

Breathing Coloniality

An ethnographic case study of language and literacy ideologies and colonial power relations in the positioning and development of 1st generation black children's learning experiences in-and-outside- school contexts.

BY

AMANI KHENSANI MANGANYI-TAWANA (MNGKHE003)

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Supervisor: Associate Professor Catherine Kell

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Declaration

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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Signed by candidate

Date: 12 March 2021

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Abstract

This study was inspired by the under theorization of language shifts and the impact that coloniality and language and literacy ideologies have among first generation black children's attending English medium schools positioning and family language planning. I draw on the theoretical framework of [de]coloniality with a particular focus on coloniality of power and the colonial matrix of power in post-colonial South African education and society. I additionally drew upon language ideology and the pedagogization of literacy as conceptual frameworks that helped to investigate the correlation between macro-level discourses that distribute particular types of hegemonic language and literacy ideologies and their effect on the positioning and self-imaging of people from non-mainstream populations. Data was collected through semi-structured interviews with parents and literacy instructors around observed practices and views on language use. In relation to language, my analysis revealed a strong correlation between exclusionary anglonormative language ideology and Standard English ideology in the deficit positioning of non-mainstream children in previously white only ex-Model C schools. The study additionally found that Apartheid notions of superiority and inferiority and racial classifications were reproduced in parent discourses around English language varieties valued for their children to use. My findings suggest the need for a meaningful investigation of English language and literacy crisis rhetoric and the positioning of non-mainstream learners. I argue that research into linguistic discursive practices and language ideology in ex-Model C schools will enable the necessary forms of integration requisite in an equity based not assimilatory educational system.

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

BSAE: Black South African English

CFE: Cape Flats English

ELL: English language learner

HL: Home language

L1: First language

LiEP: Language in Education Policy

LOLT: Language of learning and teaching

MOI: Medium of instruction

NLS: New literacy studies

SGB: School Governing Body

WSAE: White South African English

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. South African Context

Year in and year out we are met with newspaper headlines of the crisis in South African education. This is especially rampant on the first weeks of the new year as grade twelve results are published and new classes of over a million grade one learners enter the education system. Of this one million, statisticians account for a huge majority that will be lost in the system by the time they reach grade 9. Those who remain, do not fair well either separated under the three tiered system dividing quality of education in South Africa, along state schools, ex-Model C schools and private schooling. As annual and termed results from English language, numeracy and literacy local and international tests position the nation's grade one, four and six students last in comparison to other developing countries, this has culminated in innumerable studies, initiatives and measures with recommendations ranging from language practices, teacher training, the adoption of technology and parental involvement.

Apart from curriculum changes and implementation challenges, one area has been particularly heralded as the model for success with great efforts dedicated to its national scaling. The perceived "success" (better academic performance scores for Black students) in previously white only ex-Model C and private schools has given rise to parents (of previously disadvantaged backgrounds such as Blacks and Coloureds) sacrificing every resource to gain access into these much sought after yet limited good quality schools. With access to these schools opening post-Apartheid, resulting in more non-white students accessing these schools and doing whatever it takes to meet the school requirements for their children to remain there. However since 2016, it has become public knowledge emanating from growing reports, court cases and protests from Black students highlighting the persist colonial language and cultural socialization forming the milieu of such schools. Central to this debate, are language policies propagating hierarchical status to languages with English and Afrikaans as the norm and African languages occupying a lowly often hostile status. In primary schools, the straight for English only policies to children with little to no previous exposure to English and literacy practices have exposed the epistemological injustice to the children's positioning as knowers rendering them voiceless in a domain where active participation is a prerequisite for learning. This dissertation frames these actions within ongoing colonial matrices of power paying particular focus to the intersection of linguistic inequality, learner deficit labels as well as entangled power relations present in ex-Model C and private school ideologies and practices.

1.2. Background to the Problem

Out-of-school literacy research on how children acquire ways of knowing from family practices was pioneered by Heath's (1982, 1983) influential ethnographic research on the home language and literacy practices of middle class and working class children in the South Carolinas of the United States of America (USA) in the 1970s. Through these deep ethnographic accounts her work was able to account for the varied 'ways with words' and the relationship between schools and the maintenance of dominant

ideologies. In order to gain a better understanding of which languages and what language ideology circulates in previously white-only Model C schools, McKinney describes (2011) the expectation that children come proficient in English and are considered deficient or even deviant if they do not speak it is based on an English monoglossic ideology privileging the hegemonic use of English and Afrikaans whilst simultaneously marginalizing indigenous African languages. This has resulted in discriminatory consequences for students non-dominant background in the following ways: a) the attachment of deficit labels on children's linguistic resources as defined from a lack of proficiency in English compared to what they can do; b) the continuous lack of acknowledgement of children's non-dominant linguistic resources for learning c) the hierarchical valuing of children's language use and finally d) devoicing and silencing of children in the learning environment. Despite these findings, the hegemony of English endures with over 80% of children accessing the curriculum in the language. Probyn posits that this may be attributed to both the intellectual and political economic dependency; in the way English is perceived to be the gatekeeper to academic knowledge as well as upward mobility. Those who are competent in English have been found to possess better epistemological access to education than those with limited proficiency in the language. Furthermore, English's status as a global language has made it both a resource for learning as well as upward mobility. In accounting for the language shift among Black people, Kamwangamalu (2003) study traces language shift from demographic majority to English economic minority as a result of the language policies adopted nationally. The current Language in Education Policy (1997) supports multilingualism advocating for access to education in the child's home language in the Foundation Phase as well as providing African languages to be studied as subjects. However, the gap between the policy and what is offered to students on the ground has resulted in practices that "naturalize the hegemonic status of the dominant language [English] and perpetuate systems of inequality..." In addition to a system of inequality, studies show that teachers and school administrators perpetuate a discourse of stigma and deficit toward speakers of other languages in the classroom (McKinney, 2015; McKinney et al 2011, Busch, 2010; Makoe, 2007; de Klerk, 2002a).

The challenge currently facing literacy development has centered around ideologies and pedagogical with regards to its teaching. Local studies (Fleish, 2008; Plüddeman et al. 1998; Prinsloo and Walton 2008) have highlighted that the "basic skills" or drill and practice of decoding approach to literacy is an impoverished view of learning fragmenting literacy to a set of hierarchical skills that are set to be transferable across all reading contexts. These skills they argue focus mainly upon general and factual questioning with little regard for differences in genres and meaning-making and meaning-taking strategies. However, there were two critical observations which Prinsloo and Stein made. Firstly, they argued that the emphasis on recitation and collective chant meant that the children had neither spent a lot of time making and taking new meanings in relation to texts, nor gained much experience in simple analysis and synthesis. Secondly, they noticed that although the children might perform enthusiastically and well in rote-learning exercises and choral singing activities, they had probably not been prepared to make and take meanings interpretively or in the reflective ways that would enable them to make sense of school reading and writing practices in later years.

Barton and Hamilton (1998) argue that literacy is instead a social practice and not just

a set of skills to be learned. Words and meanings are acquired through situated contextual use amongst people. The repertoire of literacy practices students engage in is shaped by their school and societal contexts and what schooling values in terms of literacy. Drawing on Bourdieu's (1977) view of schools as spaces of reproduction of dominant ideologies and societal trajectories I argue that the language and literacy practices valued in schools reflect the linguistic and literary hierarchies that form broad social, political and economic systems of equality and inequality" (Tollefson 2002,p.ix). Such practices are additionally institutionalized and standardized giving them authority (Barton 2007, Street and Street 1991). In the context of this study, the tension between everyday and dominant literacies is reinforced: on the one hand, the students are said to be belonging to the fourth industrial revolution but are also subject to assessments and formalized expectations.

1.3. Significance of the Study

Research in South Africa has mainly focused on language ideologies and hierarchies existing within languages in previously white only Model C schools with a now desegregated student body (McKinney,2015; de Klerk2002a). In addition research involving parents focused on language shifts from indigenous African language use in the homes to English among middle class families. There is not much home-based research nor studies linking the school, home language practices and parent ideologies. This gap in the knowledge seeks to investigate the intersection of linguistic inequality, learner positioning and power between the school and home. What goes on in the home and school does not exist in isolation but work as a chain with the school acting as the central authority and gatekeepers of the unequal power relations existing between how the students are positioned in relation to its ideologies and practices and how the parents themselves as belonging to a previously disadvantaged group are doing I order to meet the demands of the schools highlighting how ideology affects how both the child and what the parents thus deems as normal are positioned by and through English.

This research could be beneficial to participants across the educational chain. For parents especially families with first generational children attending previously white only English medium schools. This research could help them understand and challenge the labels schools use to position their children and call for fairer diagnosis of their children's academic needs. For teachers especially given the reality that the majority of teachers in previously white-only schools are English monolinguals, this study could help teachers in multilingual classrooms to be cautious of how they position children by and through English and how they can better support learners into the transition of English as a language of learning and teaching thus minimizing the use of hierarchical statuses of language use and the lack of acknowledgement of children's knowledge in non-English and non-mainstream English varieties. In relation to teacher training, I hope that this research will open up conversations on the need for teachers to be fully competent in at least one African language as per a province's need in order to support emergent bilinguals especially in the early years. The expectation that it is the children who need to come competent in English whilst teachers continue placing children in sink or swim scenarios is not beneficial to the quality of teaching and learning for both parties. The rise in language and literacy tests is not used to positively assist both teachers and learners demonstrating a gap in

the knowledge of which this research seeks to address. Policymakers will also gain immensely from this research informing curriculum design, developing guidelines for schools with these student bodies and pedagogical practice without negatively labeling students in relation to their lack of proficiency in English. I expect this research will show how the monoglossic English ideology and Standard English language ideology works to propagate colonial hegemonic linguistic inequality and the exclusion of equal quality education for previously disadvantaged groups.

1.4. Research Questions

Aim: The aim of this research is to identify hegemonic language ideologies informing school language policies, teacher discursive practices and the deficit positioning of children's linguistic and literacy resources. I aim to connect these to the propagation of linguistic inequality, colonial ideology and power in post-Apartheid South African education and society.

To answer this question, I created three sub-questions that would allow me to investigate the aforementioned issues to their full scope.

1. What at home language and literacy practices develop among Black families with first generation (Black) students attending English medium schools identified as “at risk” and/or “struggling” language learners.
2. How do schooled conceptions of language and literacy effect parent practices and children's positioning in the home?
3. What does the parents' adoption of these schooled conceptions reveal about the relationship between ideology and power?

1.5. Research Design

This research undertakes a contrastive ethnographic case study analysis of children's home language and literacy practices in three homes. The participants are middle class Black families with first generation children attending English medium previously white only and white majority private schools where they have been identified as “at risk” and/or “struggling” learners in Gauteng and the Western Cape. The study explores the young children's encounters with digital media and language ideologies circulated by the parents' and instructors as they seek to help their children improve academically. In order to better understand the relationship between the home and schools, I aim to better understand the implications of schooled conceptions of language and literacy on the children's experiences from each case study. Data was collected over a period of six months at three different stages: at the end of the previous academic year as the children received their results and deficit statuses, in the first term of the next academic year and before mid-year results. The instruments of collection included interviews, questionnaires, observations, video recordings and field notes.

1.5. Limitations of the Research

As a quantitative study, the researcher expects the participants to be honest when answering questions. While I came into the research with a particular research

question, my research focus shifted as I noticed patterns between the families. This I believe assisted me in removing a biasness that could be developed from an exertion of a specific focus on what I wanted to investigate and prove. While I had a questionnaire for the parents, I relied mainly upon observed occurrences to account for parent behaviours and actions. Given the small scale of the study one may question the generalizability of the research's findings and recommendations. By spending over three months with the families and building rapport as well as the studies and number of incidents coming out in support of my findings both locally and internationally for groups similar to those in the research I believe that this works positively for the research.

1.6. Thesis Outline

CHAPTER 1: Introduction/Background of the Study

CHAPTER 2: Conceptual Framework and Literature Review

In this chapter I outline the theoretical underpinnings of my research. I explain my approach to language and literacy, which is based on sociocultural theory and new literacy studies. I have chosen several theories to help conceptualize language and literacy in discourse and its relationship to social power. These theories include linguistic capital, language ideology, and de/coloniality for language and . I additionally identify research from South Africa and internationally that use similar theoretical understandings of language and literacy.

CHAPTER 3: Methodology and Research Design Considerations

In this chapter I discuss the research design, data collection instruments, and methods of data collection employed for this study. I also give an overview of the data collected and my approach to data analysis. This study is a quantitative ethnographic case study of three Black families with children attending English medium previously white-only Model C schools and a white majority private school who have been additionally identified as “at risk” and/or “struggling” learners. I use ethnographic methods and Critical Discourse Analysis to interpret my data.

CHAPTER 4: Language Ideologies

In this chapter I analyze how the children are positioned by the circulating language ideologies informing the school and teachers' practices. I identify ideologies of English monolingualism and standard (English) language ideology and anglonormativity with the aim to connect these discourses and ideologies to the impact they have on parents' beliefs and children's experiences in the home.

CHAPTER 5: Pedagogization of Literacy

In this chapter I analyze how schooled conceptions of literacy affect resources for literacy development as well as how the children are positioned in the how through the circulating discourse. I identify ideologies of literacy as autonomous and I aim to link these discourses to the influence they have on students' abilities to be successful in the classroom.

CHAPTER 6: Conclusions and Recommendations

In this chapter I examine the consequences and implications of linguistic inequality,

language ideologies, literacy pedagogies and power for children's language and literacy development and then conclude the study within a call to delink from hegemonic and colonial discourses and ideologies.

Chapter 2: Ideology, Pedagogy and Power in South Africa's post-colonial education: A Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter I present the theoretical and conceptual frameworks guiding this research. I explain my approach to language and literacy that is based on sociocultural and sociolinguistic theory. Both theories argue that language and literacy are social processes acquired through specific social practices that can be observed ethnographically. I draw on 5 interlinking and related approaches related to the study of language, literacy and technology namely:

1. [De]coloniality
2. Language Ideologies
3. Literacy Ideologies
4. Pedagogization of Literacy
5. Situated sociocultural approach to literacy and technology

2.2. [De]coloniality

I use the theory of decoloniality as an overarching analytical method across this study for studying power relations, ideology, linguistic inequalities, positioning and race. Founded by Latin American scholars Anibal Quijano, Nelson Maldonado-Torres and Walter D. Mignolo to name a few, ideas from decoloniality have been incorporated as a framework for studying the Global South (previously colonized nations across South America and Africa. In South Africa Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015) argues that “[de] coloniality is born out of a realization that ours is an asymmetrical world order that is sustained only by colonial matrices of power but also by pedagogies and epistemologies of equilibrium that continue to produce alienated Africans who are socialized into hating the Africa that produced them, and liking the Europe that rejects them (2015,489). In other words, the social realities and practices in post-colonial countries do not exist in a vacuum. They are founded from deep historical and sociopolitical incidents. Ndlovu-Gatsheni explains that decoloniality is premised on studying three units of power: coloniality of power, coloniality of knowledge and coloniality of being. In relation to this dissertation, I will focus on concepts around the coloniality of power.

The coloniality of power was coined by Anibal Quijano to name structures of power and hegemony during the era of colonialism stretching from the Americas to date. Quijano argues that behind these conquests was control and authority over natural resources, labour, and the creation of nation-states and organization of societies. Governing these practices was Eurocentricism, an ideology presenting European-American society as superior, progressive and the universal standard for human organization. Maldonado-Torres (2007) building on the work of Quijano, draws on two major axes of power accompanying the colonization of Latin America: firstly the codification of race that privileges white supremacy with whiteness as superior and secondly the establishment of structures of stratified labour control determined upon

racial categories. In Africa, Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2015) accounts for similar patterns highlighting the creation of at first black, white, coloured and indian racial categories. Under Apartheid, the notion of racial categories defined social relations as well as the introduction of blackness as inferior against its superior white counterpart. Both argue that to date, Euro-American and white supremacy notions continue as models universal standards.

In accounting for the lingering asymmetrical social relations in present post-colonial societies, Maldonado-Torres distinguishes between two political structures: colonialism and coloniality. Colonialism refers to the Eurocentric power relations described above; these required a political system as well as administrative processes of enforcement in order to exist. Coloniality by comparison is “maintained alive in books, in the criteria for academic performance, in cultural patterns, in common sense, in the self-image of others, in aspirations of self and so many aspects of our modern experience. In a way, as modern subjects we breathe coloniality all the time and everyday (Maldonado-Torres, 2007;243). Maldonado-Torres’ definition assists in surfacing the encapsulating hegemony of coloniality covering all spheres of the post-colonial modern social experience. In South Africa, although Apartheid and British colonialism ended twenty-five years ago, the unequal social relations generated by colonialism continue beyond the dismantling of its administrative structures. Hierarchies of language in South Africa privileges English and Afrikaans, with English occupying a higher status. English is the official language in economic, judicial and epistemic domains, thus privileging English speakers. In terms of the education system, the Language in Education Policy (LiEP) additionally favours English with state funded schools using English as the language of learning and teaching (LOLT) from grade four until tertiary whilst African languages function as language subjects. In previously white only ex-Model C schools, children (irrespective of their linguistic background) begin their academic learning in English home language from grade one with little to no transition programs. Research into these environments highlighted how both approaches have placed these groups of learners at a disadvantage as their linguistic resources are marginalized with negative implications on their academic and socioeconomic futures (McKinney,2015; Christie and McKinney,2018) .

Inequalities in socioeconomic outcomes, labour and the linguistic of European languages privileging continue to form what Mignolo (2009:19) describes as the “colonial matrix of power”. The colonial matrix of power constitutes of an entangled set of hierarchies working intersectionally through control or hegemony over authority over social domains. Mignolo drawing together ideas from decoloniality theorists such as Grosfuguel’s¹ (2007) extended list, identifies four interrelated domains making up the colonial matrix of power: 1) Control of economy (land

¹ Grosfuguel colonial matrix of power: A particular class formation with a diversity of labour forms. An international division of core and periphery, an interstate politico-military system controlled by Europe, a global racial/ethnic hierarchy privileging European people, a global gender hierarchy privileging European patriarchy, a sexual hierarchy privileging heterosexuals, a spiritual hierarchy privileging Christianity, an epistemic hierarchy privileging Western knowledge and cosmology and a linguistic and cultural hierarchy privileging European languages, English especially in communication and knowledge/ theory production.

appropriation, exploitation of labour, control of natural resources). 2) Control of authority (institution, army). 3) Control of gender sexuality (family, education). 4) Control of subjectivity and knowledge (epistemology, education and formation of subjectivity) (ibid). The colonial matrix of power in South Africa has been found to exclude and discriminate against members who do not fit its norm. As demographic majorities, black people belong to a majority lower class, are located outside of the local core (urban spaces), have acquired local or possess very limited Western knowledge and do not speak English. Additionally, inequalities in South Africa have been found to exemplify colonial with economic opportunities discriminatorily advancing whites and English speakers

As a post-colonial society, I analyzed how language ideologies at both the macro level of the school inform language policy and practices as well as the micro level of at home parent language ideologies and practices within parent-child interactions as well as instructor-child interactions. The notion of a colonial matrix of power helps in elucidating why the inequalities associated with coloniality extend beyond the dismantling of colonial systems and how they continue to permeate social relations to date. Through an understanding of power in this manner one can theorize appropriate pedagogical practices at desegregated schools and not be too simplistic in our approach to studying language shifts among black demographic groups as well as the theorizing of home-school [dis]continuities. Bourdieu (1977:659) argues that “schooling is one of the most important sites for social reproduction and is also one of the key sites, ‘which imposes the legitimate forms of discourse and the idea that discourse should be recognized if and only if it conforms to what is perceived as the legitimate norm’”. In most classrooms and socially, the discourse around language appears to be that students will gain symbolic power if they conform to the linguistic norms of the classroom and the education system as an institution (Heller, 2007; Makoe, 2007; McKinney, 2010). Mignolo (2007) argues instead for a delinking from the colonial matrix of power towards symmetrical and context specific linguistic practices and content in education valuing the linguistic resources as well as the multiple meaning making practices rather than valorizing one language, its use or knowledge as one form of reading and writing.

2.3. Language Ideologies

Beliefs around language, and what counts as language have extremely powerful ways in shaping how people use, value languages, its speakers as well as how linguistic repertoires are positioned. Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994) describe language ideologies as the set of beliefs and values operating within society informing how members of that society conceptualize what counts as language and how it is used. Woolard furthermore adds that language ideology functions as “...a mediating link between social structures and forms of talk ... ideology thus stands as a dialectical relation with, and thus significantly influences, social, discursive, and linguistic practices” (Woolard, 1992: 235). Consequently the beliefs and ideas behind a language and the use of a language both influence people’s language behaviours. While language beliefs and practices are a personal choices made at the individual level, some language ideologies are socially constructed through discourse.

Blackledge and Pavlenko (2002:123) explain that language ideologies are about more

than an individual speaker's attitudes to their languages or speakers using languages in particular ways. Rather, they include the network of values, practices and beliefs associated with language use by a number of people, and the discourses that construct values and beliefs across various sites such as state, institutional, national and global levels. This definition orients language ideologies in the face of structured social power relations at both the macro and micro levels. In South Africa English established its value during Apartheid as a politically 'neutral' language against Afrikaans. Since then it has solidified its value and importance becoming the official language of communication in political, judicial, epistemic, economic and social institutions (Vivian, de Klerk,). Through this process, those who do not speak English cannot in turn function meaningfully within its social, economic and political life. Bourdieu (1997) theorizes that no language is inherently powerful to the other but that society creates, reinforces and sustains linguistic hierarchies. Detailing language's relationship to social benefits and credibility he explains how particular dialects can represent a form of cultural and symbolic capital deeming speakers of that language variety as legitimate. Foucault (1980) maintains that what people believe and value about languages are formed through discourses maintained through knowledge, social practices and power relations of which people seek association. It is within these Discourses where systems become deeply entrenched social practices within society and its members accepting and internalize them as 'normalized' systems that legitimize positions of who is recognized to speak in what way and deemed an appropriate voice worthy to be heard (Bourdieu, 1977).

In his article *The Economics of Linguistic Exchange* (Bourdieu, 1977) he integrates sociology with linguistics to re-examine previously held linguistic competency notions of grammaticalness, language, and relations of communication replacing them with notions of acceptability, legitimate language, and relations of symbolic power. Investigating linguistic competence, Bourdieu argues that we need to move beyond the linguistic form as the focus in classrooms investigating in its place how certain language use is socially valued and is considered the "legitimate language" (Bourdieu 1977:646) in this context he extends symbolic capital's affordance as inseparable to the individual's shared positioning, authority and legitimacy allowed within the social environment.

The families that the three children all belong use indigenous African languages and heteroglossic repertoires in addition to English as part of their everyday communicative practices. I analyzed language ideology at both the institutional macro level of the Language in Education Policy (LiEP) as well as the language policy of the school that informs practices of how the children are positioned in accordance with its policies. At the micro level of the home I analyzed parent and instructor beliefs and values around their languages and practices. Woolard's definition of language ideology assists in comprehending the naturalized adoption of English by parents and instructors in the home. The definition also assisted in surfacing the hierarchical positioning of languages and language users.

Language Resources

Makoni and Mashri 2007, Makoni, (1999) accounts for the colonial construction of African (home) languages Black fashioned under monoglossic Eurocentric views of

nation states and one language, describes how indigenous languages in South Africa were separated using culture to sustain them. Blommaert and Backus (2011) argue that what counts, as language is more complex than recognizing linguistic units. They expand linguistic repertoires to account for the diverse ways in which people use languages. Blommaert, calling for a move away from multiplicity towards complexity applies a usage-based approach to language competency and attributing different kinds of language learning. This he labels as “the epistemological rupture” of monoglot ideologies towards a focus on linguistic repertoires as individual practices’ (2013:614).

Aligned with this ‘epistemological rupture’, I work with an understanding of language as socially, culturally, politically and historically situated sets of features that form resources (Heller 2007; Blommaert & Rampton 2011), which are part of a multimodal repertoire (New London Group 2000; Jewitt & Kress 2003) for meaning-making. Busch (2012) draws our attention to the subjective nature of linguistic repertoires. She introduces four ways in which linguistic repertoires can be characterized (1) languages understood in relation to one another forming a “heteroglossic whole”; (2) meanings attributed to language practices are “linked with personal experiences and life trajectories: (3) “speakers participate in varying spaces of communication” and (4) the linguistic repertoire is linked both to the history of the individual and his/her future (520). Blommaert (2011) added that repertoires are subject to hierarchical structures employing the terms ‘orders of indexicality’ and polycentricity to account for the impact of power and equality in how resources are valued differently depending on context. Agha (2003) additionally describes how some language uses are enregistered- recorded or noticed through processes that “recognize distinct forms of speech come to be socially recognized (or enregistered) as indexical of speaker attributes by a population of language users (2005:38). The creation of home languages thus promoted beliefs of linguistic purity and hierarchies between urban-rural language varieties as well as phonological features to index particular social values and identities i.e. authentic speakers (Agha, 2003, 2005, Pennycook, metrolingualism).

2.4. Literacy in society

2.4.1. Autonomous and Ideological model of literacy

In the 1950s psychologists studying early literacy learning conceptualized the act of reading and writing as cognitive mental processes. This model assumed that when reading, people engaged in cognitive processes of decoding, retrieving, inference etc. In terms of its acquisition, literacy learning was thus broken down to a set of basic skills taught in sequential order for meaning-making around texts. Children who had difficulty reading and writing were thus said to be lacking these basic skills. Street (1994:138) out-of-school studies in Iran discovered that people act out their uses and meanings of reading and writing in different social contexts. Evidence from different societies and contexts showed how people were involved in a myriad of social activities involving the use of reading and writing in different ways in order to complete activities. This resulted in Street’s argument that there is more than one unified form of literacy. Consequently, he proposed two key concepts as a framework on which to situate descriptions of literacy in practices. The notion of acquiring a

single autonomous literacy, that works from the assumption that literacy in itself (autonomously) will have effects on other socioeconomic and cognitive benefits and the ideological model. According to Street (2003: 1-2), the ideological model of literacy offers a more culturally sensitive view of literacy practices as different from one context to another rather than a technical skill.

2.4.2. Literacy events and practices

In order to study literacy, Street (2003:2), argued that researchers in NLS would face difficulty utilizing an “ideological” model of literacy by employing the term “literacy” as their unit of study. He explicated that literacy comes already loaded with ideological and policy presumptions making it hard to do ethnographic studies of the variety of literacies across contexts. Consequently alternative terms were developed establishing a distinction between literacy events and literacy practices.

Literacy Events

Heath (1982:93) described literacy events as any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of participants’ interactions and their interpretive processes. As people participate in specific literacy events, they act and interact in ways that socially construct, and are constructed by the general cultural ways of using literacy in that context, for that purpose literacy events do not exist independently but depend on literacy practices. Barton and Hamilton (2000:8) described events as observable episodes that develop from social practices and are shaped by them thus bringing attention to situated nature of literacy.

Literacy Practices

Street (2001) defines literacy practices as ways of acting and behaving that embody local beliefs about the value of reading and writing. Additionally, Baynham observed that reading and writing were very commonly not individual, solitary activities, but occurred in contexts where meanings were actively negotiated by groups of people using spoken and written language. As people engage in literacy events, they are bringing in their subjectivity on what counts as literacy and in the case of young children, their literacy practices do not happen in a vacuum taking place under parents’ particular beliefs and conventions around reading and writing and the value of those specific practices. Kell (2018) accounting for the reproduction of inequality in literacy intervention explains that the ideologies that govern people’s beliefs around literacy have significant effect on the policies and practices emblematic of that ideology.

2.4.3. Literacy Defined

I take the view that follows sociocultural theory of literacy as inseparable from the social environment in which it takes place and that literacy practices are imbued with contestations of meaning, value and power. Scholars across the fields of linguistics, established the New Literacy Studies (NLS) opposing behaviourist (autonomous) views of literacy. As mentioned above, under this view the ability to read and write was defined as context free mental processes of decoding, retrieving, comprehension

and inferring information (Street, 1984). NLS scholars opposed this decontextualized approach arguing that literacy was not just a mental phenomenon but occurring primarily within society. It also maintained that different social groups engaged in varied practices bringing with them differences in ways of acting, knowing, valuing and interacting with both oral language, written language and the tools utilized (Gee, 2001). In this regard, literacy is thus not neutral but ideological and plural (literacies) in nature as people participate in a plethora of social events i.e. religious, academic, spec and under different participatory roles thus accumulating multiple ways of engaging and using reading and writing as determined by the sociocultural groups they belong to (Prinsloo, 2005a).

Brian Street (1993, 1995) argued that autonomous and written text-based notions of literacy limited our understanding of the varied nature of literacy practices. The term 'Multiliteracies' embraces the notion that there are multiple 'modes of representation' which are much broader than language alone (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000: 5). Multiliteracies pedagogy 'encourages a broader perspective of the student as a learner and values diverse ways of knowing, thinking, doing and being' (O'Rourke, 2005: 10). Underpinned by multimodal theory, it asserts that children create meaning using a '... multiplicity of modes, means and materials' for self expression (Kress, 1997: 97; New London Group, 1996). The theory postulates that from birth a child actively seeks to make and understand 'messages and meanings' in accordance with their interests and using available resources that may include information communication technologies (ICTS). Kress and Jewitt (2003) assert that multimodal communication is not just the absence of language and written text, rather representing the design of all modes together in signifying meanings of the overall message. They explain that the meaning of a message is distributed across all modes albeit unevenly, therefore different aspects of meaning are carried by a specific mode with each mode functioning as a crucial part of the whole (2010: 3). This partiality they argue is a significant aspect of multimodality and semiotic resources as it has an impact in the following ways: Firstly 'how modes shape what is represented as well as how differences reshape what is represented. Secondly, how learning is affected, changed and shaped by the differences in mode' (2010: 3).

2.5. Pedagogization of literacy

As research in Literacy Studies in the 1990s accepted literacy as a social practice with its meanings and use divergent from one culture and context on to another depending on cultural, political, economic and historical situation of resources and not a neutral and universal skill, Street and Street (1991) observed a growing trend towards schooled (autonomous) model of literacy as the main form of literacy recognized within contemporary society marginalizing all other literacy practices. Describing this process as the "pedagogization of literacy" (143) the association and naturalization of literacy with educational notions of teaching and learning as well as with what teachers and learners do (143). They analyzed how out-of-school literacy practices in the home became internalized through four processes of pedagogization: objectification of language, metalinguistic usages, space labeling and classroom procedure. Space labeling refers to the separation of language and literacy to everyday language and literacy practices thus defining literacy into the use of particular material. Procedures refer to the ways in which rules for the engagement of

participants such as teachers and learners are reinforced within practices with effects on who gets positioned as a knower and the hierarchies of knowledge, knowledge construction, authority and control (144). In this instance pedagogy functions as an ideological framework controlling parental conceptualizations and practices of reading and writing as a neutral set of reading and writing skills taught and acquired via specialized packaged content. By applying Street and Street's pedagogization of literacy, I show how the school as an institution used its authority to define language and literacy tests by measuring children's language and literacy practices against this norm. I found that in the context of the post-colonial and socioeconomic frailty, parents internalized school practices in an effort to meet achievement standards requisite in ex-Model C schools. Subsequently children's leisure literacy practices were not legitimated, as they do not match school teaching and learning practices.

2.6. Situated sociocultural approach to literacy and technology

Gee (2008) argues that the goal of early reading instruction needs to move beyond simple decoding and literal comprehension. He explained that as children progress academically, the language of learning becomes increasingly complex and specialized differing from everyday speech and meanings. Consequently as children shift from basic language activities to specialized subjects in grade four, so does the need to comprehend the language of a subject area which is not just information and isolated vocabulary but requires understanding of its concepts, practices of knowledge building, value, tools for problem solving and procedures (Gee, 2004). He argues that learning to read using skills-based models of literacy focus on basic vocabulary ignoring language and thinking skills in order to produce language. This he argues limits the kinds of problems children are equipped to solve, the discussions they engage in as well as the arguments they are asked to make. He argues that words do not have a dictionary like abstract definition (vernacular) and that the definition of a word is defined by the domain and context in which it is used (situated) . As such, video games enable players to comprehend the complex nature of language and that when children play a game they are learning the domain specific knowledge and its application to problem-solving. Likewise, open-ended games provide players with varied narrative structure. Based on the affordances of the game, the player can shift the sequence of events from linear to fragmented thus impacting storytelling and text composition strategies (16). By drawing on a situated sociocultural approach to literacy and technology this study answers the call to what Mignolo (2007) identifies as a need to delink from hegemonic ideologies and practices. In language and literacy development I found that children's leisure activities provided significant potential in the children's language development and literacy learning and offering new ways of assessing, engaging in interactions and orientating learners into meaning-making.

2.7. Literature Review

2.7.1. Language, schooling and coloniality

McKinney's research (2010-2013) around four suburban desegregated ex-Model C primary girls schools in Johannesburg found that the dominant ideology in these

schools was of an English only and standard English language ideology. McKinney (2010) describes these language ideologies present in the school's language policies as *Anglonormativity*, a term referencing the expectation that children come already proficient in English and are deviant or deficient if not. Putz (1991) argues that schools that do not support minority children's home language resources result in subtractive bilingualism towards the school's medium of instruction. Soudien (2004) drawing from Naidoo's (1996) integration model in in previously Indian only schools in Kwa-Zulu Natal uses the term to account for a new way of researching desegregated schools. His study found that desegregated schools can be characterized by assimilationism with subordinate groups. Similarly, Christie (1995) critique into De Klerk's post-Apartheid desegregation of white schools revealed that the policy sought to propagate the interests of white education via management shifts from the state to the School Governing Body (SGB) and parents as well as seeking control of student admissions and remaining 50% + 1 white.

Data collected in three Johannesburg secondary further evidenced the use of language to normalize English's hegemony through the exclusive valuing of monolingual practices and denigration of their multilingual (English and African language) heteroglossic resources. Mckinney found that on the first day of school grade eight learners were streamed according to their English and mathematics proficiency results with English language results carrying more weight. Students who spoke English only were positioned favourably as "brighter" and proficient users of the language. While those whose linguistic repertoires were heteroglossic were characterized as "lapsing" and most likely to not be in the brighter girls class.

Research by McKinney et al (2015) on the exclusionary effects of monoglossic ideology used similar theoretical concepts of heteroglossia and linguistic repertoires. The observed case study took place in a desegregated Model C schools with a now black student body of mainly isiXhosa speaking grade one learners and a white English speaking teacher. McKinney et al states that despite the now diverse student body, The school remains a straight for English context with English expected to access both learning and teaching in English home language. In a comment to the researcher, Mrs West draws attention to the child's lack of proficiency in English upon arrival to school as " could not speak" (2015,118). This incident showed that because of the school's anglonormative language ideology, children without English resources are labeled as without the ability to speak. Implicit in her deficit view is the teacher's actions of rendering invisible Siphos linguistic resources thus not counted as language. According to McKinney et al, (2015) such monolingual ideologies have extensive and constraining implications on how children are positioned in schooling, and on children's abilities to actively and meaningfully participate in classrooms, resulting in a form of 'epistemic injustice (121).

2.7.2. Parent discursive practices and social ideologies

This study aims to better understandings of the intimate relationship between language and an individual's social identity. Kamwangamalu (2007) research draws on Gumperz' *we-code, they-code* concept, to trace the identities of English (pre, during and post- Apartheid) in South Africa to account for the language shift of Black South Africans towards English as a home language. His findings revealed that English' role as a barrier to upward social mobility is resulting in a naturalized-we-

code where the positive attributes of English' association with power, privilege, education and socioeconomic opportunities is resulting in Black families increasing adoption of the language as their chief medium of communication, shifting their linguistic practices as they gradually abandon their indigenous language. Similar language shifts have been witnessed in Canada among Maltese migrants in Ontario and British Columbia who associate the Maltese language as not prestigious and lacking economic viability within the Canadian social context (Slavik, 2001;149).

de Klerk (2002a) did a comprehensive study focused on whether there was any evidence of a process of language shift or maintenance from isiXhosa to English among families who moved their children to English medium schools at both the individual and within the broader societal level. In accounting for the factors influencing language de Klerk found the following: the status of English in (global, economic and formal institutions as the language of communication resulted in parent perceptions as an investment for their child's socioeconomic future. Parents emphasized the power of English drawn to the wide range of societal functions of English, in comparison to isiXhosa's preservative function in cultural identity and interpersonal relations. Although the findings from both studies are relevant to my findings, I found the studies simplistic in their interpretations not situating their results in the complex historically entrenched power relations, social ideology and inequalities making up South Africa's post-colonial social fabric. Thus, language not only creates identity for its speakers but also identifies their social group membership (Gumperz, 1982: 239).

2.7.3. Children's reading interactions in literacy practices

Australian researchers Freebody and Luke (1990) developed a model to describe the kinds of resources (knowledge, practices and skills) required in schooled literacy in the twentieth century. Focusing on reading, they outlined four different roles occupied by the reader as they engage with texts. Code breaker (decoding resources such as letter-sound relationships, reading sight words, recognizing words, phonics and phonemic awareness. Text user (reading texts for particular purposes, knowledge of genres, searching information on the Internet and identifying key points in texts and knowing what is accepted as appropriate resources. Text analyst . They argued that when learning to read is reduced to decontextualised fragments rather than meaningful engagement, children learn a limited form of literacy and thus struggle to connect, apply and extend learned bits into knowledge and other domains. This reconceptualizing of the four roles or resources as social practices indicated the constructed rather than adopted nature of reading, developed in the context of reading as apposed to the acquisition of predetermined sets of cognitive skills (Luke & Freebody, 1999).

2.7.4. Children's literacy in popular culture

A growing body of research into children's technological leisure activities argues that children's play contains complex processes of meaning-making with popular culture. In Marsh' (2005) study of young children's use of popular culture, media and new technologies in the home, parents commented that children were able to recognize

print and logos viewed on television, pick up new vocabulary, repeat dialogue and retell narratives. Hasset (2006) calling for a broader understanding of literacy and what constitutes reading argues that children find meanings in the signs and symbols of texts that go beyond the traditional characteristics of alphabetic print. Levy (2009) study of twelve children aged 3-9 years old describes their interactions with screen-texts to investigate how they develop meaning-making strategies and make sense of symbolic representations. Her study revealed that the children followed a variety of multimodal cues such as images, symbols, colours, sound and print to access and utilize the computers. Although many could not decode the print, they knew how to navigate around applications and meanings of iconic symbols that represented access to applications. Secondly, as children encountered print they could not decode, for example Ibrahim who could not decode the words *Play* and *Exit*, knew which word to select as well as what would be the action if he had chosen *Exit*, thus highlighting performance before competence.

According to Kress, the design focuses on individuals' realization of their interests. Different modes have different potential effects for learning, and for the reshaping of identities as new reading and writing pathways are created through texts (Jewitt 2009: 15). Contrasting images with words, Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) underline the shifting role of screens to position spatial layout thus effecting what and how meaning is represented. As children use multiple modes, issues of layout, colour, size, font, narrative structure, and relationships between modes are central elements of the representation and meaning-making process

Research of children's engagement with electronic books has conflicting conclusions on the benefits of multimodal texts on children's language and learning potential. Some studies, argue that textual features such as interactive animations and images distract children and turn the literacy event into a game thus interfering with comprehension (Labbo & Reinking, 1999; Leu, 2000; Smith, 2001). Regarding narrative structure, most children selected the screens presenting the story in a random order, seemingly selecting appealing animations and other interactive effects. Labbo and Kuhn (2000) study of four pre-school children, with a basic concept of stories and story features, found that one of the children, Roberto often lapsed into passive viewing because special effects in the electronic book were inconsistent with the story, and each screen contained several such inconsistent effects. they highlight how affective motivation did not lead to an understanding of the story.

In this chapter I outlined the theoretical framework guiding my research and understanding of the nature of language and literacy as social practice and the systematic power relations entangled in their definition and value. I also defined the main theories with which I analyzed my data; colonial matrix of power, linguistic capital, language ideology, pedagogization of literacy and semiotic resources of multimodality. This chapter has also noted research that helps to understand my research topic, questions, and theoretical framework within similar and diverse contexts. In the light of this chapter's engagement with the research literature, the next chapter describes the methodological approach taken in this study, the research design details, and the research methods that were used in this s

CHAPTER 3: Research Design and Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the research design, research methods and methodological approach employed in the study. The dissertation employed an ethnographic and case study approach to research participants and their families. The methodology was employed to study home language and digital media encounters of Black English Second Language primary school young children. The discussion focuses on the research tools and methodologies employed within the study.

3.2. Ethnography

Ethnography is a research method to discover and gain insight into questions embedded in social and cultural communities and practices. Its purpose is to define problems that are complex and entrenched in multiple systems. Furthermore it assists in the identification of the range in settings where a problem a situation occurs socially (Purcell-Gates, 2000). Heavily influenced by social anthropology and grounded on theories of social and cultural practice, this research orientation is interested in the situated and specific nature of human practices and activities. In the field of language and literacy study, ethnographic studies provide researchers with the opportunity to view language use, literacy socialization practices and the adaptation of artifacts in the everyday natural activities of human life. They connect these within a larger context of socio-historical, political and economic relationships shaping human lived experiences. Findings from ethnographies provide deeper interpretations of language, literacy and technology as members of varied communities use them in situ. The aim of this study is to shed light on the home linguistic and literary experiences of children from three different families and across three grades. As such, an ethnographic approach is central to understanding what effects home practices as they exist within the framework of historical socio-economic and linguistic prejudice. The focus was on the natural setting of children's language use and literacy encounters using digital media. According to Hammersley, (1994,5), naturalism as a research method in social research captures the essence of what people really do in comparison to artificial environments such as interviews and experiments. He argues that studying these settings in this manner ensures that researchers do not bring in their preconceived biases and limit the scope of the problem of study. In line with this argument, Hammersley further advocates for ethnographic researchers to explain events in terms of their relationship to the context in which they occur through participant observation and thick descriptions that enable the researcher in order to learn the culture of the group one is studying and experience their way of life within that context before one can produce interpretations of events and practices (p.6-7).

In order to describe events, one needs to try to understand them as they happen, as

well as reflect on them. As such, I aligned participant observation research method along with unstructured interviews in order to seek clarification of events as they unfolded. During these events, I participated passively with both adults and the children. I created an environment of trust among all research participants by allowing participants to be themselves and only ask questions at the end in order to limit influencing the environment. Additionally, I sought participant permission to use data as well as well as the method of data collection.

The social nature of ethnography forces us to think creatively about how we enter people's lives (Heath and Street, 2008,31). My study focused on children's talk, digital media use and participation strategies. As a result, I used another research method, discourse analysis.

3.3. Discourse Analysis

Until very recently little attention has been given to what people say and do in particular everyday activities. Austin's (1962) revolutionary insight into the importance of the pragmatic function of language shifted studies of language and its role in society. Whilst earlier studies focused on its ability to transmit information, Austin brought light to the turn on language as a focus of social science research in order to understand human behaviour. The turn to language or as it is known as discourse focuses on the close analysis of language and communication in its spoken and written form. For Pennycook, discourse analysis incorporates a range of approaches to the analysis of language and they include text linguistics as well as conversation analysis. In this study, I focus on how the children and their families use language. I focus on everyday interactions in order to understand what they interpret as language as well as how it is used.

3.4. Case Study

The study focused on three children's home language practices and encounters with digital media. With these findings it aims to contribute to the current dearth in research and data on home experiences to impact policy and teacher pedagogy. Furthermore the study seeks to make a theoretical contribution within the field of new literacies studies. The lens in which the study addresses the dearth in research is to suggest a move away from theorizing and policy in a vacuum. Case studies are unique in that the researcher is able to study phenomena as it occurs as part of people's lived experience. Its intense and focused nature allows the researcher to understand the context of production as indigenous to that specific event. Case studies carry a strong sense of time and place representing the localized experience along with its complexity. Arguments against the singularity and subjective interpretations of the case study approach claim that one cannot make general theories based on specific and small scale studies. ()To offset this localization and apparent subjectivity, Stake pointed to various kinds of triangulation (e.g., multiple case comparison) as ways of enhancing the validity of the researcher's conclusions. Yin (1984, 1989, 1993, 1994) pointed out that generalization of results, from either single or multiple designs, is made to theory and not to populations thus multiple cases can add weight to the results by replicating the pattern-matching, consequently increasing confidence in the strength of the theory.

Regarding the issue of the ‘singularity’ of the theoretical accounts of the findings Hamel, Dufour and Fortin (1993), for example, have characterized the singularity of a case as representing a concentration of global processes in local sites, whereby the site is taken principally to be a reflection of larger ‘singular’ forces among other variables.

3.5. Ethics

Regarding research ethics, I followed the University of Cape Town’s Code for Research of Human Beings meeting the ethics requirements from the Faculty of Humanities ethics committee. I met the parents prior to the inception of the study and explained to them the purpose of my study and the methods of data collection involved. I explained the nature of my study and that observations would only be used towards the attainment of my Masters dissertation and if possible journal publication. I was then introduced to the children, where I introduced myself, explained what the study was and obtained permission from them. Upon my first visit, the parents were provided a consent form developed by me and checked by my supervisor submitted along with my application for ethical clearance. The form ensured anonymity to parents with pseudonyms provided for each research participant. Given the multimodal aspect of the technologies used by the children, photographs were limited to the screen with names blurred or cropped out in texts and children’s educational sites. Where I was allowed to take videos, parents asked me to only use the videos for my own analysis and audio recordings to be transcribed to ensure anonymity. Notes and recordings from unstructured interviews were negotiated in situ from children, guardians, tutors and parents. Permission was sought throughout the duration of the study. It was agreed that the first draft of the dissertation would be shared with parents to ensure that they were okay with the excerpts selected and a final copy distributed.

3.6. Access and Rapport

As a descriptive account of people’s everyday behaviours, ethnographic research requires the researcher to both access yet simultaneously not influence them in a manner that changes subjects’ behaviour. () argues that how a researcher enters a space, has implications for the research and its interpretations. I was introduced to the families through acquaintances who assisted me in communicating and meeting with the parents. I met each family over coffee at a café and discussed the research question and research tools. While I responded to parent questions, I tried my best to not give too many details in such a way that I influence events during the duration of my research. I assured one family that my role is not to judge the correctness of their practices but it is a discussion I am open to after I submit my thesis. The relationship and its management between the researcher and their participants plays a pivotal role in the outcome of the research. Spradley (1979) defines rapport as ‘a harmonious relationship between ethnographer and informant (78)’. He explains that once trust has developed between the ethnographer and their research participants’ this enables the free flow of information, further enriching the study and interpretations made by the researcher when analyzing findings. I established rapport by going twice in 2014 to each family for a period of two days before I began my research. Two parents suggested this as a way of getting to know the children and for them to feel less like a

stranger was watching them. In these spaces, I played with the children and answered all questions. Upon commencing with the research, I re-explained my research and due to the three different points of observation (December, January/February and in June) I continuously engaged all participants as I observed them during school holidays, in the week and weekends.

3.7 Research Settings

3.7.1. Bruma, Johannesburg

Bruma is a 20 year old (upper) middle class suburban area in Johannesburg. It is a racially and linguistically diverse suburb with Whites (40%), Black African (32.6%), Indian/Asian (20.4%), Coloured (3.5%) and other (3.5%). Linguistically, English (68.5%), other (21.5%), Afrikaans (5.8%), isiZulu (2.7%) and isiXhosa (1.5%) spoken as first languages. Families in the area earn medium to high incomes with children attending surrounding private and ex-Model C primary and secondary schools where English is taught as a home language and is the language of teaching and learning. Due to the above average family income and technological take-up of surrounding schools, children in this area own and have access to a significant amount of digital media.

The Zwanes are an isiZulu speaking family with two homes in the Bruma area, one for the family and the other run as a bed and breakfast business. Lunga stays with his mother and older sister with his dad spending most of his time running the family business and local store. Lunga's parents both dropped out of school in grade ten. The home comprises two laptops, six mobile phones, three televisions, two iPads, a PlayStation set and Digital Satellite Television Walka (portable television gadget). In the study room each family member has a cupboard with literary books of their liking across a variety of topics. For the Internet, each phone had data loaded with a 3G router with 3 gigabytes of data to search the Internet per month. Access to the television was negotiated and depended on family members waking up first. Lunga's mother and sister hardly watched television but the family had a system of recording or notifying the member when their show came on. Access to the iPad mini was forbidden unless researching school homework but allowed for both leisure and school. Access to the bigger iPad with unlimited Internet access was only allowed when Lunga's sister was home from work. Access to mobile technology was only allowed for emergencies for Lunga and after school or weekends when travelling with family. The DSTV Walka was used occasionally if all three members had conflicting television shows or strictly for Lunga's entertainment whenever the family was on the road.

3.7.2. Upper Woodstock, Cape Town

Upper Woodstock is a suburban area in Cape Town. It has a long history with both the Khoi Khoi and Dutch settlers occupying it. Famous for being a racially intergrated suburb, its history boasts an industrial atmosphere present to date. Known for its affordable housing and close proximity to the Central Business District, the area

attracts multiracial, ethnic and linguistic groups. The area is divided into two sections, Woodstock and Upper Woodstock. Upper Woodstock comprises of a middle class group with marginal higher income and property. Children from this area attended a plethora of Catholic ex-Model C schools built within church grounds. Junior attended grade four and at the time of research begun language and reading tutoring with one of his mother's customers. Due to the varying levels of middle class income, children in the area had access to fewer digital media. The () family had access to an iPad, tablet, desktop computer, television, and two mobile phones. The house comprised of 10 books belonging mainly to Junior and his younger sister and some to their parents. Junior's father worked for the provincial government as a deputy chief director and his mother as owned a clothing boutique in Woodstock. Junior's mother completed secondary school while his dad attended religious Islamic schooling. The family is very strict on access to digital media with Junior only allowed to use the computer and tablet to access the Reading Eggs language and literacy programme, watch television mainly during holidays and weekends and play mobile games upon his mother's discretion.

3.7.3. Bergvliet, Cape Town

Bergvliet is a predominantly White² upper and middle class suburban area in Cape Town. Hlonipho lives in a spacious four-bedroom home with his mother and stepfather. His mother is an accountant and stepfather is completing a masters in civil engineering at a nearby university. The Vela family had three iPads, two mobile phones and a television set. The study room was filled with law and accounting books. In the living room there was a wall unit filled with approximately eighty movies across children and adult genres. In his room, Hlonipho had a small reading corner with pillows, ottomans and a blanket. Hlonipho's reading and writing resources were almost a hundred freely downloaded and bought literacy, numeracy and music applications. At the time of study Hlonipho attended grade one in an ex-Model C school close to his father's job and had begun literacy tutoring with his cousin twice a week for ninety minutes per week. These sessions were administered using his iPad and access to the Cbeebies channel.

3.7.4. Population Sampling

This study focused on three young primary school children's face-to-face communication and encounters with digital media at home. I focused on the grades one, four and six as these have been identified as the three important phases to influence children's academic performance in secondary school. Studies of (English Second Language) grade one learners described them as lacking fundamental pre-school exposure with print thus requiring teachers to spend most of their time on early childhood development basics. Grade four and six learners are said to possess skills based reading and writing strategies which hinder them from reading for meaning and engaging with complex and specialist language academic requirements needed to be successful learners. In light of these findings, this thesis aims to study the home language and digital literacy encounters of learners from these categories to investigate their language and literacy practices and its implications for on-school

² Race: Coloured (6.2%), Black (5%), Indian/Asian (1.1) and other (1.4%).
First language: English (91.5), Afrikaans (5.9%) and other (2.6%).

learning.

3.8. Data Collection

I collected data for a period of four months (December, January, February and June 2014-2015). Each family was visited for a period of one week during the December holidays from the morning until dinnertime. During school term, I visited in the afternoons, after school until dinnertime as well as weekends from the morning until the child went to bed. Follow up visits were done twice per quarter for the remainder of the 2015-year to confirm and triangulate practices. The data was collected using seven research tools: participant observation, audio and video recordings, screenshots, parent diary, fieldnotes and unstructured interviews. Although many of the children's activities did not require my participation, I blended into the space participating passively by occasionally responding and partaking in conversations. This enabled the children to relax and not feel 'watched'. Audio recordings of unstructured interviews were negotiated during informal conversations as a method of minimizing note taking which at first negatively influenced the environment leaving the participants feeling insecure and with negative perceptions of their actions. Given the complex nature of the conversational, reading and writing events, a focus on the embodied elements such as pointing, gaze, scrolling and zooming in could not be captured using audio. For these processes, I used my mobile phone and camera to video record events. The use of the camera created a 'safe' distance for participants to not feel intruded upon. Activities on digital media were also captured using screenshots as children carried on with their activities. Screenshots were taken both whilst observing and by from video recordings. Family wake up times and the morning rush during school term meant that parents were often rushing to get the children to school and themselves to work on time. As such, it was agreed that this would not be an ideal time for me to observe children's digital media practices in the morning, so a self selected parent from each family captured the child's activities. These were shared with me in the evening or at the end of the week. Although I tried my best to not obstruct the home environments and maintain a 'natural' flow of communication and events, I did occasionally take field notes to capture as much detail and questions that I would ask participants once done with their activities.

3.9. Data Analysis

Data was collected and grouped according to medium. Audio, video and multilingual data was translated from isiXhosa and isiZulu to English. Emerging patterns from qualitative data were sorted and analysed thematically using codes (Ryan and Bernard cited in Braun and Clarke, 2006). Braun and Clarke (2006) refer to thematic analysis as 'a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes your data set in (rich) detail' (82). With multiple data sources and analysing language and literacy through digital use, thematic analysis assisted me in coding the data according to face-to-face communication, online language input, multimodal meaning making, digital writing and parent perceptions and responses to children's access to digital media. Furthermore it provided even deeper nuances between my units of analysis i.e open and closed format digital applications, the children's actions as well as the family thus further enriching the connections and interpretations argued in the following chapter.

4. Validity

Ethnographic research is often critiqued as a subjective interpretation of the researcher's findings onto an observed experience. Aware of this possible bias, I ensured that all interpretations were discussed with parents as well as children to ensure that I understood interactions correctly. This was especially pertinent in my analysis of face-to-face interactions as I investigated the multilingual communication environment and the role of 'languages' to their users. Checking interpretations with research participants of how parents understood the processes they employed enabled me to correctly interpret and present their actions. This led to deeper understandings of language and literacy practices of the role of oral communication within the home. I further employed Clifford Geertz' Thick Description as a method of providing detailed ethnographies to provide the reader direct quotes from interviews and literacy events in order to ensure how they follow how I reached my interpretations. Thick description was additionally employed to describe and provide contextualisation of literacy events for readers and explicating the validity of the proposed interpretations.

Chapter 4: Language, race and asymmetrical power relations

4.1. Introduction

This chapter provides descriptions and interpretations of language ideologies circulating in the homes of first generation black children who attend English medium ex-Model C schools and have been identified as “at risk” and/or “struggling” learners.

I focus my analysis by examining the discourse construction of language paying particular attention to its intersection with racial ideologies and linguistic inequality as realized in school language policies and practices, recorded interview data with parents and the children’s at home literacy instructors as well as observed parent-child and instructor-child interactions. This chapter presents an analysis of how anglonormative English ideology and a particular standard White South African English Standard ideology is (re)produced exemplifying the pervasive nature of the colonial matrix of power in language use as deficit.

Research into desegregated schools in South Africa revealed that the acceptance of non-white students into what were primarily white-only schools has been characterized by linguistic inequality and practices that position English as the preferred medium of instruction and communication in and outside classrooms and African indigenous languages as well as non-standard English varieties as inferior and impediments to English’ successful acquisition (McKinney). I found similar discourses within the three schools, particularly in the dominant language ideologies emerging through the schools’ language policy and discursive positioning of the students by teachers. In order to surface the ideologies informing pedagogy and learner positioning, I draw on two frameworks namely:

1. Bourdieu’s (1977) conceptions of legitimate language to surface power relations embedded in the valuing and social capital ascribed to particular languages within the linguistic marketplace of the school.
2. McKinney’s (2015) notion of anglonormativity with the view that language is a resource and that emergent bilingual learners should be able to draw upon all their linguistic resources for learning.

This chapter is divided into three sections that focus, in turn, on the intersection between linguistic inequality, student positioning and unequal power relations. The first section focuses on the construction of language ideologies by analyzing school systems such as the language policy, assessments that establish learner deficit identities and incidents where teacher discourses around language emerged.

The second section analyzes discourses that make visible the parents and instructor’s

language ideologies. Data collected shows parents promote the prestige of both English and its ethnolinguistic variety of White South African English. I additionally link the valuing of English as a conflation of a number of different issues namely race, socioeconomic opportunity and identity. Finally, in the third section I analyze the discursive practices that signal racial language ideologies as parents privilege monoglot English ideology and a particular variety of White South African English (Bowerman, 2004) over Black South African English (BSAE) variety.

4.2. Language ideologies in school practice

As I began observing linguistic practices across the three homes, I noticed that each family used language(s) differently. Additionally, the ascription of the “at risk/struggling and limited English language user” label on the children’s language use gave rise to various beliefs and valuing of language and how the children’s language use was positioned. In the discussion that follows I draw on work from sociolinguistic theories of language such as monoglossic English only ideology, anglonormativity and Standard language ideologies and coloniality to analyze how what was referred to as language was influenced by monolingual views of language as bounded, pure and clear. To begin, I identify the covert language ideologies informing the positioning of the children’s English language use as deficient by the school. I aim to connect these to the way parents view languages and the children’s language learning experiences.

4.2.1. Research participants and Positioning

As mentioned above, at the time of research all three-research participants were identified as “at risk” and/or “struggling/limited English proficiency” students by their school teachers. Each school that the children attended differed in racial group demographics, location and teaching body. However they all had English as the language for learning and teaching (LOLT). Additionally all three schools administered English language and literacy assessments either internally or through provincial mechanisms subsequently using these to stream learners based on grades attained in relation to schools’ English language policy requirements. I therefore use these two elements; the school’s language policy and use of assessments to surface both the language regime and ideologies entrenched within them. I begin by providing anecdotes of every family and how each child received their deficient status.

Hlonipho, his mother and stepfather lived in a suburban area named Bergvliet in the Western Cape. His mother (Ayanda) is a lawyer who worked part-time while completing the final year of her LLM degree at a prestigious university. His stepfather (Sipho) is a senior accountant. Given the parents’ busy schedules, Noxolo, who is Ayanda’s niece and a second year university student (although on a break due to financial constraints) was hired as Hlonipho’s literacy instructor working three times a week following a set literacy program that Noxolo received training on from a local literacy organization that the school liaised with. As a grade one learner attending an International private school English medium school with an entirely White staff and mainly English only speaking student body. Hlonipho had failed the school’s grade one English language and literacy test and as such his teacher recommended the immediate removal of isiXhosa use in favour of English-only in the home followed by

the addition of British programs such as Teletubbies, the Ceebeebies channel, Peppa Pig, shared and paired reading activities in the home. Additionally, the teacher prescribed digital language and literacy digital applications. At the time of research Hlonipho had over 120 English language, numeracy, literacy as well as various music applications on his iPad. The applications were used daily accompanying Hlonipho wherever the family went. Although his parents boasted a huge book collection with over 150 books including Ayanda's favourite isiXhosa novels and philosophical collection which she read on most weekends and often aloud to Hlonipho prior to the school's English-only suggestion.

Junior, a grade four student lived in Woodstock with his mother Sibongile and father. His mother worked at Junior's school as a librarian as well as owned a dressmaking shop in the area. Junior's school is an English medium ex-Model C school with a heterogenic teaching staff consisting of White and Coloured plus a few Black teachers. The student body was made up of an almost entirely Coloured Afrikaans first language speaking students and Black learners speaking mainly isiXhosa with some French from DRC and Cameroon students. Junior had failed the grade four provincial systemic language and literacy test and thus assigned to the school's English language and literacy programme run during class time by Shine Literacy, a local literacy organization ran by volunteers (retired elderly and university students twice a week for an hour). Sibongile met Julia a retired bookkeeper who volunteered at the sessions as well as had become one of her customers to give Junior extra Shine lessons at home in spite of Julia not being Junior's instructor in the school sessions. The sessions consisted of four, fifteen-minute sessions (Shared reading, paired reading, have-a-go-writing and games). In addition to the Shine Literacy sessions, Junior used an Australian literacy programme (recommended by the school), Click Reading Eggs for thirty minutes each afternoon on his computer or mom's tablet and played video games with his best friend Kolby. The Reading Eggs programme was administered alone, with Junior not allowed to ask questions during lessons. Upon completion, his mother also prepared a vocabulary test on Friday afternoon. Junior's parents had also actively decided to stop speaking isiXhosa in favour of English in an effort to improve Junior's fluency and academic performance, limiting use of the language to family visits in the Eastern Cape or isiXhosa speaking kin living in nearby Gugulethu township.

My final research participant Lunga, attended grade six at an Ex-Model C school with a 98% White majority teaching staff and mainly Black indigenous and first generation Portuguese migrant student body in Johannesburg. Both his parents were business owners with his dad running a wholesale store and mother running the Bed and Breakfast close to their home in Bruma. Since both parents had not completed high school, academic support was directed to his elder sister Mbali, a final year humanities university student. Although Lunga spoke English fluently and passed both his English and Mathematics provincial assessments attaining over 80% Lunga's English teacher signed him up for extra English lessons twice a week as she felt "he did not speak properly" this was a reference to the grammatical errors mainly morphological and syntactical errors and at times struggles to complete written tasks in class. At home, Lunga had an iPad with The Khan Academy syllabus, an Afrikaans learning app and was not allowed to watch programmes with mainly African American English. He additionally had access to his sister's laptop, mom's cellphone, a 10gig wifi router and iPad which he mainly used to search the Internet and listen to

hip-hop and watch international dance group videos on Youtube.

4.2.2. Anglonormative English Ideology

While I did not do any research at the school, I checked with all teachers on the validity of the parents' statement regarding the school's language policy and medium of instruction. Beginning with the schools' language policy, it is evident that in all three schools, the dominant language ideology was towards an anglonormative English ideology informing all pedagogic, learning and assessment practices of the schools. Each school expected the learner to come already proficient in the language. In addition to its policy, the schools followed the CAPS curriculum with English taught at Home Language level. Both practices position these learning environments as directed at children already fluent in English thus legitimizing English (Bourdieu, 1977). Implicit in this positioning of English is the invisibility of the children's non-English linguistic resources that are not supported in spite of the now diverse student body. The constitution of South Africa of which the Language in Education Policy (LiEP, 1997) advocates for the retention of children's home languages and a multilingual or transitional additive bilingual approach in the acquisition of an additional language. What is evident from the school's practice is the school's disregard for the maintenance of the children's First Language (L1) and the privileging of the learner's additional language as their L1. Such practices are what (McKinney, 2015) associate with subtractive bilingualism that rooted in a monolingual language ideology. Soudien (2004) also argues that in ex-Model C schools integration models of previously excluded subordinate groups are characterized by assimilationist language practices. I found that the anglonormative English ideology works to maintain the hegemonic status of English in the school legitimizing English as the valued language with other languages not acknowledged. This has exclusionary implications for the quality of learning that learners like Hlonipho, who at grade one does not have sufficient proficiency in English. Additionally both Lunga and Junior are expected to access the curriculum at a Home Language level which is not part of their home experience. The home language level assumes advanced language use that is both linguistic and cultural which the children do not possess as part of their experience. Similar to Hlonipho, a telephonic conversation with Lunga's English teacher Miss Moutinho surfaced the language ideologies circulating around the school after an incident in class when she refused to acknowledge Lunga's characteristic of his speech form (language) as English when asked what his Home Language was. Her refusal of his identity as an English was later found to be premised on two beliefs: that Lunga is black and therefore had an indigenous language as his home language and 2) that his language could not be labeled as English as according to her characterization was "not proper English". In the example above the teacher imposes a view of "an artifactual, denotational form of language, usually called by its name (Dutch, English) and imagined as the kind of stable, immanent, clear and bounded object..." (Blommaert, 2006:515). Her characterization of English does account for what she described as Lunga's syntactical errors. These were a result of the direct translation practices between isiZulu and English. Lunga often used the reduced question *isn't it* (angithi) employed in English as a tag question when a speaker lacks certainty but in isiZulu it is used to illustrate confidence and certainty of a statement or point made by the speaker. This coupled with the Eurocentric view that language is linked to culture and that under Apartheid, language, race and ethnicity were lucidly marked in people.

The teacher's discourse reveals a partiality towards an idealized homogenous language described as English. To her, there is only one way to speak English, and thus any difference is perceived as not belonging to that perceptual language and thus in need of correction.

Parallel to the valuing of an anglonormative English ideology, I found that the schools administered formal English, literacy and numeracy assessments as a method of streaming the children (Prinsloo and Kell, 2018). Similar to Hlonipho's experience with a literacy test upon school entry, the provincial systemic assessments for grade four learners are designed to measure and classify children against 'universal' standard language and literacy practices. Research into language and literacy assessments argues that what is usually measured by assessments are ways of using language, reading and meaning-making that are alleged to be universal and neutral (Prinsloo,). He further argues states that meaning making is not a one-one relationship between words in a text independent of context, of interaction practices and learners background orientation. In the next chapter I highlight a literacy event where Junior was met with the sentence "The sheep is in the shed". While he was observed to decode the text, he could not make meaning of it as he needed background information that he did not possess. Thus, at a time when education is deemed as becoming more "equally" accessible, English language policies and literacy tests are acting as gatekeeping mechanisms reproducing and imposing on those who are new as well as their non-mainstream varieties of literacy practices. In this 'educational' environment, the hegemony of and centrality of Standard English ideology in education gives room to the pervasive remedial tracking and negative positioning of students from these groups. In other words, the schools as an institution of authority can be seen as a powerful force that allows the privileging of particular social groups and language uses to maintain domination while other groups remain subordinate or need to change in order to fit in.

4.3. Parent views of linguistic resources

In the previous section there was evidence of a dominant anglonormative English ideology and Standard English-only ideology. Non-English linguistic resources from indigenous African languages were not valued by the school and multilingualism not supported in favour of a straight-for-English monolingual submersion approach. I now move on to analyze how parents viewed what counts as language.

4.3.1. Linguistic Repertoires

I found the language behaviours of each family to be unique differentiated by the following factors: who was speaking to whom, the topic of discussion as well as interactional setting. Both Hlonipho and Junior's parents spoke isiXhosa to each other and English only to their children. When family and friends were around they mainly maintained isiXhosa with instances of languaging characteristic of isiXhosa and English features. Communication in Lunga's family was heteroglossic in nature with a plethora of linguistic features characteristic of the three languages spoken in the

home. His mother spoke isiZulu, father XiTsonga and with his sister either English only or translanguaging practices of English and isiZulu. Whereas language practices were flexible during everyday speech with the exception of Ayanda who only communicated with Hlonipho in English and later Junior's mother, all three children could only speak during activities characterized as educational. Makoni (1999) warns against the counting of languages as clear and bounded entities. She also points to the ideological social construction influencing language categories that neglecting similarities between what were identified as separate languages as well as the different dialects present in many languages arguing that there is no standard and homogenous way of speaking a language. This she argues was a result of Apartheid and missionary practices used to divide population groups along ethnic and cultural lines as they created ethnic provincial homelands across South Africa. Given the movement between heteroglossic and monoglossic practices, I asked the parents their beliefs around language dialects. I compare ideologies between African languages and English.

R: Do you support one standard form of isiXhosa/isiZulu or are varieties from the townships also isiZulu/isiXhosa?

Ayanda: Well I think obviously the older people generation wants us to speak you know deep Xhosa from the rural areas. Hmmm...I don't know I think right now that's possible since we go home every year but I think with time, like, like...it will change. I know people who just stay in Cape Town and you can hear their Xhosa is mixed with Afrikaans because of their communities like in Delft.
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Sibongile: It depends...I speak isiXhosa learned from school when I speak to the elders but with younger family members we are very relaxed and not so serious.

Hlezi: <i>Ngikhuluma isiZulu saze Joburg nesase emakhaya</i> (I speak Joburg Zulu) and rural Zulu from the homelands.

R: *Zihluke kanjani?* (How are they different)

Hlezi: <i>Amany e amagama nendlela yukushizinto ehlukele. Kayangokuthi ukhuluma nobani.</i> (Some words (vocabulary) and manner of phrasing phenomenon is different. It depends on whom you are speaking to.
--

I found that on occasions where the families were speaking what could be individually marked languages such as isiXhosa, XiTsonga isiZulu and English; there was however an awareness that some forms of speech were not from what was classified as "deep Xhosa" indicating less formal non-standard ways of speaking. Hlezi's reference to phrasing words differently as well as Sibongile's point about elders and formal speech forms as directed towards elderly members of society is in line with cultural etiquette of respect. Communication between younger people and family and community members is fluid and susceptible to change especially in urban environments. The ideas, beliefs and values that people hold about languages and their speakers are a significant aspect of the reproduction and maintenance of ideologies. Whilst the families were comfortable with the nuances between language varieties and interactional settings, they held completely opposite views in relation to English and the social function of English in relation to their linguistic repertoires.

Extract: *We just speak* : Heteroglossia/ linguistic repertoires?

Lunga: Mama can I go to ePimville (to Pimville) today? I want to visit *umgani wami lephezulu* (my friend who stays up the road).

Mom: *Iya* (Yes) go and take my phone *ekamereni* (in the bedroom) and then *ufonele uMbali* (call Mbali) to take you.

Lunga: Okay must I tell her to come now?

Mom: *Angazi* (I don't know), *uyamazi ukuthi* (you know that) she always complains *kodwa muzame* (but try her).

4.3.2. Internalizing dominant ideologies

As Black South Africans living in a post-colonial era at the height of ongoing fragile civil tensions and increasing inequality, access to a good quality school was an essential stepping-stone towards social mobility and maintenance of a better life. Existing within this social reality Mbali spoke of 'investing' and making enumerable sacrifices to achieve this for Lunga. Whereas language is often defined by its communicative and cognitive function, to all parents it was understood mainly through its social currency embodying cultural and identity relations as well as socioeconomic value. One such function was the identification of English as a resource, an economic resource.

Extract 2: "isiXhosa won't take you anywhere" symbolic value, symbolic capital

Sibongile: Honestly I don't mind if he doesn't speak our language well. We live in Cape Town and we speak English almost all of the time so it's not a must since he only uses it with us but with his friends they only speak English...Plus isiXhosa will not take you anywhere outside of the house and the township. Once you have money you know how our people don't care about language nje (at all).

Sibongile is an isiXhosa first language speaker and grew up in the Eastern Cape and moved to Cape Town in search of a better life. While she could not further her tertiary education attending short courses and training to be a librarian due to lack of financial resources, she often spoke of the power of knowing "the right language" as an avenue for getting access to opportunities. Understanding the relationship between language and power/opportunity in everyday life and its entanglement with language choices is critical to making sense of her language practices. Bourdieu's (1977), metaphor of the linguistic marketplace and linguistic capital and the associated social currency carried by language explains how languages and language practices are selectively valued holding unequal status within society (Heller, 2007).

To Sibongile speaking English is placed at a higher social value in comparison to isiXhosa's local viability. As a socioeconomic resource she attaches a greater position to English due to its economic footprint in comparison to isiXhosa's limited mobility within mainly a regional context of the Eastern and Western Cape thus denigrating it to a lower status that "won't take you anywhere" beyond social communication.

Sibongile’s discourse legitimates modernity narratives of progress centred around the acquisition of English’ as a tool to a better life. Her discourse signals that she has been subjected to the ideology that the only way to be successful is to acquire language that will bring along its consequential socioeconomic success. In this colonial matrix of power that intersects language and labour, English and English speakers are privileged while isiXhosa is devalued resulting in English maintaining its linguistic hegemony. Grosfugel (2005b) argues that hierarchies of language are crucial aspects of the colonial matrix of power.

The best English

Sibongile: Oh no, no, no, I want Junior to learn the best English, you know our English is not so good I asked Julia because she is white and she can teach him to speak like her. I don’t want a black person to teach my child English.

R: is that why you didn’t go with his other tutor although she’s a university student?

Sibongile: Of course.

R: Okay (.) So Why is it important for him to speak like her if you don’t mind me asking?

Sibongile: Uhhmm (...) because you know nobody will take you seriously if you come there with your Black accent and Black English. Listen, people can complain all they want but we all know that if you want to succeed in this country you must play the game. Give the white people what they want and then you get to live a better life and I want my child to do better than me. So he will get it straight from the source.

Ayanda: Noxolo speaks English really well. It’s like you are speaking to a white person.

Sibongile’s description of her desire for Junior to acquire “the best” English signals that there are various English varieties albeit unequal. Whereas Mbali categorized English according to bad and good linguistic practice, according to Sibongile, English or the prestigious variety is characterized by its resemblance to linguistic purity indicative of speaking “like her” (Julia). Ayanda held similar views describing Noxolo’s English in excerpt (). Evident in both discourses is the link between language and race. In the construction of a valued English, is the presence of superiority/inferiority attached to varieties. Both discourses bring to surface the construction of deficit ideologies through difference in ethnolinguistic features. Significant for our understanding is that when Sibongile states, “you must play the game”, she draws our attention to the need to assimilate in order to gain social capital. The need to assimilate mirrors findings in research done in desegregated schools Soudien (2004, McKinney, 2015).

During the interview Siphon and Ayanda mentioned that they were at a crossroads as they desperately tried to hang onto their cultural identities in the midst of what they perceived to be the “bleaching” of Black people in order to access socioeconomic resources currently in the possession of White people. For the parents, language was a part of their subjectivity and were wary of falling victim to ongoing language shifts among Black middle class families towards English as the family’s home language and having Hlonipho unable to speak isiXhosa (Kamwangamalu, de Klerk).

Ayanda's negative experience at work in an English and white demographic dominated work environment around the stigmatization of her Black South African English accent as a consequence of attending township schools resulted in the family finally implementing the teacher's recommendation of an (British) English-only home agenda in an effort to improve Hlonipho's English and the way he spoke it. As an international firm, her company did business with clients from around the globe who spoke English in their local or ethnic linguistic features yet were not discriminated against. Using words such as "disadvantage" and expressing the need to "rid" him of this disadvantage when describing her variety of English, her words and experiences at work imply that the acquisition of a language like English is not a neutral process. Her discourse of removing speaks to what Soudien (2004) describes as the dire consequences of assimilationism by subordinate groups "they are expected to give up their own identities and culture and critically acknowledge the superiority of the culture and by implication, the identities of the groups into whose social context they are moving" (1994, 96).

Accounting for the intersectional inequalities that form the colonial matrix of power, Mignolo (2009) notes that control of domains such as the economy, education along with language and culture work to create hierarchical systems that maintain themselves in people's self imaging, intersubjective relations and aspirations of self as evidenced above.

4.4. Language Purity

When one language dominates the market, it becomes the norm against which the process of the other modes of expression, and with them the values of the various competences, are defined (Bourdieu 1977,p.652)

While observing parent-child and instructor-child interactions, I noticed discursive practices that privileged particular language use and phonological features whilst simultaneously negating others. Drawing on Bourdieu (1977), I show how acceptability of children's language use was related to perceived "sense of place" creating a set continuum with a clear boundary of where languages and language practices started and ended. Through this discourse of separateness, the children were thus subjected to a form of surveillance and regulation.

4.4.1. Monoglossic orientations to language

Julia who was brought in to support Junior's language and literacy development and could speak both English and isiXhosa, was aware that Junior was an English additional language learner and emergent English speaker. With this in mind she always began their literacy lesson by greeting and conversing to Junior in isiXhosa. Questions on his well-being and animal battle game using animal figurines were done in isiXhosa with an immediate shift to English once academic work commenced. Her espoused views on language can be seen on the

R: Uhhh I noticed that you speak isiXhosa before lessons but not during Junior's literacy lessons. Is there a particular reason for that?

Julia: Yes of course, we use English for learning.

Noxolo: *We are going to start with the video today, vha (okay). Kufuneka sitheth' isingesi ngoku (we will need to speak English now).*

These excerpts surface the instructors' view of the function English and isiXhosa play as languages. While the home is physically an out-of-school environment, activities in the children's homes were positioned differently and in turn their language practices. Julia's use of the languages follows a lucid separation and application. Her communicative practices with Junior are categorized as pre-lesson and literacy lesson, in these spaces, the pre-lesson is constructed as an informal space where pleasantries are exchanged and imaginative play is allowed with isiXhosa as the medium of communication. Once the literacy lesson begins, English takes over as the "language for learning". This represents a view of both languages in the home as operating under parallel monolingualism (with both languages operating side-by-side) albeit with a distinct social and academic purpose (Creese and Blackledge 2010, p.105). Whereas both languages are given legitimacy by the acknowledgement of Junior's full linguistic repertoire, Julia's discursive practices position isiXhosa lowly limiting its function as a social language whilst privileging English as the "legitimate" language of communication in their literacy space. Similar practices were observed between Hlonipho and Noxolo. Interjections about literacy activities were communicated in translanguaging practices of English and isiXhosa to orient Hlonipho who was an emergent English language learner (ELL). However once the lesson commenced (as shown in chapter five) the lesson is delivered in English.

I now move on to an analysis of an excerpt from an interview with Mbali that further privileges linguistic ideologies of 'parallel monolingualism', deficit discourses as well monoglot English ideologies. In the extract below, Mbali explains her view on Lunga's language usage and academic performance.

Mbali: The problem is that my mother mixes English and Zulu when she speaks to Lunga. Because of that she has made his English bad and now he's not doing well at school. She doesn't understand that if you mix these languages at home it affects how the child speaks outside. So I always have to do damage control fixing his English so he can speak properly. Children who speak properly do well (academically). Lunga is struggling because he doesn't have the proper language to finish his work.

This extract was taken from a conversation with Mbali, Lunga's older sister. Responding to a question on her observed interruptions (hypercorrection) of Lunga's language, a practice I noticed that appeared to aggravate Lunga immensely during conversation and earning her the label "Big Brother" (from him) to describe the constant surveillance of his language use. Mbali, his older sister was in the final year of her tertiary degree and had been delegated to assist Lunga academically as well as be responsible for any communication with the school. This role she referred to as the act of doing "damage control" and to "fix" what she perceived to be Lunga's "damaged language". The descriptions towards Lunga's language use are wrought with discourses of deficit, purity and language separation stemming from an ideology of linguistic purity. When she declares, "the problem is my mother mixes English and

isiZulu” she first characterizes Lunga’s heteroglossic linguistic repertoire as a linguistic problem privileging a particular usage of English. This implies that the use of English along with another language acts as a hindrance for learning, thus positioning the use of English as the only legitimate resource for learning. Here “proper” speech (pure English) is equated with good academic performance entrenching its legitimate status as a prestigious language variety. This discourse however covertly creates perceptions of right and wrong ways of speaking a language with “bad” and “damaged” linguistic repertoires belonging to undesirable language varieties. Drawing on Bourdieu (1977, 654), I argue that it is through the above monoglossic orientations, parallel monolingualism practices and such language attitudes in the linguistic market of the home that languages are legitimated.

4.4.2. Racialised English

In the previous section I showed that the children’s literacy instructors privileged English as the valuable and legitimate language in their literacy learning environments. In this space, African languages were positioned as social languages while English, and a particular variety of English (pure) was privileged. I draw on data from four observed incidents: Junior as he pronounced the word water; Lunga the words christening and realm and Hlonipho while doing a sight word test containing the word ship, where instructors reacted to the children’s pronunciations to surface the English varieties valued by the instructors..

Junior: Mom how does water at the beach turn to rain [it’s /’wɔ:tə/ [Don’t speak like a Coloured!]

In this excerpt Junior’s mom reacted angrily to the presence of phonological features associated with Cape Flats English in his speech. Her response signals a negative value associated with to the now racialized speech form. When asked what was wrong with “speaking like a Coloured” she explained that, “Coloured accents are just too strong and uncomfortable” in comparison to both white and black varieties. From these statements it was clear that for Sibongile there exists a tiered system of valuing English language varieties. In the first half of the chapter she described the “best” English as that spoken by a white person whilst describing “our English” when referring to Black South African English as not good enough. In light of this incident, it appears that White varieties are first, followed by black and then coloured. The reference to coloured varieties as “too strong and uncomfortable” referenced the enregisterment features circulating in South African society linked to social index valuing and stereotypic behaviour of racial groups that she did not want to discuss.

Excerpt 1

Lunga: Mama are we still going to the christening? [Mbali]: It’s christening, the /t/ is silent (.) geesh sometimes you speak like you had Bantu education.

Lunga: Mbali that’s just mean, its’ not like you don’t make mistakes sometimes.

Excerpt 2

L: The show is about this young boy who is a metahuman and goes into another realm

(relem) in secret to fight [M:It's relm not relem] against the evil zombies who want to transform every human into a zombie so they can reign on Earth and create a new world. But there's a twist uhmmm, there's a cure for the zombies so they can co-exist with the humans as long as they eat animal brains or import them... L: Okay, anyway you must watch it's it's very interesting and funny.
M: Okay.

The examples above evidence continual of a racialized discourse that privileges and normalizes white ways of speaking. The interactions above illustrate the goal of interactions as centred around assimilatory practices towards the acquisition of ethnolinguistic features of White South African English (WSAE). In excerpt 1, Mbali associates the phonological features of BSAE in Lunga's pronunciation to those educated under Apartheid. Under Apartheid Bantu education offered a tiered quality access to education with current teachers taught English by second language speakers. She positions this variety negatively as of a lower class signaling its undesirability in use. Given Apartheid's racially stratified social organization and conception of blackness with superiority, as follows language varieties continue to be viewed socially under the same mechanisms. Mbali thus positions BSAE as a deficit in relation to the prestige of a particular WSAE as the standard. This discourse perpetuates inferiority/superiority relations connected with blackness established under colonialism and apartheid. Mbali's attitude reproduces the continued construction and emphasis of whiteness as the norm. Although his immediate environment is reflected by the phonological features in his speech the continual use of white South African English as a standard model reinforces pedagogies that heighten the discriminatory and unequal underpinnings of coloniality. Excerpt 2 is a missed opportunity to engage in a sophisticated understanding of a show Lunga's enjoying. His explanation of the show's plot offers examples of language development required to engage with subjects such as biology and sciences. Words such as metahuman, reign, co-exist and the concept of importing are pivotal to the development of using language to learn and processes of the application of situated meaning (Gee, 2010).

Noxolo: and what word is this?

Hlonipho: sheep ["I"- "sheep", BSAE]

Noxolo: oh no! don't say it like that it's ship like in lip, dip and live. (turns to me and laughs while saying) it's the curse of the Black vowels striking again.

What I found interesting about this exchange was the immediacy of the "oh no" interjection followed by the side remark "it's the curse of the black vowels striking again" directed at me. Once again the presence of non-white phonological features are positioned negatively. Research into phonological features of the I vowel which can be found in most BSAE varieties. Her exclamation signaled that Hlonipho had done something undesirable followed by the remark that signaled Black vowels as a "curse" attaching a problematic status in the acquisition process of English (Ruiz, 1984). While Noxolo did provide examples of similar sounding words, she did not explain to Hlonipho the semantic effect resultant from his between sheep and ship choosing rather to reduce this feature of his speech to an unwelcome case of transfer between his linguistic repertoire towards English. In the examples above, the interactions are less about providing the children with linguistic tools to engage in

communication. Rather instructors use interactions as opportunities to impress upon the children assimilationist and socially valued ways of speaking. Bourdieu maintained that discourses are symbolic sets that can receive different values depending on the market it is offered additionally adding that ‘the dominant usage is of the dominant class’ (1977.151-159). In the home contexts of the families what became recognized as worth listening to was defined alongside racialised ethnolinguistic features of South African English privileging WSAE language varieties. Consequently this in turn devalued and negatively positioned both other languages as well as non-dominant varieties. The level of invisibility with which English and white ways of speaking are valorized reveals just how deeply-rooted colonial notions of race and linguistic superiority and inferiority remain in postcolonial society pervading everyday practices as intimately as what Maldonado-Torres described as ‘breathing coloniality’ (Maldonado-Torres, 2007:)

Conclusion

In this discourse what is evident is the maintenance and reproduction of pedagogies of the colonial matrices of power, where English and whiteness have been normalized and naturalized thus maintaining their superiority. In the following chapter, I analyze the hegemonic construction and internalization of school literacy and practices as legitimate.

Chapter 5: Literacy practices in the home

5.1. Introduction

While the children displayed a plethora of literacy practices in their everyday activities in the home, parents only recognized those associated with school ways as legitimate validating them thus ensuring that the children had maximum exposure, resources and time dedicated to their use. Street and Street (1991) coined the term pedagogization of literacy to account for the proliferation of socially constructed links between institutionalized processes of reading and writing as well as the procedures associated with classroom practices. They explain that literacy practices are neither neutral but are imbued with ideology controlling social relations and conceptions of reading and writing. In this light, Street and Street (1991) identify two institutional processes contributing to the construction and internalization of the pedagogic voice in home environments; space labeling and procedure. Space and labeling refers to the bounded separation of space as if it were different to everyday spaces for purposes of teaching and learning. Procedures refer to the ways in which rules for engagement of participants are continuously asserted and reinforced within practices with instructions about handling a text as well as assigning participatory roles of learner-teacher relations of hierarchy, authority and control. In this light, literacy events such as watching television, gaming, or the use of popular culture were labeled as ‘wasting time’ and/or ‘keeping them busy’ activities warranting removal or limiting access at the parents’ discretion.

In the discussion that follows I draw on ideas from the situated sociocultural approach to literacy and technology and multimodality as frameworks to analyze the literacy practices that the children engaged in. Firstly, I argue where literacy and pedagogy coalesce internalization of autonomous models of literacy occurred via the following mechanisms:

1. The separation of learning spaces from everyday spaces
2. Selection of autonomous learning material
3. Instructor oriented and decoding focused interactional strategies.

I then move on to examine the contrast in children’s schooled literacy practices with their leisure “wasting time” practices identifying variations in language development, participation and literacy learning.

5.2. Literacy space and time

Each family had designated a separate space for the children to use for literacy learning purposes. While learning time occurred mainly after school during the week, mornings on the weekend were also used. These particular areas were treated as separate from the surrounding spaces in the home and accompanied by set rules of use.

Much of Hlonipho's literacy learning occurred between two spaces in the living room, he and Noxolo sat on the mat to watch the television screen as part of their listening and language development exercise on the pre-recorded Teletubbies episodes. Second was a clearly marked corner in the living room which comprised of a small table with two small wooden chairs, a stationery box, a small book shelf filled with puzzles, alphabet, animal, number, colours books. There was also a huge file with thirty-six alphabet, vocabulary and word games and educational worksheets printed off the Classroom website. On the wall above the desk was a framed alphabet and animal poster similar to those found classrooms as well as a section of the wall painted in black chalkboard paint. The wall chalkboard was used to practice school sight words for their weekly spelling tests as well as his have-a-go-writing exercises with Noxolo. Upon coming home, Hlonipho changed into his home clothes, had lunch and waited for Noxolo to arrive. His literacy sessions were 90-minutes divided into a thirty-minute listening and comprehension session and four fifteen-minute sessions. In between sessions (after forty-five minutes), he was permitted a break and take a quick bathroom break if required. He was only allowed into the playroom once he had completed all activities, which was around 5pm where he would play until bath and supertime.

Junior's designated learning space was in the dining room. The corner comprised of a desk and chair, desktop computer and beanbag that doubled as a bookshelf. On the desk was always a reading book borrowed from the literacy programme at his school and an exercise book used as a dictionary as he wrote down his own definitions to new vocabulary. The computer and iPad sometimes tablet were used once a day to complete daily thirty minutes online Australian literacy programme called Reading Eggs otherwise switched off. On weekends he was allowed to bring his friends over for two hours playing car racing computer games. Although Junior was very interested in stars, his mother was against him repeatedly taking books out at the school's library on the subject preferring he took books related to the school curriculum's subject content.

Lunga's learning took place in the study room. His mother had a rule that all literacy related activities were done in the study and although his mother hated it, was beginning to embrace the idea of using the dining room table albeit complaining that Lunga often chats thus taking longer to complete activities rather than working silently. Lunga abhorred the study, which although connected to his bedroom and bathroom, was located at the furthest point in the home. Attempts to use the couch near the patio were dismissed by his mother objecting to its comfortable nature as unsuitable for learning. The family believed that learning had to take place in a separate and quiet environment hence the location of the study that is away from the home's social spaces. In the study was a long desk across the whole room and designated chair, drawer and two cupboards for each member of the family except the mother. The desks were to always be left bare and neat with stationery in the drawer and books in the cupboards.

How parents separated and situated the children's learning spaces appears to be constructed in line with how classrooms look. A lucid positioning of the space as formal and different marked all three children's spaces. The visual boundary created by the presence of particular texts such as posters, books and selected digital media applications worked to separate the space from the rest of the house. In addition, literacy material such as posters, books, worksheets, files and furniture worked to create a situatedness orienting the child around print, language and specific kinds of knowledge. While this was not a strong feature other than in Hlonipho's learning area, Lunga and Junior's spaces demonstrated their distinction through clearly marked activities: homework, reading and access to the computer for literacy tasks at specific times of the week and non-social use in favour of individual cognitive tasks. Although interviews with parents acknowledged their children's hobbies such as Hlonipho's enjoyment of Disney e-books, Junior's love of reading about stars and Lunga's enjoyment of popular culture teenage literature such as (*The Diary of a Wimpy Kid*, *Harry Potter* and *The Lord of The Rings* book series) These language and literacy events were rejected as legitimate learning resources negatively positioned as "wasting time" practices. I asked parents what they considered positive resources parents identified educational apps and literacy programs as good literacy resources describing them as "similar to school worksheets" and "at least you will know what they are learning".

5.3. Children's literacy practices in regulated activities

Street and Street (1991) suggests that schooling as an institutional process finds its main form in three aspects: particular forms of language, the type of paperwork and text material. In the examples I above I examined how parents used space and the allocation of time to particular tasks to separate learning spaces from everyday spaces around the house. I now analyze the type literacy events and practices identified as beneficial for language and literacy learning. I draw upon Falloon's (2011) distinction of children's digital material as belonging to two categories of design: open and closed apps. The children only had access to closed apps have a set design unaltered design around particular measurable goal-oriented tasks and open apps afford users multiple open-ended interactive engagements including the ability to change content. I show how the app design and lesson objectives were premised around decontextualized autonomous characteristics and pedagogy.

5.3.1. Meaning-making in Closed Apps

Outside of the face-to-face tutoring, the three children had access to a variety of digital 'educational' apps. Parents bought these apps for their advertised educational potential to support their children's learning. The range in digital technologies supporting learning ranged from iPads, tablets, computers and laptops. Within these technologies were software in the form of applications and literacy programs. Hlonipho had over 150 educational language, literacy and numeracy applications. These consisted mainly of games targeting vocabulary, memory, tracing (alphabets and words), decoding and filling in. Junior had access to an Australian literacy program comprising of 40 sequential language and literacy lessons. I will focus on a set of lessons in regards to the program. Although Lunga had the most varied access

to digital content i.e. laptop, cellphone, iPad, tablet, television and educational apps. His iPad had the Khan Academy curriculum as well as the Afrikaans language and literacy application that he was required to complete an activity per day in the study room alone. While the family described these as literacy development, the app curriculum's main function was as a means of keeping Lunga ahead of the school curriculum and to study without 'pressure'.

Reading Eggs

Below is an analysis of a literacy session consisting of four segments: 1) Rearrange a sentence, 2) match word to image, 3) fill in the missing vowel and 4) Match the vowel to the word and image.

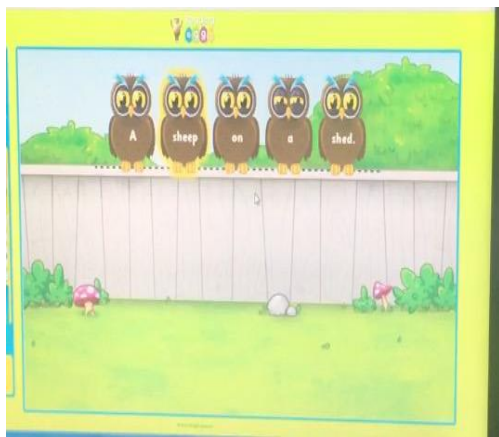


Figure 1

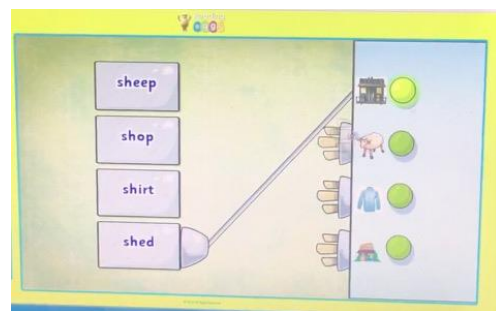


Figure 2



Figure 3



Figure 4

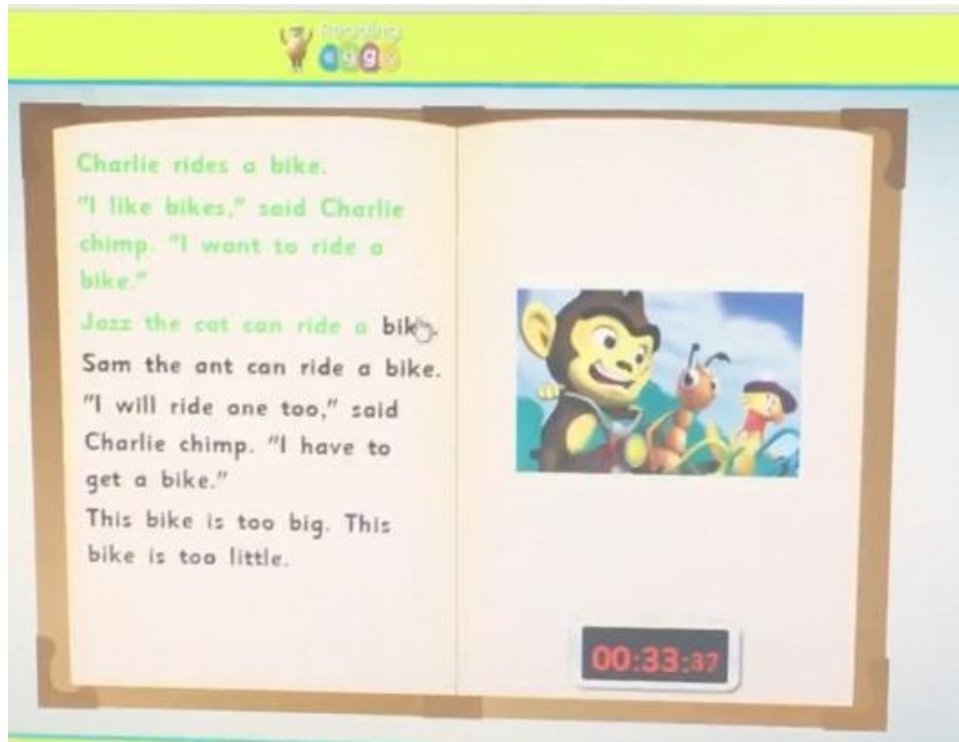


Figure 5

In the first activity (Figure 1), Junior read the sentence 'A sheep is on a shed' out loud. About ten seconds later, the words were scrambled and he had to re-create the sentence. I observed Junior struggling at first: writing 'A sheep on shed a is'. He rearranged it numerous times, still incorrect. He called upon his mother who produced the grammatically correct sentence and then said, "like this". This was done without an explanation except to say "like this. Junior continued struggling finally resorting to memorising the next ordered sentence before the correct form sentence was scrambled. Upon completion I enquired if he understood the sentences, he said yes. I then proceeded to ask him if he knew what a shed was to which he sheepishly confessed to memorising the sentences. Once the activity was completed, I had a brief conversation with his mom interested to know if she understood the sentence. She, like Junior also did not know what a shed was but explained, "it's like in stompi".

The aim of the task was to correctly rearrange the words into a sentence. However without the actual meaning of the words, this seemed like an impossible task for Junior. Freebody and Luke (1990) argue that the development of literacy is an active process. Vocabulary knowledge is based upon decoding and semantic strategies and that for readers to achieve meaningful meaning they need background knowledge of topic or information as well as grammatical and decoding skills. As an Australian program, the content is far removed from Junior's everyday experience to apply much comprehension strategies. Whilst he could clearly decode the text, he experienced difficulty in creating meaning. I observed as he gazed at the image surrounding the text. However even the image was unrelated to the text. While the written text was of a particular scenario, 'a sheep on a shed', the supporting image was that of a garden with owls sitting on the fence.

The following two activities (figures 2 and 3) centered around correctly matching images to the word and vice versa. While observing Junior, it was evident that he was guessing and relying on the programme's haptic features that would not allow him to place the incorrect word and/or image. The activity also disappeared quite quickly from the screen upon completion, loading the next activity. What was interesting about this activity was the data recorded by the programme's report on Junior's performance. His final scores were high, earning him a Gold certificate. However, my observations conveyed a different narrative of guesstimation, reliance on memory, lack of understanding of words, the context and sentences. Here what was identified as reading became less about meaning and comprehension. Literacy and language learning was reduced to decoding and decontextualized sight words and achieving linguistic form in the correct grammar sentence constructions. Similarly with the reading activity (figure 5), the activity was primarily focused upon measuring the speed at which the child clicked on a word and not necessarily its neither correct pronunciation nor comprehension. There is a lucid objectification of language in through autonomous practices presented language and the learning of language as neutral set of skills. Furthermore the distancing between language and user in the activities makes it appear as if its activities are universal separating the language from its socially embedded context of meaning (Street and Street, 1991:152).

5.3.1. Reading Interaction in face-to-face literacy events

In order to understand the type of language and literacy skills children develop, we need to consider the ways in which children's are socialized into literacy. Scribner and Cole (1991) argue that ways of taking and making meaning from texts are dependent on the type of activities and social orientations people belong to. I focus my analysis on instructor-child interactions, paying particular attention to language use, talk, interactional practices models of sharing knowledge as constructed through nonverbal and language in context.

Lines 1-8 below characterizes a common scene in Honipho's home as they watch a prerecorded video story segment of the Teletubbies programme. According to Hlonipho's mother, who designed and suggested the exercise to Noxolo, Teletubbies are a good English language development resource as they expose him to a native speaker level of the English language and offers language practice opportunities while he listens to English first language speakers with the expectation that he would absorb the language faster whilst processing incoming information during communication through television shows which he enjoys. The activity is done in silence with Hlonipho first watching the introductory singing session alone. Here he is observed singing along constantly dancing, moving or swinging his arms and legs with his eyes glued to the screen. Noxolo sits next to him occupying the silent observer role, as Hlonipho occasionally shouts 'cow and moo' as well as repeating pieces of the characters language while Noxolo writes down a series of questions based on what is happening on screen. Once the video is over (played twice), they sit facing each other on the mat as she begins asking him a series of questions.

N: Noxolo, H: Hlonipho

1.**N:** Did you like the story?

2.**H:** (Nods) Yes.

3. **N:** What was the story about?
4. **H:** *Be yi* (it was)... [come on, you can do it] Cows
5. **N:** Good boy, the story is about the milking the cows remember. Why did they milk the cows?
6. **H:** (Stares at Noxolo)...the...uhm, milk.
7. **N:** Yes they milked the cows in order to get *ibisi* (milk) for us to drink. (3) You like milk neh? [iya] (yes) and how did they get the milk?
8. **H:** (Gestures clenched fist moving up and connecting to his index finger) from the cow and then it goes pssssh (gesturing movement through pipes pointing to the screen) and then the biiiiiig (gestures with arms wide apart) jar.

The above exchange takes place through a question and answer pattern mirroring the Initiation-Response-Evaluation/Feedback (henceforth IRF) model with Noxolo as sole questioner directing and orienting Hlonipho towards particular information and aspects of the multimodal video text to answer her questions. The IRF exchange above consists of prompts that include: identifying **what** the story was about (line 3), **why** and what the purpose of the activity is as well as details of how actions occurred. Although Noxolo begins by asking Hlonipho if he enjoyed the video (line 1) she does not engage him further than seeking a yes or no statement. The question is non-communicative and closed-ended limiting Hlonipho's opportunities to use his own language and share his opinion, a key skill in literacy development.

Secondly, Hlonipho offers minimal responses that mainly appear to be nouns naming objects and not conversational details. While it appears that he has a somewhat comprehension of what is asked as well as what the video was about, there is little discussion of details in the video. The focus appears to be modelling the correct linguistic form whilst neglecting to orient Hlonipho towards meaning especially of new vocabulary. In line 7, Noxolo links the milk on the video to us (extending it into real life personal experience) as well as asking Hlonipho if he likes milk (line 7) she quickly cuts off Hlonipho's engagement by adding another question not allowing him adequate time to formulate a response. Consequently he is not actively engaging with the content, nor is he negotiating the meaning of the content or words in his own language. The exercise appears to mirror rote learning with Noxolo offering aspects of safe talk by modeling responses in hope that Hlonipho might absorb them.

Marsh, (2011) asserts that feedback is an important feature of the three-part IRF exchange allowing children as learners to see whether their responses have been accepted or not (18). Marsh, describing children's techno-literacy practices, adds that children are not passive 'couch potato' observers of television. She posits that as children talk back at characters, sing, point and 'talk' to and about the programme, they are actively making meaning. Similarly in line 8, Hlonipho re-enacts his response (the milking process) through the careful use of his hands given his limited command of English and that he cannot articulate to Noxolo's response, the milking process by referencing the on-screen visual image detailing the process and action of

the milk's movement through the pipes. As a new experience for Hlonipho, the lesson appears to be devoid of any explorative talk.

Street and Street (1991; 158-159) argue that teacher authority over texts dictates the physical boundaries of texts. Through the use of oral procedures to navigate texts instructors can determine the child's involvement whilst simultaneously setting boundaries of what counts as literacy. Parents and instructors mainly decided guidelines about handling of texts. The children had little to no say on text selection and practices around texts. As such relations of authority and control were designated to adults particularly in the case of Hlonipho and Junior. During literacy events, Noxolo and Julia occupied the instructor roles as sole questioners and in the home their mothers dictated how materials would be used.

13. Jun: I will take the baby said Rob's mom.

14. Jul: And can you see the little baby, she's not saying that, she can't talk yet. You see the dot, dot. It's only two dots there should be three. They mean that she's thinking it's only in her head.

15. Jun: They ate...eat the picnic food.

16. Jul: You were right the first time ate...[ate the picnic food]

17. Jun: Here you are said Rob's mom. You can have the bone.

18. Jul: Oooh who gets the bone?

Junior looks at Julia and turns the page

19. Jul: Happy, happy.

20. Jun: The dog took the bone. He du... (faintly sounds out (phonetically) the individual letters d,u,g) dug a hole [beautiful].

21. Jun: He put the bone in the hole. He filled up the hole [lovely, well done]

22. Jun: I think I will read my book [hmm] said Rob.

The door...the dog took the toy cat [whoooo].

He bug.. [try that one again] bark [you got it right the other time] bug [dug] dug a hole.

23. Jun: He took the toy cat in the hole. He flied [hmmm] filed [it's a funny word, you got it right the other page but it's fill. But it's in the past so it's filled] filled the hole. Look at the baby said Rob.

24. Jul: Whoooo unhappy, unhappy baby yes.

25. Jun: Give him his toy cat said Rob's mom. Can you see it Rob? No said Rob. I can...I can not. Can you see it dad? [big trouble]

26. Jun: No said his dad but I think I can find it. Did you take the toy cat he said to the dog. Here dug [try that again] He dug up the toy cat. He...here you are said...he said. He dug up the bone. He...here you are said..he said. You can't have the toy cat but you can have the bone.

27. Jul: Awwww wonderful, brilliant reading, so beautiful, well done. Excellent I'm even wondering now since it's early enough, you not feeling so great hey? Cause I was thinking last time you asked about this one but it is blue and it's for the next level

so I won't let you try to read it for a little bit. But maybe next week when you're feeling better.

The excerpt above reenacts a literacy event taken from observations of Julia and Junior's shared reading session. Julia is a retired bookkeeper and dedicates her time to assisting children with their reading across various projects both at school and in the home. Upon my arrival, Julia had been working with Junior for four months and formed a close bond aided by Julia's ability to speak isiXhosa and English. Paired reading time focuses on pre-selected readings (by Julia) of one or two graded books (Junior was on the red level, regarded as grade three reading level). The reading activity is characterised by a school-like and insulated manner with the focus on phonics, reading fluency and orienting Junior to textual features and comprehension strategies. Julia begins by pointing to the title of the book which Junior reads out loud. She comments on the images in the cover, identifying and naming objects. Junior turns the page again and begins reading (line 13). Junior reads the text on each page with Julia occasionally correcting him (line 16, 24). Julia's involvement is to orient Junior to particular textual features in the book while Junior instead reads out loud focused on decoding the written text. Julia in turn moves beyond the text, drawing attention to other multimodal meaning making features in the book such as the presence of a thought bubble and linking its illustration to its function in the context of what is written in the text. In line 18, she employs prediction strategies attempting to further engage Junior, a cue which Junior does not respond to. When Junior cannot pronounce a word, the practice is for him to break it down phonetically applying decoding skills. Language elements such as tense are explained during activities (line 23) and new words are written down in Junior's self-made dictionary with definitions of words created by both parties.

In the following example, I observed Lunga as he and Mbali discussed a book she had been reading that caught Lunga's attention. As mentioned earlier, Lunga did not follow a set literacy programme with reading and writing occurring rather spontaneously. Literacy instruction was informal and often taking place communally.

Mbali: Now read the title

L: I am Ma-la-la. The girl who stood up for education and was shot by the ta-li-ban.

L: What is the Taliban?

M: They are a group of Muslim extremists who believe that women should not go to school, nor any independence to do anything they want except to get born, get married and be with their husbands and family.

L: So Malala was shot for going to school?

M: Yes

L: That's not nice.

M: I know. Why did you say that it's not nice?

L: I think that everyone should go to school. We must all learn, go to university and become something in life.

M: Well not everyone is that lucky. In some countries and cultures, girls are not allowed to go to school. Only boys go to school so that they can find a job and look after their families.

L: But you go to school, so in our culture you go to school?

M: Yes, but it was not always like this. In the past I didn't and under Apartheid I would not have gone to a school with whites, coloureds and Indians. I am very lucky now, I have left home, I study and live on my own and I can do mostly whatever I want. In countries like Pakistan where Malala's from, girls are not even allowed to walk outside alone. They must always have a guardian called a mahram who is a male from their family to walk with them.

L: Is it dangerous where she stays?

M: Not really. I'm not sure why maybe it does have to do with safety.

The episode above illustrates the social nature of learning within Lunga's environment which was completed within the frame of a meaningful activity. Following Lunga encounters language and literacy learning in use as he reads and engages with text in a meaningful way. Secondly, Mbali was not just focused on the text, she allowed Lunga to negotiate the direction of their interaction engaging with its content, asking clarifying questions and linking what he read to his own experiences. In this exchange, Lunga occupies various roles as a reader actively shifting between roles as a text decoder breaking the code, predicting from the title and employing text participant strategies as he compared the text to his personal experience (Freebody and Luke, 1990). Prinsloo (2018) describes meaning-making as a situated competence dependent upon context, the background of readers and practices employed.

In the examples above I examined practices in literacy programmes and the face-to-face interactions. In the programs language and literacy learning was studied in a non-social and decontextualized manner with most of the attention on grammatical correctness and form. During his listening and comprehension sessions, Hlonipho was tested on his ability to listen and provide factual information to Noxolo. The answers had to match Noxolo's expectations with little to no discussions using his language to communicate meaning. In this space, language use was evaluated, scrutinized and corrected. Similarly with Junior reading was focused on basic skills of decoding competency, Julia's involvement appeared more offshoot than explorative. In both examples the adults assumed the role of the teacher controlling movement around the text and the child the pupil displaying their ability. Lunga's dislike for reading was labeled as a problem irrespective of the family's pride in how much of a critical thinker Lunga is and the vast amount of knowledge that he possesses at such a young age. Prinsloo (2018) argues that standardized testing and schooling assumes children use language, read and write in the same manner. However as evidenced above, literacy learning practices vary across all three settings. Schooling privileges written text and particular activities, which may not form part of the families' repertoires. Lunga's oral practices were looked down upon in favour of the written making and taking required in school. I argue that such expectations contribute to how children are positioned perpetuating literacy deficit discourses and social inequalities (Blommaert, 2007). I now present observed affordances of children's 'wasting time' leisure activities focusing on participation roles as well as language and literacy practices.

5.4. Communicative practices around leisure activities

Gee (2003) pointed out that video games facilitate good learning because of their ability to provide simulated experiences that foster situated meaning and the development of complex and specialist language required to learn subject areas in schooling. The Situated sociocultural approach to recognizes that active participant and meaning making strategies as well as instances of moving beyond text decoder to text participant and text analyst roles.

5.4.1. Specialist Language

The FIFA game is an interactive soccer (football) game that can be played alone, versus a partner or as part of a tournament in groups. Its design creates real life simulations of football games where the player assumes the role of the coach of a team with a squad. In order to select his team, Lunga has access to teams around the world, player profiles, live performance data, transfer markets and game features that enable him to direct and monitor the performance of a player by either making them run faster and maximizing on their talents and strengths.

1. **Lloyd:** Which team are you playing with?
2. **Lu:** Dortmund
3. **Lloyd:** Oh that's a German team, that means that you have a well-balanced team in defense and attack.
4. **Lunga:** Well it depends, this is not exactly a Chelsea or Madrid but I want them to play quickly so I will get them to play more one-touch counter attack.
5. **Lloyd:** Who are you playing?
6. **Lunga:** Barca.
7. **Lloyd:** Oh that's a good strategy. They play tiki-taka so they'll want most of the ball.
8. **Lunga:** Yes that's fine by me. If I can counter attack fast, even if they have a good middle field I just need to create at least a few set pieces, you know how the back four are not that solid.

In line 3 we see that Lloyd first identifies the team, its country and style of play he then does the same for his opponent then implements his strategy and choice of team to match and potentially outplay his opponents. Reference to one-touch and counter attack are not just mentions of styles of play but demonstrate a deeper understanding and meta awareness of how to apply it in the context of football in order to win the game. While elements of it are in the game, most of his strategy comes from prior knowledge. The FIFA soccer game enables Lunga to access domain specific language edifying the level of complexity of a meaning of a word and access multimodal

semiotic resources beyond language that can contribute to a growing vocabulary and information that he would otherwise not have access to on a daily basis. Street and Gee (2000-2001) highlight the importance of this feature to school literacy as learners encounter increasingly complex language use. He also argues that to learn subject specific jargon and information of a knowledge one goes beyond individual words rather the full use of language to account for; procedures, practices of knowledge building and comprehending its concepts to solve problems (p11). In this example Lunga displays an informed understanding of soccer language applying his knowledge to tactics (problem solving) as well as the overall management of his team. These literacy “islands of expertise” enable him to develop cognitive processes, including memory, inferencing, problem solving, and explanation

The extract below is of a literacy event involving a driving game between Junior and his friend Kolby. The game requires the player to follow four arrows on the keyboard (the up, down, left and right) to control the car as it exits and returns to the yard. Along the way are curved roads, cliffs on both sides of the road and billboard prompts that pop up along the side of the road guiding the player on what to do in order to complete the task in the shortest amount of time and without falling off the cliff to win the game.

5.4.2. Situated Language Development

1. Kolby: Jumping to the keyboard as he sees Junior struggling to get the car out of an exit. Stop,stop, stop (moving closer to the keyboard)
- K:** Go, drive! [Junior typing frantically on the keyboard]
2. **J:** Crashes the car in between the open area and the wall. Car rests horizontally instead of vertically.
3. **K:** Hayi man, you must first check which side you must be on so you can come out properly. Stay on the right lane then keep driving.
4. **J:** Crashes into the wall again
5. **K:** Hahaha you crashed into the wall. If it was a real car you would be a goner.
6. **J:** Car spins towards the exit...carries on driving along the curved road.
7. **K:** Nice turn... don't accelerate too much otherwise you'll lose control of the car and fall over the edge.
8. **J:** Continues meandering on both sides of the road.
9. **K:** Go, go, go! Use your brakes to stop then change sides...okay turn slowly...use the brake!
10. **J:** Car keeps moving towards the edge and finally falls over.
11. **J and K:** Laughter
12. **J:** I promise you it's so hard to balance this accelerator and the brakes... and stay on the right side....argh!

Throughout the literacy event, both children's talk was focused on the activity itself. Kolby's talk provided language rich narrations and commentary of observed action using dialogue to guide Junior through the game. In addition to observed actions, his

remarks provided Junior with specialist language present in the game. Words such as “brakes”, “right lane”, “accelerate” are all specific to the driving context. Gee () argues that technology allows distinctive practices to arise that would not otherwise form part of the child’s everyday language and experience. As such Junior is not only gaining access to a literacy event but to distinct experiences. The car racing game provided him with embodied experiences and mental simulated experiences of real life experiences to which he could then be able to put language through dialogue in response to the actions prompted by the images and actions that need to be taken. Applying situated cognition to learning Gee () states that in order to comprehend the meaning of words our brains associate it with images and actions. He further explains that meaning is tied to what action, what a person can do with the word. In the game demonstrated above, the experience of driving, crashing and receiving visual on-screen prompts create a mental image of situated meaning. These ‘just-in-time’ verbal or visual information presented at pivotal moments in which the user ‘demands’ it in order to accomplish that particular task such as in line 7, as Junior is about to turn on the curved road, the game pops up information in the form of written commands and symbols on handbrakes as well as a reminder of the left and right control; providing the player with a context for its application and a subsequent result (i.e. the outcome of that action). While the car eventually loses control and falls over in line 10, Junior thus develops situated meaning of a variety of words explaining processes also gaining an understanding of reasoning links between accelerating, crashing, slowing down, using handbrakes etc to achieve related actions. In addition to providing situated meaning, the multimodal and interactive features allowed players to develop performance over competence.

5.4.3. Performance before competence

In addition to icons and symbols, Hlonipho had added differentiating between physical characteristics of objects as a meaning-making practice. While doing an identify the letter-word-image alphabet exercise, he used the characteristics of the on-screen 2D image to ‘read’ the written text. For example, in figure 3 Hlonipho was expected to identify the letter ‘A’ decode the written word ‘alligator’ and say ‘this is an alligator’ pointing to the image. Having done the activity before, I noticed that instead of reading the words he had instead memorised the names of the animals when said to him verbally and memorised the physical characteristics of each animal to assist in its identification and labelling. This was soon realised when his father noticed that even if he covered a majority of the image from various angles, Hlonipho could name and identify all the animals in the application. However when asked to breakdown the word and identify each syllable he struggled. Comparable to the previous example on physical characteristics, Hlonipho relied heavily on colour to access and locate various options within applications. As he navigated to his favourite story (Rabbit and Turtle’s Amazing Race, figure 4) on his iPad, he used the distinct red and purple colour to locate the ‘Read it to me’ option. Before he knew how to read the words written on the ‘Read it to me’ tab, Hlonipho explained that through

experience, he had learned that the purple colour served as a guide to correctly select the appropriate written text command. In addition to colour, he relied on the applications' colours, symbols and location for access what he described as 'stories and counting' apps. He knew that by tapping on the literacy folder, it 'opened up the stories and alphabets'. Levy (2009), describing children's navigation tactics as they accessed computer and iPad applications describes how three to six year old children in his research relied upon pictorial symbols, icons and even came up with their own explanations of the functions that apps such Safari (Apple Internet search engine) did as well as using sound cues within the programmes to make meaning when they could not read printed text.



is in contrast literacy practices he practiced with Noxolo, which focused primarily on acquiring decoding followed by semantic competence before performance Hlonipho's "reading" in e-book stories literacy practices centered around the image" to make meaning (Kress, 2001).

The interactive nature of the iPad, enables its user to expand, shrink, highlight and isolate text has added an embodied dimension to the reading and meaning making process. As Lunga used the Safari and Google search engine to search for information on a topic of interest, the manner in which he read texts was non-linear, included searching for definitions to words by opening a new tab and incorporating Google images as an extension of meaning similar to a dictionary. This was evidenced in a literacy event where he wanted to know 'how diamonds are made' as well as whether 'hyenas are cars or dogs'. Given that nobody gave him a clear response, he went online in search of more information. Using the iPad, he went on to do the following:

1. Google search engine: Typed 'how are diamonds formed'.
2. Clicks on beyond4cs.com/faq/the-formation-process-of-diamonds/
3. Scanned through the images, scrolling up and down, zoomed in on diagrams and highlighted the word 'mantle'.
4. Continues reading and then finds a video clip from National Geographic , clicks on video and is directed to a new website (Youtube) to watch the video.
5. Watches the video.
6. Read the comments below the video.

The interaction below describes the multifaceted and non-linear meaning making process as Lunga reads information to an inquiry. In step 1, he types the question verbatim to when he orally asked his sister. The Google search engine generated various responses offering information in the form of discussion forums, videos and articles. Lunga initially went through each option presented on page one of the results carefully reading the biographical information provided. After four minutes of scanning the biographies he selects the fourth response, a question and answer site with conversation like style of writing and academic content. When asked why he chose that specific result, Lunga responded 'I liked the little question they asked'. The 'little question' that Lunga is referring to, is the description (biography) below the site's link. It read 'have you ever wondered where the sparkling jewels on your ring come from? Check fascinating facts about the formation process of diamonds'. According to Lunga this style of writing caught his eye as he felt that the writer was speaking at his level. All other biographies seemed 'like I was reading a textbook'. In step 3 and 4, Lunga was observed to struggle with unfamiliar words, diagrams and the scientific writing style. While he was reading the text aloud, he could not make sense of what he was reading. He reread sections, expanded and shrunk text, until he reached a word he was completely unfamiliar with. Upon highlighting the word 'mantle', he copy and pasted it onto a new tab and searched for its meaning. The first results defined a mantle as a cloak. Lunga hesitated and said aloud, 'this doesn't make sense'. He then clicked on the Google images section and found various images with written and still images similar to the diagram in the text he was reading. He clicked on the first image, a diagram of the earth's layers, he realized that the text spoke of programming and game developers. He quickly closed the image and looked for another one. The next image was a diagram locating the mantle and a process he was not sure of (programming). Again he closed the image and looked for another one. As he scanned and scrolled further down the results page, he selected a (table) written text comparing the crust and mantle. He read through the detailed information and went back to his original text. This was followed by more scanning and scrolling up and down the page until he came across an attached National Geographic video explaining how diamonds were formed. He clicked on the video, watched it for four minutes and scrolled to the comments section. At the end of this literacy event, I enquired about the comments section and Lunga explained that although he found the initial text hard to comprehend, he now understood how diamonds are formed due to the video and comments below the video. He explained that the comments helped him check if he understood the information and 'just hearing what other people say made me learn more. Now I want to watch the movie Blood Diamond, one of the people spoke about it and how sad it is that the workers who mine diamonds are not treated well. I didn't know that'.

The aforementioned literacy event demonstrates the changing nature of decoding and multimodal meaning making strategies. While classroom environments provide learners with written print texts, some group discussion and reading. Lunga is involved in a plethora of meaning making strategies resulting in a non-linear reading of the information. His engagement with linguistic cues was observed to be minimal and to achieve meaning, he used mainly images to accommodate and assimilate the information he is processing. In step 3, his processing of definitions for mantle could be seen to utilize metacognitive processes comparing not just the diagrams on his initial text but the context (geographical information). As he engaged with the varied definitions of the word mantle, in the end through a process of elimination,

comparison and adjustment, he was able to select the appropriate text required to match the information he was looking for within the correct context. Furthermore, he demonstrated an understanding of the relationship between image, written text and the social environment. This could be evidenced in the way he checked his interpretation in relation to other people's responses in the comment section as well utilize their comments as a means to confirm his comprehension whilst simultaneously learning more.

My findings are line with Rowsell (2014) whose study of children using iPads argued for a reimagining and rereading of reading practices and meaning making processes as phenomenology taking into account the sensory and embodied essence of reading (117-118). As such, the use of the touch screen allowed the young children to access texts through embodied experiences such as listening, gaze, voice recording, sight, swiping, shrinking and enlarging text and images, tapping and bringing the iPad closer or further or walking with it to an adult. What the children understood from text was interdependent on these actions and thus formed part of the meaning making process.

Chapter 6: Delinking from colonial hegemonic structures

6.1. Overview of the study

This dissertation focused on the effect of schooled conceptions of language and literacy ideologies as well as power relations in children's at home language and literacy development experiences. All three children were first generation black learners attending English medium schools. Two students attended previously white only ex-Model C schools with a now Black, Coloured and Indian majority diverse study body while one attended a White majority private school. I collected data over a fragmented period of four months with each family visited for a period of one week during the December holidays from the morning until dinnertime. During school term, I visited in the afternoons, after school until dinnertime as well as weekends from the morning until midday. The data collection instruments included seven research tools: participant observation, audio and video recordings, screenshots, parent diary, field notes and unstructured interviews with parents and literacy instructors.

For this study, I drew upon sociocultural views of language and literacy as social practice with meanings and use of language, reading and writing occurring within a particular social context with distinct ways of valuing, doing and interacting. This view of both language and literacy enabled me to pay attention to the situated nature of language and literacy ideologies and practices both within the macro context of the school as an authoritative institution in society and the home as a micro context within society. I additionally drew upon [de]coloniality as an overarching theoretical framework applying its concept of coloniality of power and the colonial matrix of power to describe the living legacy of Apartheid colonialism in contemporary South African education and society in the form of asymmetrical power relations that is constitutive of entangled privileging of English as the legitimate language of power and knowledge, associates whiteness with superiority and autonomous models of school literacy in particular written language while disenfranchising other languages, language varieties and forms of reading and writing practices. The aim of this study was to examine the intersection of language, ideology and power as it positions children and their families in post-colonial South African education and social environments. I argue that hegemonic ideologies work to reproduce colonial discourses and ideologies.

6.2. Reflection on findings

Analysis of how the children received their deficit identities revealed the correlation between language ideology and negative positioning. All three schools practiced anglonormative English-only ideology. In the linguistic marketplace of the school English was the only legitimate language and valued social capital. The exclusive valorizing of English was evident in two practices within schooling: assessment of competency in language and literacy tests and the language socialization practices in classrooms. For example, in chapter four tests were employed to stream the children into "at risk" or competent identities based on the level of proficiency in English. In the classroom, syntactic features from isiZulu in Lunga's English language were

characterized as “not proper English” denying him association into what he already perceived as membership within the social identity of an English speaker. His membership was denied on the account of the teacher’s linguistic purity ideology of standard language ideology and homogeneity. Additionally, the schools’ valorizing of English

I also analyzed parent views around languages as well as observed linguistic behaviours paying particular attention to child-parent and instructor-child interactions. I found conflicting views regarding what language is, its purpose and function. In relation to African languages, stressed communication as the purpose of language. In this instance, heteroglossic linguistic repertoires and vernacular urban varieties of home languages were held positively. However beliefs around English emphasized linguistic purity with languages treated as stable and bounded. Attitudes between languages for example showed how Sibongile positioned English as an unassailable resource for social mobility while isiXhosa was devalued for its limited mobility often within cultural identity and interpersonal relations with older generations who could not speak English. The hegemony of language and race was pervasive in the parents’ policing of phonological features in the children’s English varieties. In chapter four, Mbali negatively associates Black South African English with Bantu Education, implying a lower quality of education. Similarly both Junior and Hlonipho’s mothers ascribe lower statuses to BSAE labeling them as “a disadvantage” and “not good English”. Racialised ideologies around English were evidenced to be premised on colonial racial categories that held whiteness as superior and blackness as inferior. Parents thus reproduced these ideologies further ascribing whiteness and/or sounding “like a white person” in the selection of their literacy instructors as “the best English” and “speaking well”. It is thus evident that through these examples parents have internalized colonial ideologies of race (difference and superiority/inferiority) and linguistic inequality as natural with assimilation as the ideal. The parents devalue their own and others’ linguistic resources and language use sustaining the oppressive and exclusionary nature of coloniality.

It is evident in my research that schooling as an institution works as a gatekeeping authority defining what is legitimate and illegitimate. In relation to literacy I found that parents took on the deficit identities offered by schools to the children using them to guide literacy events and practices around the home. Parents sought to mirror classroom pedagogy in the children’s literacy development marginalizing everything that did not fit the classroom norm. In chapter five, designated spaces for learning were created using learning materials and activities, controlled rules of interaction and assessments. In these literacy spaces parents employed tests, word lists and documentation of children’s performance in tasks as methods of quantifying and measuring their literacy outcomes. The activities had lucid goals with attention directed at achieving correct decoding, linguistic form and fluency. These activities and outcomes limit children’s literacy learning reducing literacy to skills based activities and language as syntactic and decontextualized vocabulary memorization rather than a tool for making and taking meaning. The interaction roles that the children occupied further limited their active engagement in the construction of knowledge for example, in chapter five, Hlonipho’s participation was constrained by a focus on getting the correct linguistic form and using English. While reading, Junior was reduced to a passive decoding role with Julia controlling around the text. In these cases, both children learn to associate literacy learning as the inputting of information

from one person to the next. They do not assume con-construction of knowledge that defines reading to rote recollection of facts.

This dissertation has argued that the anglonormative English-only ideology, standard language ideology and pedagogization of literacy brought to fore the asymmetrical power relations and linguistic discrimination rooted in coloniality informing ex-Model C school practices and social ideology. I argue that the underlying logic of coloniality and English' association with progress and modernity influences parent language and literacy beliefs and practices. All three families appear to "breathe coloniality" in every aspect of their lives. A decolonial lens into deficit identities and language ideologies has helped make visible the colonial nature of what was previously perceived to be a result of integration in ex-Model C schools and among the growing Black middle class language shift. However this also provides avenues for changes that could be made to answer the calls of decoloniality's intention to delink from colonial matrices of power towards the equitable and inclusive education system and social milieu often searched for within the rainbow nation narrative.

6.3. Recommendations

In order to create a more equitable and inclusive education system, although the problems within the education system are large and systemic I provide three recommendations within the context of ex-Model C schools. Firstly, delinking requires acknowledgement of the historical situatedness of ex-Model C school ethos and more importantly the prejudiced nature of post-Apartheid negotiations for desegregation. In this light I argue that integration is the focus of desegregated schooling with attention focused on providing non-English learners adequate support to learn. In this pursuit, the support afforded to learners needs to stem from the needs of the learners and not for the learners to adapt to the school's prescribed model. Current teacher training lacks an emphasis on language and the ways in which language is used to position learners. Greater effort should be placed in ensuring that teachers are proficient in at least one indigenous African language to offer bilingual and transitional support to English language learners. This will enable all children to use their full linguistic repertoires for learning as they increase proficiency in English. Secondly, research into language in assessments has revealed that monolingual standard language and literacy ideologies assume that people use language and literacy practices in the same way across cultures and contexts. I argue that the curriculum and textbooks use knowledge that is often associated with Western systems of knowing and language construction. While I am not calling for the eradication of western knowledge, I am proposing that content and pedagogy be tailored towards local ways of knowing and doing things. I believe that changes in even how teachers teach such that children are taught in ways that value the sociocultural realities of children's backgrounds including multimodal, multilingual/translanguaging practices in assessments. This I argue will help dispel linguistic hierarchies that promote English as a language for learning while demoting indigenous languages to social languages. I also believe that such practices will increase creation of multilingual educational material such as textbooks that students use to understand concepts through familiar syntactical resources (Prinsloo, 2018).

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