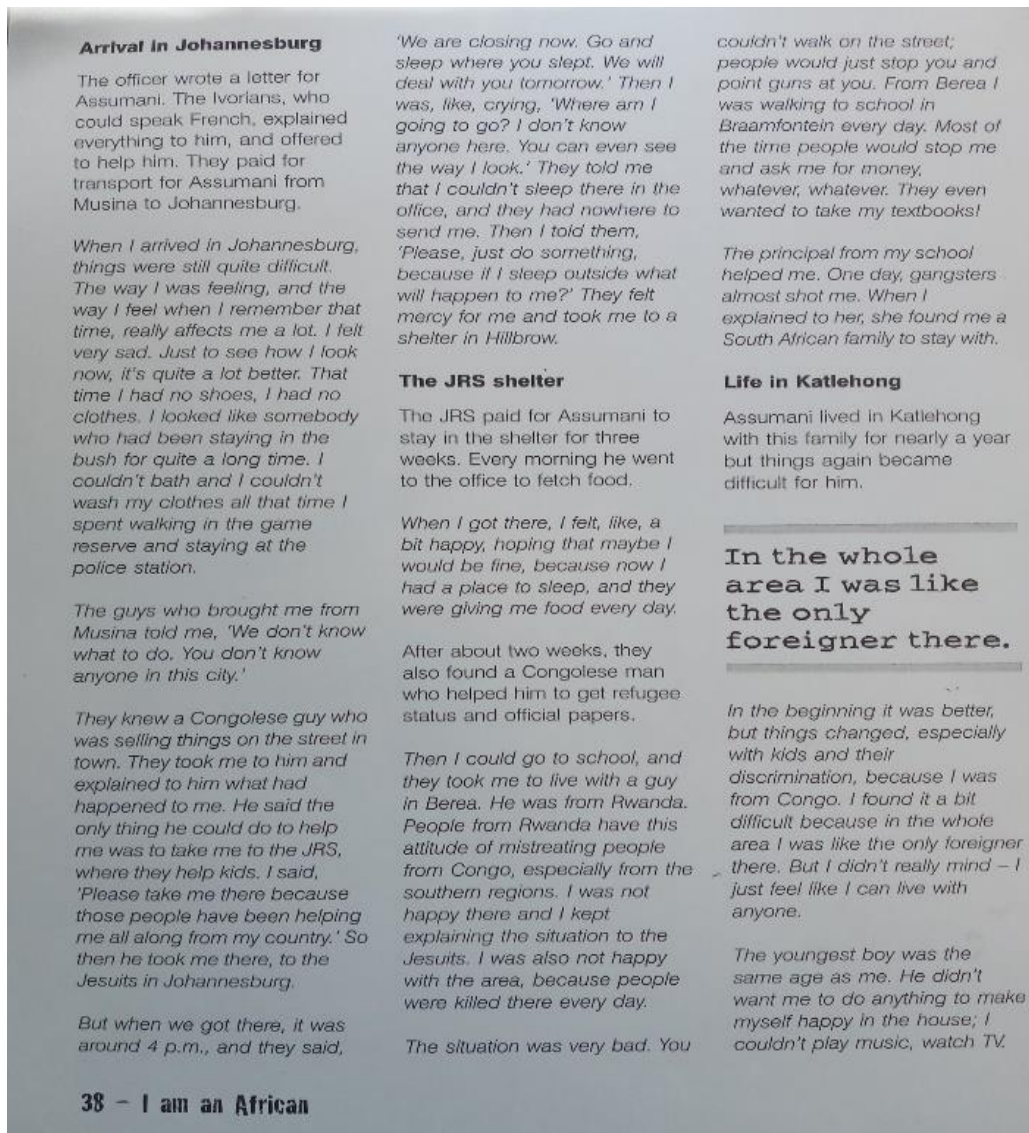


Figure 7.5b – Image of the English text being translated



Below, I also present a transcript of an audio recording of the children and I working through a translation of a section of Assumani's story in the book "I am an African: stories of refugees in South Africa" edited by Joanne Bloch.

Extract 7.4: The Facilitator setting the stage for the children’s translation of the story

Original Conversation	Translated Conversation
1. <b>XOLISA:</b> Sizofunda.	<b>XOLISA:</b> We are going to read.
2. Um uAssumani uhambile wasuka eDemocratic Republic of Congo ngoku.	Um now, Assumani left the Democratic Republic of Congo
3. Fundani nobabini.	You two share the reading.
4. <b>CHILD:</b> [Indistinct]	<b>CHILD:</b> [Indistinct]
5. <b>XOLISA:</b> Fundani nobabini.	<b>XOLISA:</b> Share the page together.
6. Ngoku usuka eDemocratic Republic of Congo neh.	Now he leaves the Democratic, hey
7. Ngoku uyafika eJohannesburg –	Now he arrives in Johannesburg-
8. ...Ok, nali elinye –	...Ok, here is another page –
9. Uyafika e Johannesburg neh	He arrives in Johannesburg, hey
10. Arrival in Johannesburg.	Arrival in Johannesburg (reading the subheading).
11. Em... ndicela umntu afunde	Um... may I please have someone read
12. Mhlawumbi umntu uzofunda i-paragraph neh	Maybe reading the paragraph hey
13. Ngubani ozosiqalela?	Who is going to start for us?
14. <b>NATHI:</b> Kufuneka ifunde le kuqala?	He must be the one who reads first?
15. <b>XOLISA:</b> Funda kuqala Nathi.	Read first Nathi
16. <b>NATHI:</b> “The officer wrote a letter for Assumani, the vorians...”	“The officer wrote a letter for Assumani, the vorians...”
17. <b>SAMKELO:</b> Ivorians.	Ivorians
18. <b>NATHI:</b> “...Ivorians who could spek	“...Ivorians who could spek
19. <b>SAMKELO:</b> Speak.	Speak
20. <b>NATHI:</b> “...speak French explained everything to him and offered to help him. They paid for transport for Assumani from Musina to Johannesburg.”	“...speak French explained everything to him and offered to help him. They paid for transport for Assumani from Musina to Johannesburg.”
21. <b>XOLISA:</b> Singathini?	What could we say?
22. Kuthwani apha kule paragraph yokuqala?	What does this first paragraph say?
23. E-e?	Hey?
24. So kuthwani kula paragraph?	So, what does that paragraph say?
25. “The officer wrote a letter for Assumani. The Ivorians who could speak French explained everything to him and offered to help him. They paid transport for Assumani from Musina to Johannesburg.”	“The officer wrote a letter for Assumani. The Ivorians who could speak French explained everything to him and offered to help him. They paid transport for Assumani from Musina to Johannesburg.”

Assumani’s story was read to the whole group of children in English at the second holiday programme of the STLC# (March 2016). After this the plan was to give children sections of the

story (about an A4 size page) to translate from English into isiXhosa. The children were divided into groups and each group was allocated a facilitator to guide the translation and either page 36, 37 or 38 to translate as can be seen from the text above. Facilitators could support the written translation either through a process of shared writing in their groups or let the children do their own written translation themselves. I now turn the lens onto the group of children that was assigned to me, as their facilitator, and analyse how we started off with the translation process. The translation event I am analysing for the purposes of this chapter is the initial oral translation before the children wrote the text down on paper.

### *The facilitator setting the scene for translation*

In turns 1-6 of Extract 7.4, I instruct the children that they are going to read. I then provide the context for the reading, using a repertoire that includes standard isiXhosa resources in turns 1,3, 5, and a non-standard variety in turns 2 and 6. In turns 1, 3 and 5 there is no trace of another language used, whereas in turn 2 I am explaining that “Um, uAssumani uhambile wasuka eDemocratic Republic of Congo” [um, now, Assumani left the Democratic Republic of Congo], and in turn 6 saying, ‘Ngoku uAssumani uyasuka eDemocratic Republic of Congo, hey’, [Now Assumani leaves the Democratic Republic of Congo]. Because the DRC is the English contemporary name for the former Congo, I could not simply have said Assumani moved from the Congo, unless my aim was to shorten the name of the country or to refer to its former name. While South Africa as a country has an English name, and has African language equivalents, for example uMzantsi Afrika in isiXhosa, or Afrika Borwa, in Sesotho languages its name is given in English in official documents and maps. Thus, it can be assumed that the same applies for the name given as the Democratic Republic of Congo in this book. This is therefore the reason we see traces in the translation of isiXhosa and English resources in one sentence. I repeat what I have said in turn 2 in turn 6 because I am emphasizing what came before the specific page from which I am asking the children to read. But, in providing this context, I draw from my linguistic repertoire in a way that seems to encourage the children to do the same. Then, in turn 7, I say “uyafika eJohannesburg” [he arrives in Johannesburg] and then I immediately read the title at the top of the page, “Arrival in Johannesburg”, in turn 10. I read this to direct the children to where they should start reading. I start by first saying this in a single repertoire, “uyafika eJohannesburg” in turn 9, before translanguaging to read

in English, “Arrival in Johannesburg”. Here again my repetition emphasises that this is where they should start, but I am careful not to translate everything for them; instead of saying “uyafika eRhawutini”, as Johannesburg is known to the isiXhosa speaking people, I decide to say “uyafika eJohannesburg”. This could be a test to see if the children know this, and whether they will write it in their translation. Or I could simply be legitimising this repertoire. Though eRhawutini currently refers to the whole province of Gauteng and has done since the establishment of the democratic South Africa, people working in Johannesburg used to, and still call it eRhawutini. In isiXhosa books, published both in the present and in the past, this name can be found referring to Johannesburg. Alternatively, city people refer to it as Jozi or Jo’burg. In turn 11 I translanguaged to isiXhosa resources by saying, “ndicela umntu afunde” [May I please have someone read] after which I switch to a hybrid repertoire in turn 12, saying, “Mhlawumbi umntu uza kufunda iparagraph nhe” [Maybe each person should read a paragraph, hey]. I switch again to isiXhosa resources and say, “Ngubani oza kusiqalela?” [who will start for us?]. In turn 14, Nathi responds using isiXhosa resources, volunteering his friend to read, but I tell Nathi to read first, saying “Funda Nathi” [Read Nathi]. Nathi switches to English as he starts reading the English text in turn 16. Samkelo corrects him in turn 18. Nathi repeats the correction and continues. Samkelo corrects him again in turn 19. In turn 20, Nathi repeats the correction and continues reading in English. Now, in turn 21 I use isiXhosa resources and ask, “Singathini?” [What would we say?] as a cue to orient the children to the target language. This is in line with the instruction that I had given earlier to the whole group of children prior to the small group work. In turn 22 I switch to a hybrid repertoire and say, “Kuthwani kule paragraph yokuqala?” [what does this first paragraph say?] to focus them on the first paragraph. In turn 24 I repeat, using a hybrid repertoire, “So kuthwani kula paragraph?” [So what does that paragraph say?] before switching in turn 25 to reread the whole paragraph in English, and ask again in turn 26 what the paragraph says, this time using isiXhosa resources. In turn 25, I shuttle back to the English text when I say, “The officer wrote a letter for Assumani. The Ivorians who could speak French explained everything to him and offered to help him. They paid transport for Assumani from Musina to Johannesburg”, and then shuttle back into using isiXhosa resources in turn 26, when I ask, “Kuthwani apha [what does this say?]” The reason for this shuttling across a non-standard variety, and English and isiXhosa standard varieties, is a strategic one. Here I draw on my linguistic repertoire strategically to avoid giving away the translation to the children. I repeat what was read in

the English text to remind the children of what they are translating, and to probe for isiXhosa equivalence without giving it away or doing it for them. I also use a hybrid repertoire or variety in turn 28 in Extract 7 below when I ask “I-officer ngumntu otheni?” [What kind of a person is an officer?]. It would appear to the reader of this thesis that my use of the non-standard variety in turns 22, 24, above, and 28 below, is to build a bridge between standard English and standard isiXhosa, in case the words ‘paragraph’ and ‘officer’ are unfamiliar to the children in isiXhosa. ‘Paragraph’ would be ‘umhlathi’, but it is not a word that urban children use daily.

It could be argued that my use of isiXhosa resources is to orient the children to the target language. But, in this translation activity, I am careful not to appear to be expecting the children to use standard language resources only. Thus, I use one single or hybrid repertoire whenever I can, either to legitimise this way of speaking and to set the children free, or I signal the move towards isiXhosa after story reading in English. Thus, it can be seen through all turns in the original conversation in the left-hand column, that the bits of text written in English are bits of the original text that the children must translate, and that the rest of the text, as shown, is in standard and non-standard varieties of isiXhosa, and this serves as the cue towards translation. We can observe translanguaging from isiXhosa (turns 1,3,5 to a repertoire in turns 2, and 6, and from a repertoire from turns 6,7 and 9 to English in turn 10), and translanguaging to isiXhosa in turn 11 to a repertoire in turn 12, to isiXhosa again in turns 13,14 and 15. Though in turn 20 I asked, using isiXhosa resources ‘what would we say here?’, in turns 22 and 26 I shift from standard isiXhosa to a non-standard variety as another cue for children to translate to isiXhosa, thus using the resources they are familiar with alongside the target resource that is expected of them in schooling. In doing so, I paid attention to issues of dominance, diversity, access, and redesign in Janks’ model for critically engaging with multilingualism (Janks, 2004). I now turn to the children’s engagement with translation in the following set of turns:

*Extract 7.5: Children beginning to translate*

Extract 7.5 below shows the turns when the children begin to work on the translation.

26. Kuthwani pha?	What does that mean?
27. <u>CHILDREN</u> : [No immediate response]	[No immediate response]
28. <u>XOLISA</u> : I-officer ngumntu otheni?	What is an officer?
29. Ewe?	Yes?
30. <u>NONI</u> : Lipolisa.	It is a policeman
31. <u>XOLISA</u> : Lipolisa.	It is a policeman.
32. Kuthwa ipolisa lenze ntoni?	What does the text say he did?
33. <u>SAMKELO</u> : Ipolisa liye labhalela uAssumani ileta.	The policeman wrote a letter for Assumani.
34. <u>XOLISA</u> : Ewe.	Yes
35. Labhalela uAssumani ileta.	He wrote a letter for Assumani.
36. Kwathini?	Then what happened?
37. Ok qhubekeka.	Ok, go on.
38. Omnye?	Someone else?
39. <u>SAMKELO</u> : I-Ivorians, ezazikwazi ukuthetha isiFrentshi zacacisela...	Ivorians who could speak French explained...
40. zamcacisela yonke into.	explained everything for him
41. <u>XOLISA</u> : Ewe.	Yes
42. Kwenzeka ntoni emva koko?	What happened after that?
43. Liya?	Liya?
44. <u>LIYA</u> : Zafuna ukumceda.	They wanted to help him
45. <u>XOLISA</u> : Kuba babefuna ukumnceda.	Because they wanted to help him
46. E-e, bamnceda kanjani?	E-e, how did they help him?
47. <u>LIYA</u> : Babhatalela i-transport for uAssumani...	They paid transport fare for Assumani...
48. <u>OLWETHU</u> : Bambhatalela i-transport.	They paid transport for him
49. <u>NATHI</u> : ...ukusuka...	...from...

The word officer is not a common word for a policeman in South Africa, but to answer my question in turn 28, where I asked, “I-officer ngumntu otheni?” [What is an officer?] Noni gets the answer correct by saying, “lipolisa” [a policeman/woman or a police officer] in turn 30. This knowledge may come from children watching American TV dramas. The interesting shift

between my question and Noni's response is between a non-standard or Xhosalised English (Paxton & Tyam, 2010) 'i-officer', and a standardised variety in 'ipolisa' [a policeman]. Though the word 'ipolisa' is a borrowed word it has been appropriated and naturalised in the standard variety, and it is now used as a standardised synonym for 'abakwantsasana'. In urban areas, such as Cape Town, it is possible that the word 'abakwantsasana' is not an everyday word and that some children might not know it, while 'ipolisa' is a commonly used word. I make a variety shift again by repeating, 'ipolisa' after Noni. The repetition here signals approval of the word that Noni has suggested.

In turn 39 Samkelo also uses a non-standard variety when he says, "li-Ivorians ezithetha isiFrentshi zacacisela" [the French speaking Ivorians explained], and, in turns 48 and 49 Liya and Olwethu use a non-standard variety to offer their translations. Liya says, "Babhatalela i-transport for u-Assumani..." [They paid for Assumani's transport fare], and Olwethu says, "Bambhatalela itransport" [They paid for his transport fare]. Olwethu's turn not only uses one linguistic repertoire, but he also uses his response to correct Liya's grammar strategically without telling her that her grammar is incorrect. Makalela (2018) argues that African people do not use the direct correction methods used in schools, but rather use circumlocution; Olwethu's correction of Liya is reflective of that. However, both use the word 'ukubhatala' for paid, which is not an original isiXhosa word, but one which has been appropriated from the Afrikaans word for 'pay', 'betaal', and naturalised in isiXhosa. The original isiXhosa version for 'ukubhatala' is 'ukuhlawula'. Thus, even though the children are translating to an urban variety, they show that they understand the meaning of the English text and can translate to their variety. In turns 78-79 below, Liya says, "ndandifeela" in a non-standard variety for [I felt], and Samkelo offers a standard variety when he says, "Ndandiziva..." [I felt].

Extract 7.6: Children's translation of Assumani's story from English to isiXhosa continues

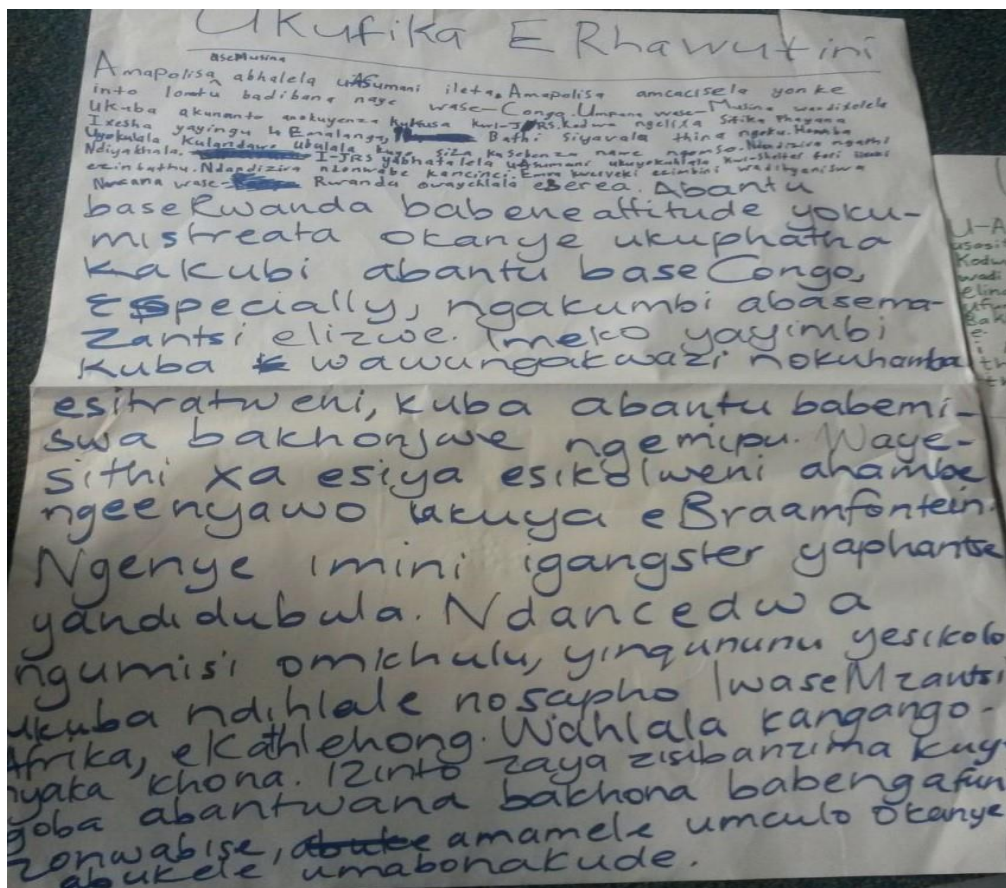
67. <b>SAMKELO:</b> “When I arrived in Johannesburg, things were still quite difficult. The way I was feeling and the way I feel when I remember that time really affects me a lot. I felt very sad just to see how I look now, it’s quite a lot better. That time I had so...I had no shoes. I had no clothes. I looked like somebody who had been staying in the bush for quite a long time. I couldn’t bath and I couldn’t wash my clothes. All that time I spent walking in the game reserve and staying at the police station.”	“When I arrived in Johannesburg, things were still quite difficult. The way I was feeling and the way I feel when I remember that time really affects me a lot. I felt very sad just to see how I look now, it’s quite a lot better. That time I had so...I had no shoes. I had no clothes. I looked like somebody who had been staying in the bush for quite a long time. I couldn’t bath and I couldn’t wash my clothes. All that time I spent walking in the game reserve and staying at the police station.”
68. <b>XOLISA:</b> Sivile ukuba kuthwani phaya?	Ok, we have understood what that it says?
69. <b>Ngubani umntu ozolantuka?</b>	Who is going to do it?
70. <b>LIYA?</b>	LIYA?
71. <b>LIYA:</b> Ngoku ndandifika eGoli – eJohannesburg – izinto zazi...zazi...zazi...	When I arrived in Goli- in Johannesburg – things were...were...were...
72. <b>SAMKELO:</b> ...Zazinzima.	...they were difficult.
73. <b>LIYA:</b> ...zazinzima.	...they were difficult.
74. <b>XOLISA:</b> Mhm?	Mhm?
75. <b>NONI:</b> Zazisenzima.	They were still difficult
76. <b>XOLISA:</b> Mhm, kwathini?	Mmmm, what happened?
77. <b>NONI:</b> Enganazihlangu.	He did not have shoes.
78. <b>XOLISA:</b> Ewe.	Yes.
79. <b>LIYA:</b> Indlela endandifeela...	The way I felt
80. <b>SAMKELO:</b> Endandiziva ngayo.	The way I felt
81. <b>LIYA:</b> ...endandiziva ngayo u...(pauses)	The way I felt...(pauses)
82. <b>XOLISA:</b> Mhm? Xa ndikhumbula isandichaphazela neh?	Mhmm? When remember, it still affects me, hey?
83. <b>Asandiafekta, isandenza ndingaziva kamnandi, neh?</b>	It still affects me, it still does not make me feel good, hey?
84. <b>Indlela etheni? Indlela ewayeziva ngayo xa ayikhumbulayo</b>	How he? The way he felt when she remembers still makes him not feel good, hey?
85. <b>isamenza angaziva kamnandi, neh</b>	it still makes be not feel good, nhe?
86. <b>Kwathini ke ngoku? Wayeziva njani?</b>	Then what happened? How did he feel

In turns 48 and 80, Olwethu and Samkelo ‘correct’ Liya in two different ways. Olwethu makes lexical and grammar corrections by putting in a pronoun for Assumani in ‘bambhatalela’ while Samkelo is offering ‘ndandiziva’ as a standard version of the word ‘ukufeela’. Thus, the children are also grappling with and negotiating grammar use. In turn 71, Liya, who is only in

Grade 3, gets stuck trying to express 'zazinzima' because she is trying to find the right tense. She says, "Ngoko ndandifika eGoli – eJohannesburg – izinto zazi...zazi...zazi..." [When I arrived in Goli- in Johannesburg – things were...were...were]. In turn 72, Samkelo gives her the word she is looking for and says, "zazinzima" [they were difficult]. But 'zazinzima' translates to things were difficult, instead of things were still difficult. Then I say, "Mhm?" questioningly in turn 74, or to express doubt in my response. Then, in turn 75, Noni gets the correct translation and says, "zazisenzima" [they were still difficult]. I give an approving, mhmmm, by qualifying it with "what happened?" Though Liya might have struggled to come up with the standard variety, she was able to translate from English to her non-standard variety. But she is coming to be exposed to ways of expressing her translation in the standard language offered by her peers. Secondly, Liya also provided another name for Johannesburg in "eGoli" instead of "eRhawutini, Johannesburg". It is interesting that the children did not take up the name she came up with in the draft written translation below, as the children chose to use eRhawutini, for Johannesburg. This name eGoli, tends to be used by people from Johannesburg themselves, and thus, it is not popular with children of the Eastern and Western Cape Provinces. However, it is the knowledge of this alternative name that Liya brings to the discussion.

In correcting each other's translation or grammar, children do this by activating their existing knowledge of grammar. Noni and Samkelo were in Grade 6, while Liya was in Grade 3. It can be expected, therefore, that they would have more advanced knowledge of formal grammar. But there are not many grammatical corrections given here by me or by the children as the children's focus here is on meaning or sense making. Their grammatical corrections are also meaningful in that they are not decontextualized, but are negotiated, with the deliberate intention of arriving at a meaningful translation, and to make the target text align with the original text. For example, in "zazinzima", in turn 72, and "zazisenzima" in turn 75, the children were trying to get closer to the translation of "things were *still* difficult" in the English text. Finally, we can also see the skill or strategy with which they correct each other, and the skill with which they accept corrections through repetition (Gregory & Williams, 2003). The children are not forceful or categorical with their corrections and are also comfortable accepting the corrections through repetition. However, I also soften the corrections made of Liya's translation. In turns 82 to 85, just after Samkelo has corrected Liya's non-standard

variety, I strategically shuttle between varieties to legitimise Liya’s variety. In turn 82, I use an isiXhosa standard variety, then in turn 83, I use a non-standard variety, focussing especially the word, “isandiafekta” [it still affects me], and then I go back to standard variety in turns 84 and 85. I use the hybrid repertoire here so as not to make Liya feel that she is over corrected or being ‘shown up’, and because I desperately wanted to show the children that any variety is acceptable. I do the same later, in turns 117 and 118, when I explain through a non-standard variety that Assumani was walking bare foot in the game reserve and stayed at the police station. A child latches on to this by saying, “iparagraph”... for next paragraph. Though the children did not finish translating the whole page, below in Figure 7.6, is a glimpse of their draft written translation.



This draft written text demonstrates that the children have achieved the goal of the activity, which was to translate the English text into isiXhosa. The small handwriting at the top is the children’s writing. However, when I realised that the group was running out of time, I took charge of the shared writing process, and the children dictated what I should write.

In the analysis of the translation process that the children engaged in, I have shown that translation is not a straight-forward move from one language to another, but a complex process of negotiation, involving exploratory talk with children, and drawing from their full linguistic repertoire (Barnes, 2010; Baynham & Lee, 2019; Mercer, 1995; Paxton, 2009; Umberto, 2004). Thus, translanguaging and translation have been used simultaneously, both as languaging strategies to legitimise bilingualism in the literacy club, and as an aspect of pedagogy to enhance biliteracy development. What is important to note is that we can see from the text that there are also non-standard words, such as “mistreata” [mistreat], “especially” and “igangstar” [gangster]. I argue that, in this kind of translation activity, if the teacher’s aim is to arrive at a pure standardised text, the traces of other languages in the first draft of the text can be resolved in the revision and editing stages of the text before it gets to its final presentation or publishing stage. Drafting and revising as part of a writing process is a recognised approach in the teaching of writing with young children (in CAPS for higher grades) and a necessary process to be followed with translated texts as well. I also argue that the text could be left as a translingual text if the teacher’s goal is to truly recognise and encourage bilingual texts that calibrate to the needs of bilingual children. Though children’s bilingual languaging is tolerated in some classrooms, it is very rare to see written bilingual texts being encouraged (Guzula et al., 2016; Velasco & García, 2014), even though in literature written by Black South Africans it is both used and appreciated. Furthermore, I have demonstrated that translation is a practical way of drawing on children’s sociocultural resources and positioning them as speakers with multilingual resources and bilingual communicative competency, even when they are required to compose monolingually. Translation and translanguaging when used in this way foreground children’s bilingual competence, legitimise their bilingualism, and offer a window into their linguistic and literacy practices. Teachers can also make assessments of where the children are in their emergent bilingualism through translation. Finally, I have shown that drawing on children’s full linguistic repertoire can be a pedagogical strategy for negotiation of meaning and translation, and a strategy which can be used by teachers to enhance children’s biliteracy development as well as for drawing on their sociocultural resources.

## **Part 2: Language and literacy pedagogy involves a multimodal repertoire of literacy practices.**

Next, I draw on multimodal social semiotic analysis to show how the children and facilitators collectively disrupt autonomous and monomodal literacies. In Figure 7.1, where the children discuss expectations for the literacy club, the children conceptualise language and literacy learning as involving multimodal repertoires of literacy practices and experiences. According to the expectations and conceptualisations of a literacy club the children had, the STLC# programme should include activities such as storytelling, reading and writing, dance, singing, drama, playing, and drawing. They did not see reading as the only marker of being literate, but rather as going hand in hand with other modes of communication. Thus, written language is included by them amongst the many modes of communication and can also be achieved in an assemblage with other forms of communication. The holiday programme described in Extract 7.1 is evidence of the response by the facilitators to the children's expectations. It aligns with the children's goals as it incorporates some of the activities and creates opportunities for the children to be immersed and engaged in the activities they desired, such as songs, storytelling, drawing, reading and writing, and drama. Both the children and the facilitators placed an emphasis on oral literacy practices and on multimodality as resources for meaning making.

In the context of the STLC# it seemed important to the children and the facilitators for them to foreground and centre African practices of orality (Gough & Bock, 2001; Kell, 2006; Opland, 2018), and to recognise the connections of these to written forms of literacy. These practices of orality, which include storytelling, game songs and rhymes, dance, and art (visual and performance) have been systematically marginalised in the formal schooling of Black children since the times of colonialism and Apartheid (Schneider, 1985; Thiong'o, 1986; Dase, Sotewu, & Steele, 2007; Dick, 2013; Hill, 2018; Steyn, 2015; Vuuren, 2015). The introduction of Western formal education was accompanied by the introduction of an autonomous model of literacy, especially for children from marginalised communities. Thus, both the children and facilitators foreground these literary forms because they seem to recognise that, even in Post-Apartheid South Africa, this literacy and cultural heritage is marginalised in many of their schools, with the exception of children attending some ex-Model C and private schools; these children

benefit from lessons in music, visual art, and drama. Thus, in our two-tiered education system, children from marginalised communities continue to experience impoverished education, as many schools African Language speaking children attend focus on written literacy rather than incorporating these multimodal literary forms systematically in the curriculum.

In foregrounding orality and performance, the holiday programme started with **games and songs**. On Day 3 of the holiday programme, the facilitators planned to use songs for teaching language and literacy through a shared writing activity. The idea was to get the children to learn a new song which they were going to write down in Afrikaans and isiXhosa. The song is titled, “Ek soek vir Miranda” in Afrikaans (I am looking for Miranda), while the isiXhosa version is called, “Ndifun’itshom’iyam” (I am looking for my friend). The idea behind using songs was to teach reading and writing more directly than just singing them orally, through the shared writing and reading strategy described in Chapters 5 and 6. The facilitators would introduce the song orally in both isiXhosa and Afrikaans, practise it with the children a few times, then the facilitator and the children were to write it down with the facilitator acting as a scribe, while the children would dictate the lines. Each line would be read out loud after being written and a new line would be added, read, and then the children would reread from the first line to the last line. Below is an example of the song that was taught and written in Afrikaans but sung orally in isiXhosa with an English translation.

*Extract 7.7: Looking for Miranda/friend song*

Afrikaans	isiXhosa	English
Ek soek vir Miranda, Miranda, Miranda	Ndifun’itshom’iyam, tshom’iyam, tshom’iyam	Looking for my friend, my friend, my friend
Ek Soek vir Miranda, Miranda vir my	Ndifun’itshom’iyam, tshom’iam, tshom’iyam	Looking for my friend, my friend, my friend
Ek soek vir Miranda, Miranda, Miranda	Ndifun’itshom’iyam, tshom’iyam, tshom’iyam	Looking for my friend, my friend, my friend
Ek Soek vir Miranda, Miranda vir my	Ndifun’itshom’iyam, tshom’iam, tshom’iyam	Looking for my friend, my friend, my friend

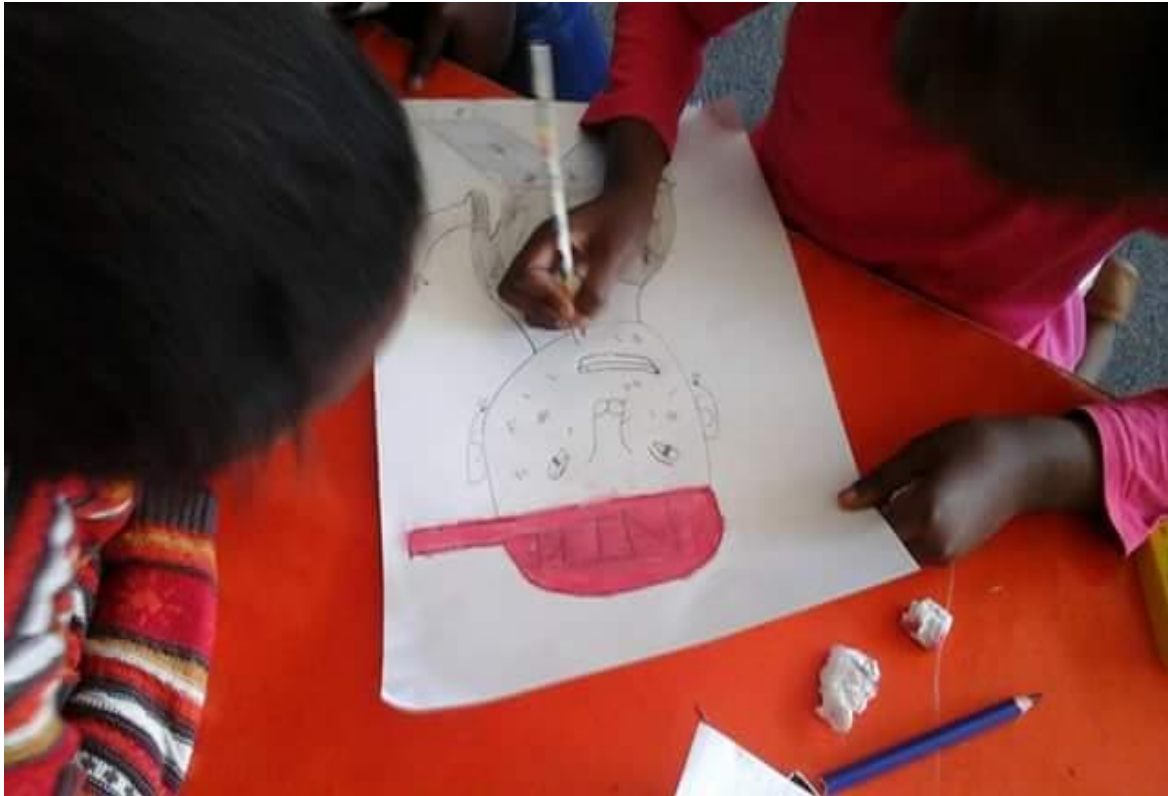
O hier is Miranda, Miranda, Miranda!	Owu nants'itshom'iyam, tshom'iyam, tshom'iyam	Oh, here is my friend, my friend, my friend!
O hier is Miranda, Miranda vir my!	Owu nants' itshom'iyam, tshom'iyam, tshom'iyam!	Oh, here is my friend, my friend, my friend!

The affordances of songs for language and literacy pedagogy include the fact that songs are an easy way to teach literary devices such as rhyme, rhythm, repetition, and alliteration, devices often taught as poetic devices in poetry. Thus, this example would indicate that the way in which teachers teach phonological awareness could be substantially improved by retraining teachers on how to use songs as resources for teaching phonological awareness and phonemic awareness.

One of the frequently unrecognised affordances of storytelling is the potential of stories being used to teach children the link between storytelling and story writing, reading, and then retelling. When children discover the link between storytelling and reading, they begin to write their own stories, so that these stories can be read by others, and then retold. Thus, by insisting on storytelling, the children and the facilitators recognise the pedagogical value of stories for language and literacy learning, while at the same time they implore us to bring back the rich oral heritage of Africa into the classroom. Storytelling is multimodal, combining gesture, expression, and voice, and this combination creates joy and fun in learning, while also enhancing meaning making (Stein, 2008). It can be used in combination with puppets to further enhance fun and meaning making.

On Day 1 of the holiday programme, after the children had completed their shared writing with Marlene, they engaged in shared reading of the story and then drew their own pictures of the monster. Below, I present Figure 7.4 with both the shared written story and the pictures of the monster.





*Figure 7.7 Drawing of the monster as a 'skollie'- a thug*

In Figure 7.4 we can see the children's drawings of the monster being placed alongside their written retelling of the story of the monster. In Figure 7.7 there is a picture of the human monster labelled a 'skollie', meaning a 'criminal'. Although in the story that was told, the monster was not described explicitly or verbally as 'ugly', 'jealous', 'dangerous', as a 'bully', as a 'trickster', as 'scary' and so on, the children were able to depict this through their art, and drama. This then enabled them to engage with the discussion about the monster, as analysed above, spontaneously and with ease. It gave them vocabulary to discuss the monster in terms of its colour, the sharp teeth it has, and the kind of eyes it has. Giving children opportunities to engage with artwork and to use their own imagination has different affordances for children's meaning making. As mentioned above, storytelling is multimodal combining gesture, characterisation, and sounds. It does not provide the children with the ready-made pictures of an illustrated storybook, but the storyteller uses words and gestures in such a way that children can paint a picture for themselves in their minds, drawing from their own experience and imagination. As the children visualise the story in their minds and are given opportunities to commit their visual representations of the monster to paper through drawings, they display their meaning making in ways they would not be able to do with words

alone. For the two children in Figure 7.7 above, a ‘skollie’ [criminal or gangster] is a monster. Their idea of a monster expands the definition of the monster to refer to a thug or gang member in the community. Thus, this indicates that, for these children, a criminal is a monster.

Lastly, the children expressed a desire to engage in performative arts, specifically **drama**. In addition to the theatre visits analysed in Chapter 6, the facilitators created an opportunity during the holiday programme for them to perform. On Day 1 the children retold the story of the monster (The boy and his drum) bilingually with Marlene and drew their own monsters. At the start of Day 2, the children found their artwork displayed across the room, and were taken on a ‘gallery walk’ by the facilitators, after which they had to choose one of the monsters that they would like their group to be. This would involve acting out the kind of monster: show where it stays, how big it is, how it walks and talks, and what it eats. Then on stage they acted out their role plays, one of which is shown in Extract 7.8 below.

*Data Extract 7.8: Children acting in groups as monsters*

<b>Role Play - Call and Response</b>	
1.Mother (umama): Bantwana bam!	My children!
2.Children (Abantwana): Mama	Mama
3.Mother: Yizani kum!	Come to me!
4.Children: Siyoyika	We are scared
5.Mother: Noyika Ntoni?	Scared of what?
6.Children: Igongqongqo	of the monster
7.Mother: Liphī?	Where is it?
8.Children: Naliya	Over there
9.Mother: Lenza ntoni? (monster eats)	What is it doing? (Monster eats)
10.Children: Liyatya	It is eating

11.Mother Litya ntoni?	What is it eating?
12.Children: Isonka	Bread
13.Mother: Lilumela ngantoni?	Downing the bread with what?
14.Children: Ngegazi	With blood
15.Mother: Lalani	Sleep
16.Children: Ahoho	Oh yes
17.Mother: Vukani	Wake up
18.Children: Ahoho	Oh yes
19.Mother: Libalekeni (this part is an adaptation of 'Ngomso yiKrisimesi')	Run away from it. (this part is an adaptation of 'Tomorrow is Christmas')
20. Children: Run away from the monster which chases them, and they hide.	
21. Monster: Chases the children and takes home some children	

Combined with drama, stories can be used to develop children's critical thinking skills, help them to solve social problems, and develop imagination. In the role play that a group of children perform in Extract 7.8 above, they draw on a familiar call and response game and create a mini skit where they imagine themselves to be the children of a mother who is calling her children to come home while they are playing. They refuse to come home, telling her they fear a monster lurking close to them. They imagine that the monster eats bread and washes it down with human blood and tell this to their mother. But when she mentions that the next day is Christmas, they forget what they just told her about the monster and rush home. This is the point at which the monster chases them. The mother stands with open arms to welcome the children as they come running to her. Though this is a familiar call and response game, the children use it strategically to connect it with the story of the monster they have just

listened to. They also draw conclusions about the monster being a scary creature based on the discussion and description they heard about monsters, and on the artwork they made, and apply all of this to the creation of their monster as a monster that eats children. The ability to make the connection between the story, the artwork, and the discussion is a high order thinking skill that the children displayed as they created their monsters. Furthermore, engaging in role play enabled the children to draw on their existing sociocultural resources of a call and response game which also involved a monster. Though the original game was about a hyena, the children redesigned the game based on their own interests and experiences to signify a monster in their role play (Bock, 2016; Stein, 2008). The game is not just a verbal call and response, but it relies also on movement and action. Expressions of fear of the monster in the call and response role play, and the running away from it, further deepen the children's understanding of the monster as a scary creature that people need to protect themselves against.

Thus, in planning the holiday programme, the facilitators wanted to integrate the various modes of communication, starting with oral storytelling, following this with the retelling of the story, all of which deepens the children's understanding of the events of the story. The facilitators followed this, first by asking the children to draw their own monsters, then with facilitators reading aloud to the children two other stories about monsters, the children making a role play by pretending to be monsters, and a critical discussion about how monsters are portrayed in the stories read or told, and in their artwork, before they wrote a story from the monster's perspective. Though the end product of this holiday programme is the story that the children wrote, which I am not analysing here, it is interesting to note the long process the facilitators took the children through to get to the product. It was a process that enabled the children to draw on various modes for meaning making, all of which supported them in enriching their story writing with rich description and vocabulary.

#### *Combining use of a multilingual repertoire and multimodal repertoire as pedagogy and its affordances*

Above, I have analysed the use by the facilitators, together with the children, of multilingual and multimodal repertoires separately as they applied to separate activities, as suggested by the children, and planned for the holiday programme by the facilitators. I have analysed how

the facilitators encouraged the children to draw on their multilingual repertoires, and on different modes of communication for meaning making, and I have discussed the affordances of each mode separately. I now turn to an analysis of the combination of both multilingual and multimodal repertoires. Going back to Extract 7.3, where the children engaged in shared writing of a retelling of the story of the monster, I analyse how, in that activity, the children combined both multimodal and multilingual repertoires simultaneously. The combination of the bilingual talk and writing during the shared writing of the retelling of the story, as well as the children's movement of their bodies to write, as explained above, disrupts monoglossia and monomodality, and, in this case, transformed the text. The children became instrumental in asserting their multilingual repertoire, and, through their bodies, effected changes into the text. Thus, the children made meaning through oral language, written language, and movement of their bodies simultaneously, while also drawing from their multilingual repertoires. The movement of their bodies to add their ideas to the text adds the body as a resource in the semiotic repertoire (Blackledge & Creese, 2017). Without the children moving to the board, Marlene would have struggled to write in isiXhosa. Blackledge and Creese (2017:1) argue that "when people's biographical and linguistic repertoires barely overlap, they translanguage through the deployment of wide-ranging semiotic repertoires". What this means here is that, as Marlene, the English-Afrikaans bilingual facilitator struggles to understand what the children are saying in isiXhosa, and while it would have taken great strain and effort for children to have to spell each word for her to transcribe in isiXhosa, she does not allow this to breakdown their communication. She also does not encourage the children to try and speak English when they offer their contributions in isiXhosa, as is the case for some teachers, and she does not gloss over their responses. Instead, she is interested in what they say, and invites them up to the newsprint to write their responses, after which she asks them to read their response, as is usually the case when combining shared writing with shared reading. By handing over the koki pen, and inviting them to come up, and the children's movement to the flipchart, the taking of the koki, and the leaning over to write what they know in isiXhosa is illustrative of the children's deployment of their semiotic repertoire. The children also took up the opportunity to become teachers, thus taking charge of the shared writing activity in a similar way to the shared writing practices of Latinx children in Manyak's (2001) research, where children ended up creating a bilingual English-Spanish text instead of shared writing in English. Mkhize (2016:45) argues that "children... sometimes take on roles

of being the knowledgeable other, demonstrating that in sociocultural contexts participants assume learning and teaching roles in flexible ways.” Thus, the children show themselves to be agentic in challenging the dominance of monoglossia and monomodality by positioning themselves as having a semiotic repertoire. Marlene demonstrates how teachers and facilitators who do not speak the children’s languages could still legitimise the children’s semiotic repertoires. Though she does not understand isiXhosa, in Figure 7.3d, which I return to below, Marlene leans over and watches the child as she writes. Marlene’s upper body and gaze show an interested person who cares about what children are writing and is probably reading what they are writing and learning to read isiXhosa. She is observing but not taking over the activity.



*Figure 7.3d Marlene leaning in to watch closely as the children write in isiXhosa*

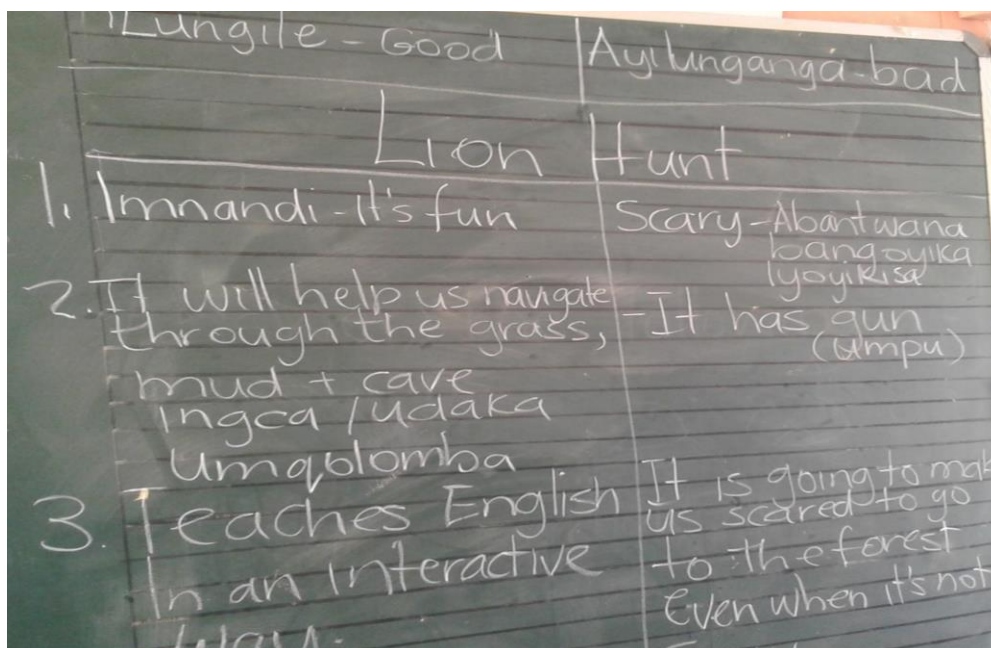
Secondly, the cumulative building up of the activities, starting with the telling of a story in isiXhosa, the retelling of the story in English which ends up being bilingual, the drawing of monsters, the reading of a further two stories from the book about the monster, the gallery walk to look at their pictures, the creation and performance of the role play, the discussion about the monster, and the use of a multilingual repertoire throughout, demonstrates how a multimodal and multilingual repertoire enriches meaning making. This demonstrates the long meaning making process which both children and facilitators engaged in over a three-day

holiday programme to get to the final written product that was enriched in description by the experiences from all of these activities.

### Part 3: Advocating for multilingual, multimodal learning experiences from a child's perspective

As mentioned in Chapters 5 and 6, the facilitators participated with the children in games, not only at the holiday programme, but in the weekly Saturday literacy club sessions. As a lead facilitator I sometimes played a role in introducing new concepts and demonstrating how they work to both the children and facilitators, and also because the facilitators were reserved in the beginning. I demonstrated to the facilitators how to use songs and games for teaching, and how to draw and build from these sociocultural and semiotic resources for meaning making. After playing the 'Lion Hunt' game, I introduced the concept of 'ubungqondi', critical thinking, to the children by explaining to them that sometimes communication, verbal and non-verbal, gets interpreted differently by different people. I explained that even the games they play, such as the 'Lion Hunt', can be heard positively or negatively by different people. In one of the literacy club sessions, I made two columns on the board and wrote 'good' on one side and 'bad' on the other, as can be seen in Figure 7.8 below.

Figure 7.8 Discussion and notes on the Lion Hunt game



I asked the children to think about and mention all the things they liked about the game, and to suggest the ones they thought people could potentially find problematic about the game, and why. I wrote on the board all the things that the children thought were positive or negative about the game, as can be seen in Figure 7.8. In the session that followed this on the following Saturday, the aim was to work with the children to transform the game into a game that would make it acceptable to all people. I started off by reviewing the work they had done the previous week. We usually did this to help those children who had been absent to understand what had happened before moving on. I asked Noni to summarise all of the things that the children thought were good about the game. Noni started off by talking about what was 'good', and in her talk she drew on the semiotic resources afforded by the game to make her point. Below, I analyse the kind of meaning making Noni made from the game, focusing on the kind of linguistic repertoires and language resources that the classroom as a third space legitimises, not only in speech but in writing as well. The Lion Hunt game below is controversial, in that it mentions guns, bullets and hunting, which some people, including the children might not consider appropriate for children. It is exactly for this reason that the facilitators at the STLC# felt it productive to use the game as it can be used to teach children critical literacy skills through getting them to consider the reasons why the game would or would not be – or considered to be - appropriate for children. This enables children to identify the inappropriateness themselves, and then redesign the game, rather than the facilitator or teacher telling them that they should not play the game. The first part of the game goes like this:

We're going on a lion hunt

I'm not scared

Got a gun by my side [touching hips]

Bullets, two [showing two fingers]

We come to some grass

Some tall grass [bending and raising hand high above the head]

We can't go over it, [showing with hands]

We can't go under it [showing with hands and bending]

We can't go around it [showing with hands]

We have to through it [showing with hands]

Let's go...swish, swish, swish [moving the grass to the side with hands]

*Extract 7.9: Noni conceptualises the semiotic repertoire*

Original	Translation
<p>Xolisa: ...Okay, ngubani okhumbulayo? Siye sathi zintoni ezigood ngala game? Sithe zintoni esizithandayo ngayo? Zintoni ezilungileyo ngayo? Hayi kaloku siyathetha tyhini abantu bandijongile nje, bandijongile nje abantu balibele ngoku. Sithe la game igood ngoba kutheni? Noni?</p>	<p>Xolisa: ...Okay, who remembers? What things did we say are good about that game? What did we say we like about it? What are the good things about it? No, we have to speak hey, people are just looking at me, they have forgotten now. Why did we say that game is good? Noni?</p>
<p>Noni: Ngoba ukuba umntu akayazi ukuba ukuhamba over it mhlawumbi njengoba sithetha ngeEnglish uyabona ngezandla ba we can't go over, it, we can't go under it, we can't go around it uyabona okay uover nguntoni, u-under yintoni, uaround yintoni and then....[inaudible]</p>	<p>Noni: 'Because if a person doesn't know what walking over it means, maybe because we speak English s/he can see through the use of hands that 'we can't go over it', 'we can't go under it', 'we can't go around it' and see what 'over' means, what 'under' means and what 'around' means and then...[inaudible]'</p>
<p>Xolisa: Ukuba ngaba... umntu... akamazi ...uover it nhe, uyabona ngezandla nhe... ngezandla, naxa usithi under...under it nhe? Utshilo nhe?</p>	<p>Xolisa: 'That if...a person...doesn't know...what 'over it' means, hey, s/he can see through the hands, hey...and when you say 'under'...under it, hey? You said so, hey?</p>

Noni: E-e	Noni: 'Ewe, Yes'
Xolisa: Nobani omnye?	Xolisa: 'And what else?'
Noni: noaround it	Noni: 'And around it'
Xolisa: noaround it... noaround it, nhe? Uyabona ngezandla naxa usithi... ngezandla. Sathi igood loo nto nhe? Iyasifundisa loo nto ukuba kuthethwa ukuthwani andithi? I think uyibeke kakuhle kakhulu uNoni, ngendlela ecacileyo. Wonke umntu ucacelwe nhe?	Xolisa: 'and around it'...'and around it, hey? You can see through the hands when and when you...through the hands. We said that is good, hey? That teaches us what is meant by spoken words, isn't it? I think Noni expressed it so well, so clearly hey? Everybody is clear, hey?'
(Audio Recording: 05 March 2016 04:00-05:33)	

From the 'Lion Hunt' game described above, not only were the facilitators playing the game in English in the playground, but they were also extending the children's English repertoire by implicitly creating opportunities for languaging through both verbal and non-verbal communication (Swain, 2006). As Noni and I discuss the 'good' aspect of the game, Noni demonstrates that she cannot make her point without using both English and isiXhosa. She begins her response in isiXhosa but draws on specific English vocabulary to make her point about the game's semiotic affordances and educational value: "Ngoba ukuba umntu akayazi ukuba ukuhamba over it mhlawumbi njengoba sithetha ngeEnglish uyabona ngezandla ba we can't go over it" ['Because if a person doesn't know what walking **over it** means, maybe because we speak **English** s/he can see through the use of hands that '**we can't go over it**']. Noni's response positions her competently; she is drawing on her linguistic repertoire for participation and for making a particularly important conceptual point about the affordances

that the game provides for languaging, participation, and inclusivity (Guzula, McKinney & Tyler, 2016). It has been argued by multiliteracies scholars that there are limitations to the exclusive use of language as sole means of communication (New London Group, 2000; Stein, 2004; Newfield, 2011; Kress, 1997). Noni's competent argument about people's ability to draw on their full semiotic repertoire in meaning making positions her as intellectually and linguistically competent. Through her argument she defies the negative or deficit stereotypes that teachers in many classrooms associate with children who have a multilingual repertoire. Though she is still a child in primary school, she makes similar arguments about communication as multimodal and multisensory to those arguments made by theorists of communication.

By bringing the game into the classroom, and by doing more overt instruction of the kind that focuses on critical literacy, I demonstrated to the rest of the facilitators how to capitalise on both implicit and explicit pedagogical strategies to shape and enhance children's meaning making. My drawing on the overt instruction and writing down word for word Noni's response on the newsprint, recognized, acknowledged, and affirmed her linguistic repertoire. I also demonstrated to her, and to the other children what a bilingual text looks like and created a linguistic third space that affirmed her linguistic resources. I did this to deliberately disrupt monoglossia, to valorise Noni's sociocultural resources, and to encourage all the children to draw on all of their linguistic resources for meaning making.

The value of the 'Lion Hunt' game for literacy learning cannot be underestimated. The game has huge potential for helping to build the children's background knowledge and vocabulary, and these they can use in reading new texts. Thus, the game is not merely beneficial and energising for play; it is necessary for building children's schema for further learning. The children can make text to self-connections, between the books they read and their experiences. Earlier I mentioned that the children were learning English vocabulary through the Lion Hunt game by making use of verbal and non-verbal communication, thus showing how games are sites for multimodal communication and for languaging where children move their bodies as well as talk or sing, and where they can also make use of objects, such as stones and shoes, as part of their play (Swain, 2006; Harrop-Allin, 2014). In doing this, they aid language learning using many modes at once. As the games are also inclusive and, in the

case of the STLC#, involve children from ages 8-12 years old as well as adults, and can be played by both girls and boys, they help in transcending age and gender binaries. They also transcend the formal and informal learning binary. The fluid way in which games are played outside and inside classrooms also disrupts the idea that games must be played outdoors only. On rainy days, for example, the classroom gets rearranged to encourage play inside. This way, even teachers who find themselves in under-resourced schools and settings can teach creatively and effectively, using what is available and relevant to their children rather than find themselves constrained by the curriculum, which sometimes includes activities that have no relevance to their learners' real-life contexts.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter I have argued, first, that children conceptualise literacy in complex ways. I have argued that, at the STLC#, children learn literacy by languaging in multiple ways which include the use of named standardised languages as well as their non-standard varieties even in activities that required them to work monolingually. Thus, establishing a space for children to draw from their multilingual repertoires creates a linguistic third space. I have analysed and discussed the process of translation that the children engaged in when they worked collaboratively on a translation activity. I have shown that translation is neither an individual composing process nor a process that proceeds in a linear way from written text in one language to written text in another language. The pedagogical process described for the translation activity involves the oral mode of communication, both as a scaffold for written translation and as a resource for meaning making. I have also shown that the children engaged in a process of negotiation between their standard and non-standard language varieties to make meaning and that the children drew not only on their full linguistic repertoire to engage in translation but also on their existing knowledge of grammar. Thus, through translation, the children showed themselves able to display their bilingual communication competence, their grammatical competence, as well as their competence in teaching each other.

Secondly, the children were shown to perceive and engage with literacy learning in ways that involved a multimodal repertoire, and this repertoire challenged monomodal and print

dominant approaches to language and literacy learning. I have shown that viewing language and literacy learning multimodally has the potential to redesign pedagogy in the classroom to include multimodal and multilingual literacy events. These events enrich meaning making beyond the kind of meaning displayed through comprehension strategies (DBE, 2019) usually formally assessed according to rigid criteria. They also position children as competent bilinguals and designers of meaning. I have also argued and reaffirmed the view that bringing a multimodal approach to language and literacy learning forms part of a transformative process that seeks to centre children's sociocultural resources that have been devalued in formal schooling.

Furthermore, I have shown the various creative ways in which the facilitators responded to the children's desire for multimodal learning experiences through the holiday programme, which included storytelling, songs and games, art, and role play. I have shown how the integration of these multimodal activities enriched the children's learning experiences, and how crucial their meaning making processes were for the final written product they were committed to produce. Finally, I have shown how one child, Noni, advocated for these multimodal and multilingual learning experiences through her languaging response regarding the value of the game they played for learning. I have both argued and demonstrated that, combining the use of a multilingual and a multimodal repertoire, creates a pedagogical third space for learning, and that both children and their literacy club facilitators have collectively created this third space.

## Chapter 8: Conclusion

This thesis was motivated by my own family's language biography, and the social justice work I have been doing over the years in bi/multilingual education. This work has involved challenging the continuation of Apartheid language in education policy in practice in schools attended by Black African language speaking children and the neglect of the multilingual LiEP of 1997. It has also challenged the narrow perspective of literacy learning in the CAPS which is enforced by both the DBE and the provincial departments of education. Connected to the continuing subtractive, Anglonormative, monoglossic and monolingually oriented bilingual language in education policy in practice, which mandates the teaching of languages in silos as Home and First Additional Languages, is the deficit construction of Black African language - emergent English speaking bi/multilingual children. This study therefore challenges the autonomous and monolingual model of language and literacy that dominates government policy, assessments and much of NGO work. This challenge includes an acknowledgment of the violence of this model and is intended to provide all those involved in education the opportunity to see what children can do when they are freed from the constraints of the model. The challenge the study presents necessitated an intervention in the form of an afterschool literacy club as an alternative space for language and literacy learning for emergent bilinguals, such as the members of the Stars of Today Literacy Club# (STLC#). The study has been concerned with answering the questions:

- How is a bi/multilingual third space co-constructed in the afterschool literacy club?
- How do children from marginalised communities conceptualise language and literacy learning?
- What are the affordances of a bi/multilingual and multimodal approach to literacy learning in an out of school literacy club? And,
- How do children respond to a bi/multilingual, multimodal pedagogical approach which legitimises all the semiotic resources in their repertoire?

I begin this chapter by reminding the reader of my conceptual framework. I then go on to explain how I have answered each of the research questions. Next, I discuss the limitations to, and suggestions for, application to practice. Finally, I discuss the contribution of this study

to the theorising of bilingual education, emergent biliteracy, and bilingual and biliteracy pedagogy, together with some principles I have developed for this theorising.

The conceptual framework and literature reviewed in this study have shown that the implementation of bi/multilingual education as promoted by the LiEP of 1997, has been constrained by the monolingual, monoglossic and Anglonormative language ideologies held by policy makers, education officials, curriculum developers, and teachers at the DBE, as well as by parents. Both the conceptual framework and the literature have shown the continuing subtractive bilingual education model of the Apartheid regime to have been and continue to be maintained through these ideologies. However, the literature has also shown that these ideologies do not go uncontested. Various studies have found that alternative concepts, such as heteroglossia, linguistic or language resources, linguistic repertoires, and multilingual repertoires are more helpful for describing the language practices of multilingual children, and that these help to subvert the deficit positioning of these children. The conceptual framework has also shown how the sociocultural approach to language and literacy learning challenges the autonomous view by conceptualising literacy, not as a skill that can be taught and assessed universally, but from a social practice perspective. This perspective shows how literacy practices and events are not neutral but are socially situated and linked to issues of power. It also shows how oral language, reading, and writing are interconnected aspects of literacy development. I have shown how, even within a social practice perspective of literacy, written language as a means of communication, evident in literacy events and practices, is challenged by a multimodal and social semiotic theory of communication. This theory argues that language is part of a larger multimodal and semiotic repertoire for communication and meaning making.

The conceptual framework has shown how, in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics, working within multilingual repertoires creates a third space between named languages and language varieties, thus disrupting binaries between first and second languages and or standard and non-standard varieties. I have argued that working with multimodality in literacy studies disrupts the boundaries between modes of representation, such as written language versus visual expression, and embodied performance. I have shown how the considering of the value of both autonomous skills and social practices creates a third space that disrupts binaries

between these two models. I have reviewed research which has shown how language and literacy practices in multilingual settings, and in educational spaces, force us to consider a seemingly chaotic and dynamic third space. This is a space which combines hybrid language and literacy practices and hybrid activities in ways that are even more complex than can be understood using the separate concepts of multilingualism, multimodality, autonomous, and ideological models of literacy.

In a process of acknowledging and working with the complexity of children's meaning making and communication, I have also reviewed the concept of third spaces. Third spaces have been capitalised on in education as collectively constituted, hybrid, flexible, and dynamic spaces that enable multiple perspectives. These have been seen and used as discursive and linguistic spaces, as bridging or mediational spaces, as navigational spaces, and as spaces for cultural, social, and epistemological change. I have used these discourses to describe and analyse how the STLC# was constructed as a third space. My discovery of the paucity of studies in South Africa that investigate the combined use of multilingual and multimodal repertoires in children's meaning making and autonomous (skills focused) as well as ideological (practices focused) orientations to literacy, motivated me to create an out of school literacy club that would legitimise multilingual and multimodal communication practices, and in which I could attempt to answer the research questions stated above. Below, I explain how this study has answered the research questions. In Chapter 4 I argued that the three spaces forming the three data analysis chapters, a) the affective, social, and linguistic third spaces b) the physical third spaces c) the pedagogical third spaces, are all entangled aspects of a broader pedagogical project. However, by separating these data analysis spaces into three analytical chapters, I was able to analyse and highlight the important features of each space, showing how each is important on its own, as well as when they are integrated with one another as part of the broader pedagogical project. Drawing from the discourses of third spaces mentioned above, and from thematic analysis, critical discourse analysis, multimodal social semiotic analysis, and interactional analysis, I analysed the ways in which the STLC# was co-constructed as a third space which legitimises multilingualism and multimodality.

## **How is a bi/multilingual, multimodal third space co-constructed in an after-school literacy club?**

In Chapter 5 I showed that the STLC# was co-constructed as an affective, social, and linguistic third space by the children and the literacy club facilitators working together to jointly set goals for the literacy club. I have argued that the facilitators disrupted those traditional top-down approaches to pedagogy that create binaries between 'experts' and 'novices', and between adults and children, and that, through the collective goal setting process, the facilitators positioned the children as integral to decision-making processes at the literacy club. The facilitators thus positioned the children as contributors to knowledge, ideas, activities, and to the languaging practices of the club. The children articulated their desires for the kind of social relationships they expected to build, and their interests, through the kinds of activities they suggested. In Chapter 6 I described and analysed how the children and facilitators redesigned the physical classroom space. I also showed how the children took over the preparation of the classroom space when they arrived early and themselves spontaneously started the games while waiting for the facilitators to arrive, or during the times facilitators were organising library and theatre visits. Thus, both children and facilitators played an active part in co-constructing the literacy club. In Chapter 7 I showed how the facilitators heeded the children's expectations of the club by creating literacy programmes that specifically aligned with the children's desires and interests. Thus, I argued that the literacy club was co-constructed as a collective third space to challenge the pervasive individualistic approach to learning.

In Chapter 6 I analysed how the STLC# was constructed as a physical space and showed the ways in which physical spaces are different from social spaces in that they point to the use of different physical/material spaces other than the classroom as learning spaces. I also argued that, in bringing together both in school and out of school knowledges, the club exposes the children to different learning opportunities which have the potential to mutually reinforce each other. I argued that physical third spaces are spaces which bridge home-school, classroom-playground, classroom-library, and the classroom-theatre boundaries. In Chapter 7 I argued that, in bringing the children's familiar sociocultural resources, such as storytelling, games, and songs, drawing, and drama into the literacy club, and integrating them with the

already occurring literacy practices, the facilitators provided the children with a hybrid of multimodal and multilingual resources for meaning making from which they could draw in productive ways. I argued that oral storytelling is not in opposition to the resources from which children learn in school, such as books, but instead complements these resources. Thus, the club was and is living with the dialectic of having to accept both out of school literacies and in school literacies in order to transcend the binaries that exist in language and literacy conceptualisation, curriculum, and pedagogy, while at the same time re-affirming modes and principles of knowledge that have been denied by the formal schooling system.

The club sought to make literacy learning relatable to many African language speaking children in a process which contrasts with the usual positioning of their forms of literacy as deficient. This positioning overwrites the forms of literacy of these children with curriculum frameworks and manuals which standardise and naturalise alienating Western forms of literacy (Kell, 1998:82). Thus, the modelling by Marlene of writing through shared, rather than individual, writing, and the free art, drama, and writing activities of the literacy club, create a pedagogical third space that brings together both pedagogised literacies and literacy as a social practice, one which also transcends the binaries between formal and informal learning, in-school and out of school. Thus, the children's knowledges and other sociocultural resources travel with them to the different learning spaces. In this context I have argued that it is important for facilitators and teachers to build on this knowledge and lived experience for teaching. By reading and writing in the playground and in the library, the children learn that every space can be a literacy space, and by engaging in literacy practices in these spaces, they enhance the literacy skills they need in schooling, but which can also be used in life situations outside of school.

Thus, I have pointed out that the STLC# is a hybrid conceptual and pedagogic space that privileges the use of multilingual and multimodal repertoires. I analysed the multilingual, multimodal conceptualisation of literacy taken up in the club, and argued that working with a multiplicity of language resources, and a multiplicity of modes, creates both a hybrid of linguistic practices and a hybrid of activities. I provided detailed analyses of multilingual languaging practices in Chapters 5, and 7. In Chapter 5 I described and analysed the construction of the STLC# as a linguistic third space, and my analysis in Chapter 7 showed how

children responded to a multilingual approach. I also pointed out that, from the first meeting, the use of heteroglossic language practices by the children legitimised the use of their linguistic repertoires in both spoken and written language from the outset. This practice collectively constructed a linguistic third space that brought isiXhosa and English together, as well as moving beyond the separate named languages to create something beyond separate language use.

### **How do children from marginalised communities conceptualise language and literacy learning?**

The children's expectations for the literacy club, and their engagement with language and literacy activities, have shown them to be conceptualising language and literacy learning as both multilingual and multimodal, among other things, like different text types and digital literacies. Their multilingual communication practices in discussions, in written language, and in translation activities have demonstrated this. Their suggestions for multimodal activities, their engagement in gamesongs and play in the playgrounds, in the classroom, and in the library, and their visits to the theatre, all indicate that they conceptualise literacy learning as multimodal. Their spelling activities suggestions alongside multimodal activities, and their engagement with shared writing, have also challenged the literacy as skill and literacy as social practice binary, thus creating a third space that allows for skills and practices to be learnt simultaneously. I have also pointed out that children conceptualised language and literacy learning as involving a humanising space, which I have called an affective space, where they could experience more humane treatment in contrast to how they are treated at times in their schools and in their homes. This is a space where they wanted to experience joy and pleasure in their engagement with literacy, and where they demonstrated that play, singing, and games were crucial in the creation of a carnival learning environment in which they were also learning about language and literacy. I have shown how the children compared the literacy club with formal school, pointing out how the home and school may not be sufficiently humanising them as children. The children drew our attention to the violence of beatings and scolding in school and at home, the violence of assessments at school, and how they, and their needs, are not seen or recognised at home by busy family members. Thus, the children

see the club as an affective space that they want to belong to, where they are humanised and affirmed, and where they can show their strengths as translators and interpreters, and as teachers and learners at the same time.

I have also analysed the ways in which the children engaged in helping each other, doing activities together, and teaching each other, thus challenging the individualistic approach to language and literacy learning, and emphasising collaboration over individual work. Thus, they conceptualised language and literacy learning as collaborative, and as involving cultural and epistemological change, because these foreground African and African American (Brownell, 2020) cultural ways of doing and challenge Western individualistic approaches.

### **What are the affordances of a bi/multilingual and multimodal approach to language and literacy learning in an out of school literacy club?**

In South Africa currently there is a tenaciously held view, based on their performance in the 2006, 2011, and 2016 PIRLS, that children are not able to read for meaning in any language in which they are tested, especially in African languages (Howie et al., 2006, 2017). The result of this view has been interventions being implemented to deal with the 'reading crisis'. These interventions have been mentioned in Chapter 1. Across all of these interventions, solutions for dealing with this lack of 'reading for meaning' include an emphasis on decoding, reader response, and comprehension. It is argued that comprehension relies on strong decoding skills and automaticity, and on teaching children comprehension strategies, such as predictions, visualisation, and text conventions. I argue that the data on children's engagement with multilingual and multimodal literacy events, such as listening to a story, retelling a story, drawing monsters, acting out monsters, discussing monsters, and writing the story of the monster from its perspective, provide multiple layers of engaging with the text which expand meaning making beyond that which decoding, and comprehension strategies are said to do. This layered complexity is most often ignored in reading interventions. The children's engagement with language and literacy at the STLC# also contests the dominant ideas, meanings, and world views regarding reading and writing in similar ways to those of their elders in the 'zones of influence' they created in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, such as on and in

streets, canteens, schools, churches, reading circles, reading societies, libraries, and prisons (Dick, 2013) . Makalela (2018) adds that, from an African epistemological perspective, meaning making lies *beyond* the text rather than in the ability to extract explicitly stated information *from* the text. He argues that challenges with children's literacy and learning need to be taken back to their communities for these communities to find or suggest solutions, rather than imposing literacy solutions from the top.

In Chapters 5, 6 and 7, I showed how engaging children in bi/multilingual and multimodal practices in the literacy club has several affordances: First, this engagement challenges binaries in language and literacy and the monomodal and print bias in school-based meaning making. In opposition to traditional approaches where children regurgitate whatever content they are being drilled in, the approach at the literacy club was to create dialogic spaces where children feel free to express their opinions (Bakhtin, 1981). They express these opinions drawing from their full linguistic repertoire in a way that frees them up to engage in meaning making, rather than struggling to engage with that which silences them.

Secondly, the use of a multimodal approach challenges and redesigns literacy pedagogy from monomodal and print based literacies to multimodal literacies. In telling oral stories to children and then facilitators writing them down with the children to be read later, the facilitators disrupted the written language -oral language, and the reading - writing binaries that currently dominate language and literacy education. The facilitators worked with the oral story over the three days of the holiday programme, demonstrating the value of oral literacy practices as another path to literacy development. They did this to draw the children into the artistic performance of the story as well as to use stories as springboards for language and literacy development, rather than starting this development process with technical skills. The idea that reading should always come first, followed by writing is normative in education and has become dominant in its focus on the book and a focus on print. This exclusive focus on reading and the printed word, and on text-based storytelling, excludes Black African language emergent English speaking bilinguals' sociocultural resources which include performative aspects of literacy. Thus, print-based approaches calibrate literacy learning to white and middle-class practices, undervaluing the long standing and rich oral literacy practices and the tradition of storytelling in Africa (Mkhize, 2016). Viewing literacy as an exclusively cognitive

linguistic process fails to draw a link between the stories people tell and the stories that are written and read. I have shown how drawing on this familiar form of literacy through storytelling provides an accessible introduction to other forms of literacy, such as writing, in non-threatening ways.

A further affordance of the approach is the use of storytelling and shared writing to demonstrate explicitly the link between oral language and written language, as well as the link between modes in storytelling (gesture, movement of the whole body, sound, space, the visual) and the written word for meaning making. The pedagogical strategy of joint construction of a text through shared writing is not new. The history of letter writing amongst unschooled isiXhosa speaking migrant labourers who wrote letters to their families in the Eastern Cape, with the help of their networks (family members, neighbours, friends, and or relatives) through dictation by the composer, and scribing by the literacy mediator, demonstrates the power of a collective approach to writing (Kell, 2000). Kell (2000:230) argues further that the letter writing process “gave currency to the African philosophical concept of Ubuntu”, which has long linked the concepts of spoken language and written language and reading. Here the concept refers to the collaborative practice which challenges the view of literacy as an individual practice, and demonstrates to the teachers in the club, and to teachers more generally, that literacy skills, such as reading and writing, speaking, and listening can be taught simultaneously in an integrated way.

Thus, the use of storytelling, retelling in writing, artwork, drama, and discussion provided the children in the STLC# with background knowledge for their story writing which took place later. The jointly produced texts in the STLC# show how children can succeed in writing if they are supported with layers of scaffolding before they are expected to produce individual writing. Literacy learning is therefore not one directional as the “children bridge communicative boundaries as they draw on multiple modes of representation where oral language, reading and writing, are just some of the semiotic resources” (Mkhize, 2016:45). Shared writing as a strategy for joint construction of texts on the other hand has taught us that writing with children can enhance children’s writing development. Thus, through shared writing, adults and teachers can demonstrate to the children that the stories we tell are the

stories we write, and then read, and this in turn demonstrates the value of writing our own stories.

Thirdly, I argue that, by exposing children to, and immersing them in, multimodal and multilingual practices simultaneously demonstrate ways in which adults or teachers could create opportunities that enable children to deploy their semiotic repertoires. I have pointed out that this approach enriches children's learning rather than impoverishing it as it provides children with semiotic resources to draw from for meaning making and gives them the confidence which comes from their having something valuable to contribute. It also transcends binaries between multimodal and multilingual approaches, and between modes and languages. Thus, this integrated approach provides a new pathway within which to understand the meaning making processes of bi/multilingual children.

### **How do children respond to a multilingual, multimodal approach which legitimises their semiotic repertoires?**

Overall, the children responded with enthusiasm, imagination, creativity, and impressive linguistic abilities from the very first meeting of the club. The analysis of the children's multilingual and multimodal meaning-making across Chapters 5-7 demonstrates their extraordinary abilities rather than the deficits measured in standardised assessments. In Chapter 7 I showed how the children drew on their full linguistic repertoire to retell the story of the boy and his drum, and inserted their isiXhosa resources in the English text, making it a bilingual text, thus challenging the monolingual bias in many written texts. I argued that this positioned them as competent isiXhosa scribes, who were able to show Marlene how to write isiXhosa, while learning how to write in English from her, thus becoming teachers and learners at the same time. I have also shown how they became agentic in helping each other to construct the text, thus challenging the view of writing as an individual practice. I analysed how the children demonstrated their competence in shifting flexibly between bi/multilingual communication and monolingual communication in their discussion of the monster, and in the translation of the story of Assumani. They engaged in specialised and challenging translation activities formally without any prior training. However, in Chapter 7, I pointed out

that the construction of the retelling of the story in English, and the translation of an English story into isiXhosa, both as planned monolingual texts, involved translanguaging, translation, and the use of a hybrid repertoire; it did not map out into linear translation from one named language to another. I pointed out how bilingual spoken language gave the facilitators access to the children's thinking and meaning making processes, a process that does not happen using one language. I have therefore shown how, given the opportunity, the children draw from their full linguistic repertoire when engaging with language and literacy activities, to maximise their meaning-making. This challenges those scholars in literacy studies who seek to entrench single language use in multilingual contexts. In Chapter 5, in the focus group interview, the children expressed their desire for the freedom to explore and try out things, and they felt confident in translating for others as well as in teaching and learning from others. In their goal setting they also demonstrated a freedom to voice their ideas and suggestions for activities they wanted to do in the club. My analysis provides evidence of the ways in which the children displayed heightened participation and engagement in these activities because they were not restricted to monolingual language use of either isiXhosa or English but were free to communicate in ways they felt most comfortable. As soon as the facilitators legitimised all forms of talk, the children took up a hybrid form of languaging and suggested multimodal activities. Thus, they constituted their identities as multilingual communicators with a wide-ranging multimodal repertoire.

### **Limitations and suggestions for practice**

This study is a case study which does not seek to generalise, but the principles derived from analysis can be drawn on or be taken up in similar settings. Secondly, third spaces usually remain on the periphery rather than in the mainstream. Without the same time constraints experienced by teachers in classrooms, having to go through a fast-paced CAPS curriculum, the facilitators, and the children at the STLC# had enough time and the freedom to work through a wide range of activities and explorations which might be unworkable in formal classrooms. However, I would argue that it is possible for teachers in formal schooling to centre their work in third spaces, especially in the Foundation Phase/early grades, where teachers could integrate their Life Skills curriculum with the language and literacy curriculum. The South African curriculum for Foundation Phase includes visual and creative arts in Life

Skills. This has the potential to provide legitimate space for multimodal literacies. Teachers can use children's literature as a springboard for teaching their Life Skills content, then do the performative, creative, and visual aspects of the lesson in Life Skills while teaching written literacy skills in the literacy time. In this way Life Skills lessons can become the context for teaching meaningful literacy skills. Time tabling for this could involve starting with Life Skills at the beginning of the day, and then embedding literacy lessons in the Life Skill lessons presented subsequently. An integrated curriculum can open spaces for content to be taught in ways which support literacy rather than simply as skills and can enhance children's multimodal literacies at the same time. The current practice of teaching the 'big 5' literacy skills in literacy as a starting point usually extracts content from that which children must learn and renders literacy lessons technical and impoverished.

Thirdly, the work of the literacy club relied on several literacy facilitators with a range of talents and experience. They included storytellers, visual and performative artists, teachers, and teacher trainers. In schooling, however, the teacher is expected to know and be able to do everything, and to work alone. However, schools could benefit from tapping into 'funds' of knowledges that the many unemployed artists in the community could bring to the classroom. Thus, instead of appointing random teacher assistants for the Foundation Phase, teachers and schools could benefit from forming partnerships between artists and teachers. Due to the 'literacy crisis' in South African schools, NGOs often intervene in schooling by bringing volunteers to assist teachers with reading interventions (for example, unemployed youth). Teachers experience some of these volunteers as undermining their knowledge, experience, and training, especially as they have not qualified as teachers. There is a perception that NGOs bringing such volunteers into schools to do the teacher's job constitutes a de-professionalising of education and undermines teachers. These NGOs could make a more useful contribution by selecting volunteers with particular needed skills, so that the volunteers and teachers combine their strengths, knowledges, and experiences in the arts for the benefit of the children.

## **Contribution to knowledge**

This section discusses how this study contributes to the theorising of bilingual education, children's emergent bilingualism and biliteracy, and pedagogy for multilingual settings. My thesis begins to build a knowledge base for understanding the ways in which urban bilingual children in post-colonial African contexts communicate, and ways in which their rich communicative resources can be supported and developed. As such it contributes to the growing focus on multilingual and multimodal communication in the fields of sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, and literacy studies, challenging the frequent neglect of analyses of multilingualism in studies of multimodal practices, and of multimodality in multilingualism studies. This thesis has combined analyses of both multilingual and multimodal repertoires as important aspects of pedagogy for literacy development of bi/multilingual learners. It has challenged monolingual, monoglossic, Anglonormative language ideologies and print bias in literacy learning, and demonstrated an approach and strategies for teaching and developing children's language and literacy in multilingual settings.

### *Theorising Bilingual Education*

Debates in the USA on bilingual education include those which argue for language separation, and those which argue for translanguaging and dynamic bilingualism. In post-colonial African contexts like our own, it is hard to even get bilingualism on the agenda. We do not want to go down the single route of failed separate bilingualism and the extension of Home Language medium of instruction. We need to allow children's current languaging practices to lead our policy making rather than relying only on language planning from above. A key contribution of my research to the bilingual education field is in demonstrating how bilingual education does not have to follow either standard monolingual language ideologies or exclusively heteroglossic ideologies. I have provided evidence to show how both monolingual and heteroglossic meaning making are possible in a literacy programme, and indeed both are crucial, provided the heteroglossic is valued as resource and not deficit.

In South Africa there are two meanings associated with bilingual education. These are linked historically with the education of White Afrikaans and English speakers. Plüddemann (2009:9) argues that first, bilingual education is associated with the use of two languages as mediums of instruction, and the teaching of the same languages as subjects, as happens in dual medium schooling. Secondly, it can mean the use of one language as a medium of instruction while that language is taught as a Home Language subject and an additional language is a subject, as happens in single medium or parallel medium schools. Historically, the concept of language as a medium of instruction has been associated with three bilingual models for the education of White Afrikaans and English-speaking children. Dual Medium Instruction has been defined as the use of two languages as mediums of instruction in a lesson, with the teacher switching from one medium to another on a 50:50 percent basis (Plüddemann, 2009:18). This has usually been the policy where there has been a class composition of 50:50 percent Afrikaans and English learners (Malherbe, 1943). Single Medium Instruction refers to the use of one language as a medium of instruction, and the teaching of two languages as subjects, as continues to happen in most English and Afrikaans medium schools. The use of 'Parallel Medium' derives from the definition of "a Parallel Medium School as one that offers two or more media of instruction in different classes in the same grade" (Plüddemann, 2009:17), as happens in some parallel medium schools where there is an Afrikaans single medium stream and an English single medium stream. Thus, Dual Medium, Parallel Medium and Single Medium schooling is about the development of bilingual competences of White children in South Africa. Today, this policy includes a tiny minority of Black middle class English-speaking children who experience immersion in the dominant language in single medium schools that catered for White students during Apartheid.

The 1997 post-Apartheid language policy endorsed the concept of additive bi/multilingualism. The policy made space for bilingual Languages of Learning and Teaching (LOLTs), including what Alexander called MTBBE (mother tongue based bilingual education), where the mother tongue was prioritised in the early years, with a later gradual shift to a bilingual LOLT. However, the reality is that, for the most part, children continue to experience an early exit model, or a subtractive bilingualism model. I argue that the lack of implementation of the kind of bilingual education enabled by the 1997 government policy is due to the prevailing

monoglossic and Anglonormative language ideologies of policy makers, curriculum writers, education officials, school governing bodies, teachers, and parents (McKinney, 2017).

New theories of bilingualism have criticised additive bilingualism, arguing that it tends to be associated with separate, sequential, and successive bilingualism (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009; García & Torres-Guevara, 2009a; García, & Wei, 2014; Makalela, 2015). Baker (2006) argues:

What Cummins (1984a) regards as essential in the bilingual education of children is that the 'Common Underlying Proficiency' be well developed...This underlying proficiency should be developed in the first or second language but also in both languages simultaneously (2006:177).

Building their theorising on the notion of simultaneous bilingualism and biliteracy in Hornberger's (1989) work on the continua of biliteracy, and Baker's (2006) work on the foundations of bilingualism, García and Torres-Guevara (2009), and García (2009) have criticised Dual Language Education programmes in the USA. They argue that, because these programmes draw on the additive bilingualism approach, they maintain the ideology of monolingualism and separate language development. Garcia (2009) argues that the construct of additive bilingualism creates separate monolingualisms in one's head which appear as double monolingualisms. Garcia (2009) instead proposed a concept of dynamic bilingualism and translanguaging that views the language practices of bi/multilinguals, not as separate, but as forming one integrated system of a linguistic repertoire. This concept does not subscribe to the teaching of languages as separate home or additional languages, seeing bi-multilingual practices as dynamic.

In South Africa the model of additive bilingualism in the LiEP (1997) has been useful to bi/multilingual education scholars in starting off the trajectory of theorising bilingual education for Black children in that it recognises the promotion and development of children's mother tongues or home languages, while challenging the subtractive bilingual education model of the Apartheid regime, and the immersion experiences which continue to erase African languages in ex-Model C schools. The policy is also transformative for approaching the use of African languages in education, not only as an aid to children in achieving English proficiency, but also for use as mediums of instruction, and thus their development for high

status functions. The model also recognises African language-English bilingualism, a bilingualism previously denied. However, the notion of separate, successive, or sequential bilingualism on which the policy is built tends to deny urban children's bi/multilingualism and biliteracy in African languages and considers their bilingualism only in relation to English. Thus, while additive bilingualism is better than subtractive bilingualism, and while it can have many positive benefits for children in certain contexts, the policy is monolingually orientated in so far as the expectation is to start with one language and add others later in the sequence despite the reality for urban bi/multilingual children who already use a range of linguistic resources in their repertoire.

I have shown in my family language biography that even rural contexts are changing linguistically because of mobility between urban and rural spaces and regions. I have also shown in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 that children can engage with both languages (isiXhosa and English), with their varieties, and more, with ease. I have shown that the children in the STLC# were and are able to function both monolingually and in standard varieties when necessary, even though this process involves complex multilingual meaning making. Thus, it is the possibility of simultaneous, rather than sequential, lock-step development of bilingualism that my study contributes to the theorisation of bilingual pedagogy. I argue that it is not possible to have a uniform, blanket approach to a policy for all, and that it is also important to take note of criticisms of the dangers of creating a dichotomy between basic communication skills and academic skills, especially as academic skills tend to relate to, or be seen as evidenced in, performance in tests. These skills tend to favour middle class standard academic varieties, or those whose African language varieties were, and remain, standardised, while a language policy for all can be biased against speakers of non-standard varieties, because this is where the deficit view of the minoritised children gets hidden (Baker, 2006). Flores and Rosa (2015), and Rosa (2016), interrogate the connection between race and language and argue that standardisation of languages discriminates against minoritized communities, while McKinney (2017) uses the concept of Anglonormativity to show that in South Africa it is the White English-speaking variety that is normalised. Makoni (1998) also shows that written African languages are colonial scripts having been written by White missionaries who held monoglossic ideologies and transferred them to the writing of African languages. I showed in Chapter 1 that the learning of African languages in schools is still

controlled by White English-speaking curriculum writers and policy makers. It is this group, who advise the DBE and work in NGOs, that support learning in Black schools, and some of them are also involved in local and international assessments.

Currently in South Africa standardization discriminates against children who speak urban varieties of African languages as their language resources, especially in international assessments such as the PIRLS. To add, in literacy programmes, both in the USA and in South Africa, arguments for teaching vocabulary explicitly to minoritized children, while well intentioned as solutions to academic problems, also position these children with a deficit (Avineri et al., 2015) and are racialised.

Thus, those teaching standard language varieties (which one cannot deny is important), should regard these as varieties in a continuum with other varieties that children need to learn to navigate different life worlds. While claims that translanguaging, as argued by García and Wei (2014), is transformative have been critiqued (e.g. Jaspers, 2018), to the children who have experienced marginalisation and discrimination based on their language practices, the experience of being able to language freely is one of freedom and affirmation. Legitimising children's marginalised linguistic resources is to bring about social justice for voices, knowledges, and discourses that have been silenced. This legitimisation allows children to language in a meaningful way rather than through memorisation and rote learning. Scholars like Jaspers (2018), who have not personally experienced the violence of deficit positioning, and the violence of standardisation, may not fully understand the transformative effects of translanguaging on those communities whose members continue to endure coloniality and the effects of Apartheid discrimination.

While the importance of children learning standard languages in a world that values these, as has been argued by scholars such as Delpit (1988) and Heugh and Stroud (2019), is acknowledged, Janks (2011) has argued that taking a critical approach to pedagogy should involve paying attention to the elements of dominance, diversity, access, and redesign. Thus, while it is important to give children access to 'powerful' languages, it is also important to accept diversity, to teach about languages and power, and to redesign our pedagogy to serve all children in ways that do not privilege some languages and varieties over others. Cenoz and

Gorter (2017) raise concerns about minoritized languages such as Basque and think that translanguaging might be a threat or risk to these languages. It is important however, to make a distinction between minority languages in the North and minoritized languages in Africa. African languages are majority languages in terms of numbers of speakers, but they have been minoritized in schooling in South Africa. These languages continue to be spoken and used, are taught at school as subjects, if not used as unofficial mediums of instruction, and have language practitioners committed to their development, as evidenced, for instance in the translation of government documents, and building on the fact that these languages were once used during Apartheid and now have equal status as official languages. The opportunities for “breathing spaces” for the monolingual use of minority languages that Cenoz and Gorter (2017) propose could work in English and Afrikaans dominant schools in South Africa where a minority of black children are experiencing immersion into the dominant languages. In fact, the Incremental Introduction of African Languages (Department of Basic Education, 2011) draft policy is there to enforce the creation of these breathing spaces through the teaching of African languages as subjects. However, my research does not suggest that, for the many schools, where African language speaking children in urban areas are taught, that these children need to have a model of bilingual education similar to the monolingualising colonial/Apartheid era models in single medium Afrikaans and English schools. I argue that, for people whose hybrid multilingual identities have been denied, and who do not fit into the Home and Additional language identities of White monolingual children, and who have a complex history of oppression, the question should not be about whether their children need Mother Tongue Education *or* English medium education. I argue that bi/multilingual instruction, including assessment, should be the norm, while spaces for performing monolingually and in standard languages can be created through a critical translanguaging pedagogy.

Above, I have discussed the theorisation of bilingual education as it relates to languages as mediums of instruction. It is, however, especially important to note that, in theorising bilingual education, whether as dual, parallel, or single medium, subtractive or additive, two languages and more are involved. In traditional bilingual and biliteracy theorising these languages are taught either as First Languages (L1) or Home Languages, and as Second Languages (L2) or Additional Languages. Thus, my study first challenges this construction of bi/multilingualism as two separate languages in one's brain. It challenges the received, commonly accepted/unexamined concept - that African language/English bilingualism is monoglossic, and the unquestioned 'fact' that it is geared towards balanced bilingualism, an unattainable form of bilingualism for many South African children. Secondly, in the past bilingualism in South Africa referred to English and Afrikaans bilingualism and did not include African languages. Today, bilingualism is recognised only if it includes proficiency in English. It does not describe and value African multilingualisms, and it is racialised. McKinney (2017) argues that the expectation that, to be recognised as competent, everyone should and will be English, and must be able to speak the White people's variety of English, reinforces the switch to monolingual English medium in Grade 4, and the focus of many programmes being more on getting children to learn English than on developing competency in their African languages. Thirdly, this study contributes to the connection between bi/multilingualism and literacy. García and Kleifgen (2019) have criticised multiliteracies pedagogy (New London Group, 2000) for not paying attention to multilingualism. In this study I have shown how multilingualism and multimodality can be combined in a pedagogy that works productively with diversity. I have also challenged simultaneous biliteracy that only pays attention to standard written languages. This I have done by working with a full linguistic repertoire and multimodally.

In the absence of an implementation plan for the 1997 LiEP, the CAPS (2011) for languages, written by English-speaking curriculum writers, categorises learning of languages as separate subjects under Home Language (HL), or Additional Language(s) (First and Second FAL, SAL). Thus, CAPS constructs multilingual children as monolingual children who have one named home language and must learn English at school as an additional language. García and Torres-Guevara (2009:189) argue that, despite the developing understandings of simultaneous

biliteracy, dual language education in the USA continues to regard children's bilingualism as double monolingualism, and this fails to reflect their dynamic languaging practices.

Similarly, as mentioned above, our CAPS constructs multilingual children's language practices either as home language or first additional language. Garcia and Kleifgen (2019:1) argue that,

...multilingualism and bi/multiliteracies cannot be fully understood as simply the use of separate conventionally named languages or separate modes. Instead, translanguaging in literacies focuses on the actions of multilingual readers and writers, which go beyond traditional understandings of language, literacy, and other concepts, such as bi/multilingualism and bi/multilingual literacy.

Garcia and Kleifgen look at the bi/multilingual children's dynamic languaging that goes beyond those traditional approaches to literacy and bilingualism that focus on the teaching of two languages as bounded languages in silos (2019:2). For these contexts, the notion of Mother Tongue Based Bilingual Education, where education starts in a familiar language, while other languages are added sequentially, becomes challenging. García (2009), García and Torres-Guevara (2009), and Flores and García (2013) argue for a new concept of bilingualism and bilingual individuals. They implore us to shed the concept of balanced bilingualism and adopt a contextualised sense that values bilinguals' use of two or more languages to varying degrees to avoid inequities in the education of Latinx children. In recognition of urban children's linguistic repertoires and resources, my study positions the children as emergent bilinguals who are at differing points in the bilingualism continuum. It sees value in allowing the children to express their knowledge, drawing from their full linguistic repertoire, rather than being restricted to one language or standard variety. Thus, this study contributes the notion of simultaneous biliteracy development to the conceptualisation of bilingual education for African language-emergent-English-speaking bi-multilinguals, not as learning Home Languages and FALs in separate hierarchical silos. The reason for this is because bilingual children should not have to choose a principal language. In fact, these children often come to school as multilinguals, and for them English is not even their *First* Additional Language, but a third or a fourth language.

Teachers working in multilingual settings often want to know how to teach productively in bi-/multilingual classrooms. In post-colonial contexts such as South Africa, there is a dearth of research describing the productive use of bilingualism for children's learning. Exceptions to this, as reviewed in Chapter 2, are Bloch (2002a) and Bloch and Alexander (2003), who showed that children who had isiXhosa-English bilingualism could be taught in the same class with children who had Afrikaans-English bilingualism, enabling biliteracy development; Stein (2008) also analysed the affordances of multimodal communication in the classroom. However, my study goes further, bringing both multilingual and multimodal analysis into the conceptualisation of biliteracy pedagogy. I argue that engaging in this kind of analysis creates a third space between diverse linguistic communication practices and the linguistic and non-linguistic communication practices. Therefore, I argue, pedagogy for bi/multilingual children should include both heteroglossic and monoglossic communication practices, and both monomodal and multimodal practices. I argue that urban multilingual children need to learn their languages in a complex simultaneous biliteracy model rather than as separate languages in a sequential biliteracy model.

Despite arguments that strong development of the mother tongue helps with the development of additional languages (Dutcher, 1997; Mbude, 2019), this study has shown that there is a two-way interdependence between children's linguistic resources, and that learning languages simultaneously demonstrates how we can promote ubuntu translanguaging as proposed by Makalela, (2016). The translation activities analysed in this study showed children as competent bilinguals and biliterates, who have knowledge and an awareness of the language structures of the language they use, and who can produce bilingual texts, the kinds of texts which are not valued in separate HL and FAL classes. Thus, the study has clearly shown the interdependence of the various language resources for meaning making and language acquisition. This study challenges the separate teaching of languages and sees value in teaching them together, as proposed by Cenoz and Gorter (2017), through the use of a translanguaging pedagogy and spontaneous translanguaging. This study found that, even

though the ways and activities in which languages would be used were carefully planned for in the holiday programme, the children drew on their full linguistic repertoire to achieve the monolingual texts the facilitators had intended the children to produce. They also, in the process, transformed the monolingual texts into bilingual texts.

Chapter 7 of this study showed how the facilitators intentionally planned for how languages were to be used in the holiday programme. Cenoz and Gorter (2017a:904) call such an intentional plan pedagogic translanguaging and argue that it refers to the planned alternation of languages based on the input and output language concept, which includes instructional strategies that integrate two or more languages. However, they also claim that:

... spontaneous translanguaging is considered the more universal form of translanguaging because it can take place inside and outside the classroom. It refers to the reality of bi/multilingual usage in naturally occurring contexts where boundaries between languages are fluid and constantly shifting. (2017a:904).

Though they argue that it is important to create “breathing spaces” that allow for the use of minority languages, such as Basque, they are also not opposed to the use of both pedagogic and spontaneous translanguaging for meaning making.

My study also contributes to pedagogy for teaching in multilingual classrooms, first by arguing that, unlike minority languages such as Basque, African languages are in fact majority languages that have been minoritized, and, as a result, are not under as much threat. It is for this reason that my study promotes simultaneity in language use. The STLC# sought to normalise and legitimise the children’s multiple languaging practices. Thus, in this way, our pedagogic translanguaging formed a linguistic or translanguaging third space (Flores & García, 2013; García et al., 2014), one that includes children’s hybrid repertoires and other sociocultural resources, including knowledges and discourses. Thus, it is a space that does not simply transcend the two spaces of Home Language and Additional Languages but goes beyond these by combining the children’s language varieties, other languages such as Afrikaans and Japanese, as well as their knowledges and discourses. It also includes features of pedagogy that are not often included in mainstream teaching, such as sociocultural and multimodal approaches. Thus, I argue that bi/multilingual languaging and biliteracy approaches should be the starting point, and then spaces for monolingual performance can

be created during story reading, storytelling, and writing. This would be done by drawing on a critical translanguaging pedagogy (Janks, 2011). Below is a number of principles for an inclusive multilingual and multimodal pedagogy derived from this study.

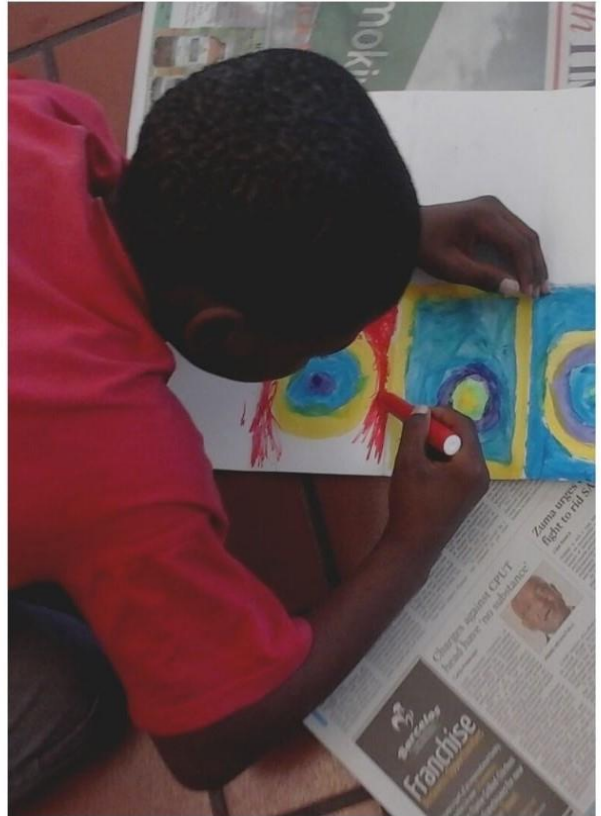
1. *Teaching multilingual children involves seeing them as bi/multilingual rather than as Home Language and Additional language speakers.* This is important in that it does away with the construction of children as African language- emergent English bilinguals, at the expense of their other African language multilingualisms. Including a range of varieties in instruction helps to develop an awareness of language and power issues, domains of language use which force multilinguals to draw on certain language resources rather than others, and an awareness about how languages borrow from each other, how they are similar, and how they diverge. Finally, this view of children as bi/multilingual, and including this variety in pedagogy, helps them to develop metalinguistic awareness, as well as translation and interpreting competences.
2. *Teaching multilingual children requires strength positioning of the children.* A multilingual orientation helps us to see children as having strengths rather than deficiencies. Multilingual children already know which languages to speak to whom and with whom and know how to identify anyone who does not understand and can already display the competencies analysed in Chapter 7, including their multimodal communication practices. Regarding children with strengths helps teachers to have high expectations of them, and the children of themselves.
3. *Teaching multilingual children is complex rather than simplistic.* There is tendency in scholarship on literacy pedagogy from some South African scholars (e.g. Fleisch & Schöer, 2014:2) to argue for a 'simple' approach to teaching reading for multilingual children, in so doing oversimplifying highly complex processes of language and literacy pedagogy. This study has shown, however, that language and literacy learning in multilingual settings is complex and dynamic. It involves both autonomous and pedagogised literacies, and literacy as social practice approaches, multilingual and monolingual approaches, print and oral literacies, and monomodal and multimodal approaches.
4. *Teaching multilingual children integrates multimodal communication practices*  
Wei (2017) sees a translanguaging theory and practice as including multimodal and multisensory approaches, while in literacy studies Newfield (2011), Stein (2008), Stein

and Newfield (2006), and Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, and Tejeda (1999) argue that literacy learning involves multimodal in addition to multilingual means of communication. Thus, according to these studies, and to the present study, language and literacy learning in multilingual settings includes both multilingual and multimodal practices. In this study we have seen how the STLC# multimodal activities shaped the children's literacy learning. These activities became a scaffold for writing, providing the children with rich resources to draw from in their writing. The research has also shown an interdependence between the different modes of communication.

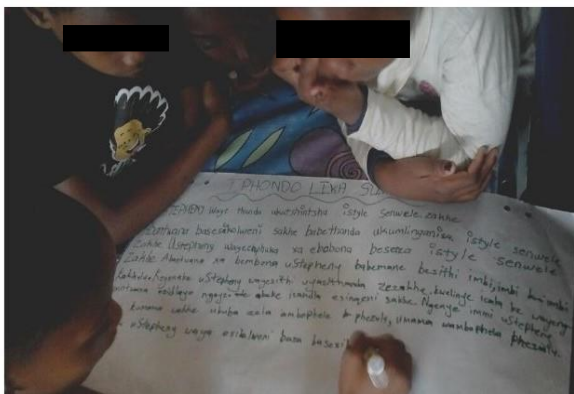
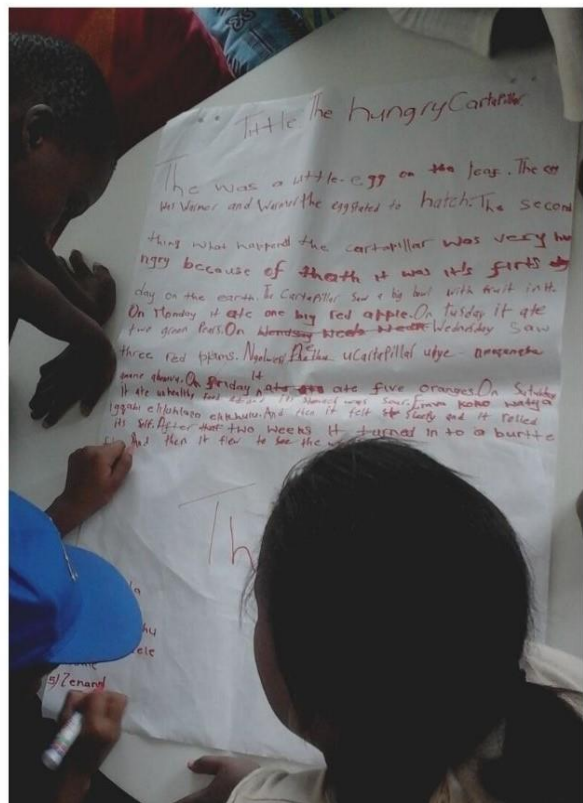
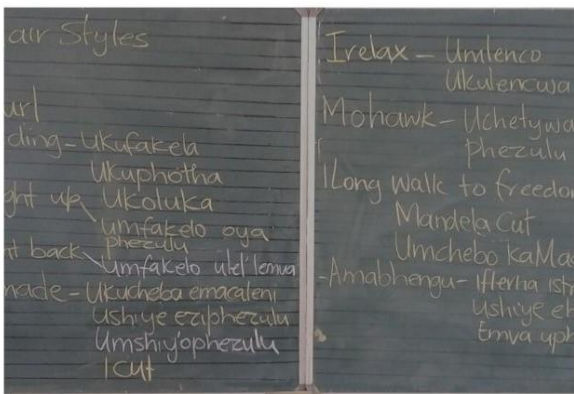
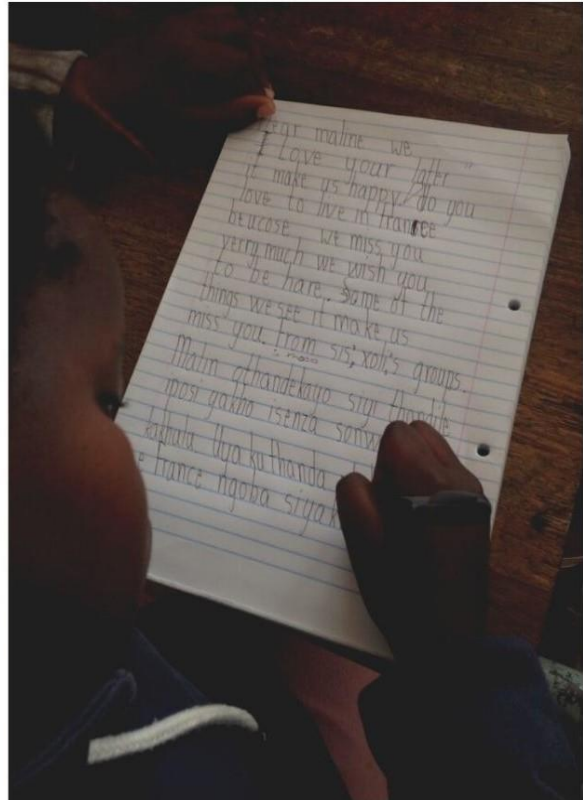
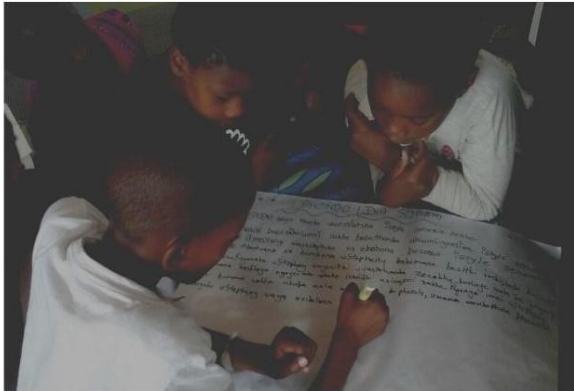
5. *Teaching multilingual children involves collaborative work.* Collaboration has been a central strategy in the co-construction of the STLC# as an affective, social, and linguistic third space, a physical third space, and a pedagogic third space. Such collaboration took place between the group of children and adult facilitator/s as well amongst the children working in together in smaller groups. Shared writing was adapted for a multilingual setting such as the STLC# and was used as a collaborative strategy for modelling writing for the children by the facilitators. The children took this strategy up in whole group editing of written texts as well as in their writing in smaller groups. The children who were operating in a continuum of biliteracy, were at different stages of oral and written literacies, bi/multilingualism, and multimodal literacies. Thus, working together helped them to combine their different competences, to teach and learn from each other, and to perform together. In this way, the study challenges the individual approach to literacy that pits children against each other in competition. Instead, it shows the necessity of a distributive system that allows children to contribute their competencies for the success of a project. In their working collaboratively at multiple levels, the children's expectation of helping each other was realized, and in this way authorised ubuntu, thus showing us language and literacy learning are interdependent.

The challenge for policy makers, teacher educators, teachers, and school leaders is to bring these principles into the mainstream school curriculum, classroom, and assessment in ways that enable bi/multilingual children to engage in the kind of learning that is designed for and with them.

# CHILDREN'S ART WORK AT STLCH#



# CHILDREN'S WRITING AT STLC#



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## A note on transcription

Interviews, audio and video recordings were transcribed in a hybrid repertoire that children and facilitators used. However, to make the data easy to read by readers who don't share the same repertoire, the data was presented in two column tables, with the original data in hybrid repertoire on the left and the English translation on the right. The translation is written in standard English. Where participants used English on the left and had one word from another language resource, brackets have been used to translate the word. Where non-verbal communication was used, for example, laughter, this has been presented in square brackets.

The following conventions were also used where necessary:

( ) for internal translation in the participant's repertoire

[ ] for non-verbal communication, such laughter or something inaudible

... to show something comes before speech is made or the speech is incomplete

Child – in a larger group

Naming – in a small group communication

## Appendice 1: Parent consent letter

Dear Parent,

### Information and consent form for parents allowing their children to attend a reading and writing club

This year, and the following year, teachers from **Jabulani Primary School**, and other schools together with a researcher from UCT, and other interested volunteers are collaborating on starting up a reading and writing club to help your children with reading and writing both in isiXhosa and English. The club is also part of my research as a student at UCT. The reading club programme will happen every Friday from 1 h30 pm to 3h30 pm starting next term. However, in preparation for the reading and writing club we would like to invite your child to participate also in our reading and writing holiday programme in the first week of June holidays (29 June to 3rd July) from 9:00 to 12:00. This way, your child will get to meet the reading and writing facilitators and then decide if s/he would like to join the club when the schools open in July.

This is an attempt to get children to continue to read and beyond school supported by people who are interested in their development. This way, we hope that young primary school children will improve their reading during school and at home during the weekends and holidays, while teachers and adults in the community will be equipped with skills to help young children to read and inspired to give back to the community.

### How does your child participate in the reading club programme?

Your child's school has already chosen to participate in the reading and writing club programme. The club includes children from Grade 3 to Grade 5. The group will be small, as we can only take up to 60 children. The children will be involved in reading, storytelling, games, sing, art and writing activities that will make them better readers and writers. The children will **NOT BE TESTED** but at the reading and writing club photographs and short video clips are sometimes taken of the children doing various reading, writing, dramatic activities. Often the researchers, facilitators and volunteers of the reading club take these photographs and videos and at times they are taken by visitors.

### We would like to request your permission to do the following:

- allow your child to participate in the programme
- allow us to research the reading and writing club
- allow us to display the photographs taken in various ways, for example, on the internet on our reading club and writing club page that allows others to see what we do at the club. Our focus would always be on the activity the children are doing and in no way would we use the photographs for exploitative means or personal gain.

- allow your child to attend outings that we will plan during the course of the year. We will inform you of the exact activities and places we will be taking them to.

All you have to do to ensure your child's participation is to read and sign the consent form, and ensure that it is returned to the teachers responsible for the reading club at your child's school. Only a parent or guardian can sign, and only children who return this form will be admitted into the reading club and writing club programme. There is *no fee* to participate. There is also no transport provided for your child so children will have to go home the way they normally do during school days. We also encourage you to come and visit us sometimes to see what we are doing with your child.

If you would rather your child not attend or be researched and appear in any photographs or videos taken at the reading club or if transport is going to be a problem please indicate this below.

Yours Sincerely,

Xolisa Guzula

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Researcher from the University of Cape Town

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I, ....., hereby give permission for my child ..... to attend the reading and writing club and be included in photographs/videos at the reading club.

I, ....., hereby give permission for my child ..... to be included in any reading and writing club outings in 2015 and 2016.

---

I, ....., **DO NOT** wish for my child ..... to attend the reading and writing club and be researched nor to be included in any reading and writing club photographs, videos and outings in 2015.



## **Appendice 2: Principal Information and consent Letter**

The Principal  
Jabulani Primary School  
Khayelitsha

Dear Mr/Mrs....

### **Information and consent form for the principal allowing children to attend a reading and writing club**

This year, and the following year, teachers from **Jabulani Primary School**, and other schools together with myself, Xolisa Guzula, a researcher from UCT, and other interested volunteers are collaborating on starting up a reading and writing club to help Jabulani Primary School children with reading and writing both in isiXhosa and English. The club is also part of my research as a student at UCT researching children's writing development. The reading and writing club programme will happen every Friday from 13h30-15h30 starting next term. However, in preparation for the reading and writing club we would like to invite children from your school to participate also in our reading and writing holiday programme which we are planning for the first week of June holidays (29 June to 3rd July) at your school from 9:00 to 12:00. This way, your children will get to meet the reading and writing facilitators and then decide if they would like to join the club when the schools open in July.

This is an attempt to get children to continue to read and beyond school supported by people who are interested in their development. This way, we hope that young primary school children will improve their reading during school and at home during the weekends and holidays, while teachers and adults in the community will be equipped with skills to help young children to read and inspired to give back to the community.

### **How will your children participate in the reading club programme?**

Your foundation phase teachers Lola, Sphoki and Mbini have already offered to facilitate the reading and writing club programme. The club will include children from Grade 3 to Grade 5 and the intermediate phase teachers have given their verbal permission for your foundation phase teachers and myself and other volunteers to work with their children. We hope that they will join us in the future. The group will be small, as we can only take up to 60 children. The children will be involved in reading, storytelling, games, sing, art and writing activities that will make them better readers and writers. They will **NOT BE TESTED** but at the reading and writing club photographs and short video clips are sometimes taken of the children doing various reading, writing, dramatic activities. Often the researchers, facilitators and volunteers of the reading club take these photographs and videos and at times they are taken by visitors.

**We would like to request your permission to do the following:**

- allow your grade 3-5 children to participate in the programme
- allow us to research the reading and writing club at your school
- allow us to display the photographs taken in various ways, for example, on the internet on our reading club and writing club page that allows others to see what we do at the club. Our focus would always be on the activity the children are doing and in no way would we use the photographs for exploitative means or personal gain.
- allow your children to attend outings that we will plan during the course of the year. We will inform you of the exact activities and places we will be taking them to.

All you have to do to ensure your children's participation is to read and sign the consent form and ensure that it is returned to me as a researcher working with your teachers and children. We are going to write to parents and show you the consent letters inviting their children to the reading and writing club. Only a parents or guardians can sign the letters, and only children who return the form accompanying the information letter will be admitted into the reading club and writing club programme. There is *no fee* to participate. There is also no transport provided for the children at your school, so children will have to go home the way they normally do during school days. When we go on outings, we will provide transport from Jabulani Primary School to the place and back but children will have to go home the usual way thereafter.

I you allow me and your teachers to go ahead with the reading and writing club, please indicate below.

Thanking you in advance.

Yours Sincerely,

Xolisa Guzula

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Researcher from the University of Cape Town

I, ..... ,the principal of Jabulani Primary School hereby give permission for my Grade 3-5 learners to attend the reading and writing club and be included in photographs/videos at the reading club. I also give permission for my learners to be included in any reading and writing club outings in 2015 and 2016 provided that parents are notified and given indemnity forms.

Sign

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## **Appendice 3: Safety Guidelines for Literacy Clubs**

**Whether a Reading and Writing Club is small or large, it needs to be a safe space for the children who attend as well as for volunteers and visitors. Here are some guidelines to help you run a Reading and Writing Club that does all it can to protect all concerned.**

### **1) Venue**

- Make sure the venue is safe and child friendly. For example, no poisonous substances, dangerous equipment or exposed wires should be in reach of any children.
- Toilets must be clean and toilet paper available at every session, as well as soap and water for hand washing.
- Everyone needs access to fresh water at every session.

### **2) Permissions and Indemnities**

Parent or guardian's written permission must be obtained:

- When children attend for the first time.
- For special events or occasions, to appear in Reading and Writing Club photos and video material, going on outings, etc.

Make sure parents/guardians know that:

- They are responsible for transporting children to and from the reading and writing club.
- They are responsible for providing information about allergies, chronic illness (asthma, epilepsy, etc.) to the Reading and Writing Club organisers or volunteers.
- While organisers of the Reading and Writing Club and all volunteers will do everything possible to help the children arrive and leave safely, they are only responsible for the safety of the children at the Reading and Writing Club.
- Children without indemnity forms cannot travel/go on outings.
- Very young children must be accompanied to the Reading and Writing Club by older siblings or guardians.

### **3) Valuables and Money**

- There should be no exchange of monies between children & volunteers, children & children for Reading and Writing Club access or activities.

The Reading and Writing Club cannot be held responsible for loss or thefts during sessions.

### **4) General Safety and Wellbeing**

- Make sure you know who is attending each session: keep a written register of all children attending each session.
- Close (or lock) gates/doors once your session has begun, at an agreed upon time to avoid strangers walking in.
- Make sure all equipment and supplies are secure.
- Never leave children alone without trusted adult supervision.

- A trusted adult or older child should take younger ones to the toilet and assist them if necessary.
- Provide the children with a snack and a drink if the session lasts longer than an hour.
- Watch carefully for children who may not hear or see well and inform parents if you are concerned that they need hearing or eye tests.

### **5) First Aid**

- Always have a fully stocked first-aid kit on the premises. At least one person should know where it is, what's in it and how to use it too.
- Display up-to-date details of local emergency services.
- Keep a list of children with allergies, chronic illness (asthma, epilepsy, etc.) & the contact details of their parents/guardians.
- Volunteers should not be expected to give medicine to children.

### **6) Volunteers**

- Meet new volunteers before they attend Reading and Writing Club sessions to find out about them and assess their experience and interest.
- Take on new volunteers on recommendation from others you trust and find out about new volunteers from trusted community members.
- Mentor and support new volunteers until you are sure they know how to interact appropriately with the children of different ages.
- Let new volunteers work alongside more experienced ones who know the ropes until they are confident.

Volunteers need to:

- Agree to the rules of the Club
- Be first to arrive & last to leave.

### **7) Discipline**

- Reading and Writing Clubs use positive reinforcement and role modelling. Children and adults attend voluntarily and are expected to treat one another with respect and care.
- Reading Clubs tolerate no physical aggression or bullying of any kind by volunteers or children. No corporal punishment is used.
- If children or volunteers misbehave, send them home.

(Ask them to come back another day if you feel this is appropriate).

This is the most severe discipline we give at Reading and Writing Clubs.

### **8) Visitors**

Welcome visitors who want to find out about how Reading and Writing Clubs work, but ask them to observe the following:

- Arrange visits in advance with Reading and Writing Club organisers
- Become aware of the rules of the Club and conform to these
- Ask permission to share their use of photos and videos.
- The Reading Clubs cannot be held responsible for loss or theft of valuables.

## **Appendice 4: Parent information letter about change of literacy club times and consent for outings in 2016**

**18 Januwari 2016**

**Mzali obekekileyo,**

**Utshintsho lwemini kunye nexesha iqela lethu elifundayo nelibhalayo iStars of Today Literacy Club elidibana ngayo.**

Ekupheleni konyaka ka-2015 abaququzeleli beqela elifundayo nelibhalayo kunye nabantwana abathatha inxaxheba kweli qela bagqibe ekubeni kutshintshwe imini kunye nexesha elidibana ngayo eli qela ngenxa yezi zizathu zilandelayo:

- Abanye abantwana bafika emva kwexesha emakhaya, nto leyo esixhalabisayo malunga nokhuseleko lwabo.
- Ngamanye amaxesha kukho ezinye izinto ezenziwayo esikolweni ngooLwezihlanu apho kuye kufuneke ootitshala kunye nabantwana bathathe inxaxheba, ngoko zichaphazeleke iindibano zeqela lethu elifundayo nelibhalayo.
- Kukho abantu abanezakhono esizidingayo kweli qela, kuthi ke ngoku kuba lidibana ngooLwezihlanu iqela lethu kube nzima ukuba beze kuba besesemisebenzini.
- Singathanda ukuba nabazali bathathe inxaxheba ngokumane besityelela xa benakho bancedisane nathi.

Ngoko sithathe isigqibo sokuba eli qela lifundayo nelibhalayo lidibane ngeMigqibelo, ngentsimbi yeshumi (10h00) ukuya kwintsimbi yeshumi elinambini (12h00), kwiSikolo samaBanga aPhantsi iJabulani Primary School. **Siza kuvula goMgqibelo umhla wesi-6 kuFebruary 2016.**

Singathanda nokunikhumbuza ukuba ukongeza kwezi ndibano zangoMgqibelo, siza kuphinde senze inkqubo yeeholide zikaMatshi noJuni eza kuthatha iintsuku ezintathu kwithala leencwadi okanye ilayibhrari yaseHarare njengoko besenzile ngo-Okthobha wonyaka ophelileyo.

Ezi ziinzame zokwenza abantwana ukuba baqhubekeke nokufunda nokubhala naxa bengekho sikolweni bexhaswa ngabantu abanomdla kuphuhliso lwabo. Ngale ndlela, siyathemba ukuba abantwana abancinci bamabanga asezantsi baza kuphucula indlela abafunda baze babhale ngayo ngelixa besesikolweni nangelixa besekhaya ngeempela veki nangeeholide, ngelixa bona ootitshala nabanye abantu abadala ekuhlaleni beza kufumana izakhono zokuncedisa abantwana abancinci ukuba bafunde yaye bakhuthazelwe ukuncedisa ekuhlaleni.

### Singathanda ukucela imvume yakho kwakhona ukweza ezi zinto zingezantsi:

- ukuba uvumele umntwana wakho ukuba athathe inxaxheba kule nkqubo
- ukuba senze uphando kweli qela lifundayo nelibhalayo
- ukubonisa iifoto esizithabathileyo ngeendlela ezininzi, umzekelo kwi-intanethi kwikhasi lethu likafacebook elibonisa abanye umsebenzi esiwenzayo kwiqela elifundayo. Siza kugxila ngalo lonke ixesha kumsebenzi owenziwayo yaye asisokuze sisebenzise iifoto zabantwana ukwenza izinto ezingalunganga okanye ukuzenzela igama
- Ukuba uvumele umntwana wakho ukuba athathe inxaxheba kwiihambo zeqela elifundayo nelibhalayo esiza kuzicwangcisa apha enyakeni, umzekelo, ukuya elayibhrari. Siza kukukwazisa xa sele ezi zinto zisenzeka neendawo esiza kuya kuzo.

Inye kuphela into esingathanda uyenze, kukuqinisekisa ukuba umntwana wakho uthatha inxaxheba ekufundeni nasekubhaleni uze usayine le fomu ecela imvume uze uqinisekise ukuba ibuyiselwa kootitshala baseJabulani abathathe uxanduva lokuqala eli qela lifundayo nelibhalayo. Kufuneka kusayine umzali okanye umntu ogcina umntwana kuphela, kwaye ngabantwana abazibuyisileyo iifomu abaza kuthathwa kweli qela lifundayo nelibhalayo. Akukho *ntlawulo* ifunekayo ukuze athathe inxaxheba umntwana wakho. **Azikhona izithuthi eziza kuhambisa abantwana, ngoko umntwana kuza kufuneka azizele kanye ngale ndlela enza ngayo xa esiza esikolweni. Ukuba kuza kubanzima ukuba umntwana eze kwiqela elifundayo nelibhalayo, nceda usazise ukuze sifake omnye endaweni yakhe. Uvumelekile ukuba angezi.** Siyakukhuthaza nawe ukuba uze uzokusibona ngamanye amaxesha uzokubona umsebenzi esiwenzayo nomntwana wakho.

Ukuba awungethandi ukuba umntwana wakho athathe inxaxheba, nokuba ukuza ngeMigqibelo kuza kumnzimela nokuba awungethandi kwenziwe uphando ngaye, aboniswe nakwiifoto neevidiyo eqeleni, nceda usazise apha ngezantsi.

Ozithobileyo,

Xolisa Guzula

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Umphandi ovela eYunivesiti yaseKapa  
071 240 3286

Ungaqhagamshana naye nomisi waseJabulani uLola  
Kule nombolo 073 596 8890 okanye ku- 083 973 3632

Nceda sayina zonke iindawo kule fomu ovumela ukuba umntwana wakho athathe inxaxheba kuzo. Nceda usayine indawo esekugqibeleni xa ungasiniki konke konke imvume yokusebenza nomntwana wakho.

Mna (Igama lomzali), .....ndinika imvume yokuba umntwana wam u.....athathe inxaxheba kwiqela elifundayo nelibhalayo ngeMigqibelo ngentsimbi ye-10h00-12h00. Sayina.....

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Mna, ....., ndinika umntwana wam u.....

Imvume yokuba afakwe kwiifoto neevidiyo zeqela elifundayo nelibhalayo. Ndiyaqonda ukuba ezi foto neevidiyo zingasetyenziswa kwi

- Kwiwebhusayithi yeqela elifundayo nelibhalayo
- Kwizinto ezibhaliweyo zophando
- Kwithisisi yomfundi.

Ndinganxibelana noXolisa Guzula xa ndifuna ukuba iifoto neevidiyo zomntwana wam zisuswe kwiwebhusayithi. Sayina.....

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Mna, ....., ndinika imvume yokuba umntwana wam u..... abandakanywe kudliwano-ndlebe lweqela elifundayo nelibhalayo.

Sayina.....

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Mna (igama lomzali), ....., ndinika imvume yokuba umntwana wam u.....athathe inxaxheba kwiihambo zeqela elifundayo nelibhalayo ku-2016.

Sayina.....

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Mna (Igama lomzali), ....., **ANDINGETHANDI** ukuba umntwana wam u..... athathe inxaxheba kwiqela elifundayo nelibhalayo nokuba kwenziwe uphando ngaye kuthathwe neefoto kunye neevidiyo zakhe nokuba athathe ihambo zeqela elifundayo nelibhalayo ku-2016. Sayina.....

