ROUTLEDGE

RE-THEORIZING LITERACY PRACTICES

Complex Social and Cultural Contexts

Edited by **David Bloome, Maria Lucia Castanheira, Constant Leung,** and **Jennifer Rowsell**

Re-Theorizing Literacy Practices

Moving beyond current theories on literacy practices, this edited collection sheds new light on the complexities inherent to the social, cultural, and ideological contexts in which literacy practices are realized. Building on Brian V. Street's scholarship, contributors discuss literacy as intrinsically social and ideological, and examine how the theorizing of literacy practices has evolved in recognition of the diverse contexts in which written language is used. Breaking new intellectual and theoretical ground, this book brings together leading literacy scholars to re-examine how educational and sociocultural contexts frame and define literacy events and practices. Drawing from the richness of Brian V. Street's work, this volume offers insights into fractures, tensions, and developments in literacy for scholars, students, and researchers.

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Preface

Memory as Incentive

A friend whose father was said to have known C. S. Lewis once told me that when Lewis' wife died of cancer, he said "No one ever told me that grief can feel so like fear." For all those represented in this volume, these words fit the response when cancer took Brian from all of us in 2017. His loss fills us with fear, for we think of the challenges he gave us during his lifetime and then those that remain for us now that he is no longer here to challenge, push, compliment, or enlist us. In many ways, chapters in this volume may be looked to as letters addressed to Brian—containing not only work of ours we wish he could have known about and critiqued or complimented, but also challenges to ourselves to try to honor him by moving forward. My opening to this volume must in turn be reflective, analytical, and honoring. I write as others here have, to honor memory and to create incentive by doing so.

As must be the case with other writers for this volume, I write as friend and colleague of Brian's. In addition, Brian and I co-authored a book on ethnography (Heath and Street, 2008). While he was at King's College of the University of London, he sponsored me as a research fellow, allowing me opportunities to get to know his colleagues and students while we all rolled up our sleeves, working, thinking, and laughing together. Those were precious years.

Through all my experiences with Brian, the two of us remained very much aware (and proud of) the fact that we shared a legacy few readers of this volume may be aware of for either of us. The two of us had the privilege of studying with grand pioneers in the field of anthropology. Brian was a student of Branislaw Malinowski, and I was a student of Margaret Mead. In our training as anthropologists, each of us thus worked from the outset with anthropologists for whom literacy, learning, socialization, and adaptation figured heavily in the grand mix of life captured in the genre of ethnography. Each of us learned from our teachers to care deeply about knowing not only what happens across cultures, but also across the stages of life along with the ubiquitous misfortunes and setbacks that living brings in every society. Both of us worked internationally throughout our careers, and we both remained irked (and sometimes quite peeved) that few Anglo scholars paid much attention to the continuity we both reflected of a constant-comparative and often international perspective. For neither of us was it conceivable to think of an Anglo scholarly obsession such as literacy without taking into account contrasts, comparisons, and continuities across different situations, contexts, mixtures of languages and ethnicities, and institutions as well as nations.

In this volume, one feature of a perspective we shared stands out. Brian and I believed strongly in the absolute need to take seriously the historical contingency of how individuals learn and retain structured symbol systems. When Brian became involved in studying the learning of

mathematics, this view went into that work. In many of the books he edited and articles he wrote in the last decade of his life, he insisted that any version of reading and writing, learning numeracy, and creating cartography could not remain stable. Ever evolving, fragile, inconsistent, and differentially valued, all such symbol systems stood in relation to control by economic power structures, fluctuations in religious fervor, and discriminatory practices around age and gender. His work in Iran and later in parts of the former Soviet Union had also taught him that severe fluctuations in learning contexts and incentives resulted from shifts of political power within national sovereignties.

Brian operated in his professional life as much more than a scholar, as every contributor to this volume knows well. He viewed himself as a fixer, and all who knew him learned the deep value of listening, remembering, and holding in one's head the latest slant of his key ideas. He was a fixer of ideas, always working on theories plus clarification of what ethnographic integrity could do and how it worked toward factual accuracy and theory-building. It is notable that though a fixer, he rarely involved himself deeply in academic machinations or politics. I always believed this was because he had other priorities.

He was consumed by curiosity, continuities, and the elusiveness of consistency—none of which has steady standing in academic politics. Moreover, Brian believed that history can teach ethnographers and linguists, and indeed all scholarly work, regardless of field. But he did not believe in studying history just to find lessons there. Instead he wanted full exploration of ideas for their invention, reconsideration, and fixing.

Brian did not readily relish giving advice or weighing in on academic policy decisions. He did so only when policy decisions seemed to work against student responsibility and integrity, and he sometimes called on colleagues to help resist regulations and rules counter to student interests. In most of his work with students, Brian was concerned primarily with examining, representing, extending, and re-thinking—even correcting—ideas and theories. Papers of this volume echo such perspectives from Brian's students and colleagues in many ways.

It may seem easy, particularly for young scholars, to dismiss the value of Brian as a model. In so many ways, he seems too big, too much, too exemplary, and sometimes even too contradictory. For example, Brian's pursuits reflected both multi-disciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches, as we see in this volume. Yet Brian did not preach such complexity to students nor did he ever seem to advocate that younger scholars follow in his footsteps. In this regard, he sometimes appeared to stand apart from ideas central to some of his writings. Some students wanted him to claim ownership of certain ideas that built on his anti-autonomous vie ws of literacy, for example. To Brian, moving forward ideas mattered more than any need to claim them as one's own. In this regard, we often joked together that we were surely inheritors of this view from our anthropology professors, Malinowski and Mead. "Too much to learn," we often said in chorus as we debated choice of ideas to include in our 2008 volume. In this vein, we echoed both our mentors and each other in moving away from universalism and embracing particularism. Our studies of socialization made clear the need for such a move, even when globalism increased its influence over the world.

Anthropologists have for decades struggled to reflect memory within their portrayals of the

ethnographic present while simultaneously examining what this present portends for both the future and the past. Historical and cultural legacies mingle in multiple ways with the personal as scholars now and into the future learn with the memory of Brian and his work. We trust his memory gives incentives for us to learn more, grasp new possibilities for study, and sustain theory advancement always with a comparative perspective.

Martin Luther King, in protesting Vietnam, wrote: "We are now faced with the fact that tomorrow is today. We are confronted with the fierce urgency of now. In this unfolding conundrum of life and history, there is no such a thing as being too late. This is no time for apathy or complacency. This is a time for vigorous and positive action."

In picking up this quotation, Miller (2018) re-accentuated its meaning by saying: "Tomorrow becomes today whenever we envision what we will have done." Miller goes on to tell us how stating intentions in the future perfect tense means we undertake responsibilities. The loss of Brian accentuates this quote's reminder that surely we have not yet done enough. In particular, as we look back over Brian's life work, we again come face to face with the realization that anthropologists have long been known (and disliked) for not maintaining a critical (and silent) distance from politics. This is because the work anthropologists do relates deeply to human rights and dignity. Brian was no exception and never should we be. Our work, like his, must come from moral integrity, strength of convictions straight-forwardly and consistently stated, and true reckoning with the constant need to learn, self-correct, and build theories generative to the meaning of life for others.

Shirley Brice Heath

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Miller, T. P. (2018). Symposium. What will we have made of literacy? In *College Communication and composition. 69*(3), 494–502.

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Artist's Statement on the Cover

The title of this cover artwork is “street smarts.” It has a much different aesthetic than my prior book covers and previous artwork. Simultaneously, this book is much different than any I’ve done before. It feels like both a great honor and a great responsibility. I’ve never tried to encapsulate in a single image aspects of such an influential scholar’s life’s work, to ‘envisualize’ the artifactual and textual proof of the ways someone’s ideas currently resonate with scholars carrying Brian Street’s work forward in their own dynamic literacy research.

This street scene pays homage to Brian Street’s groundbreaking fieldwork and scholarship around the recognition of diverse people using multiple literacies in multiple ways for diverse purposes. David Bloome says Brian Street taught us that:

> Literacy practices are not just abstract cultural models held in people’s minds but are embedded in *all* aspects of the social situation (i.e., in the physical environment, in how people act and react to each other, etc.).

The scene involves multiple examples of literacy as social and cultural, and many of the things Brian Street himself enjoyed, valued, and researched. There are people drinking wine and talking at an outdoor café. There is a street musician and a political activist. There are children playing a game on the ground. There are two Muslim women chatting outside a shop. There is a person selling an international variety of fruit from a cart with the names written in multiple languages including Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, Spanish, Bahasa Indonesia, and English. There is commerce: the fruit seller, the café with a waiter taking a customer’s order, the halal food shop. There is also interaction with newer digital technologies, including a laptop and smartphone. Information is available in multiple modes and diverse languages: the café awning sign in English and Chinese; the person holding literature and speaking about voting, the sheet music, the fruit names. A broad range of newspapers are available in the newspaper boxes: *El Mundo*, *Creative Loafing*, *The Village Voice*, *Employment Classifieds Weekly*. On the wall under the street sign is a poster for the Chinese New Year of 2018, the year of the dog, the year of this book’s creation. Brian Street’s work disturbed traditional views of literacy, disrupted the preordained path, and offered other possibilities for understanding. His work made us see that literacies are not just state-sanctioned reading and writing, they are about what we do, how we live, who we are, and how we act on the world and transform it.

Literacy is multifaceted, dynamic, busy, and increasingly multimodal and multilingual. Brian Street realized this. This image reflects a portion of the myriad possibilities present, the ability of scholars in the field to start with Brian Street’s work and move in many directions exploring literacy practices in multiple contexts and as they unfold. He took the field of literacy education in a new direction, with many scholars joining him, following his lead. Now he’s handed over the map, pointed ahead, and passed the responsibility for this research—and the evolving conversation, or *talk* around it—to other literacy education scholars. And the journey continues.

Mindi Rhoades,
June 2018, Columbus,
Ohio, USA

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Introduction

Lost In Our Meditations About Re-Theorizing Literacy Practices Across Complex Social And Cultural Contexts

Jennifer Rowsell, David Bloome, Maria Lucia Castanheira, and Constant Leung

This book took shape from a series of conversations and a festschrift event in London at King's College as a celebration of the life and work of Brian V. Street. In this way, it is a dialogic and iterative collection that revisits different aspects of his framing of literacy as a social practice in an effort to build on previous work in this field (Barton & Hamilton, 1998, 2012; Bloome, 1983; Gee, 1990, 1999; Green & Bloome, 1983; Heath, 1983), and to move into newer debates and issues around the socializing of literacy (Rowsell & Pahl, 2015). We do not pretend to provide the reader with a field-defining *re*-theorizing of literacy as a social practice, but instead contributors build on the momentum of past work in literacy as a social practice and related fields to expose and explore fractures, tensions, and evolutions that have resulted with the passage of time and the development of contemporary literacy studies. In the rest of this Introduction and in Chapter 16 we will refer to Brian V. Street as Brian because we felt close to him, but we privilege Street throughout the main collection to acknowledge the scholarly nature of the discussions presented by the contrbutors.

The book should be viewed and read through the metaphor of jazz given that jazz is strongly associated with our memories of Brian, his work, and the many conversations we and scholars from all over the world have had with him. In particular, the book and Brian's work more broadly remind us of a line from a Duke Ellington song, "Lost in Meditation" which captures well how we use jazz as a metaphor. "I am LOST IN MEDITATION, And my reverie, Brings you back to me." The song rekindles two reflections about Brian. The first is his ability to make the familiar strange by observing people, cultures, linguistic systems, texts and of course social practices as a form of meditation; the other reflection concerns Brian's appreciation for the improvisational, often discordant nature of jazz as a combination of distinctive tones and rhythmic patterns that may be chaotic but when they are brought together, the music becomes so real, so rich, and so meaningful. The metaphor of *being lost in meditative observation* with the polyphonic nature of the everyday is a strand in every chapter of the book. And, equally, the lived and unpredictable character of literacy in everyday life runs throughout the book. Meditating on language, meditating on texts, meditating on people and their varied ways of making meaning around the world are key to understanding and theorizing literacy. As a tribute to Brian's life and work, the

book travels across national boundaries to revisit and re-theorize seminal terms within the purview of literacy as a social practice.

Reflecting on Brian's Life and Work

It is important to start Brian V. Street's story from the very beginning not only because it fills out a picture of his life, but more crucially for this collection, because it explains the evolution of his influential work in literacy studies. Born of a Jewish mother who had to give Brian up for adoption because her husband (his father) died in World War II, Brian grew up in a working-class family as an only child. There were a series of life-forming events that led to Brian's deeper commitment to equality, to humanity, and to giving agency to people. One event was losing his sight in one eye as a young man. The second event was being admitted to elite schools and having a strong sense of his being 'out of his class' and abundantly aware of being working class. From these roots Brian derived a commitment to viewing the world with a concern for ordinary people living their lives. Indeed these experiences gave Brian a sense of groundedness, modesty, and a generosity of empathetic spirit that infused and animated disinterested intellectual enquiry in the academia.

As a young scholar, Brian began his studies at Oxford University combining his interests in English literature with anthropology. From this work he published his first book, *The savage in literature: Representations of 'primitive' society in English fiction 1858–1920* based on his Ph.D. which examined the portrayal of 'primitive people' in adventure fiction in Asia and Africa. His early work in literature and anthropology set a path for him to examine ideological dimensions of particular discourses, cultural preconceptions, and, the significance of different ways of knowing outside of academic models of knowledge.

In 1971, after completing his doctorate under the supervision of the anthropologist E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Brian moved to Iran where he took up a lectureship at the University of Mashhad in Iran. While he was in Iran, Brian began carrying out longitudinal ethnographic fieldwork that would later become his well-known book, *Literacy in theory and practice*. What piqued Brian's interest and what soon became a strong and lasting line of research was exploring different ways of speaking and communicating across a variety of contexts, from literacy taught by village Mullahs to more traditional religious teaching in Maktab schools to commercial literacy practices that took place in the marketplace and studying the Holy Koran in Mosque. Over the course of his experiences in Cheshmeh, there were many different literacy practices, social and power structures, ways of knowing, and belief systems which provided rich conceptualizing about literacy which gave him a path to produce his ground-breaking work and writings on literacy as a social practice.

By 1984, there was a growing interdisciplinary movement that could be called literacy studies. There were major schisms in this emergent field of literacy studies focused on whether literacy was a thing-in-and-of-itself whose acquisition had consequences for a community and for

individuals, or whether the use of written language should be embedded in social and cultural theories recognizing the inherent embeddedness of language use in the social, cultural, economic, and political contexts of people's lives. In 1984, Street's *Literacy in research and practice* was published. In that book, Street provided a critique of the view of literacy-as-a-thing-in-and-of-itself held by scholars such as John Goody (1977), Walter Ong (1982), and David Olson (1977, 1994). Brian pointed out that their 'autonomous models' of literacy that conceptualized literacy as a monolithic set of psychological processes failed to account for diverse meanings and significances of different forms of reading and writing across diverse cultures. Brian drew extensively from social, cultural, religious, and ideological factors that play key roles in literacy understandings – thereby aligning his work with other scholars such as John Gumperz, Dell Hymes, Shirley Brice Heath, Allan Luke, Harvey Graff, Denny Taylor, Sylvia Scribner, Arlette Willis, Michael Cole and David Bloome. Literacy as a social practice offered the field of literacy studies a way of thinking about and articulating literacy as social practices inextricably linked to social and cultural contexts.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Brian extended his work on literacy as a social practice and ideological models of literacy into other contexts such as examining academic literacies and assumptions about writing in universities and schools; he also explored numeracy as a social practice that unfolds in diverse contexts. Running across all of his work was a deep commitment to less economically developed communities, and Brian's ideas went around the globe; his work resonated with the concerns of educationlists and development workers across continents, from London and Philadelphia to Brazil, Ethiopia, India, and all the stops in between. He was actively involved with the British Association for Literacy in Development (BALID) and the Learning Empowerment through Training in Ethnographic Research (LETTER) Project in collaboration with Allan Rogers.

After moving from Sussex University to take up a Chair in Language in Education at King's College London in the late 1990s, Brian increased his international work and collaborated with many literacy scholars while paying full attention to his teaching and curriculum development. At the same time he actively engaged in building up a cross-disciplinary community of scholars interested in literacy studies in and around London. The field recognized his intellectual leadership and awarded him the Distinguished Scholar Lifetime Achievement Award from the Literacy Research Association and admission into the Reading Hall of Fame.

Background to the Book

The history of theorizing literacy as a social process, beginning with the post-World War II period, has examined how changing literacy practices reflect and shape changes in cultural life. This scholarship was primarily located in anthropology, cultural studies, and literary studies. With the linguistic turn in the social sciences in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, there was growing recognition that written language, like language in general, reflected social, cultural, and political

ideologies and was not neutral in structuring power relations among social groups and nations. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, scholars built on theories of language grounded in the ethnography of communication (e.g., Gumperz & Hymes, 1972; Hymes, 1974; Saville-Troike, 1982), social semiotics (e.g., Halliday, 1978), cultural studies (e.g., Williams, 1983; Hall, 1996), socio-cultural psychology (e.g., Vygotsky, 1987; Luria, 1976) and linguistic and cultural anthropology more generally (e.g., Bateson, 1972; Bourdieu, 1977), and began to craft theories of literacy as social and cultural processes, calling into question views of literacy as a set of universalist psychological skills and the dichotomies between oracy and literacy, and between oral and literate societies (see also Basso, 1974; Cook-Gumperz, 1986; Graff, 1979; Heath, 1982, 1983; Szwed, 1981; Scribner & Cole, 1981). Although less widely cited in the research literature, it should be acknowledged that studies by scholars of color on the spoken and written language, culture, education, and social and political marginalization of minoritized ethnic groups also played a critical role in the shift to a view of literacy as social (e.g., Delgado-Gaitan, 1990; Delpit, 1988; Smitherman, 1977; Richardson, 2003; Royster, 2000; Stockman & Vaughn-Cooke, 1982; Trueba, 1990; Woodson, 1990). In part, such studies were a response to the deficit models of literacy learning that characterized particular racial/ethnic groups and poor people as lacking the intelligence, cultural capital, and language to read and write well or achieve in academic learning. The theories of literacy as social and cultural processes also shifted the unit of analysis from the interpretation of written language *per se* to social events in which the use of written language was non-trivial (see Bloome, Kalman, and Seymour, Chapter 2, this volume for a detailed discussion of the shift to a social view of literacy).

In 1984, with the publication of Brian's *Literacy in theory and practice*, literacy came to be defined as a set of social practices whose nature was essentially ideological. Within a group, whether that group was a social institution, a discipline, a local community, a classroom, etc., the use of written language in any specific social situation is guided by a set of shared literacy practices (abstract understandings, conventions and standards for how to use written language and what they mean). Literacy practices are not just abstract cultural models held in people's minds but are embedded in all aspects of the social situation (i.e., in the physical environment, in how people act and react to each other). Since the 1980s, scholarship on literacy as social has built on the two constructs of literacy events and literacy practices, explicating the ideologies defining what counts as "literacy", what literacy practices are used for, how literacy practices vary across social settings and institutions, and what implications literacy practices have for defining social identity and personhood.

Although scholars employing a literacy as social events and social practices perspective are continuing to be interested in variations in the use of literacy across different social contexts (e.g., home/school, urban towns and cities/rural villages), since the turn of the century there has been increased attention to examining literacy practices in terms of the complexity and of change across time and space. That is, there is now increased attention to the relationship of social contexts to each other, their historical nature, to how heteroglossia is defining contexts, to how the use of multiple languages redefines social contexts and their relationship to each other, to the interpellation of contexts, to the relationship of multiple levels of context to each other, to the

tensions between globalization and the local, and to the ways in which the relationships among contexts are contested and reconstructed. The increased recognition of the complexity of social contexts has generated a need for a re-theorizing of the constructs of literacy practices and literacy events.

There is good reason to revisit and re-theorize literacy as a social practice and Brian would likely agree as he continuously reminded us that the field must continue to problematize what counts as literacy (Street, 1995, 2003; Grenfell et al., 2013). With political upheavals, globalization and the ubiquity of technology, to name a few dramatic changes in our time, literacy studies sits on a foundation that constantly shifts, and to keep apace, researchers have applied multiple conceptual frames and incorporated other disciplines and ontologies to explain contemporary literacy practices. The pressing issues and agendas of the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s are now accompanied and reframed by a rich vein of theories and embracing more diverse ontologies and epistemologies. Technologies and media have prompted literacy researchers to reconsider what engaging in literacy events and practices means and what it implies for younger generations growing up today. Re-theorizing literacy practices in light of rapidly changing forms and patterns of communication requires a multi-disciplinary, open-minded approach with a range of rigorous, innovative and context-appropriate research theories and methods. This book is about looking across these contemporary realities with a Street lens and moving them into new directions and hybrid (and hybridizing) framings.

Over the past decade, one development in literacy studies has followed the contours of changes to the communicational landscape (Kress, 2010) and other dramatic changes due to globalization. With the crossing of other fields into literacy studies, what has ensued are several 'turns' that we have been incorporated into chapters in the collection. To move the field forward demands looking at the conditions and realities of the present and looking ahead to ways that literacy studies needs to change in light of cultural, political, social and technological shifts and movements. One obvious change is the ubiquity of digital technologies and digital cultures in our lives. There is abundant scholarship in literacy studies that stretches our assumptions and understandings about literacy within digital worlds (Abrams, 2014; Banks, 2011; Beavis et al., 2015; Gee, 2003; Lam & Warriner, 2012; Lankshear & Knobel, 2007; Merchant & Davies, 2009) and in the book, we retheorize terms and concepts associated with a view of literacy as social in the face of new texts and practices. Likewise, there is work that explores the role of time and space and how they impinge on the ways that researchers theorize literacy practices. Taking a spatial approach to literacy throws into relief not only differential access to resources, but also (perhaps more importantly) how literacies are used to shape the ways that we inhabit and live in spaces (e.g., Leander & Sheehy, 2004; Soja, 2010). Equally, time plays a role in the associations that we have with literacy and how literacy has deeper temporal roots having to do with people's memories and the passage of time communication (e.g., Bloome et al., 2009; Compton-Lilly, 2017; Lemke, 2000). What is also implicit to the collection and its relationship to Street's scholarship is concern with global structures and the ways that they are tightening what counts as literacy/ies that make it harder for those who have complex variegated, multilingual and multimodal communicative repertoires to be heard equitably. There is a general turn in literacy studies within

social science and arts research to the democratization of how researchers theorize literacy. Concepts like co-production, participatory research, and engaged practice have become much more mainstream in literacy studies and this plays out in the chapters in the book. In addition, there has been a posthuman turn (Kuby & Rowsell, 2017) brought on by the agentive role of all of texts, artifacts, and materialities that are part and parcel and indeed fundamental to literacy events (Ehret, 2018). Finally, there has been a turn to affect and embodiment (Enriquez et al, 2016) to explain the lived, often invisible flows and intensities of feelings that play out when people experience what it is to be literate. In Kress and Rowsell's chapter (this volume), they explore how and in what ways newer forms of communication such as Snapchat and Instagram align with Brian's work and in doing so, they connect with both the posthuman and affect turns.

It is for these reasons and more that the book pushes for new ways of framing and thinking about contemporary literacy, but always with an eye to Brian Street's more egalitarian and humane vision for literacy research.

The Book's Structure

The chapters in the book address four dimensions of theorizing literacy practices and literacy events. The book begins with a Foreword by Shirley Brice Heath and her reflections on Brian's impact on the field of literacy studies. Part I of the book looks back and then forward with a chapter by Bloome, Kalman, and Seymour that offers a historical framing of literacy as social practices. Kress and Rowsell look at ways of socializing through language, images, and more modular texts and the implications of these relational forms of social practice for literacy studies. Finally, as a coda to this section, Castanheira presents her longitudinal research as a revisit to a community in a Brazilian city and focuses on two families and ways that they have enacted literacy as a social practice over time through religious practices and digital texts. A question central to the first section is, how might the ideological nature of literacy practices be understood given the complex, shifting, contentious, and multiple nature of ideological contexts?

In Part II we recognize the language and cultural diversity of people's lives undermining a conception of social context as homogeneous. There is a need to theorize how literacy events and literacy practices reflect, add to, and refract how people use language in and across diverse social contexts. In this way, Kim and King examine how young children author stories across contexts invoking the concept of language as a social practice to explain their authoring process. Zavala takes up literacy practices and language ideologies within the Peruvian context pushing readers to think more about the politics of literacy practices and the ways that power circulates within ideologies about literacy.

In Part III, the focus is on heteroglossia in and across diverse educational social contexts. Educational contexts here are understood broadly to include schooling, family and community activities and settings. Blackburn frames schools as potentially polyphonic spaces compelling readers to move into more diversified readings of literacy events. She focuses on the tensions

inherent in a praxis intended to open-up educational institutions to voices that have too often been silenced. Then, Prior and Olinger discuss academic literacies as a way for individuals to embrace heteroglossia with the resultant lamination of assemblages into their compositions. Rasool describes literacy practies of her life within her family and community, foregrounding the complexities and contradictions in how those literacy practices are taken up by members of her community and how they are often made invisible by dominant institutions such as schools. She highlights how the family and community literacy practices of her life are more than simply engagement with written language, but rather engagement with people she loves and who have defined her culturally, religiously, socially, educationally, aesthetically, and historically.

In Part IV, contributors extend the spaces of literacy practices to examine how more institutional spaces promote and promulgate ideologies that get mediated by teachers and students and the implications of these social practices for our definitions and framings of literacy. Papen begins by exploring reflexivity and how it permeates her research in primary schools and beyond. Prinsloo and Krause explore the notion of 'practice' and its continued currency when faced with the push and pull of hegemonic literacy practices such as the Progress in Reading Literacy Survey in South Africa. These power-laden testing measures are often invisible ways of reinforcing norms and one-size-fits-all models that are not aligned with the local. Then, staying within the context of schooling, Isham and Leung examine the institutional and curricular ideologies underlying the teaching of philosophy in a London secondary school, paying specific attention to the ways in which the teacher and students agentively interpret subject content and principles of critical thinking in classroom activities involving reading texts. Wingate highlights tensions, conflicts and new directions that could result from diverse approaches to academic literacies.

In Part V, building on the recognition that any use of language is explicitly or implicitly a definition of human beings in the world (cf., Williams, 1977), the authors address how literacy practices and literacy events promulgate a definition of personhood within and across complexly related social contexts. Hikida confronts time and the temporal rhythm of literacy and ways of retheorize literacy as social with time at the forefront of analyses. Finally Power-Carter and Zakeri invoke the notions of autonomous and ideological models of literacy to explore how race and culture permeate literacy events and how integral they are to deeper understandings and appreciations of literacy as social practice.

The structuring of the substantive chapters into five parts is designed to provide a sense of analytic and thematic breadth. Turning on the fundamental understanding of literacy as social, the collection as a whole offers a glimpse of the immense richness this ontological and methodological approach can bring to empirical research. By orienting to literacy as social we can engage with real world issues with reference to considerations of situated individual and group actions and interactions against the backdrop of the flow of time, cultural and social norms and values, government and institutional policy, and technological development. Of course our perceptions and analyses are necessarily ideological in that we all, as researchers, orient to particular perspectives and approaches. Thus the unpicking of the social in the different chapters not only allows for analyses but also lays bare the basis for critical responses by fellow

researchers and reflexive examination on the part of the authors themselves. The book ends with the four editors building on one of our final conversations with Brian about ways of retheorizing literacy today. What unfolds in the final section are our varied voices and perspectives on Brian's work – circling back to the book's key metaphor of meditations on life and literacies through jazz. Combining our discordant voices with hints of nostalgia, affection, and varied intellectual commitments, we continue conversations that will endure about the tremendous influence that Brian has had on the trajectory of literacy studies.

Throughout this book is woven revisitings and reimaginings of Brian's work over several decades. Brian thought and wrote in ways that were richly situated and a strong part of this richness derived from seeing language, practices, texts, histories, and contexts through the lens of ordinary people in their everyday lives (wherever across the globe they happened to be). Metaphorically, the theorizing that emerged from Brian's careful and ethical accounts of literacy as a social practice was a jazz performance in which everyone is invited to participate; to become "Lost in Meditation."

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PART I
Literacy as Social

Reflecting Back and Moving Forward

2
Fashioning Literacy as Social

David Bloome, Judy Kalman, and Matt Seymour

We use the phrase "fashioning literacy as social" to emphasize that defining literacy as social has been an evolving conversation about the nature of language, the relationships of people to each other with and through written language, and the social and cultural ideologies and power relations that are reflected, refracted, expressed and crafted in, around, and by uses of written language. These conversations have involved a broad range of scholars from diverse geographic and social locations who have studied the use of written language in particular historical and social situations. The fashioning of literacy as social has been grounded in and propelled by situated, ethnographic studies of the use of written language that have emphasized the particularity of what people in concert do with each other, and what they are doing with and through written language. As preface to our discussion of literacy as social, we examine how the use of written language has been represented and conceptualized among scholars located in a global context of asymmetrical relations across geographical regions, languages, and social, cultural, and historical contexts.

The word 'literate' has been used variously in English language dominant geographies (a) to distinguish an individual who knows how to read and write in designated ways from those who do not, (b) to distinguish someone who is knowledgeable about some subject from those who are not, and (c) to label and characterize some cultural groups as modern, civilized, and historical and others as not. So defined, literacy is an attribute applied to an individual and to a cultural group; creating binaries between literate and illiterate and between literate cultures and oral cultures. Literacy becomes a state of being (both for an individual and for a cultural group), with being literate associated with more advanced and abstract ways of thinking (e.g., Harris, 2009; Olson, 1977) and more complex and sophisticated ways of organizing civil society, education, economies, and other social institutions (e.g., Goody, 1975; Ong, 1982). Such uses of the word 'literacy' and 'literate' are problematic and have been critiqued extensively (e.g., Akinnaso, 1981; Assolini & Tfouni, 2006; Bloome et al., 2014; Graff, 1987; Kalman, 1999, 2008; Marinho, 2009; Moss, 1994; Reder & Davila, 2005; Scribner & Cole, 1981; Street, 1988). This critique has been grounded in ethnographic research studying the actual uses of written language in a broad range of situations, institutions, communities, and geographies, showing that people diversely use written language in sophisticated ways throughout and across the contexts of their everyday lives. The critique has further shown that the binaries listed above make invisible uses of written language other than those of the dominant social, cultural, and political groups and as such contribute to the false justification of a social, cultural, racial, and political hierarchy.

The English word 'literacy' translates problematically across languages. As Kress (2003) notes:

> [it is important] to be aware that other languages [other than English] do not have such a word [literacy]. They name the field differently: alphabetismus in German; alphabetisme, in French as in other romance languages. In languages which do not use a version of the alphabet, Chinese or Japanese for instance, quite different wordings exist: in Japanese, for instance, 'the recognition of letters' (mon-mou); in Chinese there are a range of phrases, for instance, 'know-character-ability', 'normal raise/bring-up', 'to have received education'.
>
> *(p. 22)*

It is not just that the word 'literacy' does not exist in many languages but rather how those language communities are fashioning conceptions of written language use and how they contextualize them ideologically does not necessarily follow those promulgated in English language dominant geographies.

Consider the translation of 'literacy' in Brazilian Portuguese. Until the mid 1980s, literacy was translated as 'alfabetização' (Soares, 2004). However, alfabetização, and other related concepts — 'alfabetizado': one that knows how to read and write, even if at a basic level; 'alfabetizar': to teach how to read and write — are mostly associated with connecting letters and sounds and denote processes of learning to read at early stages. These terms did not adequately account for conceptualizing literacy as situated and linked to the social uses and functions of writing in society, and what is involved in becoming capable of engaging in literacy practices in different social contexts. Consequently, the word 'letramento' was invented because of the necessity to recognize social practices involving more advanced and complex uses of written language beyond initial reading instruction connected to social and cultural ideologies (see Tfouni, 1995). Assolini and Tfouni (1999) argue that:

> para se chegar à compreensão de um texto, faz-se necessário atingir o funcionamento ideológico da linguagem e, para tanto, é preciso que o leitor estabeleça relações com a cultura, com a história, com a ideologia, enfim.[1]

Conceptualizing alfabetização and letramento together (cf., Soares, 2004) goes beyond simply including more sophisticated skills; rather it is a recognition that the social practices involving the use of written language need to be understood as incorporating reflection on culture, history, and ideology. It is to take seriously that every use of written language is inseparable from its social, cultural, and historical context and is essentially ideological, cultural, and political (cf., Freire, 2000; Heath, 1983, 2012; Luke, 1988; Street, 1985).

We continue by locating literacy in definitions of language as social. We then take up two key constructs: literacy events and literacy practices. Implied in the constructs of literacy events and literacy practices is that literacy is not monolithic nor a state of being. Often at the center of the political process of defining literacy is schooling. The schooling of literacy promulgates and naturalizes a hegemonic definition of literacy. Finally, we take up literacy as social and power relations; how the use of written language is implicated in the ongoing struggle over political, economic, and social hierarchies.

Language as Social

Underlying definitions of language as social is a rejection of a distinction offered by Saussure (1959) between language as a decontextualized, disembodied, idealized system (lange) and what people do with words in their everyday lives (parole). Defining language as social is to locate it wholly in how people use language (spoken, written, other) in their everyday lives with all of its complexities, contradictions, and irrationalities (for variations in defining language as social see Angermuller et al., 2014; Garcia et al., 2017).

Language as social is theorized at multiple scales. This is to say that language operates across times and spaces at varying degrees of magnitude, from immediate face-to-face interactions to broad societal planes of communication. Regardless of scale, language is located in people responding to each other both in the current moment and historically (e.g., Agha, 2007; Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Gumperz, 1982; Hymes, 1974; Vološinov, 1929; Wittgenstein, 1953). In their everyday uses of language, people engage others, construct social relations, and get things done. Language is social not just because a lexicon and grammar are shared with others, but because any use of language, any utterance or word, is always located in a social interaction within a social and historical context. Language is always a response to and refraction of utterances, words, and actions that have gone before, are anticipated, and always indexing various social and cultural contexts. As Vološinov (1929) explains, "[language] responds to something, objects to something, affirms something, anticipates possible responses and objection, and seeks support" (p. 95). Language and speech are inherently social because they are dialogic, comprised of multiple voices in constant juxtaposition as people interact with each another and the worlds in which they live (Bakhtin, 1981).

Literacy Events

Heath (1982) defines literacy events as "occasions in which written language is integral to the nature of participants' interactions and their interpretive processes and strategies" (p. 50) building on then recent developments in anthropological linguistics including the ethnography of communication (Gumperz & Hymes, 1972; Hymes, 1974). While the ethnography of communication and related directions in anthropological linguistics initially focused primarily on spoken language, the framework was also used in studies of the use of written language in various social settings (e.g., Cook-Gumperz, 1986; Hymes, 1981; Lillis, 2013; Street, 1985; Szwed, 1981). A hallmark of these studies was the unpacking of cross-cultural literacy events showing that cross-cultural misunderstandings could be traced to differences in how people from different cultural backgrounds used various of features of spoken and written language. The focus on cross-cultural differences in how, when, where, and with whom people used spoken and written language, was linked to broader social and historical contexts. For example, Heath's (1983, 2012) studies of the use of written language in three communities in the Carolinas that varied by race and class were contextualized by the social, racial, economic, and geographic history of the region, by school desegregation efforts in the United States, and nearly three decades of subsequent economic,

political, and cultural change.

Implied in the construct of literacy events is a shift from locating literacy as a quality of an individual to an attribute of a social event. Part of this shift recognizes that literacy is not monolithic nor is it a thing-in-and-of-itself. Even if there are some similarities within a 'genre' of social events, the particularities of any moment in any particular literacy event are going to involve some combination of a reflection and refraction of what has gone before (cf., Vološinov, 1929), the intertextuality and intercontextuality constructed by the people there (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993), and the indexing of multiple social spaces, contexts, and histories (Castanheira, 2013; Collins, 1995).

Literacy Practices

Street (2003) defines literacy practices as "social models of literacy that participants bring to bear upon those events and that give meaning to them" (p. 78). A literacy practice is an abstraction, a model of situated social actions with written language, inclusive of situated values, attitudes, emotions, and social relationships, that is enacted within literacy events (Barton & Hamilton, 1998). Compared to literacy events, the construct of literacy practices is a broader notion of patterned activities, an abstract term that implies both what is observable (actions and speech) as well as what can be inferred or reported (attitudes, beliefs, and ideologies) (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Kalman & Solares, 2018).

The construct of literacy practices supplants the notion of an autonomous model of literacy with what Street (1985) has named ideological models of literacy. While the autonomous model conceptualized literacy as a set of decontextualized and neutral skills, an ideological model holds that the use and the how of written language is defined by and rooted in multiple layers of social context and relations. As such, literacy is not monolithic, but inherently multiple. Literacy is always ideological and "embedded in socially constructed epistemological principles. It is about knowledge: the ways in which people address reading and writing are themselves rooted in conceptions of knowledge, identity and being" (Street, 2003, p. 78). The view of literacy as autonomous is a myth as it is, in fact, an ideological model of literacy held as if it were the only model of literacy and set of literacy practices; where actually in the social events of everyday life people employ a broad range of literacy practices reflective of diverse social ideologies.

Learning to Use Written Language

Schooling is just one of the social contexts where learning to read and write occurs. Before the rise of universal schooling, people learned to read and write in ways useful in their social and communicative contexts and through interacting with readers and writers in literacy events. Such is the case documented by Jouve Martín (2005) in his research on enslaved Africans in colonial

Perú. They learned various sets of literacy practices for defending themselves against abusive masters and identifying as community members (to the extent that their social condition permitted) through participating in religious ceremonies and completing civic duties.

In Europe and the American colonies, by the end of the eighteenth century, a broad range of literacy practices already had a place in popular culture. People wrote letters, kept diaries and records, and handbills were printed and circulated. Laqueur (1976) noted the existence of an "active literate culture during the eighteenth century, well before the coming of compulsory, universal schooling" (p. 255). Thompson (1963, in Cook-Gumperz, 1986, p. 28) noted that reading and writing were visible in nineteenth-century England where the "popular culture relied on both social and political material. Broadsheets, ballads, and political tracts provided a key means for political discussion and for recreation." Previous to widespread schooling, people learned to read and write in a variety of settings, such as home, church, artisan/labor guilds, and other informal groups.

The increasing use of written language among the working class was a cause for concern for the early nineteenth-century industrialists (Graff, 1981). At this time in England, the creation of public schools was opposed by the capitalists because they believed that literacy would lead workers to challenge the hierarchical organization of the political and economic structure that favored the wealthy. As it became apparent that workers were learning to read and write in a variety of ways and in a variety of contexts, a new argument for schooling appeared: the need to attend to the moral character of the working class and control their reading habits and practices. Furthermore, promoting school-based literacies was seen as a means to train and prepare the labor force for the increasing demand for factory workers. Schooling introduced and created a standardized, uniformed, and naturalized "autonomous" model of literacy (Cook-Gumperz 1986). Cook-Gumperz (1986) notes that "schooling in both Europe and in America was considered as a means of bringing popular literacy under the control of publicly organized school systems; how the making of literacy into a school-based skill changed forever the relationship of the majority of the population to their own talents for learning and for literacy" (p. 32). What resulted was a definition of literacy oriented to formalism: decoding and encoding text in particular ways, extracting bits of written text and contextualizing them in metalinguistic school performances, strict adherence to conventional spelling, recognition of standardized grammatical form and knowledge of expository text genres and mainstream literature. Specific texts with explicit moral and religious views were provided as the basis for learning and literacy became endowed with the power of enlightenment, 'self-improvement', discipline and goodness.

By the early twentieth century there was a movement for the professionalization of education and a push to be scientific, closely connected to evaluation and measurement systems that sought uniformity, regularity, standardization, and objectivity (Davidson, 2011). Schools became authorities of literacy 'standards' through the consolidation of their organizational, legal and institutional conditions. Standards, as used here, is a singular set of literacy practices and definition of literacy as a state of being; the institutionalization of an autonomous model of literacy.

Over the last twenty-five years or so, researchers have scrutinized school literacy and how it is

enacted in classrooms privileging the experiences of some students for the interpretation of written text while denying the experiences of others. For example, in a study of a Jamaican student in a literature class in the United States, Hull and Rose (1990) analyze his interpretations of a poem that the teacher interpreted as 'off'. The student's understanding was rooted in his immigrant experience (see also Gallego & Hollingsworth, 2000; Hull & Shultz, 2002). Similarly, Zavala (2002) examines how Quechua speaking indigenous *campesinos* in Peru resist and resignify standardized school literacies such as writing in the third person. A common thread in all of these works is a critique of a unified singular notion of literacy and a recognition of multiple literacies coupled with a deep commitment to making the complexities and situatedness of literacy visible.

Researchers have constructed an important body of knowledge on people's literacy practices in multiple domains (e.g., Barton et al., 2000; Moss, 1994). Through studying activities in diverse contexts, scholars have illustrated the plurality of ways participants use written language as resources for accomplishing their purposes. For example, in their study of the Vai, Scribner and Cole (1981) document how townspeople teach each other how to read and write a local syllabic script used by the community for personal exchanges, signs, and community notices. They describe people sitting in stoops in front of their homes, reading and writing together, explaining how the script works. Similarly, Nabi, Rogers and Street (2009) analyze literacy practices by street vendors, cooks and domestic help in Pakistan that are invisible to the observer at first sight. Zavala (2008) examines the social meaning of sending personal letters and packages to family members who have left rural towns to live in urban areas in Peru; Njie (2016) studies how women in Gambia with modest educational achievement use literacy in the context of earning a living, noting the social barriers they encounter for reading and writing. In each of these cases, the literacy practices are shaped by their contexts, social consequences, and the purposes of the participating people and what is conventional or 'correct' as determined by its situated use.

The Exercise of Power and Social Control Through Literacy Events and Literacy Practices

Who controls the use of written language requires defining power heuristically as both product and process (Blommaert, 2008; Zavala, 2002). Power as product refers to the exercise of force and coercion; power as process refers to the construction and promulgation of frameworks and ideologies that position particular literacy practices as the only 'rational' literacy practices. We first address the control of literacy events and literacy practices through power as product, then through power as process.

Power as Force and Social Control Through Literacy Events and Practices

Dominant social and economic institutions and actors have historically strived to exert social control and maintain social, economic, and political hierarchy through the production and regulation of how writing is used by whom to do what, when, where, and how, with what texts, and with what meaningfulness. We provide a few examples here (see also Archer & Costello, 1990; Blommaert, 2008; Bowman & Woolf, 1996; Street, 1992).

Ginzburg's (1992) historical study of the trial of an ordinary person who read banned books during the Italian inquisition in the sixteenth century illustrates the use of institutional power to control who reads what and who engages in what interpretive practices. Ginzburg found the transcripts of the trial of a miller who had read banned books and who had interpreted them in ways inconsistent with how the state and church demanded religious texts be interpreted. In order to point out why the miller was guilty of violating the law, the trial judges (clerics) had to make visible how it was that he had deviated from the required social practices of interpreting of written texts; in so doing the clerics made clear the underlying ideology of the state and church. Key to the judges' explication of the miller's guilt was the assumption that there was only one true way to interpret written text and those who deviated were not only in error but were engaged in doing evil and, if they persisted, they needed to be executed.

In the United States, enslaved Africans who sought to learn to read and write risked cruel punishments and possibly death (Williams, 2009; Woodson, 1919). For example, the General Assembly of North Carolina in 1831 passed the following law:

> if any slave shall hereafter teach, or attempt to teach, any other slave to read or write, the use of figures excepted, he or she may be carried before any justice of the peace, and on conviction thereof, shall be sentenced to receive thirty-nine lashes on his or her bare back.[2]

The historical legacy of such laws and actions post-Civil War by the state, powerful institutions, groups, and white people, is manifest in the denial of civil rights (Alexander, 2010), enforced school segregation (Klarman, 2006), the use of literacy tests to prevent African Americans from voting (Klarman, 2006), deficit models of African-American students learning to read and write, (Dixson & Rousseau, 2006; Perry, 2003), among other actions that were (and are) explicitly or implicitly backed with violence. One of the ways power is wielded over marginalized communities is to delegitimize their experiences and deny recognition of their forms of expression, including the validity of their literacy practices, ways of using written and oral language that contest and differ from those of dominant, white power structures and institutions (McHenry, 2002; Pendergast, 2003; Willis, 1995, 2008).

Despite laws such as those noted above, African Americans and others have used written language to contest the racist violence committed against them. For example, testimonies and essays written by African Americans prior to the Civil War show literacy practices as a means to contest and re-present history in ways counter to dominant narratives and accounts (e.g., Douglass, 1968; for discussion of literacy and counter narratives see Davis, 2011; Jackson, 2013; Morrison, 1995). Consider a letter written by Jarm Logue, twenty-six years after escaping slavery from the South of the United States who received a letter from the wife of his former 'owner', demanding he pay 1000 dollars reparation or be recaptured. Logue responds:

> If you or any other speculator on my body and rights, wish to know how I regard my rights, they need but come here and lay their hands on me to enslave me. Did you think to terrify me by presenting the alternative to give my money to you, or give my body to Slavery? Then let me say to you, that I meet the proposition with unutterable scorn and contempt. The proposition is an outrage and an insult. I will not budge one hair's breadth. I will not breathe a shorter breath, even to save me from your persecutions.
>
> *(Lettersofnote.com, 2012)*

Part of what is striking about Logue's response is the insight it provides about how 'natural,' 'rational,' and 'moral' enslavement was taken to be by whites that they assumed its acceptance by all including those who had been enslaved and against whom terrible violence had been committed.

Power as Hegemonic Ideology and the Control Of and Through Literacy Events and Practices

Any discourse, which we define here as a system of signs aligned with and expressing a particular social and cultural ideology (see Bloome et al., 2009), as an ideological set of ways of representing, embodying, acting, believing, and conceptualizing, is fashioned around a set of ideas, purposes and values at the expense of others (Fairclough, 1992; Lankshear & Knobel, 2011). Dominant literacy practices privilege some discourses (some readers, writers, and speakers) and marginalize others. If people view a particular set of literacy practices as the only legitimate and rational ways to use written language, then they will act in ways consistent with that ideology. Even those who are victims and suffer because of a hegemonic ideology may come to view that ideology as legitimate.

Historically, those sets of literacy practices associated with alphabetic orthographies have been viewed as a superior development in writing systems. Such a view supports an ideology that views European and Western cultures as more developed and superior to those elsewhere. Countering the hegemony of such an ideology is Boone and Mignolo's (1994) scholarship on pre-Hispanic writing in Mesoamerica. They show that each writing system experiences parallel development processes and transformations. Through the analysis of different types of encoded texts developed in Mesoamerica and the Andes, including hieroglyphics, pictographs, and knot tying systems (quipus), the authors examined how each writing system represented meaning, knowledge, connections to art, and the recording of precise historical events in the context of their societies. They document that the Europeans colonized pre-Hispanic systems of representation by conceptualizing them as a 'primitive' type of writing, materializing their imperialist and colonial ideologies. To decolonize them, it is necessary to accept the notion that writing as a system of representation is not necessarily anchored to speech and then consider pre-Hispanic writings as their own starting point, following their evolution over time and cultural spaces (see also Jiménez & Smith, 2008). Although scholarship such as Boone and Mignolo's undermines autonomous models of literacy that legitimate European hierarchy over Mesoamerican cultures, scholarship by itself does not necessarily overthrow a deeply-held and productive hegemonic ideology.

The schooling of literacy (discussed earlier) is one of the ways that dominant institutions promulgate a hegemonic ideology of an autonomous model of literacy. Under the guise of providing students with the skills of reading and writing, schooling promotes one set of literacy practices as the only set of literacy practices (marginalizing not only the literacy practices of non-dominant groups but also the people who use them) and redefines educational equity and social justice as the provision of an opportunity to acquire the literacy practices of dominant institutions. Part of the 'cost' of taking up that opportunity is accepting the set of values, identities, interpretive practices, and cultural models that are integral to the social, cultural, linguistic, and political ideology within which those literacy practices are embedded. In response, some scholars and activists have articulated counter literacy ideologies (e.g., Gilyard, 1996); others have redesigned literacy education to make the literacy practices of youth from marginalized communities visible, validated, and respected and have created bridges between cultural and linguistic practices of marginalized students and the school curriculum (e.g., Blackledge, 2000; Fisher, 2009; Gutiérrez et al., 1999; Kirkland, 2013; Lee, 2007; Martínez, 2017; McCarty, 2006; Saavedra, 2011). A related response in undermining the hegemony of autonomous models of literacy has been to refashion literacy practices in classroom settings as explicitly political, creating counter narratives that engage students in political action within and for their communities (e.g., Blackburn & Clark, 2007; Kinloch, 2010).

Final Comments

To view literacy as social, as opposed to an individual attribute, is to make essential to the theorizing of the use of written language the materiality of what people do with written language and how their uses of written language relate to their experiences, broader social and communicative practices, and their histories. Fashioning literacy as social makes visible the cultural, economic, and political ideologies that legitimize particular uses and meanings of written language while marginalizing others.

Too often, schooling has been used to promulgate a particular ideology of literacy that narrows what counts as legitimate uses of written language and of how written language means. In so doing, the schooling of literacy creates deficit models of particular populations, social, political, and cultural hierarchies, and alienates and excludes students from non-dominant communities. Yet, it must also be acknowledged that some teachers have found ways to conceptualize literacy as social in their classrooms and act upon such a view, even if they lack the technical jargon to so name and describe it. They create a classroom culture in which diverse sets of literacy practices and counter narratives from across social domains are valued, with students they interrogate the implications of particular literacy practices, and with students they fashion new literacy practices that have social, cultural, and political value for students and their communities. A question to ask is how, when, and where such fashionings of literacy practices can be institutionalized without losing their values, histories, ethics, and underlying ideologies.

Finally, what is at stake in defining literacy as social is how personhood is defined and acted upon. As Williams (1977) notes, "A definition of language is always, implicitly or explicitly, a definition of human beings in the world" (p. 21). Defining what a human being is, who is human, what kinds of human beings there are, and what qualities and rights are inherent to what categories of being human, is continuously being constructed and negotiated in and through people's use of spoken and written language as they engage each other in their everyday lives. Just as personhood can be denied and constrained by how written language is used, it can also be reasserted and crafted embracing an ethics of dignity and social justice.

Notes

1 (Google translation to English) "in order to get to the comprehension of a text, it is necessary to achieve the ideological functioning of the language and, to this end, the Reader must establish relations with culture, with history, with ideology."

2 From http://www.historyisaweapon.com/defcon1/slaveprohibit.html accessed on January 4, 2018.

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3

Literacy as a Social Practice

New Realities and New Models

Gunther Kress and Jennifer Rowsell

Introduction

Over the many years in which Brian Street was for us both friend and colleague, we came to know someone for whom an academic project was one way of "being in the world"; and for whom "being in the world" was the foundation of his academic project. His interest in the people he met was not a matter of being an ethnographer from 9 to 5, nor, after that, a question of being friend, lover of jazz, and, as bon vivant ("light"), pulling the cork and sharing the bottle of red, after 5.30 in the afternoon. He had, quite simply, an interest in people and life, generous, open, and serious with all that. For us, the two were always present. It was what made him endearing, fun to be with, and hugely influential as an academic and writer.

Whether academic or bon vivant, he was absorbed in questions around reading and writing as social issues and as *social practices*. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, living in an Iranian village, he conducted a research study in Iran that later became his well-known book. In observing practices of reading and writing, he noticed how embedded "literacy" was in the life of the community and what a significant part of the community's life it was. As a budding ethnographer, he did fine-grained work documenting the social "goings-on". That work strongly brought into relief how history is both embedded and emergent in practices around reading and writing.

He became aware, that "there was already a long tradition of forms of education and literacy in rural Iran, so that urban educators were not simply working on unsophisticated or "uneducated" minds" (cf. Arasteh, 1960; Street, 1995, p. 41). In his accounts, he talked about how the villagers were already accustomed to educational traditions imparted through the *maktabs*, and in many cases these were supplemented by local "reading groups", in which people gathered at each other's homes to read *surahs* of the Qur'an and passages from the commentaries, as a basis for discussion and interpretation. Brian talked about how these processes "provided the basis for village literacy well before western-style and state interventions" (Street, 1995, p. 41). In this observation he suggests the opposition – fundamental and potent in shaping his thinking – of two

versions of literacy, the "autonomous" and the "ideological". "Autonomous" because it was not homegrown, not the product of local practices but "foisted on" a society, a "state-imposed intervention", of the "western-style", brought from outside. Against that there was the local form, definitely historically and socially embedded, hence "ideological" in that it reflected the meanings of the locality. But, ideological also meant that as literacy is shaped around the practices that people enact in their everyday lives, it "documents" practices which then have effects in shaping conceptions of the social. The adjective "autonomous" indicated that it was unconnected, alien; while "ideological" suggested that shaped by local practices as it had been, it could not be other than "ideological".

Power is evident in both: in the "ideological" and in the "autonomous." That is, we would argue that the state's imposition of its preferred form is no less ideological than the (less visible) ideology of the naturalized, traditional form. After all, the "educational traditions imparted through the *maktabs*, … in many cases… supplemented by local 'reading groups'" (Street, 1995, p. 41) had also, at some time come from outside, even if in a more distant history. Certainly, the characteristics of the two ideologies differed, as did their potency and effects. Each of the two had and still has institutional support relevant to *what it is* and *what it offers* – whether in Iran now, in the UK, or anywhere.

We use the opposition of "autonomous" and "ideological" to connect with Brian Street's ethnographic "take", with its *overt* focus on practices and the more *implicit* focus on structures. When he was doing his ethnographic work in Iran, he noticed that each drew on, entailed, and implied particular social arrangements and distinctive practices in the use of the resource of literacy. From this we hypothesize that social practices always produce noticeable differences in the *uses* and *forms* of literacy. In other words, the ethnographer is aware of the close inter-relation of "the social", with uses of the literate resources, and the resultant forms.

It is now more than 30 years since the first appearance, in published form, of Brian's work. In "the West", these 30-odd years have witnessed deep changes in "the social", that is, in social structures, practices and in arrangements of power, so much so that in many ways that past is barely recognizable in any of the defining characteristics of "the social" of the present. With the changes in "the social" have come, as just suggested, corresponding deep changes in the contemporary landscape of communication. It differs profoundly from that of the early 1980s, certainly in Western Europe and across the "western world" more widely. We make no comment on Iran – though some uses and effects of "social media", as one example, seem similar. The older social landscape is barely recognizable within our contemporary social landscape.

Our assumption is that "echoes" of the characteristics of social changes will be evident in the uses and practices of literacy. That gives rise to two questions. First, "What are the characteristics of the social and the ideological at the moment, and how are they evident in literacy practices?" The communicational landscape (as a reflection/effect in some way of the contemporary social) is profoundly different. And second, "Is the frame, are the tools, is the conception of Literacy Studies which Brian Street shared with many others around the world, still able to account for and deal with these differences?" (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Bloome, 1987; Heath, 1983).

The nature, properties, materialities and immaterialities that constitute literacy/communication

may have shifted, some might say dramatically, but its bedrock state has not changed. To that end we look at two very different kinds of examples. One illustrates social change and corresponding change in the means of communication/literacy; the other shows examples of the relation of present social factors and contemporary forms and means of "literacy". Our first example is the genre of the "Friendship Book", and its development over two decades or so. Our second example is the briefest, merely speculative look at two forms of contemporary media: Snapchat and Instagram. Our aim here is not to present the results of in-depth research; rather we want to illustrate a point that might help us to formulate a question about New Literacy Studies *now*.

Our discussion begins with a brief account of *social change* evident in *changes in literacy practices* in one specific genre over two decades. It then moves to examples in *contemporary (social) media*. From there we take a brief look at one change in "compositional principles", namely, from the *linear text* to the *modular text*. That permits us to take a retrospective look at traditional texts, consider social change and conclude with a look ahead.

Literacy Practices in the Contemporary World of Communication: A Brief History, and Brief Prospect

Three changes are particularly relevant to focus on in relation to our question. First and foremost, there is the *social* change from the *dominance of the state* to the *dominance of the neo-liberal market*. It has wrought a profound change in conceptions of identity: from that of *citizen* (of the state) to that of *consumer* (in the market). Second, there are changes in the use of resources for making meaning. Over a 30-year period, broadly, *image* has become, in many social domains, *a* or even *the* dominant means for making meaning. *Image* is displacing *writing* in many domains of social action and interaction as the central resource for making meaning. Third, in the contemporary media of communication, the digitally enabled *screen* is becoming, or has already become, the dominant means of (production and) dissemination of meaning-as-texts.

From Linearity to Modularity in Literacy Practices

Each of these changes has its effects, differently, in communication and *in*, *on*, and *around* "literacy". The first of these has had enormous effects on access to *agency*, and on distribution of power, especially in relation to *convention*. In as far as social relations are affected, there is, as just one example, the effect on *genres*. Take, as two brief examples, the change from a – usually handwritten – *letter* to a member of my family or a friend, to the *email*. Or take the change from a formal *letter* to my local authority: an exchange between myself as *citizen* and a governmental body, to my *email* response (often now as a routinized response to a *form*) to the privatized water company, electricity supplier, etc. It is an exchange, now, between myself as "consumer" and the

company as "commercial provider". The second change has effected not only the relative frequency of the use of *writing* and *image*, but *what* tends to be communicated and *how* issues are communicated. For many individuals now – and no longer only the younger members of social groups – some experience, or event, is communicated via an image. Often it is the image alone. Sometimes it is an image accompanied by a *caption* or *heading*, less often by a brief written comment. This adaptation has brought changes to the principles of composition. *Linearity* is giving way to *modularity*: from *lines* of writing, to two *modular elements*, one of image, one of writing. That has deep effects on epistemology and ontology. Something *shown* – whether a dish ordered in a restaurant, or a sunset – is ontologically different to something *written* to be read.

The third change, from *page* to *screen*, affects the means of production of *messages*/*texts*, as well as the means for their *distribution* and *reception*. In this latter respect it has far-reaching effects on notions of authority; and in particular on conceptions of "veracity". The new media have had and continue to have a corrosive effect on traditional forms of the social in the domain of the *public sphere*. There exists, now, no conception of "the public sphere" in the Habermasian sense (Habermas, 1985). Habermas had assumed that debates conducted in the "public domain" via the major, dominant (largely print) media, could and did establish a settled sense, broadly understood by members of a society, around significant issues in that society. The contemporary "social media" act to amplify the corrosion of conceptions of "society", brought about through the effects of neo-liberal politics. The traditional media had relatively well-known and well-understood means of identifying "speakers" and "locating" the points of origin of messages – these are entirely missing with the "social media".

"The social", now, has a different meaning than that which it had in the last century. In the past, "social" implied a physical collective, often locally proximal and joined by common values and causes, supported by gatherings of some ritual kind. People gathered in a place like a church or local meeting area; or met in more informal gatherings in coffee houses. All these represent now antiquated notions of "the social". There was an "in situ feel": recalling Brian's fieldwork in Iran in the marketplace, Mosque, or in the "British School", where *social* practices or *social* mediations involved conversations, actions, and a general sharing of ideas, beliefs and such. Ontologically, this meant learning together through some embodied, physical connections and talk. Such habits, physical and discursive, often involved texts that navigated and mediated practices and thinking. Contemporary notions of "the social" differ profoundly: they involve sharing through digitally produced, modular texts: often remixes of other texts (e.g., a picture with a caption or a semiotic shift like a moustache on a picture for levity or a circle to highlight an aspect of the picture). Today, social practices frequently happen in virtual spaces, with participants, more often than not physically present. Modularity, virtual spaces, realized in asynchronous temporal patterns, guide social activities. That "social" involves, "to get a meaning across", tacitly and deeply, the work of design engaged by many people.

That strikes us as deeply different from Brian's notion of "the social". Both models are relational, but their compositional features and their space-time characteristics are fundamentally different.

At the same time the *space* of the screen is used as resource for production in distinctive ways,

once in the move from *linearity* to *modularity*, and once as a semiotic resource for indicating relations between meaning-elements and their significance. All this has changed and is continuing to change the compositional principles of texts. Taken together with social changes, the effects on social relations are far-reaching: from the kinds of genres (as indicators of social relations) to the possibility of forms of interaction given present challenges to notions of factuality and truth.

In his work, whether in the UK, the US and elsewhere, in "the West", as indeed initially in Iran, Brian had been concerned with "writing" (Barton et al., 2000; Lea & Street, 1998, 2006), in different settings, for different purposes. That was the case whether he was working in Ethiopia, or in different parts of the Indian sub-continent; in his work for various NGOs; for UNESCO, and so on. For Brian as ethnographer, the social and geographical world of literacy was one world, whether he was engaged with groups of women in Bangladesh or with small traders in Ethiopia. The common focus was writing as "literacy".

When we look, let's say, at communication in "the West" now, "writing" is no longer necessarily the central means in (non-face-to-face) communication. Indeed, in the present era of globalization, one remarkable fact both for the sociologist and for the ethnographer might well be the continuation of *local* differences in uses and forms of writing, as well as their locally different development. The kinds of writing, the environments for writing, the speed and the direction of changes – as in (e.g. the multimodal) *constitution of texts* and the *genres* of texts – are likely to be marked by great geographical and social differences, notwithstanding the efforts towards uniformity ("autonomous literacy" again) by bodies such as UNESCO, and others. Differences persist, much like those which characterized the traditional ("ideological") forms of literacy in Iran, or, for that matter, in the Oxford of "then". The resources used for representation and communication, have changed, though by no means equally across the globe – as Brian was at pains to show.

When we think of communication *now*, we need to think as much of "the what", "the with what", as of "the how". That is, what needs to be investigated much more are issues such as "who has access to and uses for what purpose 'social media' to engage in meaning production?" The phenomenon of "social media" cannot be ignored in questions around "literacy". The media of digitally enabled *screens* – of various kinds and sizes – are both *unmaking* the social relations that sustained traditional media while *newly shaping* social domains with specific characteristics and relations.

The contemporary use of a multiplicity of resources for making meaning, differs widely from the traditional (seemingly) sole use of writing. The semiotic domain of many of these multiple resources is as yet a relatively under-described, under-documented and hence ungoverned space in its make-up and its use. Unless we look at special domains and specialist social practices, pages are less and less common. Screens – digitally enabled – seem more amenable to image than to writing, though much writing continues to happen on screens. Where it does, the fundamental affordances of the use of *space* in making meaning are beginning to shape aspects and forms of writing. In their organization, texts on screens are moving away quite dramatically from the *line* of the written or printed text; moving away from linearity toward the quite different

organizational principle of *modularity*.

In other words, in social organization and processes, in the kinds of resources used for making meaning, in the principles for making texts, for producing texts-as-messages and for their dissemination, there have been far-reaching changes. They are ongoing; by no means have they reached an endpoint.

It is in this context that we ask ourselves whether the formulations and questions of "(New) Literacy Studies" as Brian Street developed them, can, do, in their present conception continue to provide useable accounts for text-making, meaning-making and communication in contemporary western societies. Brian Street did emphasize that the "New" in "New Literacy Studies" referred to theories and not to the objects studied per se. This is a key distinction. The question remains: "Do these accounts still 'work' in relation to literacy practices as we find them now, in contemporary societies, whether in the anglo-phone world or in the world beyond?" "Do we need to think whether there is a need to name, newly, the academic enterprise of "New Literacy Studies", while taking stock of what is presently encompassed by that term?"

We are clear that one underlying characteristic of "New Literacy Studies" continues: namely that the characteristic organizational forms and practices of societies provide (the often implicit) "guidelines" for the use of the resources in the making of texts. These guidelines allow selecting and shaping of resources to be used to match the requirements of the occasions of communication. These large social frames around uses and understandings of communication include the participants and the relevant social features of the environment. Communicational forms are shaped by social uses and practices; their meanings and significance are not intrinsic to them.

A Bygone Literacy Practice: The Poesie Book

To make our point we look at two examples. One, looking backward, a simple, "homely", example of a "literacy practice": the "Poesie book" (its Dutch name; the Stammbuch, its German name; the Friendship Book in English). The other, very much of this moment, shows examples from contemporary social media "apps", Snapchat and Instagram. It is not our intention to provide detailed analysis of either set. Rather, we wish to use them as a means on which to build our argument about the intricate relation of "the social" and forms and practices of communication: to point at certain features which we regard as being in need of close consideration.

Friendship Books (as best we know, they are still available and in use in some places) were small books into which a "friend" might (be asked to) write a message – maybe adding a picture (by drawing, or sticking a bought example in the book), as a kind of memento.

The example brings together the whole range of considerations that the notion of "literacy practice" draws in. The example is not exhaustive nor comprehensive, but illustrative of specific literacy practices. First, it was an unremarkable, common practice, in the not too distant past: formalized, ritualized. It involved the social practice of asking a friend to leave a message in the

book owned by the person asking. The kinds of message were highly conventional, both as genre and in content. The "content" was somewhere between "edifying" and humorous. The genre might be "poem" or "brief comment". There was a choice whether to add an image to the written part or not; and if there was an image, there was a choice of subject matter, as well as the question of production: newly drawn for the occasion or pre-bought and stuck in.

We look at two-times-two examples from two periods, separated by about 30 years. We indicate what seem criterial aspects of each and discuss significant differences in relation to "Literacy practices".

Roughly two decades separate these two examples from the following two. The 1977 Friendship book had plain, empty pages. On the double-page shown (as throughout this book) the left-hand page is blank. The writing on the right-hand page and the drawing form a carefully constructed whole; care is taken to "centre" the composition on the page. The handwriting is no doubt the young writer's "best writing"; equally without doubt, great care was taken by her in the drawing of the vase and the flowers.

FIGURE 3.1 16 March 1977.

The written text

Sei standhaft im Guten / und Treu in der Pflicht /
Wenn lockt die Versuchung / So folge ihr nicht
Zur Erinnerung an Deine Freundin R M

A rough translation

Be steadfast in Good / and reliable in your Duties /
When Temptation beckons / do not give in to it
To remember your friend .....

The text is very likely a popular "saying", in the form of a simple four-line rhyming structure. It is "edifying", suggesting an ethically uplifting path for all of life. The poem is unlikely to have been composed by the young writer; it is likely to have been part of the "cultural store" for such occasions.

The two examples show their conventionality, in many ways: care in writing and in drawing;

edifying poems/sayings; convention in using space; a carefully constructed composition overall.

The second example in the first pair, Figure 3.2, shows significant differences in the *subject* of the drawing and in the use of *colour*. The image shows a 10-year old girl, with plaits, sitting on a cushion on the grass. The maker of the drawing has used stronger, more saturated colours; so there is a contrast between the first and the second examples in terms of the colour schemes. The dedications differ: in the first case "to remember your friend RM", (given name, followed by family name); in the second case "your school-friend PH", (family name, followed by given name); with place and date at the bottom.

FIGURE 3.2 18 March 1977.

The written text

Was Du nichts lernst / aus Mutterhand

Das lernst Du mit /

Traenen im fremden Land

Deine Schulfreundin.

Neufelden, am 18/3/77

A rough translation

That which you don't learn / at your mother's hand You will learn with/

tears, in a foreign land

Convention provided a frame within which it was possible to express differences: in this case of *topic*, *formality* (evident in the ordering of *given name* and *family name)*, and of *affect*. We can say that the compositions overall are suffused with an aesthetic of taking care, getting things right, of coherence in style of hand-writing and of drawing; of making the page beautiful, in all the dimensions evoked.

From "Ideological" to "Autonomous" Literacy Practices: From Traditional Forms of Composing To Cloze Procedure and

Administrivia

Our second two examples come from successors of the Friendship Books, some 32 years later. Again we have selected two examples, to show that each of the two now "fits" into or comes out of quite a different set of conventions.

We start with a point which may not seem all that relevant to the issue of Literacy Practices: namely, the impression of the "great care taken" in the first two examples. It is a dominant impression in the first set of two entries; in the second set that has disappeared. Both "domains" and genres have changed entirely: from the domain of the aesthetic and the genre of poetry, to "administration", evident in the *genre* of the questionnaire. Were we interested in aesthetics, we might say that these later entries are examples of an aesthetic of "high informality". Care in production is not a feature.

Here too there is coherence, or maybe homology among elements provided: layout, writing, drawing, colour. The *genre* of the cartoon (drawing) dominates; its notion of "fun" is expressed in the drawings, and mimicked in forms of "fun" language – somewhat difficult to translate – an adult's striving to appeal to a child; characterized by an attempt to avoid "seriousness" at all costs. Nevertheless, the young person whose book we see in Figure 3.4 has taken advantage of one aspect of the book's "openness": she has used *colour* freely as a means of expression.

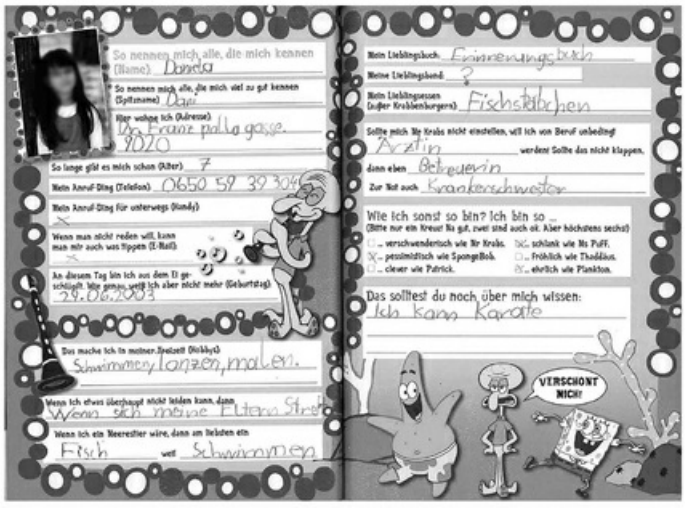

FIGURE 3.3 7-year-old girl, 2009.

Here, simply to give a "flavour" (suggested by the adult producers of the questionnaire) of children's interests, is a selection of the headings/categories which fill the double page.

Name: Daniela // What do your friends call you: Dani //
Where do you live? // How long have you been around?" (i.e. "what is your age?")
// Your home telephone? ..... // On this day I slipped out of the egg (i.e. "birth date")//
Hobbies // Something I absolutely cannot stand //

Favourite food // What do you want to be when you're grown up?//

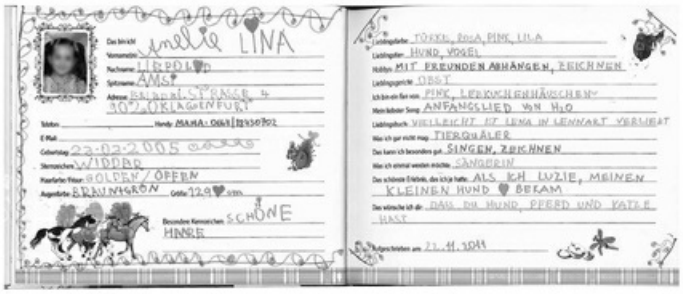

FIGURE 3.4 5-year-old girl, 2009.

The sparseness – the invitation offered by the empty space – is a core element of the aesthetic of the Friendship Books of 1977. The blank pages opened the door, to a certain extent, to agency in constructing/expressing one's identity. By contrast, the *form* of the questionnaire, pre-printed with pre-given categories, assumes agency of a very different kind – as a kind of social cloze-procedure. If we were to use the categories of "autonomous" and of "ideological", the two books here would fit the first without doubt. The choice offered is that of completing a questionnaire, of constructing identity in terms of fixed, pre-given categories. It is tempting to see the books from the 2000s as stuff imposed from the ideology of the neo-liberal society and its market, foisted on the community. The smell of Big Data in the service of marketization of everything hangs heavily in the air. Everything is pre-given; very little of significance is left to the agency of the individual. Identity is defined in terms of categories useful to treat the individual as consumer.

Seemingly at least, by comparison, the books from the 1970s leave the issue of identity more open. Yet *within* each one of the pair of examples from the 1970s, what is made evident on the page is knowledge around ethics, aesthetics and a discourse of social mores. These books show evidence of a specific and shared discourse of aesthetics – in images, in the placement of the poem-image, in the composition of the page, in handwriting, in colour; and of ethics, in the content of the poems. The images are evidence – by inference – of a certain kind of identity of the makers of the pages: even though it is only evident through the minimal making of the entries into the book, in the writing and drawing, in the "care" displayed. The values are internalized, and, in that, the knowledge leading to practices has become invisible. It "works" by being so.

Three decades later, there is still a degree of similarity: in topic, in genre, no doubt in conformity to gender conceptions as well (the later examples were completed by 5- and 7-year-old girls). Yet the agency assigned to the two young women in the 1970s examples is entirely different to that assumed for the two people from the later pair. In the books from the 2000s, that which is meant to be known and meant to be done is made overt or is pre-done.

We might say, about the two pairs of examples, that in each case "representation" – a term which has no place in New Literacy Studies – is regulated. The practices were not "ungoverned" in either of the two periods: they were regulated. In the earlier pair of examples, meaning-resources such as *colour* and *image* were available, and were used.

The 1977 books seem to show evidence of a specific and shared discourse of aesthetics – in

images, in the placement of the poem-image, in the composition of the page, in hand-writing, in colour; and of ethics, in the content of the poems. The images are evidence of a certain kind of identity of the makers of the pages: even though it is only in the minimal making of the entries into the book, in the writing and drawing, in "care". In the two examples from 2009, discourses pre-exist on the page: a discourse of administration, of "fun" – expressed in the illustrations and the colours used – and a discourse of identity as a certain kind of agency, expressed in the pre-given materials on the page which are demanding predictable responses.

Modularity, Ideology, and Social Media

We move now to discussion of our later examples; when we have done that we will return to the question: "How is all this about 'Literacy Practices'"?

In moving on to the contemporary period, we consider two examples from specific social media: two from Snapchat and one from Instagram. We have chosen these two genres, or platforms, of social media to illustrate the shift in communication, in meanings of social, and to speculate on Brian's terms autonomous and ideological.

Figure 3.5 shows a mother and daughter swapping chats; Figure 3.6 shows a compilation of four Snapchat images. The social media "app" Snapchat is interesting in relation to literacy practices, perhaps more so than others, for two reasons. In consideration of Facebook that gives equal status to writing and image, in principle at least, Snapchat takes image to be the basic form. Thinking about Figure 3.5, it represents two separate, but inextricably linked messages sent within seconds of each other that are visually and materially relational; they do so through visual means and employ a shared aesthetic. Swapping these chats required no print or words, but instead materialities or physical features (a dog's face and cat ears) and in this instance, what the exchange says by the sender, a mother (Jennifer), *how are you?* and daughter, *hi – I am fine* (Madeleine – Jennifer's daughter). Materialities here refer to the fact that modes are shaped by individuals who use material, physical matter, to make things. This is an ephemeral literacy/visual event. It possesses many of the qualities of oral exchanges, though through visual means. As a means of communication, it is relatively foreign to

FIGURE 3.5 Mother and daughter on Snapchat.

FIGURE 3.6 Four Snapchat images.

the mother; while for the daughter, it is a tacit, by now naturalized practice. Of course, images do not mean the same thing to everyone and if words were introduced here, then there would be competing communicational systems. Yet, Snapchat functions on a multimodal, modular logic and as such, literacy in the form of words has a secondary role. Words add to the meaning overall, but they are not the dominant mode.

In terms of the social dimension, mother and daughter were geographically far apart, but

temporally in step: synchronous in communicating a message. Returning to the issue of how we described the matter of "the *social*" earlier, mother and daughter did not pick up the phone and tell each other something, or even text each other to say that all is fine. Rather, they used images as their means of communication rather than speech or writing. The communicator is cast as a designer as is the design of the recipient: the designs are relational. In Brian Street's terms, their designs are shaped by context and relational understandings and hence, are inevitably ideological.

The photos are whimsical and meant to be cute, comical, yet the two communicators know clearly what they are "conveying" to each other (no printed words exchanged). Visuals appear and disappear – like words spoken that fade into the air. Images are fast and frenetic with the viewer watching chains of images that can stretch over days – swapping chats in a streak. Given that images appear and then quickly disappear, the image chains are never the same in nature and meaning. Snapchat "updates" now offer "snapmaps" which allow people to locate friends and family geographically and spatially. There is a sense of being in-the-moment, with snapchats as a literacy practice that resembles Brian Street's *maktab* literacies in that words can be spoken in the marketplace and then disappear from record: there is no way of storing the knowledge acquired from such exchanges, rather they *are*, very much in a Heideggerian sense, *in the moment* (Heidegger, 1953). Yet as one unravels their modularity and complexity, this communicational practice starts to expose some of the fundamental questions, probings, and provocations that contemporary literacy researchers are asking about the importance of post-humanism (Kuby & Gutshall Rucker, 2016; Kuby & Rowsell, 2017) (think about the superimposition of a dog face and cat ears alongside) and a need for much greater accounts of the non-representational and emotions that swirl about in these visual texts (Leander & Boldt, 2013; Ehret & Hollett, 2016; Ehret et al., 2016). With snapchat, there can be a never-ceasing exchange of visuals that we do not recognize as two people from different generations. Is it an "ideological practice" in Brian Street's terms? It is certainly social as noted above. It is connective and relational. It is shaped by practices and there is agency in its design and production. Given Brian Street's argument that the autonomous model disguises the cultural and ideological assumptions that underpin literacy, what do we make of Snapchat? But, at the same time there is a thorny issue about whether social media is an alien model/practice imposed from outside, universalized influences (i.e., an autonomous model), or, is it a model or practice that is shaped around everyday, lived practices? Snapchat is ideological, just as all utterances are ideological in some sense. Nonetheless, it also depends on different conditions or variables such as if and when people access or are even interested in social media – is it part of their ways of knowing and experiencing the world? Also, it depends on the specific genre or platform of social media.

We return to a phrase that we used earlier because we believe, profoundly, that it is the case: something *shown* is ontologically different to something *written* to be read. This relates to Snapchat and to the next example, Instagram. The combined facial expressions with the superimposed materialities convey something quite different from sending a text or email or calling a friend or family member on the phone. If we look closer at the Snapchat exchange, the "mum character" does not entirely understand the logic and is clearly not fluent in the forms of Snapchat because she is not matching her expression with the cat ear materialities, whereas the

daughter has fluency by sticking her tongue out and matching expression with materialities. Harking back to the friendship book which functioned on a different, more linear logic, the mum character/Jennifer would probably have more fluency of thought and expression with the written narrative, whereas the daughter character/Madeleine might not have as much fluency of thought and expression with words and phrases as she would with materializing visual effects in Snapchat.

Another example of snapchatting can be seen in the four images below as a series of snapchats in Figure 3.6. It is possible to modify the four images in several ways (including by means made available by the app), such as drawing over the images (as in Sunny SF, or in the arrow pointing to St Paul's Cathedral) or modifying the image by adding a written overlay (as in St. Paul's Cathedral). However, with this "app" a point has been reached where the *visual* is the base of the message, and *writing*, now, is an addition, an overlay. The four images below reflect the ideas of the local, or, at least the viewers experiences of the local as a sequence of experiences.

The second point is that Snapchat stores the images taken, and at the end of the day it will sequence these in what the "app" calls a "story". It is, or certainly can be, "a story" without words. "Story" has until now, in "the West", been a genre of either *speech* or *writing* (though *film* can be and is seen as story). While it is entirely possible to see "story" here as a metaphor it is also possible to see it as a renewed and early point in a development of communication which does not draw on writing, or speech. Although there have been for some time wordless picture books and schooling practices where children sort images, we would argue that these practices were largely linear in the traditional sense and did not entail as much modularity as social media or converged texts (Jenkins, 2006). The Snapchat examples clearly show that it is a social practice; it is a situated (literacy?) practice which recognizes the here and now in the everyday (Street, 1984). The question is, do we regard this as an example of "literacy"? In 1995, Brian Street predicted these kinds of (usually unacknowledged) shifts: "the new ethnographies of literacy tell us that people can lead full lives without the kinds of literacy assumed in educational and other circles" (Street, 1995, p. 124). To understand literacy, in Street's terms, is to turn our gaze to the social uses and functions of literacy in relation to how we live and communicate.

A Brief Look at Instagram as an Ideological Practice

Another social media app, Instagram, is an image-based social media forum that looks like a photo album of people's lives, interests, emotions, tastes – a sedimentation of aspects of identity (Rowsell & Pahl, 2007). Instagram functions like an expanded version of a selfie. As a social practice, Instagram makes a statement about an individual's identity and, like the poesie book and Snapchat, Instagram is relationally driven. There are sets of literacy practices that one learns by using Instagram (neither author is on Instagram, so we base this on our own observations and analyses). Instagram serves as a useful counterpoint to Snapchat in that it is not ephemeral. It is ideological in Brian Street's sense in some ways because it sets out a series of visual statements

each with their sets of ideas, discourses, and materialities that foreground a sense of the local. Most importantly, Instagram, often, is rooted in knowledge that an agent wishes to share. Though this might sound like a utopian version of the social media vehicle, typically, people on Instagram want to say something to the viewer: this is who I am, what I feel, what I am experiencing, how I am feeling, etc. Is this not an assertion of a way of knowing and being in the world? It strikes us that Brian Street would agree with such an assertion and indeed that these pages reveal important, rhetorically valid material. Like Snapchat, Instagram functions through a series of visuals with some words, but largely it is meant to be a canvas. Take our final image, Figure 3.7, of a young girl sharing news about a trip with friends. Some of the images show beach scenes in Australia whilst others show her in a museum or with her close friends larking about, but the essence of the series of images says – this is me, what do you think? Where we might write emails or maybe even a card or letter, this young woman functions and thinks through the visual modular as an ideological practice.

FIGURE 3.7 Creating an image on Instagram.

Perhaps one of the more significant aspects of this communicational practice as well as Snapchat, YouTube, and other modular forms of communication is the feeling that people's lives are at your fingertips – facts too are always close at hand. On a global scale, the capacity by anyone to find information through their fingers has become so ingrained as a social practice that to some extent debating whether something is autonomous or ideological may well be a moot point.

Looking Forward

We asked earlier whether the formulations and questions of "(New) Literacy Studies" as Brian Street developed them,[1] can in their present conception continue to provide useable accounts for text-making, meaning-making and communication in contemporary western societies. And we asked "do we need to think whether there is a need to name, newly, the academic enterprise of 'New Literacy Studies', taking stock of what is presently encompassed by that term?"

We do not wish to, nor can we answer that question here. We do think that there is a need to ask such questions; and in writing this, we have had very much in mind what Brian Street might have said, and how he might have said it. He did seem to be clear that to understand literacy is to turn our gaze to the social uses and functions of literacy in relation to how we live and communicate. Should we substitute "communication" for "literacy"?

The term "new" surely does not fit anymore, or, does it? Ehret (2018) goes some way in helping us think through the ways that New Literacy Studies as originally cast with a strong focus on social practice might need to change in the face of these communicational repertoires. Ehret refers to the subtle, fleeting, gentleness of qualities within social practices that might go unnoticed unless someone takes a more intensive look. Say, for instance, a soft melody coupled with harsh lyrics or the use of colour, posture, position of the young woman in the Instagram post signalling a stance or statement. Some of these elements admittedly involve representations and expressions, however, some of them entail non-physical, ephemeral, non-material entities such as feelings and emotions that are associated with them that we innately know are profound, well crafted, and exhibit competence, but there is not a represented thing to read or to look at. As Ehret expresses it, "But, the epistemological constraint of coming to know literacy events only in their relation to durable practices … has meant that the feeling of social life that resists such representations has remained a powerfully unknown force flowing outside the logic of the field's representationally bound theoretic tools" (Ehret, 2018, p. 4). There is truth in the dearth of non- representational work in New Literacy Studies. That is, there are greater forces at work in the simplest of literacy events. Think about someone carefully crafting an email to a friend who has recently been ill. Or, texting a picture of a momentous event to a family member. Or, playfully snapchatting with your daughter to find out how she is doing.

Brian foresaw these movements and always had the flexibility to adapt and to debate issues at hand. In his words: "Research, then, I believe, has a task to do in making visible the complexity of local, everyday, community literacy practices and challenging dominant stereotypes and myopia" (Street, 2001, p. 7). For the two of us, a central question now is this: while the properties, materialities and principles that constitute literacy have shifted dramatically, does its bedrock state remain unchanged?

To conclude, we return to a 1997 article that Brian Street wrote in *English in Education* in which he mused: what would happen if a visiting Martian came to witness the "arcane debates about literacy, language and learning that appear in the public domain in contemporary British and American society"? (Street, 1997, p. 45). He continued this musing by providing an account – for 1997 – of the uses of literacy as fundamental to society or, in his words, "literacy is the basics, the ground on which other social practices in modern society rest" (Street, 1997, p. 46). This bold statement is largely true today. Apply the same musing of an anthropologist's gaze on a visiting

Martian documenting contemporary literacy practices today and there certainly would not be analogous observations in 2018, nonetheless, there would undoubtedly be a sense that literacy remains *the ground on which other social practices in modern society rest*. Brian Street's work was instrumental in asserting the social grounding of literacy and freeing it from more universalist, rigid framings, and instrumental in allowing us to be in the world with him to see, sense, and understand the profoundly human nature of literacy.

Note

[1] We are aware that there are different conceptions of "(New) Literacy Studies" that have transpired over the past few decades (Bloome & Green, 2015) and we acknowledge these research studies and shifts in the field.

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4

Ideologies Languaged into Being

Examining Conversations on Schooled and Religious Literacies Ideologies

Maria Lucia Castanheira

Introduction

According to Street (2003; Castanheira & Street, 2019), one of the current challenges faced by researchers that adopt a literacy as social practice perspective is to present a balanced approach between analytical poles such as structure and agency and local and global when examining how people participate in literacy events within and across social groups and social settings. In his seminal work, *Literacy in theory and practice*, Street grounded his interpretation of the relationship between local and global and structure and agency by examining how people engaged with literacy across various social groups in daily life in a village in a rural area of Iran. Based on his ethnographic study, he proposed a distinction between an *autonomous* model of literacy and an *ideological* model of literacy (Street, 1984). Both models understood as ideological, carrying with them different values and affordances (see Kress & Rowsell, this volume; Rogers, 2016; Street, 1993b).

In the last decades, the process of globalization has brought significant changes in the ways people have access to, use and engage with literacy, and are exposed and respond to literacy ideologies across time and space. We have seen a process of economic, historical, technological, and social changes that blurred and redesigned boundaries between localities and uses of literacy. In the case of Brazil, for example, although impacted by social and economic inequalities, access to school (public and private) and students' enrolment at various levels of schooling (e.g., early childhood, high school, university) have increased significantly across Brazilian regions; there has also been a high increase of access to and use of new technologies, including in rural areas (e.g. cellphones; *wifi*), as well as a visible change in the population's religious profile. These changes have led to changing definitions of what counts as literacy within particular social spaces (e.g., schools, churches, among others) across localities. These changes also resulted in diversified uses of literacy and its related ideologies. In the case of early literacy textbooks, for example, genre approaches to teaching language have diversified the genres of texts being read and studied in

schools (e.g. news, poems, cartoons), replacing decodable text style textbooks (Rojo, 2010). The use of social network apps (e.g. WhatsApp, Facebook, YouTube) have created possibilities for meeting new people, staying connected with friends and family members across Brazilian states and internationally, and for forming groups around particular interests (e.g., booktubers, virtual book clubs for sharing readings and comments about books).

Although viewing literacy practices as social and ideological (Street, 1995) is now well accepted, responding to the challenge pointed out by Street requires us to take a closer look at how literacy ideologies are *languaged* and acted into being by people as they navigate across social contexts and times in this changing *millieu*. Few studies have examined relationships between literacy ideologies people encounter across social and institutional contexts and the way they respond to and inscribe for others the processes of using and (re)constructing meanings of literacy across various domains of life (e.g. family, school, work, church) and across the life span (e.g. childhood, youth, adult life).

Noteworthy are Heath's studies *of the piedmont area of the Carolinas*. Taken together, Heath's *Ways with words* (1983) and *Words at work and play* (2012) provide an ethnographic study of how social and economic changes over decades influenced literacy practices and daily lives. Another set of reflections of a longitudinal nature is presented in the collection organized by Sefton-Green and Rowsell (2015). As a result of revisiting an earlier site of research, authors in this collection raise questions about various issues (e.g. the relationship between research design and the researcher's view of literacy, and the nature of the relationship between researcher and researcher participants).

Adding to this body of work, I will draw on the distinction proposed by Street between ideological and autonomous models of literacy to analyze how members of a working-class family that live on the outskirts of a Brazilian metropolis engage, respond to and inscribe models of literacy when navigating across social spaces throughout life. In this chapter, I present a telling case (Mitchell, 1984), by following how Ida (all names are pseudonyms) and members of her family, make visible their experiences and understandings of schooled literacy (Cook-Gumperz, 1986) and religious literacy ideologies at different times of their lives.

This approach draws on Mitchell (1984) and Sheridan et al. (2000) who argue that a telling case is "a description of a specific configuration of events in which some distinctive set of actors have been involved in some defined situation at some particular point of time." (Mitchell, 1984, p. 222). The two interviews that anchor the following analyses were ethnographically selected to explore how this particular group of actors understood and inscribed what counts as literacy both in schooling and religious contexts. By analyzing these ethnographic interviews (Spradley, 1979), I explore a sequence of events that different actors inscribed in order to lay a foundation to make theoretical inferences about their experiences of literacy ideologies in different institutional contexts (Mitchell,1984; Sheridan et al., 2000).

Thus, through these analyses, I examine the way in which the lived experiences of literacy ideologies were *languaged into being* in the interviews. As part of these analyses, I seek to uncover the ways in which research participants actively pursued their own purposes (educational, religious, secular) as they encountered and responded to literacy ideologies across

times and institutions. Through this study, therefore, I seek to develop theoretical understandings of the relationship between the poles of local and distant/global and the poles of structure and agency as they are inscribed by ordinary people in their everyday lives, like Ida and members of her family.

Situating the Present Analysis: Research Background

The foundations of this chapter are grounded in three decades of history and periodic interactions with members of working-class families that live in Trombetas, a neighborhood on the outskirts of a Brazilian metropolis. This neighborhood was formed in the late 1970s, when families were arriving from other parts of the country to live and work in this growing industrial and urban area. This migration pattern was part of a large process of economic, political and social changes in Brazil that included new rural labor laws and waves of family migration from the poorer areas of the northeast to the southeast of Brazil, where industrialization was attracting cohorts of workers that had lost their jobs in rural areas. This population was leaving areas where schooling was very limited, and many of them had not had a chance to enter an elementary school or to complete it. Over the years, generations of these families continued to live on the same plot of land that the first generation of arrivals acquired, and when new younger families were constituted the houses were expanded or new units were built within the plot to provide a home for all of them.

I first entered this research site in 1985, when I was hired as a research assistant on an action research project examining the role of educators on supporting educational civil society initiatives (Castanheira, 1991). In this role, I worked with a group of women that pooled their personal resources to create and run a childcare unit for their own children and children from other families. For 2 years, I worked as a participant in this action research team with the role of engaging with this group of women on planning, registering and reflecting on the daily pedagogical activities developed with children 5 to 7 years old.

As I reflected on divergent views held by families, childcare personnel, and elementary school professionals about children's potential to learn and about what and how they should be taught to read and write, I became interested in investigating further how children from Trombetas engaged with writing and talked about themselves as learners, particularly, learners of reading and writing before and after they went to school. I was also interested in finding out views held by children's relatives and school professionals about these aspects.

This line of questioning led to the development of a study that involved participant observation to examine how children engaged with literacy in and out of school (Castanheira, 1991, 1992). I observed and talked to children in various social spaces: walking or playing on the streets or inside their houses, stores, and bus stops. I then accompanied many of these children entering the elementary school in first grade and observed the opportunities they had to learn how to read and write once they were inside the school. I also talked to various of the children's relatives (parents,

grandmothers, older and younger siblings), observed classrooms, and interviewed school professionals (counsellors, principal, teachers, and custodians). This study allowed me to make visible diverse uses and views of literacy held by various research participants, manifested in various social groups and institutional spaces, and their links to educational literacy programs held by the Brazilian government.

I initiated another study in March 2009, as part of a postdoctoral research, after identifying the current addresses of families that participated in the previous research. This return to Trombetas, after a long gap, was partly prompted by one of my own Masters students, Priscila Maria de Lana. Priscila was born, grew up, and lives in this area, and when she gained access to my Masters Thesis, she talked about it with people in her family and other people from Trombetas. Research participants named[1] in the final report of my Masters Thesis were Priscila's friends and neighbors. They were able to identify and read what was reported about their experiences with literacy in my work. As Priscila moved on with her own research about literacy among youth in Trombetas, she reported that people wanted to meet me again and encouraged me to continue researching with them.

In reentering Trombetas, I followed Priscila's approach and brought with me fieldnotes, pictures, and transcripts to meetings with members of families I had met two decades before. This prompted various conversations, establishing conditions for revisiting memories, commenting and evaluating possible meanings of my presence and my work, and created grounds for affective reconnections, that I viewed as a sense of caring about and trusting each other and desire to move forward into new conversations. This project made possible a process of comparing the living conditions across generations of families living in Trombetas: children interviewed before who were now adults, who had children of their own and, in some cases, who lived with, or close to, their parents. That study aimed to examine the consequences of the social changes that took place in the last decades in Trombetas in shaping the ways in which research participants use writing in and out of school and the relationships between these uses, and the ways people talked about literacy in their lives (Castanheira, 2013; Castanheira & Street, 2019).

Thus, the following analyses result from a process of re-interrogating a data set constructed while developing these two ethnographic oriented studies conducted in different periods, from 1988 to 1991, and again from 2009 to 2015.[2] The ethnographic data which I call upon in some detail below for both methodological and theoretical commentary, include field notes, interviews and transcripts from research in these periods.

Constructing a Logic Of Inquiry: Identifying a Telling Case

Observing and talking to people about how they navigate across contexts (e.g. home, school, workplace, streets, church) and the meanings of literacy to them in each context led me to reflect on my own limitations in capturing and representing their experiences in their full complexities. During the moments I interacted with them, I observed, for example, apparent contradictions

between what was said and what interviewees did while they were taking with me – e.g., using the phone while saying that computer related technology should not be used (described in more detail in the analyses to follow). I also observed views and experiences with schooled literacy being echoed across brothers and sisters in conversations, and individuals' views of themselves as literate beings that they linked to movie characters (e.g. Chaplin) in what seem to me, as an outsider, distant from that local place.

These observations challenged me to understand and recognize the intertwined relationships between the conditions they lived in and what they fought to create for themselves and their families despite economic, political and social constraints. This concern speaks directly to the challenges pointed out by Street, which are how can we analyze, represent and capture how these individuals were agentively crafting their lives and views of literacy exploring social resources as well as facing constraints of different sorts (e.g. economic, material, prejudice). Put in another way, these observations raised the question of how to examine and represent the complex nature of particular people's views of literacy as they related to their life world. Further, it raises the question of what such an approach can help us to understand about the contextualized and situated nature of literacy ideologies in this changing and globalized world.

Ideologies *Languaged Into Being*: Exploring Complementary Perspectives

My choice of using the expression *languaged into being* is grounded in complementary arguments about language in use presented by researchers from different traditions (e.g., interactional sociolinguistics, interactional ethnography, linguistic anthropology; ethnography of communication). I will indicate some key arguments about language in use that supports the construction of a logic in use for examining the contextualized and situated nature of ideologies as inscribed in the interviews.

This choice has its origins in considerations made by Green and Dixon (1993) when approaching historical roots of the relationship of language and education in Great Britain and the United States. In an article, entitled 'Talking knowledge into being: discursive and social practices in classrooms', the authors present an argument for examining "how everyday life in classrooms is constructed by members through their interactions, verbal and others, and how these constructions influence what students have opportunities to access, accomplish, and thus, 'learn' at school" (Green & Dixon, 1993, p. 231). The authors situate this concern about the social construction of life in classrooms within a tradition that resulted from the ways in which language, linguistics and education were productively brought together to frame a new tradition to study teaching and learning as communicative processes.

According to Bloome and colleagues (Bloome et al., 2009), over the years, various researchers have argued for "framing classroom research as people acting and reacting to each other. Such a perspective locates meaning and significance in the interactions of people (teachers and students)

and how each act reflects and refracts previous acts (…) The means by which people interact with each other is language, defined not solely as word but also as a system of semiotic tools, including prosody, nonverbal behavior, and pictures" (Bloome et al., 2009, p. 314). Further, drawing on interactional sociolinguistics and microethnographic discourse analysis approaches, Bloome and colleagues understand intertextuality (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993) and intercontextuality (Bloome et al. 2009; Floriani, 1993) as resources explored by participants of a social group to construct meaning in reading and writing events (Bloome & Egan-Roberston, 1993; Bloome et al., 2009).

Additionally, Green and colleagues developed an interactional ethnographic (Castanheira, et al. 2001; Dixon et al., 2005) approach to studying how, in the moment by moment and over time, members of a social group construct norms and expectations, roles and relationships, and rights and obligations that constitute members developing cultural knowledge of patterns of cultural life in classrooms (Putney et al, 2000). Understanding classrooms as cultures-in-the making, these authors argue that what counts as learning, identities and literacy for members of particular social group is discursively constructed as people interact with each other over time.

Relevant to this approach is the understanding of culture as a verb (Street, 1993a); it is also relevant for this approach understanding how the construction of a languaculture (Agar, 1994) involves exploration of cultural meanings and social consequences of those meanings for participants in a social group. From these perspectives, individuals, within a collective, develop social and cultural pressupositions about what counts as being, knowing and doing (Heath, 1982) reading and writing, among other academic practices, that become normative expectations for guiding their participation in future events.

Following this line of argument about language in use across various research traditions, the analysis that follows aims to examine the socially constructed nature of ideologies by examining how schooled and religious ideologies were *languaged* by particular individuals (Ida and family members) as they interacted with each other during interviews that I conducted with them and family members. The analyses of these interviews were undertaken to examine how these particular individuals made visible, i.e, inscribed (languaged) opportunities afforded to them in different literacy worlds. From this perspective, in and through their conversation with me and other family members, these individuals (individually and collectively) brought forward the historical context for developing literacy processes and practices that they experienced that shaped and were shaped by their ideological views of literacy.[3]

Analytical Anchors From Studies of Writing in a Changing World in Trombetas

Thus, when I returned to Trombetas after 20 years, I engaged in the construction of a logic of inquiry to analyze what was going on with writing (and reading) over there. To respond to the need to examine changes taking place in this context and across generations of working class

families in Brazil, I adopted a constant comparative perspective (Heath & Street, 2008). In this process, I compared the present with the past, one social group or situation with another, and examined global and local relationships (Castanheira, 2013; Castanheira and Street, 2019).

I initially explored indexical signs of economic, educational and religious changes inscribed on Trombetas' landscape in order to make inferences about the relationships between such changes and current writing and reading practices among families that lived in this neighborhood (Castanheira, 2013). Those initial inferences were revisited and nuanced in the light of observation of and conversations about what people were doing with writing in different social spaces (e.g. home, school, work). This research approach built on Gumperz's argument that relevant aspects of a context (contextualization cues) are used by participants to make inferences about what is going on in a particular context to guide their participation within a group. In this study, I extended this argument to the research process itself. As the researcher, I engaged in the same process of interpreting cues or indexical signs to construct an understanding of what is going on in a particular research setting. Thus, by interpreting contextualization cues in conversations, I analyzed the ways that people talked to each other in conversations. This form of analysis made it possible for me to confirm or contradict, expand and complexify my understanding of people's views of literacies and how these views are constituted by, and simultaneously reinforce or challenge schooled or religious literacy ideologies.

Therefore, the two interviews were analyzed and contrasted as ways of examining indexical signs that enable me to develop warrated accounts (Heap, 1995) of how research participants inscribed their experiences with reading and writing in different contexts. This comparative approach supported the construction of possible meanings of literacy to them and the relationship between these meanings to particular literacy ideologies (e.g. schooled literacy ideologies and religious literacy ideologies). That is, the analytical process undertaken here made possible the examination of how the relationships of the polar binaries noted earlier might be understood and theorized in an emically oriented manner. This approach, therefore, builds on and extends Street's argument (2003, 2016) for ethnographic researchers to address the tensions among various binaries (as listed earlier). In doing so, I present the way I addressed the challenges pointed out by Street.

1988 – Schooled Literacy Ideology *Languaged* into Being

I begin this section by contextualizing the roots of the conversation that took place on 1 February 1988, the first day I met Ida in her house. The invitation to Ida's house came from her brother Aldo, 7-years-old, and her sister, Andrea, 8-years-old, while I was observing an intensive kindergarten program offered by Trombetas Public State School.

As I arrived at the address that was given to me by the school secretary, I could not see their house from a small gate on the street. The house was covered by large trees. I went down a steep 20-meter staircase that was cut into the soil of the hill. It was muddy and slippery; some steps had

partially collapsed because it had rained the day before. When I got to the house, I clapped and shouted, but nobody heard me. I could hear dogs barking, the sound of the TV and kids talking. A girl saw me going down from her house on the top of the hill, and shouted: “be careful with the dog, it almost got me another day”. Luckily, soon, I heard a voice: “Mom, it is the woman that took our picture at school”. Aldo was standing outside, and after him came other children.

The older girl, who later I would learn was Ida (11 years old), told me to wait for their mother. Soon Maria came, and after shaking hands to introduce ourselves, we continued to talk outside the house. Maria asked if I knew when the first day of school was going to be and if there was a vaccination campaign there. Some of the kids offered answers to their mother’s questions, and Aldo made a joke, saying that a little kid farted on the nurse’s face when he got the vaccine; Gustavo (6 years old) added and “he pooped on the needle”. We all laughed. Aldo would make other jokes that afternoon, sometimes teasing his sisters.

Maria’s questions suggested that she saw me as someone that worked at the school. I attempted to clarify that I did not work at the school, but that I was researching how children get to know writing before entering elementary school and was interviewing children in their homes. I asked her if it would be ok if I stayed and talked to them for a while. She then invited me to go inside.

We all went inside. Maria and I sat on a wooden bench close to the wall on the opposite side of where a black and white TV set was on. The smaller kids were standing close to my right hand side, their mother sitting at a close distance on my left, and Andrea and her older sisters (Ida and Irene) stood up in front of me. They were all very curious about my presence. I asked the kids their names and ages and started to take notes. When some of them spoke in a lower voice, another would speak for him or encourage him/her to speak louder. Quickly, I decided to take the tape recorder out of my bag and asked if I could record our conversation. The TV sound was lowered. The kids were curious about how the tape recorder worked, and I played the tape for them, and there were laughs, and after recording and listening a couple of times, they were satisfied, and we moved on.

Many things happened that afternoon. They moved around the house freely, sat on the floor to be closer to the TV, asked me questions about where I lived, and played and talked among themselves. Two younger girls (Vera, 3 years old, and Lena, 5 years old) played with their dolls. Maria commented that they would hold their dolls all day long, and that they cut the doll’s mouth to fit a pacifier. Vera had a blue pacifier, which was taken from her when her 2-year-old baby brother cried in his crib in the small bedroom contiguous to the leaving room. She would wait until it came back, after the baby went back to sleep. The ‘pacifier turn’ repeated a couple of times, until the 2-year-old baby stayed awake. Irene, 10-years-old, was sent to wash the dishes, then, Ida went to clean the kitchen floor. The children would go and come back to join the larger group in the living room.

In some ways, my presence was ‘absorbed’ in these large family group activities. The fact that the children could enter or leave a conversation, and were surrounded by others with whom they were familiar in their home suggested to me that my approach to interviewing was appropriate in this context. This approach involved informal interview processes in which different actors came to participate in the conversation in different ways at different points in time. This approach was

designed to be less intrusive and to establish a less hierarchical relationship between interviewees and interviewer (Bourdieu, 1999).

Schooled Literacy Ideologies: Inscriptions of Past, Present and Future Understandings of What Counts as Teaching and Learning Reading and Writing

The following analyses will examine cultural themes that emerged during conversations with interviewees about what and how they learn to read and write after starting first grade in elementary school. These cultural themes are understood as inscriptions of past, present and future views of literacy held by participants that were constructed as they interacted over time with others inside or outside school. The following cultural themes are the focus of these analyses: the repetition of a school grade level, and what was thought about literacy at school.

Cultural Theme 1: Languaging Repetition of School Grade Level

This theme appeared after I asked Aldo and Andrea about the intensive kindergarten they were attending, and if they could show me what they had done there. Maria sent them to get their notebooks and also some papers they used to study with Ida. While the children went to get their notebooks, Maria and I continued talking. She commented that sometimes she would tell Ida to teach them a little bit and that the kids should know at least how to hold a pencil before going to school.

TRANSCRIPT 1 Inscriptions of Whats and Hows of Schooled Literacy[4]

Line	*Multiple Participants*	*Researcher*
1		so
2		you would put them
3		to study some things
4	**Maria**:I put them like	
5	I would put Ida to teach them a bit	
6	you know	
7	**Aldo**:I will repeat the year [handing me a paper]	
8		Are you going to repeat the year
9		What grade you are going to repeat
10	**Aldo**:first	
11		[commenting on the drawing he showed

11		me]
12		There is a little boy here, isn't there
13	**Aldo**:	he doesn't look like someone that
14	= [he giggles]	doesn't know how to hold a pencil
15		he looks like he does
15	**Maria**: = he gets all happy	= don't you think
16		[*to Aldo and Andrea*]
17		what do you think
18		the teacher is going to teach you
19		when first grade start on the fourth
20	**Andrea**:writing and reading	
21		and how is she going to teach you
22		to read and write
23	[silence]	are you a little shy
24	Andrea: A E I O U	
25	A E I O U	
26	A E I O U	yeah
27		does aeiou repeat many times
28	Repeat	
29		and
30		after that
31		does one really learn how to read and write
32	we keep training	
33	training	
34	then	
35	after that	
36	we stay	
37	then	
38	= we keep training more	
39	Ida: = THEN	

When Aldo came back from where he went to get his papers, he handed some of them to me and initated a conversation about what would happen to him at school (line 7 to 10): “I will repeat the year” (line 7). Quiet surprised by what he said, I asked if he was going to repeat the year and what grade it would be (lines 8 and 9). His response was quick and with no trace of doubt in his voice: “first grade” (lines 8 to 10). A post hoc analysis of the transcript made visible that Aldo had just introduced the cultural theme (‘repeation of a grade level’) that would also be inscribed by his sisters, Andrea, when she talked about school in the future, as indicated in lines 35 and 36, when

After describing a series of activities they would perform at school, Andrea affirmed the repetition, when she stated in lines 34 to 36, "and/after that/we *stay*". Like Aldo, the way of describing or referring to what would happen in the future once they were at school had no indication of tension or doubt. Aldo and Andrea inscribed expectations of what would happen at school in slightly different ways: "I will repeat the year"(Aldo), and "then, we stay" (Andrea). These inscriptions implied expectations of what would happen to them and others after entering school.

Later, Ida added nuances to what her siblings had inscribed, when she said, "it starts all over again/ I'm tired" (Transcript 2, lines 54 to 55)", implying that she had already repeated the same thing previously, and if she would go back, she would have to do the same things all over again. Ida inscribed a view of schooled literacy that was constructed from the position of one who had already repeated the first year of schooling three times. She presented an evaluation of the process (I am tired) because, in her case, she had lived the process and its outcome previously.

Cultural Theme 2: What and How Literacy Was Taught at School

Analysis of Transcript 2 was undertaken to explore further the emerging theme of what and how literacy was taught at school. Ida challenged Andrea's inscription (Transcript 1, lines 20 to 39) of how the teacher would teach "writing and reading". That is, Andrea described the teaching process as involving keeping training of vowels (Transcript 1, lines 20; 24 to 28) as a 'natural' flow of things. However, in Transcript 2, I identified a point where Ida challenged Andrea's view. In lines 39 to 46 of Transcript 2, Ida added more elements based on her understanding of the consequences of how the teaching of "writing and reading" was done at school.

As represented in Transcript 2, Ida overlapped with what Andrea was saying (lines 38 and 39, indicated by using =). And by using a louder voice (indicated by

TRANSCRIPT 2 Challenging Inscriptions of Schooled Literacy

Line	*Multiple Participants*	*Researcher*
38	= we keep training more	
39	**Ida**:= THEN	
40	BA::::	
41	BE::::	
42	BI::::	
43	Then it starts	
44	Va::	
45	=ve::	= is it tiring, is it
46	=vi::	= but when you teach them
47		Ida
48		what do you teach

48		what do you teach
49	**Ida**:a e i o u	
50		like the teacher teaches you
51	**Ida**:yeah	
52	when I'm going to study what I don't know	
53	to study Portuguese	
54	it starts all over again	
55	I'm tired	
56	I went to ask the principal to put	
57	us in another classroom	
58	[points to herself and Irene]	

the use of capital letters), she took over Andrea's turn and continued talking and added information that the study of vowels was followed by the teaching of syllables (Transcript 2, lines 39 to 46). However, Ida added a critical tone of voice to her own inscription of this process. This critical tone was indexed by elongated vowels, indicated in the transcript by my addition of:: after the vowel/s, and by her use of a louder pitch, that is indicated by using capital letters in the transcript. Ida, as observed before, was speaking from the position of an individual who had already repeated the first grade three times, and who knew that others had repeated the grade level too (Irene, her sister, and one of her brothers, Geraldo, had also repeated the first grade).

Additionally, while questioning the purpose of continuing to do the same activities all over again, Ida also indicated that she knew that other students were taught other things that she did not have a chance to encounter in school yet. As she said, "when I'm going to study what I don't know/the Portuguese/it starts all over again" (lines 52 to 58). Her experience with literacy at school was then passed on to her siblings, as she explained what and how she taught them when her mother asked her to do so (lines 48 to 51). Later, Ida showed me a notebook used for teaching her siblings, and it had copies of aeiou, babebibobu, columns with a sequence of letters to be linked to each other with a line, which confirmed my interpretation of what counted as schooled literacy to them. This interpretation is further supported by previous research of 'playing school'. In that research (Castanheira, 1991, 1992, 2013), I identified the way in which playing school constituted the form of transmittal of school literacy model from older sibling to young siblings to younger ones, and that this practice was a common event and practice developed by children from Trombetas.

What Counts as Schooled Literacy Revisited

I turn now to propositions made by Street (1993a) for examining the social significance of inscriptions of schooled literacy (Cook-Gumperz, 1986) constructed and presented by Andrea, Aldo and Ida during our conversation. Street proposed that culture should be understood as a

we should follow Robert Thornton's argument, asking "not what culture is but what culture does" (Street, 1993a, p. 23). The analyses presented above provide evidence of how meanings of literacy and schooled literacy were constructed and languaged into being by Aldo, Andrea, Ida and others as they interacted among themselves and others across times and institutional spaces.

They way these children shared, affirmed or constested views of literacy (e.g. schooled literacy) being proposed by others (e.g. Andrea describing school literacy as not problematic; Ida teaching her siblings the same way she learned at school; Ida's contesting the school's approach) provides elements for seeing how they established intertextual and intercontextual connections between their personal and intergenerational lived experiences within the family (Bloome, et al., 2009; Floriani, 1993). These inscriptions were their ways of engaging in a cultural process of meaning making that involved describing and evaluating the consequences of a particular way of engaging with literacy that they experienced at school, and attempting to intervene on what was going on (e.g. Ida asked to move to another classroom).

The consequences of the schooled literacy process as inscribed by these children makes visible that the literacy presented to them at school was oriented by an autonomous model of literacy (Street, 1984). In this case, the autonomous model of literacy was configured by a decontextualized series of activities that, according to Ida, Andrea and Aldo were repeated over and over again. By extension, since Ida did not have access to learn something she did not know (what she called 'Portuguese', line 53), her only alternative was, then, to teach her siblings in the same way she was taught at school. The school did not afford to them the expansion of their repertoire for engaging with reading and writing in or out of school.

A shared inscription of their views of schooled literacy was the fact that it also involved or resulted in repeating a grade level. During the period in which this interview occurred, for each 1000 children that entered elementary school in Brazil, less than half would move on to the second grade, and less than a third would move on to the fourth grade (Soares, 1987). Ida and her siblings, as well as many of their neighbours (Castanheira, 1991, 1992), were part of the group that often left the school before moving to fourth grade. No wonder that for them, school literacy would, then, involve repeating a grade level, as Aldo clearly informed would happened with him.

Trombetas public school professionals had their own ways of inscribing on their teaching what was called at the time "compensatory education" (Bernstein, 1979), an approach that was very common across schools attended by working class children across educational system in Brazil. These groups of professionals were not alone in organizing 'compensatory' teaching plans that, in fact, would postpone the opportunities students could have for engaging with texts, books, reading and writing activities inside school for months or years, in some cases, as Ida characterized above. On the one hand, we need to consider the power and consequences of such educational ideologies in terms of (re)producing social and economic inequalities (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). On the other, we need to recognize individual interpretations and actions within and against constraints they face in adverse contexts such as the one that Ida and her siblings encountered at school.

Writing and Religious Connections in Ida's Family Life: Inscriptions of Religious Ideologies

I initiate this section by presenting some information about aspects of Ida's life when I reencountered her in 2009. Ida was living in one of the three houses constructed on her parents' allotment. At that time, she had been married to João for 17 years, and they had four children, two girls aged 8 (Claudia) and 12 (Clenice), and two boys aged 14 (Geraldo) and 10 (Clovis). Ida was working as a maid, a job she got after leaving school before she completed the fourth grade of elementary school. Ida's husband works as a mason or handyman. Ida, her husband, and three of their children were members of an evangelical church that functioned in a small commercial unit, of about 60 square meters, situated one block away from their house. Their oldest son prefered to attend another evangelical church linked to another congregation with his grandparents.

Ida's family engagement with religion was signaled in her house by many things, for example, the presence of multiple copies of the Bible and other religious related artifacts, radio and TV tuned exclusively on religious channels. During our conversations and by accompanying her on church activities, I learned that she was involved with the church in many ways. For example, she was responsible for the church choir, something that required transcribing and reproducing copies of lyrics to be sung, rehearsal with choir members, developing activities for children during Sunday school, preparing and cleaning the space for church services. Ida included her daughters and son in different ways in these activities. For example, they helped her in transcribing lyrics, in cleaning and organizing the church, and if she was sick and could not go to church, one of them took her notebook to church to take notes for her (Castanheira, 2013; Castanheira & Street, 2019). Her daughters, like her, observed the church's dress code and hair style. On one occasion, while keeping me company going up the hill to reach the gate, Claudia asked me why I kept my hair short. When I answered that I preferred it short, she replied that I should let it grow longer, and explained that the hair is the woman's veil.

During one interview, Ida commented, "at home/who writes most/among adults/it is me/sometimes/I get surprised with myself/here/in my house/on each corner/there is a piece of paper where I wrote". When asked what she likes to write, she stated, "personal things/things from the Bible/proverbs/ phrases/like/if sometimes I hear a message/that message/I put it forward/and then/it goes". She explained that she kept notes on sermons, wrote her own reflections about life events or inspirations from Biblical passages almost every day. Her various notebooks that she showed were inscriptions of such reflections.

One day, when Ida was showing me her notebooks, and I commented that some pages were blank, she explained that, sometimes, when she went to church straight from her work, she did not take notebooks with her. According to her, the pages were left blank to add the notes she took on loose paper on those days. When I told her that I observed her dating her notes and that she was very organized, she replied: "the pastor knows that I write/when he wants to say something/and like/he asks me/and I speak/I know that I already/well/I say to people/strange/

how the pastor had/like/trusted me that time to help him/I am happy with that/for someone that went to the church and did not have/the courage/to go to the front to say anything/and today/I work on the mission/so this fulfills me."

In this brief account of Ida's and her family members' religious activities, I recognized inscriptions of the meanings of the church to them and how the meanings of reading and writing are associated with the significance of the church for them. I also identified different ways in which she and her family members portrayed these meanings to others (e.g., by writing, speaking at the church, observing dress and hair style codes). In addition, based on her statements, I also identified ways in which the meanings of church to her were interactionally constructed across times and spaces (for example Ida acknowledged and valued the trust her pastor had in her; she evaluated her own transformation in becoming someone capable of speaking in front of everybody in the church as related to that trust).

A Conversation About Religious Notes Made by Ida on Her Notebook

Before I move to the analysis of a conversation I had with Ida about notes I identified in one of her notebooks about computers, I will contextualize when this conversation took place. Ida lent me four of her notebooks to read at home. As I analyzed them, I observed that one of the pages had two entries for computers, followed by sequences of the letters of the alphabet with numbers attached to each of them. This page was different from the others that had handwritten notes made by Ida. I was surprised to see notes about computers in her notebooks since Ida had not mentioned that she was learning about computers at the church. I also had not seen a computer at her house or at the church.

When I went to Ida's house to see her again, after talking to her and her children for a while, I remembered that I wanted to discuss the notes about computers. The notebooks were already put away and needed to be retrieved. She sent one of her daughters to get them from her bedroom. I asked her if she was studying computers at the church and she answered with a clear no. She was intrigued by my question and I explained to her what I thought the notes I saw referred to – that she was having computer classes at the church.

When her daughter came back with her notebooks, I relocated the pages I was referring to and we had a conversation about it. The analysis of this conversation that follows is organized around three cultural themes: the relationship of letters and numbers to the development of computers, the origins of the knowledge about the evil of technology presented to her, and the forbidden use of computers.

Cultural Theme 3: The Relationship of Letters and Numbers to the Development of Computers

The following transcript is a reconstruction of the initial conversation about her notes. This converstion took place 4 months after she had made those notes at the church.

TRANSCRIPT 3 Computers and the Relationship Between Numbers and Letters

Line	*Ida*	*Researcher*
1		then there is the abc here
2		is this position of letters
3	No	on the keyboard?
4	it iiiss	who was studying this?
5	this is something about computer	
6	*wait Denise*	
7	this is the thing	
8	eeeeh	
9	this is also the thing about 666	
10	the control of 666	
11	how the computer developed	aanhh
12	this is a thing	
13	a thing	
14	as it goes	
15	what these numbers means	
16	the *A* means 6	
17	the *B* is 12	
18	it goes like that	ah
19	now	I got it
20	to know how to explain it	
21	exactly	
22	how it was	
23	I can't do it	
24	*hello (answering her cellphone)*	
25	*Hello*	
26	*it went off*	
27	let me see	but it doesn't have anything to do with this here
28	here	look 666
29	Look	
30	C is 18	
31	and it goes like that	
32	[Cellphone rings and Ida answers it]	

The 4 month interval between the moment of writing and the moment that we talked about her notes could explain some of her hesitation when she answered my question, "is this position of letters/who was studying this" (Transcript 3, line 2 to 4) . She answered with the following, "it iiiss/this is something about computer/ this is the thing/eeehh" (e.g. lines 4,7, 8, 12, 13). Ida was trying to remember what these notes were about, when she affirmed: "this is also the thing about 666/the control of 666/how the computer developed" (lines 9, 10, 11). She began to explain each letter related to each number (lines 16, 17 and 18). We spent some time discussing how this relationship worked. She was having a hard time remembering details and I was having a hard time understanding the logic she was attempting to explain. She was very committed to explain it to me and kept saying that she could not believe she did not remember how to explain this relationship to me, as indicated below (lines 19 to 23). The conversation was briefly put on hold when the cellphone rang and Ida answered it (line 32). Following this moment, she went back to talk about where she learned about the relationship between numbers, letters and computers, leading to the emergence of a new cultural theme described in the next section.

Cultural Theme 4: The Origins of the Knowledge About the Evil of Technology Presented to Her

Ida and I had already talked about which number related to each letter. However, I was still confused about it and what this study was for, since I had not made the connection between the 666 number and the evil. That led me to ask her whom she had learned this from, and to ask her if this was for learning how to use computers (Transcript 4, lines 54; 57 and 58).

As indicated in the transcript above, after explaining where she learned about the relationship between computers, numbers and letters (lines, 55 and 56), she affirms the relationship was framed by the pastor and that the number 666 is associated with the devil. When I asked if it was for learning how to use computers, Ida answered "no" (line 59), and explained, "how it was developing/the number 666/where you find it/the number" (lines 59 to 63). Then, probably, noticing that I was still in doubt, even if I had said "I got it" (line 64), she provided an explicit connection between this number and the beast, "that is the number of the beast" (line 65).

We continued our conversation for a while, and Ida continued to explain where else the number 666 could be found (e.g. bar codes of products), and that it should be avoided. Later, Ida's husband, João, joined us for a moment. Ida asked him if he could explain the evolution of the number 666. This explanation, though, was brought in a piece of paper that he gave me, after he went to his bedroom, and got a paper the pastor had given to them.

The document, "666 in Control", has two pages of handwritten notes on historical events that were, according to the pastor, associated with the number 6, 66 and 666 by adding interval occurrences between events (e.g. "And in 1980, exactly 66 years since the start of the first world war the world was once again faced with a catastrophe larger than any before it"), by making links among verses from the Bible (e.g. in Ezra 2:13), and examining the role of the number 6 in social events (e.g. the names of the astronauts Lovell, Anders and Borman, each had six letters;

the trip was to last 6 days).

TRANSCRIPT 4 Where The Knowledge About Computers Came From

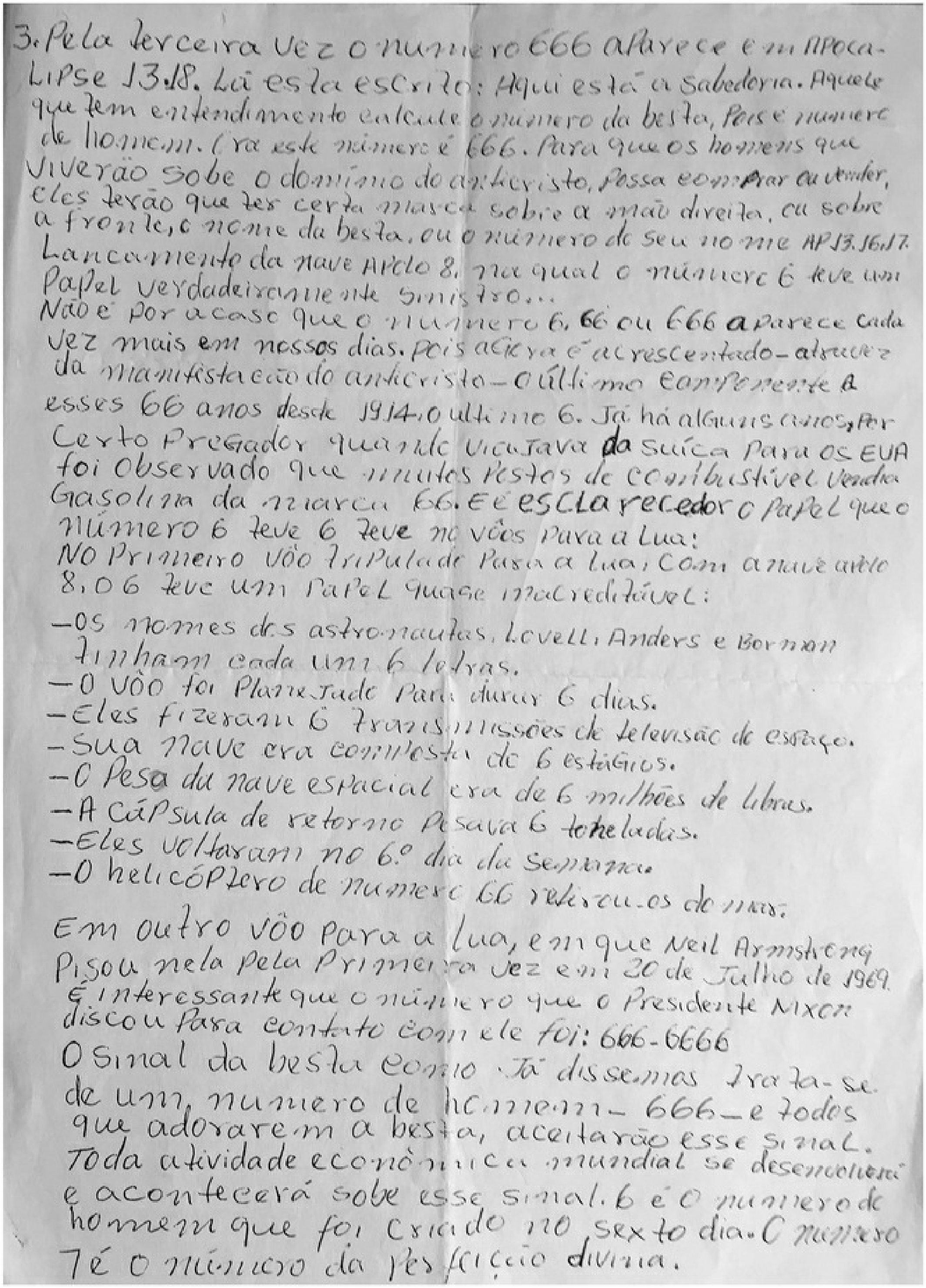
Line	*Ida*	*Researcher*
53	Uhn	
54	= can you believe I can'' remember	= who told you that
55	the pastor	
56	the school	I Uhnn
57		But is this for learning
58		how to use computers
59	No	
60	how it was developing	
61	the number 666	
62	where you find it	
63	the number	aah
64		I got it
65	that is the number of the beast	

O Contexto 666

Em 1914 irrompeu a Primeira Guerra Mundial, em conseqüência da qual realizou-se em 1918 (4 anos depois) por meio da Liga das nações, a Grande tentativa de obter uma Paz mundial duradoura. Nunca mais Guerra dizia-se naquela época. mas somente 25 anos após o início da Primeira Guerra mundial, estourou a Segunda Guerra Mundial e 6 anos mais tarde O Terceiro Reich Sucumbiu diante de Israel. E em 1930 ou seja exatamente 66 anos depois do início da Primeira Guerra Mundial o mundo já se encontrava e assim está diante de catastrofe maior do que qualquer outro tempo pois 66 ou 666 É O número do homem! Ele aparece três vezes na bíblia:

1. Em 1 Reis 10. 14 está dito de Salomão que o Peso do ouro que se trazia a ele todo ano era de 666 talentos de ouro. Analizando que um talento corresponcia 49.11 quilos, Pode ter a idéia da imensa riqueza de Salomão. Mas apesar de tudo isto já em salomão uma Grande Predisposição para a apostasia 1 Reis 10. 11, 12, 22-25; 1 Reis 11. 1-13

2. Em Esdras 2. 13: Os filhos de Adonicão 666. Se Lembrarmos que Adonicão foi um dos que voltaram do Cativeiro Babilônico cujo o Primeiro Soberano Nabucodonozor um tipo do anticristo fez para si no campo de Dura uma imagem de ouro que tinha 60 covados de altura e 6 de largura Daniel Capítulo 3. Então compreendemos que Babel influenciou a Adonicão e ao numero dosseus filhos. Adonicão Pode ser interpretado como meu Senhor se levanta e o Seu nome. não somente o número dos seus filhos, tem o valor numérico de 666. Mas não é só por acaso que em Neemias 7.18. Os descendentes de Adonicão são contados como 667. Pois a final ele era um filho de israel e 6+1= 7- O que quer dizermos: somente a unificação do homem com Jesus Cristo Produz o número da Plenitude divino. 7. Desse modo. Poderiamos escrever matematicamente Romanos 8.1 Agora, Pois já nenhuma condenação há para os que estão em Cristo Jesus.. Simplesmente como 6+1= 7.



3. Pela terceira vez o numero 666 aparece em Apoca-
lipse 13.18. Lá esta escrito: Aqui está a sabedoria. Aquele
que tem entendimento calcule o número da besta, Pois é numero
de homem. Ora este número é 666. Para que os homens que
viverão sobe o domínio do anticristo, possa comprar ou vender,
eles terão que ter certa marca sobre a mão direita, ou sobre
a fronte, o nome da besta, ou o número de seu nome AP 13.16,17.
Lancamento da nave Apolo 8, na qual o número 6 teve um
papel verdadeiramente sinistro...
Não é por acaso que o numero 6, 66 ou 666 aparece cada
vez mais em nossos dias. Pois agora é acrescentado – através
da manifestação do anticristo – o último componente a
esses 66 anos desde 1914, o ultimo 6. Já há alguns anos, por
certo pregador quando viajava da Suíça para os EUA
foi observado que muitos postos de combustível vendia
Gasolina da marca 66. E é esclarecedor o papel que o
número 6 teve 6 teve no vôos para a Lua:
No Primeiro vôo tripulado para a lua, com a nave apolo
8, o 6 teve um papel quase inacreditável:
– os nomes dos astronautas, Lovell, Anders e Borman
tinham cada um 6 letras.
– O vôo foi planejado para durar 6 dias.
– Eles fizeram 6 transmissões de televisão do espaço.
– Sua nave era composta de 6 estágios.
– O peso da nave espacial era de 6 milhões de libras.
– A cápsula de retorno pesava 6 toneladas.
– Eles voltaram no 6º dia da semana.
– O helicóptero de numero 66 retirou-os do mar.
Em outro vôo para a lua, em que Neil Armstrong
pisou nela pela primeira vez em 20 de Julho de 1969
é interessante que o número que o Presidente Nixon
discou para contato com ele foi: 666-6666
O sinal da besta como já dissemos trata-se
de um numero de homem – 666 – e todos
que adorarem a besta, aceitarão esse sinal.
Toda atividade econômica mundial se desenvolverá
e acontecerá sobe esse sinal. 6 é o numero de
homem que foi criado no sexto dia. O numero
7 é o número da perfeição divina.

FIGURE 4.1 666 in Control. A text given to Ida by her pastor. See Appendix at end of chapter for full text.

Inscriptions of Religious Ideology Revisited

This conversation with Ida and her husband about the notes she had in one of her notebooks led to my understanding of the perspective on computers adopted by her pastor and the origins of this perspective. By giving Ida and others members of the church a handwritten paper, the pastor distanced himself from the use of computers and provided them with different kinds of information he gathered about the number 6 that could support his views and justify his position that computers are one manifestation of the works of the beast (666). My observations and understanding of this led me to raise the following question, given that I had observed them using technology at home or heard Ida send her son to a LAN House (Internet Cafe) – how did Ida and her family members respond to this proposition by the pastor, that if strictly followed would not allow the use of computers?

Responding to a Particular Kind of Religious Ideology

Before this conversation took place, I had already had a chance to observe situations in which the use of computers or associated technologies were signaled as a bad thing. For example, Ida reprehended her older son, Geraldo (at the time 15 years old), who did not want to come to a party at her church like the others: "I am going to tell truth/Geraldo/you are like that/because this videogame plague/you will see/you are thinking I am not seeing it/don't you/you think I am dumb". However, I observed that there were also instances in which the use of computers could not be avoided. Geraldo would be sent to a LAN house to type and print lyrics Ida and her daughters had transcribed from the radio. He would be sent with the recommendation not to play games and to come back home as soon as he had finished his task.

The use of cell phones by Ida and her children was also evidence that the limits of what could or could not be used was interpreted with some flexibility despite the pastor's orientation. Ida used her cellphone in many instances to call her sister Andrea, who was in town, to come to her house to meet me; to send messages or call her friends to set up meetings or to decide on details of what should be organized at the church. Ida and I would also message each other to confirm our meetings, and later, I started and continue to communicate through WhatsApp with her and her children.

Between 2009 and 2011 we had ongoing conversations. In 2011, when I went to Ida's house once again, she was excited and wanted to show me the computer she had bought for Geraldo. Ida bought a second-hand computer for Geraldo and started paying for an internet connection. She brought me to his bedroom, where Geraldo was happily interacting on Facebook. They complained that the connection was very slow, and that the computer was old but it was a start, she said. During another visit, when Geraldo was 17 years old, I learned that Ida was planning a trip with Geraldo to the northeast of Brazil, a very long trip, to meet a girl that Geraldo had met on Facebook. Ida was apprehensive with the trip because it was the first time someone in her family would fly and would go so far away. She was also convinced that it was important to do that since Geraldo and the girl were planning to get married when they finished high school.

According to Ida, the girl and her family were also part of the same church.

FIGURE 4.2

Credit: Dave Coverly at *Coverlyspeedbump.com*

This account made visible that being part of the church for Ida was very integral of who she became: she found a place where she engaged in activities she enjoyed and recognized as meaningful (being part of the mission, being trusted). It also showed that she did not follow blindly the constraints that the church or her pastor wanted to impose. In this case, the association of numbers and letters was not enough to prevent her and her children from using computers or other new means of communication afforded by new technologies. However, it is important to consider that such uses were oriented and established within the religious frame of reference and had its potential realized through local practices (Street, 2003). For example, when it comes to the use of WhatsApp Status,[5] her daughters, now 18 and 21 years old, and Ida post pictures of themselves on the church, of selected passages of the Bible, phrases about love and the coming of Jesus, greetings and wishes of a blessing day. Among these messages that are collected, copied and repassed from other social network apps such as Instagram, are secular messages, cartoons, poems, and philosopher's statements. Their uses of WhatsApp Status would require further analysis. However, one of the selection made by Ida's older daughter seems to speak to the tension lived by those that cherish their religious values but who do not accept it without questioning or selecting what they would do with them.

Clenice, who is now 21 years old, had access to and posted a Portuguese version of this cartoon on her WhatApp status. In the Portuguese version, the mother bird says: "I don't care if your friend has a flight simulator. You are going to learn to fly in the old-fashioned way." Clenice's post can be seen as indexing possibilities of accessing secular texts through using social network apps (this cartoon was taken by her from a post made by someone she follows on Instagram). It also signifies intertextual links with religious ideologies related to uses of computers and its potentialities to open up access to other views of literacy in this technological *milieu*.

Final Remarks: Logical Inferences Based on the Telling Case Constructed by Examining Ida's and Her Families' Responses to Schooled and Religious Literacies

The purpose of this chapter was to respond to one of the challenges pointed out by Street that researchers that adopt a literacy as social practice perspective are facing: to present a balanced approach between analytical poles such as structure and agency and local and global when examining how people participate in literacy events within and across social groups and social settings. I argued that it is not so much that the poles of local and distant/global and the poles of structure and agency need to be balanced as the relationship between the poles needs to be further theorized, but theorized in ways grounded in how ordinary people engage with literacy in their everyday lives. The telling case presented above was constructed by analyzing how Ida and her family members *languaged* schooled and religious literacy ideologies into being as they interacted with each other and with me at different points in time.

The analysis supports an understanding that literacy ideologies are not just 'out there', a monolithic thing, but ideologies are languaged, and acted into being in different ways by those proposing them to others and those that respond to such propositions. For example, in the analyses presented in this chapter I identified the following types of responses: teachers adopting and proposing autonomous models of literacies in schools attended by working class families; Ida's younger sister presenting her acquired view of a schooled literacy teaching model in conversation with her siblings; Ida teaching her siblings in the same ways she learned at school.

The analysis also supports a view that literacy ideologies are not a thing that is absorbed on its integrality – individuals make selective choices based on realm of human relationships and outcomes. People respond to institutions propositions and agentively make sense and choices of what has been proposed to them. For example, Ida challenged her sister's acceptance of how repeating *babebibobus* was a 'natural' thing to do; Ida and her family members refused the pastor's proposition that computers and related ways of communicating through technology was a bad thing.

The telling case presented above also supported the understanding that the autonomous model of literacy is "multiple" and not uniform in society. Institutions in a diverse society can introduce different literacy and numeracy approaches to individuals. A numeracy approach that interpreted the association of numbers to construct a theory about the development of computers and argued against its use and its potential affordances for engaging with reading and writing was presented by Ida's pastor but not by the pastor of her son, Geraldo.

This telling case also shows how autonomous models of literacy (e.g. schooled literacy and religious literacy), as argued by Street (Street, 1984, 1993b) have outcomes and consequences that simultaneously constrain and support how one has access to, engages, and learns literacy and for defining what counts as literacy and which literacy counts (Heap 1980, 1991). In the case of Ida, for example, while religious engagement and religious literacy created a space for Ida to redefine a view of her literate self as capable to contribute to the mission of the church, it also limited

what texts were read or listened to by her and her family at home (e.g, radio and TV were always on religious channels and uses of Wifi and social network apps were predominantly guided by religious purposes).

This chapter points to the need for research undertaken across extended periods of time and configurations of actors in the face of an increasingly changing world. What was demonstrated in this study over the times of these observations and conversations is that if I had reported findings from one period alone, I would not have been able to construct theoretical understandings of how the changes in their lives related to changes to both the social worlds they were participating in and to developments in the political, social and educational spheres at both local and national levels. By researching participants' inscriptions of ideological literacies, literacies beyond skills and cognitive knowledge, framed by different configurations of actors as well as periods of life for individuals, I added to the argument of Street (1993a) that culture should be considered as a verb, not only in a given space of time, but across times, events and development within the life worlds of local people. These analyses also made visible the importance of a discourse approach within an ethnographic framework to examine the consequences of developing and changing of cultural worlds not only on the lives of individuals but of their families and communities.

Notes

1 At that point, there was no obligation to use pseudonyms, and research participants' names would be cited in the final report, if they agreed to.

2 The first study was supported by CAPES. The second received support form CNPq and FAPEMIG.

3 The term *languaged* as used in this chapter refers to any form of interactional communication – i.e., spoken, graphic or sign language, lexical choices from a bilingual or multilingual repertoire, or situations in which people use written language analogous to how talk is usually used.

4 The transcripts present a translation of conversations in Brazilian Portuguese. The audio record of conversations were transcribed in message units (Green and Wallat, 1979; Bloome et al., 2005), and the translation kept this feature from the original transcripts. Message units are presented in two ways on the transcripts: one on each line or separated by /. Additionally the transcripts were designed to foreground the interviewees by placing them in the left column and the researcher conversation on the right side, given that western script is read from left to right. It also places the researcher as listener, not as a person in control of the conversation. This builds on Ochs (1979) "Transcription as Theory", which argues that the way we transcribe represents the theory of the transcriber.

5 WhatsApp Status allows to share text, photos, videos and animated GIFs that disappear after 24 hours.

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APPENDIX
666 in Control

In 1914 the first world war erupted, in consequence of which, in 1918 (4 years later) the league of nations tried to achieve lasting world peace. War never again, they said. But just 25 years after the beginning of the first world war, the second world war began and just 6 years later the Third Reich succumbed to Israel. And in 1980, exactly 66 years since the start of the first world war the world was once again faced with a catastrophe larger than any before it because 66 or 666 is the number of man! It appears three times in the Bible:

1. In 1 kings 10:14 it is said of Solomon that the weight of gold he received yearly was 666 talents. Knowing that one talent equals 49.11 kilograms you have an idea of his wealth. But in spite of all this Solomon had a great predisposition towards apostasy 1 Kings 10: 11, 12, 22-25; 1 Kings 11: 1-13
2. In Ezra 2:13 the children of Adonikam, 666. Adonikam was one of those which returned from Babylon, whose first sovereign, Nebuchadnezzar, a form of antichrist, made a statue of gold in his own image that was 60 cubits in height and 6 cubits in width, in Daniel 3. So we understand that Babel had influence over Adonikam and the number of his children. Adonikam, which means "the lord is risen up" and the number of his children both have a numerical value of 666. And it's no coincidence because in Nehemiah 7:18 the descendants of Adonikam were numbered 667, for he was a son of Israel and 6+1=7. Which means that: Only when man accepts Jesus Christ does the number of divinity 7 appear. Now Romans 8:1 may be expressed mathematically "therefore, there is now no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus" is simply 6+1=7.
3. The third time the number 666 appears in the Bible is in Revelation 13:18. "Here is wisdom. He that hath understanding, let him count the number of the beast; for it is the number of a man: and his number is Six hundred and sixty and six." For the men, whom live under the antichrist, to be able to buy or sell must have a mark on their right hand,

or on their forehead the name of the beast, or the number of his name, Revelation 13:16,17. The launching of the Apolo 8 rocket, which bore the number 6, played a truly sinister role. For it is no coincidence that the number 6, 66 or 666 appear ever more frequently. For not it is added, the last component of these 66 years since 1914 the last 6. Some years ago, a preacher, travelling from Sweden to the USA observer that many gas stations sold fuel branded 66. And the role the number 6 had on the flight to the moon is enlightening:

On the first manned flight to the moon, on the Apollo 8 rocket, 6 played an amazing role:

- The names of the astronauts Lovell, Anders and Borman, each had 6 letters.
- The trip was to last 6 days.
- They made 6 television transmissions from space.
- The spacecraft was composed of six stages.
- The spacecraft cost 6 million Pounds.
- The return capsule weighed 6 tons.
- They returned on the 6th day of the week.
- The helicopter that retrieved them from sea was numbered 66.

On another mission, when Neil Armstrong first set foot on the moon on 20th of July 1969, its interesting that the number President Nixon dialed to reach him was 666-6666, the signal of the beast. Which as shown, is a number of man, 666, and all who worship the beast will accept its signal. All economic activity in the world will grow from this sign. 6 is the number of man, who was made on the sixth day. The number 7 is the number of divine perfection.

PART II
Literacy Practices and Language Ideologies

5
Making of Narrative

Understanding Young Children's Story Writing in Social Contexts

MinJeong Kim and Kelly King

Introduction

This chapter explores the social nature of young children's story writing by examining how two young girls co-construct meaning in early story authoring as they tell, draw, write, and respond to each other's stories during free writing time. The data for this chapter were collected as part of a larger ethnographic study in an urban public kindergarten classroom, where the first author of this chapter documented storytelling and story writing practices of young children in the classroom. The story writing event involving the two kindergarteners was selected for analysis because the stories were considered to be "leap-frog narratives" or "underdeveloped" without a clear beginning, middle, and end according to the classroom assessment rubric provided by the school district; yet, the children participated in complex and multilayered social processes to co-create the stories that achieved their cognitive and social agenda as emergent writers. They engaged themselves in the writing activity constantly making playful but intentional efforts that can be called "serious play" (Fox, 2003), problematizing each other's attempts to copy, asking elaborating questions, making boundaries, negotiating intertextual sources, and using multiple semiotic tools in order to learn physical and functional characteristics of the texts they were producing. This intricate nature of children's narrative practice drew our attention to the needs of alternative ways to look at young children's storytelling and story writing as a social and cultural practice in school, going beyond the traditional view on children's narratives as products involving a set of structural skills such as beginning, middle, and end (Stein & Glenn, 1979).

Anchoring the work within a wider view of literacy as a social practice (Street, 1984, 1995, 2005) and a sociocultural approach to narrative practices of young children (Cremin, 2017; Nicolopoulou et al., 2014), this study uses notions of intertextuality and intercontextuality as relevant constructs for understanding young children's writing processes as social and cultural practices to argue that children's early story authoring needs to be viewed as a highly situated act that creates a text inherently intertextual (connections to other texts made in the story), interpersonal (mutual understanding of each other), and intercontextual (relationships among

contextual forces that constitute the story) (Kamberelis & de la Luna, 2004). This chapter begins by exploring how young children's narrative practices has been traditionally conceptualized, and examining the concepts of intertextuality and intercontextuality as alternative ways to make sense of young children's early story writing process. The chapter, then, details a microethnographic analysis of a story writing event between two kindergarteners focusing on the social nature of the authoring process. This kind of approach to analyzing young children's authoring process adds to increasing evidence that the process of young children's story writing needs to be viewed as "narrative in the making" that is continually changing and evolving as opposed to stable, fixed products that present certain cognitive and linguistic structures and skills.

Story Writing as a Social Practice

The traditional approach to children's narratives categorizes oral and written narratives as mature narrative structures or as less cohesive or underdeveloped narratives. In particular, young children's narratives do not usually satisfy the formulaic regularities of narratives such as story grammar (Stein & Glenn, 1979). Moreover, "development," with a few notable exceptions (e.g. Champion, 2003; Heath, 1983) has meant the developmental trajectories of mainstream, middleclass children. That is, literacy scholars have pointed out that the studies of narrative development grounded in stage theories oversimplify the complexity of how children from diverse cultural backgrounds learn to use narratives in a range of social contexts. For example, using story grammar as the only way to assess young children's narratives assumes that the children are not making sense of narrative structures if they produce narratives that do not fit into the internal structure of a story including the initiating event, the problem-solving action, and the conclusion (e.g. Stein, 1979). Consequently, teachers may refer these children for remedial or special education services. These simplifications diminish the rich potential for fostering multiple pathways for teaching and learning narrative (Bloome et al., 2000).

From a sociocultural and sociolinguistic perspective, narrative is defined as sociocultural practices, which involve the use of language (Bruner, 1990; Street, 1995). Narratives for children, according to Fox (2003), are acts of verbal play on which cognitive and affective factors equally influence. In addition, narrative development is not just acquiring linguistic skills, it also includes participating in interdiscursive practices as children learn ways to tell and write stories using discourses of the social and cultural institutions in which children participate, because narratives do not exist in isolation but in some context where the narratives are performed (Bauman, 1986).

The purpose of this chapter is to examine how two young children co-constr uct their stories through making intertextual and intercontextual connections. Inter-textuality, in its simplest meaning, refers to the juxtapositions of different texts. This study particularly builds on an expanded notion of intertextuality as social construction. From this perspective, intertextuality refers to communicative processes constructed by multiple readers and writers to make connections not only to written and spoken texts, but also to non-linguistic communication

resources (Kress, 2010; Lemke, 1990).

Intercontextuality is also an important construct to understand young children's storytelling and story writing processes as they draw on practices or activities from previous contexts (e.g., home, school, peer culture, and other institutional and cultural contexts) to tell and write a story (Bloome et al., 2005). Particularly young children create a third space where they re-mix experiences in the official space, such as classroom learning, and experiences in the unofficial space, such as peer culture and home culture, when they freely participate in authoring activities (Dyson, 1997). This third space opens up a safe space where young children can experiment with ideas from different texts and contexts, power relationships, literate identities, semiotic tools, and different forms of literary practices to construct meaning in writing, which is always open-ended and ever changing (Wohlwend, 2008).

While this chapter describes types of intertextual and intercontextual connections made in children's stories equal emphasis is placed on "how" young children construct those connections, collaborating and negotiating with each other in the process of authoring. Therefore, in this study, the cognitive aspects of intertextuality (i.e., what children know about resources they can use or not) and intercontextuality (i.e., ideas from past, present, and future contexts) were examined as they were embedded in the social processes of authoring narratives. In this sense, intertextual and intercontextual analyses make visible the constituents of children's narratives (i.e., what linguistic, contextual, and cultural resources children use or do not use), and the social process of how children construct and negotiate meaning in their narratives building on a plethora of resources. This definition reflects a variety of ways that intertextuality and intercontextuality have been employed in educational settings in terms of who is making connections, how the connections are acknowledged or not acknowledged, what the consequences are, and how those connections are interpreted and explained (Bloome & Egan-Robsertson, 1993).

Methodology

The data analyzed in this study are drawn from a microethnographic study describing literacy practices of 5-year-old children and their teacher in an urban kindergarten classroom located in a Midwestern city in the USA. Data collection occurred over a period of 6 months. Storytelling and story writing time in the classroom was videotaped to learn specifically about how children develop their oral and written narratives in relation to the broader literacy learning context. The classroom teacher used the storytelling procedures (listening to, telling, reading, and writing stories) as prompts to naturally elicit children's stories as part of the literacy curriculum. Each videotaped storytelling/writing time took approximately one hour. For this chapter, written narratives of two children and videotapes which include conversations between the two girls, Erin and Rebecca,[1] when they were writing their stories at a writing table were selected for analysis.

Data analysis of this study includes two parts: First, the children's written narratives that

corresponded to the selected videotaped story-writing event and field-notes were reviewed to identify intertextual connections made in the narratives. I then inductively analyzed their talk related to their written narratives to find emerging patterns of the children's use of intertextual and intercontextual connections (Kamberelis & de la Luna, 2004; Sipe, 2000). More specifically, I identified: 1) intertextual connections to other signs (i.e., books, other texts, pictures, ideas, and television programs), and 2) connections to the contexts of one's social experiences (i.e., past events, and memories). Second, in order to analyze social interaction during the story writing time, a detailed microanalysis of the story writing event was conducted on a moment-by-moment basis focusing on: 1) who is proposing intertextual and intercontextual connections?, 2) what intertextual and intercontextual connections are acknowledged or not?, 3) what are the social consequences of intertextuality and intercontextuality?, and 4) how do participants interpret the connections? (Bloome et al., 2000).

Beyond Copying: Negotiating Intertextual Conflicts

Rebecca and Erin, two 5-year-old girls, are sitting together at a round table writing stories in their journals during free writing time. The writing journals have blank space on each page for drawing pictures with lined space for writing. Rebecca starts her title page by writing the word "airplane" at the top, then drawing an airplane. When Rebecca finishes drawing on the cover page she announces her story will be about a monster. As Rebecca turns to the first page of her story Erin starts her title page by drawing an airplane too. Then tensions emerge when Erin tries to start her story on the same topic, monster, in line 2.

Excerpt 1: Negotiating Intertextual Conflicts

1. Erin: I am making a story.
2. >I made a story about a monster.
3. Rebecca: Don't write the same like me.
4. Rebecca: Is this the monster?
5. Erin: No, a monster came to my house.
6. >Now a store.
7. Researcher: A monster came to your house?
8. Erin:Yeah.
9. Researcher: Okay.
10. Rebecca: Don't do the same like me.
11. Erin: I need help because this one is huge.
12. Researcher: A monster came to your house?
13. >Are you copying Rebecca's?
14. Erin: No...

15. Researcher: Is it a different story?
16. Erin: No.
17. Researcher: Is it a same story?
18. Erin: Can I sharpen this? I need glue.
19. Rebecca: One million monster came climbing up the road from the plane.
20. Erin: This is one hundred of them.
21. Rebecca: Hey, one hundred that's the same like mine
22. Rebecca: One hundred same (intelligible).
23. ResearcherYou said a monster came to your house.
24. >And you wanna one hundred now?
25. Rebecca: Hey one hundred same like mine like the other.
26. >You wrote the same thing like me.
27. >You didn't know I got one hundred?
28. Researcher: She didn't know.
29. Erin: I did.
30. ResearcherYou did?
31. Erin: yeah
32. Researcher: Is it a same story then?
33. Erin: No
34. Researcher: How different is it?
35. Erin: It's
36. >It's a. different monster
37. >It's a monster came to my house.
38. >It was very big
39. Researcher: They were very big
40. >Hey they are big monsters.They are different.
41. Erin: and there are people.
42. Rebecca: I watch Danny Phantom.
43. Erin: Me too
44. >1 like Danny Phantom, too.
45. Rebecca: He turned into a ghost boy.
46. ErinYeah
47. >And he turned back to a human.
48. >He did have no feet.
49. Rebecca: And then he had the feet.
50. Erin: Then he did have no eye.
51. >Then he turned back to normal.
52. Rebecca: Oh I like that
53. Erin: He’s so mean

Rebecca makes it explicit that Erin should not use her material, monster. Rebecca’s boundary

making and rejection of the potential intertextual link that might infringe on her authorship leads Erin to adapt the material. In line 5 and 6, Erin modifies the material saying "No, a monster came to my house. Now a store." Not every attempt to make intertextual connections is acknowledged by the children in the interaction. There is often a tension between authors in what intertextual links can be made or are not allowed to be made. In this interaction, an agreement exists among children that they should not copy when they tell or write stories. Rebecca and Erin make implicit intertextual references to previous literacy events (contexts) where their teacher told the students about being creative in their stories.

Another tension followed as the two girls interacted with each other developing their written narratives. More specifically, further tension develops when Erin tries to make an intertextual link between her text and part of Rebecca's text in line 20. This tension continues as unresolved until Erin, Rebecca and the researcher reset the boundaries from line 34. Rebecca is developing her narrative by adding another line "One million monsters came climbing up the road from the plane." In line 20, Erin immediately proposes an intertextual link to Rebecca's text saying, "This is one hundred of them" to further develop her narrative. Erin's proposal was contested again by Rebecca in line 25. Even though Erin claims that her intertextual link is not copying Rebecca's theme, Rebecca problematizes Erin's intertextual link as a challenge to her ownership of the theme by asking if the intertextual link was accidental. In line 34, the researcher is intervening the two writers asking, "How different is it?" As a consequence of the challenges from Rebecca and the researcher Erin appropriates her writing theme by characterizing the monster as big and different from Rebecca's. In line 41, Erin adds more to her story. Rebecca acknowledges Erin's revision, and in line 42 she moves on to another theme of her story, Danny Phantom, which is another intertextual link to a media text. Erin adds to Rebecca's descriptions of Danny Phantom from line 47 through line 53. Rebecca and Erin socially and communicatively engage with each other and construct a mutual understanding recognizing each other's contribution to describing Danny Phantom's characteristics.

As such, Erin and Rebecca are going through the sequential social processes of rejecting, making boundaries, and negotiating boundaries to author their stories making particular intertextual and intercontextual connections. The process of establishing a mutual understanding of what counts as "valid" stories between the two girls is an essential component of elaborating cognitively and socially on their stories. That is, the process to resolve the tension between the children consequently led them to elaboration and revision of their written narratives. According to Nystrand (1990) children make an effort to be aware of their audience's needs and their collaborators because they see their texts not as something to be judged but rather as communicative means to balance their own goals as writers with the expectations of their audience when they write and revise for each other. Similarly, the two writers in this story writing event collaborate and struggle together to balance out their purposes as authors. More importantly, this social and cognitive process provides the children with a tool to practice cognitive strategies such as adaptation, revision, and elaboration in order to develop the coherence of their narratives in a socially acceptable manner.

Story Writing as a Pathway Towards Power and Agency

In looking at *Excerpt 1*, it becomes evident that the students are using intertextuality and intercontextuality as a way to assert power over their work and further personal agendas (both social and cognitive). During Erin and Rebecca's writing session they each have an agenda, which creates conflict. Rebecca is intent on writing a unique piece. This can be seen repeatedly as she tells Erin not to write a story about a monster like hers. Erin insists her story is not like Rebecca's yet persists in writing about a monster. From line 25 in *Excerpt 1* Rebecca accuses Erin of knowing that she had 100 monsters in her story and then writing the same in her story. Although the researcher initially defended Erin's story choice, Erin admits in line 29 that she did indeed know that Rebecca's story had 100 monsters. This admitted knowledge is suggestive of Erin's agenda during this writing experience. She is incorporating some of Rebecca's ideas into her story. This act makes an intertextual link between the two stories and the two girls. Erin is literally linking herself to Rebecca, which is suggestive of a social agenda to form a bond between the two girls using their similar texts.

Digging deeper into Rebecca and Erin's writing experience one can see that both girls take stances to further their agendas. The content of Erin's story is negotiated between the two girls. During Erin's writing of her monster story, Rebecca asserts that the story is the same as hers on several separate occasions, stating something similar to what she says in line 3, "Don't write the same like me." Rebecca is clearly claiming ownership of the monster topic and making an attempt to protect the ideas in her story. Yet Erin continues to write a similar story about monsters, creating conflict. Erin utilizes several different types of behaviors when confronted or asked if she is writing the same story as Rebecca. In line 14 she states, "No…" and denies copying Rebecca's story. Later she ignores the direct questions by the researcher and changes the subject. In line 18 she discusses needing different materials (a sharpened pencil and glue). Erin continues to deny

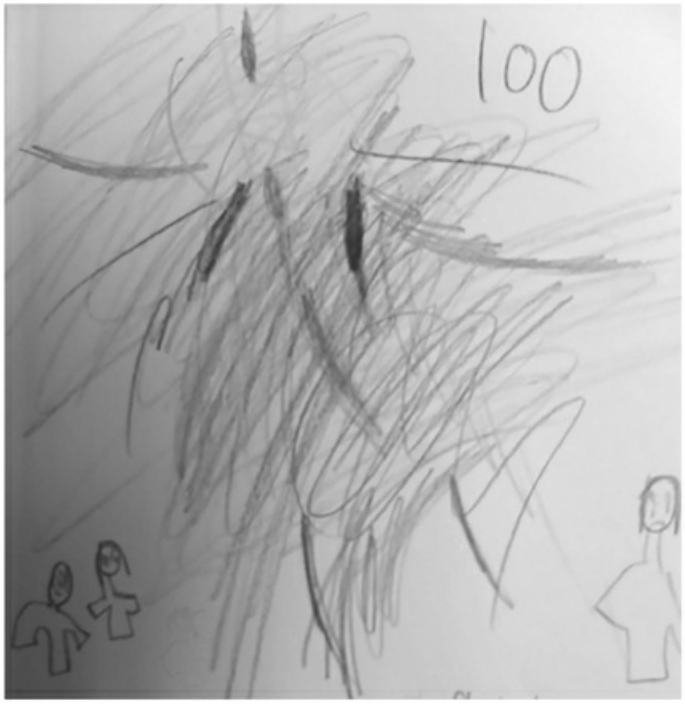

FIGURE 5.1 Rebecca's "Monster" story.

writing the same story two other times before admitting that she knew about Rebecca having 100 monsters. Both students wrote 100 on the top of their paper to mark ownership of this feature of their stories (See Figure 1 and 2). This admission is the beginning of Erin's attempt to negotiate a resolution to the conflict between the two stories. After line 43 Erin switches tactics from simple denial to making the case for how her story is different from Rebecca's. She explains that she has created different monsters that are big in lines 35 through 41. This tactic allows her to still have a link to Rebecca through the topic of monsters, yet establishes a difference that also allows for Rebecca's agenda for maintaining a unique story to be satisfied. Once this occurs Erin's desire to create a social link with Rebecca is accepted by Rebecca. This can be seen in line 42 where Rebecca states, "I watch Danny Phantom." This is the first instance in the interaction where Rebecca is not stating how Erin's story is like hers. She instead shifts to making a link to a media source that she sees as related to the two girl's stories. This statement is a social invitation to Erin that suggests that the conflict has been diffused.

FIGURE 5.2 Erin's "Monster" story.

At the end of the interaction the two girls have stories that remain linked by content. Both stories are about monsters. They also both resolve their stories by referring to their school and teachers in *Excerpt 2*. First, Rebecca names her teachers and Erin and ends the story by saying I love you to everyone. In line 58 Erin responds to this ending by questioning, "Me?" and later asking for a hug and kiss from Rebecca. Erin's ultimate agenda to create a social link to Rebecca has been successfully negotiated. Yet, she pushes a little too far when she asks Rebecca for a kiss and she responds in line 66, "Ee-u." After this reaction by Rebecca, Erin takes care in ending her own story. She also resolves her story by going to school, but then also adds that she goes home to her parents. Erin has learned how to create a connection to Rebecca through their similar stories that results in acceptance by Rebecca and also a hug. But she has also learned that to negotiate this successfully she must maintain a certain autonomy seen in Rebecca's refusal for a kiss and Erin's adaptations in her story to be the same as Rebecca's but with some minor difference (such as having big monsters and going home at the end).

The concept of power considers the perception of individuals about who does and doesn't have power in both official and unofficial capacities (Dyson, 1997; Foucault, 1994). Foucault defines this concept as meta power where there is an intersection of the community's official or established rules and each individual's perceptions of both official and unofficial rules. Rebecca declares ownership over her work by asserting that there is an implied, established rule regarding using other people's ideas in text. Rebecca speaks up to make sure her agenda to have this rule followed is complied with by other community members. Erin also calls upon the perceived power structures in the classroom to further her agenda, yet for an entirely different purpose. Erin has a social agenda. She has a perception that Rebecca is a desirable member of her community and attempts to affiliate herself with her, a way of assuring her own social capital or power. She first attempts to do this by simply connecting the content of her own story to the content of Rebecca's

story. When this does not work she negotiates with Rebecca to find a way to keep her story similar enough to meet her social agenda and still satisfy Rebecca's more cognitive agenda of creating a unique written piece. The two girls would converse back and forth about these topics, making intertextual and intercontextual links to their writing as an indicator of the success or failure of their negotiations.

Narratives as Live-action Texts

Young children use not only English print but also vocalization, gesture, drawing and physical action to interpret written text (Kress, 2005). Rebecca and Erin use intertextual and intercontextual connections (e.g. immediate context and context of the written text), not only as a cognitive tool, but also as a tool to "communicate" and to "perform" their stories in the given social context. These moments in which children participate in symbolic actions such as make-believe play, drawing, and writing can be viewed as significant milestones of development in written language (Nicolopoulou, 2005; Vygotsky, 1978).

Excerpt 2: Narratives as Live-action Texts

54 Researcher: What is the end of your story?
55 >Is that the end?
56 Rebecca: Mrs. Jones at H school came over. And I said I love you.
57 >And then I said I love Ms. Kim and Mrs.Jones and Erin.
58 Erin: Me?
59 Rebecca: And I loved everybody.
60 Researcher: And you didn't cry anymore?
61 >Is it the end of your story?
62 Erin: (Coming to Rebecca) Hug
63 >How about hug?
64 (Rebecca and Erin hugged each other.)
65 Erin: How about kiss?
66 Rebecca: Ee-u
67 Researcher: This is the end of Rebecca's story.
68 Erin: Then I ran to my schools.
69 >I ran to my school.
70 >And I tell my teachers.
71 >And I went back to my house to my mom and my dad and all my friends.

In the process of composing or telling stories, it is often observed that the children situated themselves in the text as if they were actually acting in the narratives. Sipe (2000) delineates that

stance refers to "how children situate themselves in relation to the text" (p. 268). In Erin and Rebecca's interaction, this kind of process occurs from line 56 by situating themselves into the texts as main characters in relation to each other at the end of their stories. Rebecca narrates her story situating herself as a main character in relation to the text in the beginning of her story. When she is about to write the last page of her journal to end her story, the tension between Rebecca and Erin is negotiated and resolved through their verbal and physical interaction. Rebecca included Erin in her text as part of the ending (lines 56–57). Rebecca reads aloud this part while she was writing the part to let the interlocutors (the researcher and Erin) know what she is writing about. Erin responds back to Rebecca's read aloud saying "Me?" in line 58, paying close attention to what is happening in Rebecca's story. The intertextual link between her text and Erin as a character is taken up and validated by Erin. In line 62, Erin comes to Rebecca and hugs her saying "hug." Erin makes this story writing event a "performance" by taking the immediate action as if the story was taking place at the writing table as well as in the text. Finally, the tension that Erin and Rebecca have to deal with throughout the authoring process is finally solved by incorporating their significant others into their texts and defining their relationship as an intimate one. Participating in symbolic and physical actions as part of authoring is well demonstrated in the interaction between Erin and Rebecca when Erin asks Rebecca to hug as a means to resolve the tension and as validation of the intertextual link that Rebecca makes in line 57.

Concluding Comments

"Literacy is always embedded in socially constructed epistemological principles. It is about knowledge: the ways in which people address reading and writing are themselves rooted in conceptions of knowledge, identity and being" (Street, 2003, p. 77–78).

Building on Brian Street's notion of literacy as a social practice we reflected on how young children's narratives are rooted in the social construction of intertextuality and intercontextuality. Our analysis of the children's talk around their stories indicated that the children made intertextual and intercontextual connections using multiple sources available to them such as their peers' texts, media texts, pictures and shared personal experiences. The children constructed an understanding of each other's stance in the authoring process. More importantly, the process of creating mutually agreed narrative texts was neither neutral nor individual. Rather, it contained conflicts among the story writers contesting each other's text. Through negotiating, adapting, and validating, the children finally developed their own narratives. The progress in these negotiations could be seen through the intertextual and intercontextual links the children made and how they established interpersonal understandings: talking about different types of monsters, references to other media, giving a hug, and making connections to school and family. Both children understood in implicit and explicit ways that they had the power to control the outcome, and promoted their own social and cognitive agendas during the writing interaction. Thus, the process of writing stories among them occurred at the level of multiple writers, texts

and contexts embedded in their social actions.

Implications from these findings suggest that children's narratives occur as intertextually and intercontextually situated activities rather than decontextualized practices. Even though the children's narratives did not fully satisfy the regularities of story grammar structures, they were not a collection of unrelated ideas. Rather, they engaged in much more complex processes of orchestrating symbolic representations of personal experiences, literate experiences, and social actions to create their own stories. Recognizing the importance of narrative for early literacy development is not new; however, definitions of children's narrative development are changing as more social and cultural dimensions of children's narrative practices are revealed (Scollon & Scollon, 2001). For example, one current pedagogical trend advocates the use of dialogic and multimodal literacy practices as writing is no longer viewed as merely transferring ideas into print (Rogers et al., 2006; Rowsell, 2013). Rather, it is a social practice where students mediate and make connections with and through their shared experiences (Cremin, 2017). The potential of telling and writing a good story should not be confined to developing structurally coherent narratives as "narrative is also a way of using language and is even inherent in the praxis of social interaction before it achieves linguistic expression" (Bruner, 1990, p. 77).

Note

[1] All names are pseudonyms.

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6
Ideological Battles Over Quechua Literacy in Perú

From the Authority of Experts to the Innovation of Youth

Virginia Zavala

Introduction

In general terms, literacy in indigenous languages constitutes the topic of passionate and controversial debates in the communities involved, since the struggles over who has the authority to police and control it get more intense in relation to other languages operating within more fixed language conventions (McCarty, 2013; Gal, 2018). In this chapter, I will address ideological battles over language and literacy by comparing two different communities of practice and generations of Quechua speakers in Perú through the study of a Teacher Training Program in Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE). First, I examine how "Quechua experts", some of whom work as teachers in this institution, reproduce discursive fields dominated by essentializing and ancestralizing ideologies of language and identity in alignment with normative, purist and monoglossic ideologies. Then I analyze and contrast the way the students in this program, influenced by a growing movement of young indigenous Quechua activists (such as hip hop singers and video bloggers), adhere to more heteroglossic language ideologies, display sociolinguistic innovation and promote a much more inclusive community of Quechua speakers. Based on these two groups of social actors in a specific educational program, my study reveals a tension that has been developing in the last decade between traditional and post-traditional approaches to language policy and revitalization (Pieti-kainen et al., 2016): while the older generation of "Quechua experts" are trying to guarantee the linguistic human rights of first-language Quechua speakers who mostly live or have lived in rural areas, their younger Quechua counterparts are opting for a more innovative and creative route: they are trying to reverse the status of Quechua through the use of the language in urban everyday life and by getting more people knowing, learning and using it. The ideological battles over Quechua literacy are framed within this tension, which is itself part of a multilayered language policy process involving many social actors (Johnson, 2013).

The battles over Quechua that I analyze in this chapter lend support to an ideological perspective of literacy and the questioning of a single uniform thing called "literacy". For instance, in relation to reading and writing in Quechua, there are competing policy claims and definitions of literacy, illustrating how literacy constitutes an active process of meaning making and contest over definition (Street, 2011). In this study, literacy is understood as inherently political and ideological, where ideology constitutes "the site of tension between authority and power on the one hand and resistance and creativity on the other" (Street, 2001: 434). In addition, the way these battles are culturally situated also helps to problematize the assumption that specific consequences can be drawn from a single uniform "literacy" in decontextualized terms. These consequences, such as the acquisition of high-ordered cognitive skills, have lately been framed within generalizations of literacy as a universal good connected to social justice, human development and wellbeing (Sen, 2002; Nussbaum, 2006). Although in the case of Quechua the discussion about reading and writing over the years has not been related to these kinds of consequences, many linguists and Quechua experts have emphasized its connection with processes of maintenance and revitalization, as if the development of Quechua literacy itself led to the major status of the language and the empowerment of its speakers. As I will analyze in this article, this connection cannot be established without addressing the literacy practices that are involved and the way these are embedded in wider social structures and power relationships.

In this chapter, I will develop a telling case (Mitchell, 1984) of what Quechua literacy means for different populations of users, focusing on the cultural and institutional locations of such meanings. I will also maintain that the different conceptualizations of literacy from these two types of populations are influenced by epistemologies of language within specific re-significations of the hegemonic discourse of modern Western linguistics and the cultural values of modernity in which it developed. I am making reference to the view of language as a bounded, objectified homogeneous and structural system, which would express the particular spirit of a people and is linked to a territory (Gal, 2018). While the expert group is more influenced by this depoliticized view of language and reproduces dichotomies that have dominated studies on applied linguistics and language acquisition, the young students conceptualize language development in a more dynamic fashion and from a more politicized and social justice-oriented perspective.

Methodology

This paper draws from two different ethnographic fieldwork experiences, which got connected at some point. Since 2014, I have been following the trajectories of youth who are activating the use of Quechua in urban spaces through hip hop/ rap or video blogging in digital platforms and displaying alternative language ideologies to those from official discourses. In addition, since 2016, I have been researching a Teacher Training Program in Intercultural Bilingual Education in Lima, in order to address the literacy practices that students develop in both Spanish and Quechua. For this latter investigation (and my analysis in this chapter), the data comes from

multiple sources: classroom observations during two semesters (of two Spanish and two Quechua courses); document analysis; multiple interviews with six focal students from different clusters; eight focus groups with other 50 students; constant conversations with directors of the program, and Spanish and Quechua teachers; and interactions with many students in non-university contexts (such as concerts, parties, cultural events, among others). More than a year ago, I witnessed not only that some of the young people whose trajectories I have been following in Lima and other Peruvian provinces were starting to know each other via social networks and other means, but that they were also meeting with many of the students from the training program under study in events where Quechua is not only used, but also debated. Even though this is still in process, it seems as if a community of practice is developing, in the sense of a collection of people who engage on an ongoing basis in some common endeavor (Lave & Wenger, 1991). I am still conducting this research with Quechua youth in different urban sites and new questions will continue to emerge.

Intercultural Bilingual Education and Quechua Experts

Although Quechua has been written since colonial times for religious and indoctrination purposes, a standardized and phonemic Quechua alphabet was created in the decade between 1970 and 1980 with the aim of supporting bilingual schools, which started to be implemented at the state level but with minimum coverage and only in rural areas at the primary level. Linguists and language specialists (in general non-speakers of the indigenous language) were the ones who led the initiative and who were also in charge of publishing dictionaries, grammars and literature within a view of language as an objectified unity. Currently, the situation is not that different, since Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE) only reaches 15 percent of the potential beneficiaries and is still imparted only in primary schools from rural areas. Nevertheless, in many Andean regions, such as the ones where the students from the program under study come from, the Quechua speaking population constitutes more than 50 percent and, contrary to dominant language ideologies that erase Quechua from the cities, it does have a strong presence in urban contexts (Zavala et al., 2014).[1]

In Perú, IBE does not only entail the use of Spanish and an indigenous language (such as Quechua) as both a medium and an object of instruction, but also the incorporation of indigenous ways of learning and cultural content in the curriculum. In general, IBE has been dominated by essentializing discourses of language and identity, which take for granted a natural and essential link between the Quechua language and the Quechua people as a bounded and fixed cultural group, situating the language in a pre-contact past as if it were maximally different from Spanish and promote static views of culture and tradition (Trapnell & Zavala, 2013).

However, there is a great deal of discrepancy around the definition and purposes of IBE, which can also be found in the wide range of practices that can be observed in classrooms (Zavala, 2014). For instance, even though the official discourse dictates a “maintenance” model of IBE, the fact

that this type of education has only been implemented in rural and primary schools for almost half a century reveals a transitional model, in which Quechua is no longer seen as useful when the children learn Spanish. Hence, in a context where the use of the Quechua language has long been associated with social and political marginalization, economic poverty, and low educational achievement, IBE has acquired a remedial and compensatory connotation and has been turned into a tool for social reproduction (García, 2005; Hornberger, 2000; Valdiviezo, 2009).

In Peruvian top-down language policies from an earlier decade (1970–1980), mainly led by linguists from Lima and non-speakers of the indigenous language, the Quechua-speaking population was the invisible interest group (Hornberger, 1995), in the sense that it did not have a voice in decision making within the language policy processes at the national level. In contrast, the last two decades have witnessed language revitalization processes led by Quechua-speaking people themselves, who are now working in key positions of the State and have an important influence in official discourses and policies, at least in those circumscribed to IBE. I am making reference here to a group of Quechua experts who have been involved in the development of intercultural bilingual education in Perú. These *Quechua Yachaq*, or "the ones who know Quechua" (as some people refer to them) interact in workshops, meetings and conferences; and hold a diverse range of degrees in Linguistics or Intercultural Bilingual Education. Most of them work either in NGOs involved in educational issues, in the local office of the Ministry of Education as IBE specialists, teaching Quechua in universities or training teachers in Quechua topics, within a new scenario where Quechua emerges as an economic resource granting jobs and access to material capital (Del Percio et al., 2017). They were born in rural communities and were socialized in Quechua during their early childhood but now live in cities and speak mostly in Spanish. Although these are indigenous intellectuals who are different from linguists from earlier decades, many of them have been trained under these linguists and have been socialized within a modernist European definition of language; that of a bound, pure and structured whole (Gal, 2018). As we will see in this paper, they align with expertise and the objectivity of modernist science, although within specific local ideologies.

Unlike other contexts where there is a distinction between the traditional authority of the "authentic," "native speaker" and the authority of more elite language experts and bureaucrats in matters of written language (Pietikainen et al., 2016), recent sociocultural changes taking place in Peruvian society have produced a fractally recursive move (Gal, 2018): "native speakers" who display authenticity but have also appropriated the discourse of linguists and standardization in order to enact expertise and authority over Quechua and construct divisions among Quechua speakers themselves (see Zavala, forthcoming).

Before approaching the teacher training program in particular, I will recount some of the ways through which experts construct expertise in general, based on my own research in other contexts (Zavala et al., 2014; Zavala, forthcoming). In the first place, Quechua-speaking experts construct their authority based on their metalinguistic and literacy expertise, which they use to elevate themselves over other Quechua speakers whom they frame as not mastering their language. This phenomenon of using literacy knowledge as a basis for expertise or as indexing an educated and a cultured identity is very common, even within academic paradigms such as the Great Divide,

which have been criticized within the last decades (Street, 2001). It seems that Quechua writing gets its status from Spanish literacy ideologies and pedagogical practices, where the connection between learning this "educated" and "cultured" register and acquiring symbolic and cultural capital has been naturalized.

According to Quechua experts' statements during our multiple conversations and interviews along the years, the majority of them who design Quechua instruction manuals and courses support a communicative and dialogic approach to language teaching. However, in practice, the metalinguistic knowledge they have and wish to emphasize has so much importance that these end up being *about Quechua* instead of focusing on communicating in the language. For instance, in one manual designed for teaching Quechua to adults in a Southern Andean region, and not necessarily for training language teachers, I found instructions such as: "Pull out the long words from the story and separate the roots from the suffixes", "Identify the noun phrases in the following sentences", "Complete modifiers after the nouns", "we read, pronouncing correctly, and then we translate to Spanish", and "We read and then we fill in the vowel or the semi-vowel in the spaces provided". We can observe that the students are asked to abstract grammatical patterns away from situated ways of speaking, within a decontextualized/modernist view of language. Moreover, when the authors of these manuals use technical vocabulary such as "semi-vowels" or "modifiers", they are exercising power over their students, some of whom knew some Quechua but wanted to learn more.

Quechua experts also enact expertise based on notions of authenticity, in the sense that they construct themselves as having knowledge of the "true Quechua culture". Hence, they position themselves as "credible", "genuine" and "real" Quechua people and Quechua speakers, and discredit the authenticity claims of others, particularly those who would like to engage in Quechua teaching but were raised in the cities. These tactics of authentication activate an essentialist model of the "real" and "pure" Quechua language, the "real" Quechua subject (the peasant who lives in high-altitude rural communities) and the "real" Quechua cultural practices (customs historically and – at times – presently practiced in rural communities) (Zavala et al., 2014).

This ideology of authenticity also permeates rural IBE schools and Quechua courses for adults, which are taught within a framework of traditional rural practices that posits the relationship between the language and this specific kind of culture as natural and intrinsic (Zavala et al., 2014). For instance, in one Quechua course for adults in an urban area of a Southern Andean region, the following instructions can be observed: "Listen and narrate your experiences of interaction with the beings of the 'ayllu' (traditional Quechua family and village community structure)", "Read texts about the Andean worldview, sharing your knowledge and experiences", "Write and interpret sowing songs", "Write narrative texts about the aging of water", "Write narrative texts about Andean upbringing" (Dirección Regional de Educación de Apurímac, n.d.). It is important to reflect upon these Quechua literacy practices that students have to develop when they are asked to read or write texts about Andean "experiences' (or "*vivencias*" in Spanish) and respond to questions about their content. In this respect, the written word plays an identity function rather than a communicative one, since the goal of the literacy practices seems to construct or "fix" an

“ancestral” and “rural” identity for the student; a student who “should” recover a “pure” and “genuine” (namely “ancient” identity) because he has not received it through intergenerational transmission. These are clear instances of hyper-traditionalisation of language classes (Pietikainen et al., 2016).

All of these language and literacy ideologies circulate in official policy documents, classroom sessions, school textbooks, social interactions, among other instances of language use. They are also reproduced – but also contested – in a specific program for teacher training in Intercultural Bilingual Education in Lima, where experts are in charge of teaching the Quechua courses. I will turn to this in the following section.

The Program

In 2011, the Peruvian government developed a national policy of scholarships within a discourse of social inclusion to finance higher education of youth who were raised in vulnerable contexts. Teacher training in IBE constitutes one of the university degrees that is financed by this grant and that has been implemented since 2014 in three universities located in Lima, under the educational policies of the Ministry of Education and the official discourse of IBE. Quechua experts, many of whom currently work in the Ministry of Education, have contributed to the development of the career and are now teaching the Quechua courses in these universities. In alignment with the Ministry of Education, these institutions understand IBE as “the planned educational process that takes place in two languages (Quechua and Spanish) and in two cultures” (program’s official curriculum from one of the universities). In addition, they implement a sequence of Spanish language courses and another sequence of Quechua language courses within a variety of discipline courses (like history, philosophy or literature) that are taught entirely in Spanish. The courses are taught monolingually in the focal language, that is, Spanish in the Spanish courses and Quechua in the Quechua courses. When students use Quechua in Spanish courses the teachers feel uncomfortable and call the students’ attention; when they use Spanish in Quechua courses, the teachers sanction it by saying that a “virus” has got into the classroom. The analysis that follows is based on fieldwork in one of these universities.

One of my main interests when approaching this program was to look at the way that the institution deals with teaching writing in Spanish and in Quechua. After two years of fieldwork, I found that the institution regulates specific language ideologies and practices, which involve dividing or compartmentalizing the languages, the channels (in the sense of orality vs. literacy), the texts, the discourse genres and the literacy practices. As a consequence, it also produces two types of hierarchical subjectivities: the one linked to the subject educated entirely in Quechua and the one to the subject educated entirely in Spanish, within a conception of languages as separate codes that are related to fixed ethnolinguistic groups and bounded cultural practices (García et al., 2017).

The program constructs a division between what is read and written in Spanish and what is

read and written in Quechua within a dualistic approach to literacy (Canagarajah, 2013), or a particular "Great Divide", which claims fundamental differences between "kinds" of languages and of literacies (and of peoples and cultures as well) and assumes that minoritized languages have their own norms and values that must be preserved. While in Spanish the students learn to write academic texts, in the six Quechua courses of the university career, teachers promote the production – and mainly the record or compilation – of literary texts such as stories, songs, poems and riddles. Despite the fact that this is conducted without much guidance or regulation, there is also an emphasis on the standardization of writing and the use of "pure and authentic Quechua", in the sense of the production of texts within the standardized alphabet and no use of Spanish loanwords. For instance, students are asked to interview peasants, transcribe what they tape record and finally standardize the written product. They are also asked to listen to – and tape record – cultural rituals and then transcribe them in standardized Quechua. Hence, students must write about the traditions that they supposedly know, but within defined norms of grammatical and orthographic correctness that they must obey. As one of the students declared, "What we do is to correct what the grandfather tells us". This shows that teachers orient to Quechua in ideal terms, as if the students (and even peasants from rural communities) were monolinguals with a "pure" and non-contaminated Quechua from Spanish influence and not bilinguals who are constantly developing translingual practices. Moreover, this discourse of "writing the cultural knowledge of our people" does not seem to fit in earlier typifications of discourses of writing and learning to write, in the sense of configurations of beliefs and practices in relation to the teaching of writing (for instance, Ivanic (2005) proposes six discourses). It could instead be situated within a discourse that I am calling "writing as a cultural archive".

Within this orientation to literacy, the program does not promote Quechua writing for communicative purposes or with a specific audience in mind but only to remember and learn about cultural traditions. Besides this absence of a communicative function, Quechua teachers ask students to write about particular topics that are assumed to be intrinsically linked to the language. Hence, they favor writing about "elements of their culture": "things from their community, their parents, their cosmovision", as if the students' culture constitutes only what is related to the peasant world from the rural context. The imperative is clearly not to forget the ancestral values, with the goal of maintaining the sense of belonging to their places of origin. It is not surprising, then, that the Quechua courses do not incorporate digital or new media platforms for developing reading and writing activities online.

In sum, the Quechua teachers from this program reproduce specific literacy practices in Quechua influenced by different discourses: they conceive language more as structure and as competence than as practice; defend a discourse of language preservation oriented toward the past (Duchene & Heller, 2008); sustain an organic connection between language, community and place (Canagarajah, 2013); orient to Quechua as if students were monolinguals rather than to their own multilingual practices, and promote the separation of languages and other types of dichotomies (such as L1/L2, local/global, authentic/non-authentic) that have been part of the discourse of IBE in Perú and other contexts. Nevertheless, many of the students subvert the divisions and contest this sociolinguistic regime that, according to them, restricts what they

would like to do through Quechua literacy.

The Youth

In the last decade, numerous initiatives of language policy "from below" are opening ideological spaces in favor of the use of Quechua in public spaces, especially from young activists who are challenging assumptions about language and culture, engaging in more political language struggles and developing Quechua literacy within new paradigms. This phenomenon gets framed within the emerging field of indigenous youth and multiculturalism, which has recently discussed the role of indigenous youth as policy makers who display agency and sociolinguistic innovation towards reshaping themselves and claiming new indigenous identities (Wyman et al., 2014; McCarty et al., 2009; Hornberger & Swinehart, 2012). It is worth mentioning that these young people are starting to differentiate themselves from the older generation of experts, whose language and literacy ideologies I discussed in the last section. For instance, one Quechua activist from Cusco who devotes himself to dubbing Disney movies to Quechua referred to Quechua experts as "a group of old Quechua-speaking people who mythicize the topic of Quechua and want to be extremely erudite, but who fall into certain blunders when trying to display their erudition" (interview with author).

These young people – who represent an heterogenous group – have followed different trajectories of bilingualism (for instance, some of them are emergent bilinguals), many were born in the cities, they are not necessarily related to IBE and have not received linguistic training. Although these young people have not had an impact on the education sector and IBE (which is not much open to new views of language), they are closer to the Ministry of Culture and the Directorate of Indigenous Languages, which implement language policies that could reach beyond the scope of the education sector. These activists get invited to events, appear in the news program in Quechua run by the Peruvian public TV and interact with social actors in these institutional spaces.

I have pointed out above that the discourse of IBE and Quechua experts impose certain identities on bilingual speakers and construct many of them as illegitimate on the basis of the idea that the speaker is not using the "correct" form of language in relation to the identity that he/she is claiming (Pavlenko & Black-ledge, 2004; Bailey, 2000; Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). However, current globalization processes, increased mobility and technological advances have produced a different sociolinguistic scenario in Perú. In this context, and in contrast to the above, urban young Quechua-speaking people in certain networks are constructing their own patterns of language use and identity, which counter the fixed patterns and reified identities that are attributed to them by experts within official discourse. In fact, these people are currently challenging binarisms still reproduced in IBE official discourse, such as tradition and modernity, rural and urban, first and second language, speaker and non-speaker of an indigenous language, indigenous and non-indigenous, local and global, indigenous language and Spanish, authentic and inauthentic, and so

on.

The students from the IBE program under study are influenced by this youth but also by experts who teach the Quechua courses in the university and are constantly sharing with them the language ideologies that I have analyzed in the previous section. These students come from rural areas or very small urban districts from Andean provinces and do not have a clear idea of what IBE is or what type of university career they have enrolled in when they first arrive in the capital city. Mainly due to their constant use of social networks, they get in contact with young Quechua activists who are trying to promote Quechua in urban contexts through social media and other means. The students from the program interact with some of them through social networks, but also invite them to events in their university or attend other events in the city that the activists organize, such as music concerts, panel discussions, book presentations, etc. Although when they begin the program they are largely accepting of how and what they are taught from Quechua experts, as they advance in their studies they start to question the approach used in the Quechua courses. They are critical towards the fact that the teachers only promote the production of literary texts or that they spend too much time discussing textbook materials elaborated by the Ministry of Education for primary IBE schools. "We wanted more", pointed out one of the students in a focus group. Another one added: "I have always wanted to write, for instance, a paper or a monograph in Quechua. We would also like to write our thesis in Quechua". As a matter of fact, there are many students who would like to engage with Quechua writing but not only for "remembering" ancestral experiences or *vivencias*.

Besides challenging the classical writings that are being developed in the indigenous language, the students also consider that the "pure" Quechua that is used in the classroom does not reflect the current bilingual identity that they intend to display. For instance, one of the students commented that he feels constrained during the Quechua courses because he is being trained as a monolingual Quechua isolated from contemporary language practices. Moreover, he pointed out that when he visits his parents and speaks "in his intellectual and academic Quechua," this has not worked for him because people do not understand him. Another student also declared that when she tries to use the type of Quechua that is favored in the classroom "I have difficulties to converse with my mom". For these students, this type of Quechua does not fit in a world of Quechua bilinguals and trilinguals; a world where, as one student said, "not even my grandfather speaks pure Quechua". This idea is aligned with what a Quechua activist from Cusco once told me: "I see much solemnity in academic Quechua. You can't use that Quechua for everyday expressions".

Nevertheless, the students do not only feel bilingual but part of a broader community that includes those who have not learned Quechua as their mother tongue and even those who are interested in learning it, within a reconstruction of classic ethnic boundaries or a phenomenon of metroethnicity (Maher, 2005). They neither follow an ethnic movement nor do they construct themselves as part of a fixed identity or group, but are more oriented towards cultural hybridity, multicultural lifestyles and cultural ethnic tolerance. As one student stated, "we belong everywhere". In terms of literacy, this has clear consequences. As another student declared, "We should write for Quechua-speaking people but also for those who are not Quechua-speaking, but

in Quechua. It's not that you want to impose your Quechua, nor teach them Quechua forcibly, but invigorate the language". With that aim, one of the students, for example, declared that he wants to write in Quechua for Spanish-speaking people but using strategies that could help them understand the language. He mentions the inclusion of glossaries in the case of texts, or subtitles in the case of videos. His point is the following:

> Today's struggle should be the everyday nature of Quechua, not vindication or claims, not even inclusion, but the everyday nature itself. Only turning Quechua into the everyday we will guarantee its survival, in public spaces, in academic ones, in everything.

In addition, the students want to write, not only to remember an ancestral practice, but to be read and listened to. One of them declared: "The symbolic is OK, I publish a book of poems, that's nice, that sells, it is fashionable. But what I really want is to be read, to be cited, I would like to cite other people too". Another one asked: "Do you want your writing to be used in different domains or will you write for theorists and intellectuals, or for the teacher to grade you and that's it?" The students realize that earning a voice does not only imply the power to say things in their language (as when they write about their places of origin and their ancestral practices), but, above all, to be heard by other people and also to be able to influence them (Ruiz, 1997).

Motivated by the above, a group of students decided to create their own virtual library in Quechua (and in Spanish), which they are using to "disseminate what we could do with the language". This Web page does not only include a virtual library but also a journal where the students write in both languages "about reflective topics that are affecting us". In this platform we can find poems and literary criticisms of those poems, a letter addressed to the Peruvian president, a reflection about multilingualism not being a problem, and a critique about the notion of interculturality. A student who wrote a literary commentary in Quechua about another student's book of poems received a message from a Peruvian writer who lives in Paris and who proposed her to develop a more ambitious literary work that would incorporate four books of poems. "Since that happened, several people know me", she declared. Clearly, writing in Quechua is inserting itself in another kind of paradigm: as one student put it, "It is a way of writing more academically, and it's writing in Quechua not for a reduced audience but for a more general one that includes Spanish-speaking people, Quechua-speaking people, bilinguals and everybody".

Many other young Quechua activists from other contexts are writing in Quechua within this same paradigm. One of them aligned with the students from above by saying that the videos in Quechua that he produces will benefit all the Peruvians: "Those who know how to speak the language but also those who do not know, but who will start speaking it". This activist makes different kinds of videos, which combine verbal, audio and visual modes in one product. In October of 2017, he created a video with the aim of encouraging the Peruvian soccer team when they were playing a crucial game prior to the World Cup. In this video, the young man appears writing a letter in Quechua. However, at the same time, he reads it aloud and a soccer game appears on the screen together with Spanish subtitles. As he repeated several times, people will be more motivated with the language if "they can see the action, read the action and listen to the action".

In contrast to Quechua experts, young people are starting to inscribe Quechua literacy within

new social practices. Instead of excluding others through literacy knowledge, they are trying to construct a wide community that includes not only "native" speakers but also heritage, emergent and new speakers. Moreover, since they want to reach a wider audience, they are not so driven by orthography, language purity and essentializing connections of language and culture. They are more interested in using new media and multimodal literacy because they want to be read and listened to as they present themselves as contemporary bilinguals.

Final Remarks

This study shows that the way Quechua literacy gets constructed and practiced is influenced by multiple discourses that are dynamically interwoven in people's literacy activities and go beyond the immediate scene or the situated local events (Brandt & Clinton, 2002). Hence, both experts' and youths' literacies could be framed within more general and global tendencies of sociocultural phenomena, such as modernist approaches to language, new media and globalization, global movements of indigenous youth, alternative forms of modernity, and so forth. However, these social actors take hold of these tendencies, but adapt them to local circumstances. While acknowledging these general tendencies, policy makers and teachers should look into the complexity of literacy ideology and practices that are generated locally and that are highly relevant to the agenda for the development of indigenous languages.

On the one hand, in the case of expert literacy, local level practices reproduce the relationship of social domination between Spanish and Quechua in a fractally recursive way and within Quechua-speaking people themselves. Expert literacy is embedded in elitist Spanish literacy ideologies, essentializing ideologies of language and identity, discourses of language preservation and, in general, dominant ideologies about language and schooling. In relation to the latter, it reproduces a monoglossic, structuralist, logocentric and depoliticized conception of language; and promotes the separation of languages, of cognitive compartments, of language groups and of cultures. This shows that literacy is not only rooted in conceptions of knowledge, identity and being, but also of what is meant by language. As Wee (2016: 333) points out, "Language policy no longer treats debates over what is meant by 'language' as irrelevant, given that such ontological issues are themselves ideologically informed".

On the other hand, students' literacy is embedded in rapid technological developments, in the diversification of texts in the context of digital communication, in the detraditionalization of societies (Wee, 2016: 333), in a post-language revitalization paradigm (Pietikainen et al., 2016), and in a global movement of indigenous youth as policy makers (Wyman et al., 2014). Furthermore, students engage in literacy practices within an increasing elasticity of the concept of language. They deconstruct the association between language, community, identity and culture; they develop translingual practices; use language to change the world; draw on repertoires of social semiotic resources in contemporary contexts; and challenge some of the dichotomies of modernist linguistics (such as language and society; structure and use; native and non-native, etc.). Although

traditional assumptions involving language are very persistent, students (influenced by many young Quechua activists from other contexts) are showing resistance to these assumptions and are turning into resistant languaging subjects (Flores, 2017).

The expert approach to literacy analyzed in this article is aligned with a traditional paradigm of language policy and revitalization, which tries to guarantee the linguistic human rights of first-language speakers and those who live their lives predominantly through these languages (Pietikainen et al., 2016). This paradigm has developed strategically important arguments for mobilization and legislation in Perú and other contexts throughout the last four decades. Nevertheless, if we follow the transformational perspective of The New Literacy Studies, we analyze power relationships contextually, and we acknowledge that literacy is not an essential good, we can discover that expert literacy reproduces discourses of exclusion that disenfranchise a wide sector of the Quechua-speaking population from reading and writing in their language. I agree with Pennycook (2002) in that these are times to strategically problematize rather than strategically essentialize. Youth in general, and the young students from the program studied in particular, are promoting shifts in the social meanings of Quechua and in notions of authority and legitimacy as they relate to linguistic forms and speakers. Their aim is not to "preserve" languages but to make powerful claims to belonging and exert new power relationships towards a future with more social justice. They insist on the recognition of their bilingualism, open spaces for the legitimation of new subjectivities and enact another form of modernity that could benefit indigenous social actors in the long run.

Note

1 The census of 2017 shows that there were 3'799.780 people over 5 years old who declared that Quechua was their mother tongue (which represents 13.6% of the population). In addition, 22.3% of people over 12 years old self identified as Quechua.

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PART III
Literacy Practices Framed by Recognition of Complex Heteroglossic Social Contexts

7

Literacy Teaching and Learning in School as Polyphonic

A Close Examination of a Lesson Focused on *Fun Home*, the Graphic Memoir and Musical

Mollie V. Blackburn

About a decade ago, I read the graphic memoir *Fun home* (Bechdel, 2006). I loved it. Shortly thereafter, in an out-of-school book discussion group that Caroline Clark and I facilitated, the adolescents in the group decided to read and discuss it. Together, we loved it. So, when years after that, I taught an LGBTQ-themed literature course, I thought I would read it with them. And, frankly, I thought we would love it. I selected several excerpts to read together as a part of a unit on memoirs and biographies. I found videos of Bechdel talking about her drawing and writing processes as she created the graphic memoir. I was so excited. A colleague who also loved the book asked to come sit in on the class. It was going to be great.

Except, it wasn't. Students just didn't have much to say about it. They did not seem at all familiar with it. They just weren't that into it, and I hadn't adequately prepared for getting them into it. It was just after that time that the musical version of *Fun home* (Kron & Tesroi, 2015) opened on Broadway. I had the great privilege of seeing it the summer between my first and second semesters, just after it was recognized with a Tony Award. (Lucky for me, I purchased my tickets before the announcement.) As a result of the recognition, the authors – Bechdel, Kron, and Tesori – were interviewed by Terry Gross (2015) on Fresh Air, in August, just before the next semester and school year would begin. There was, all of the sudden, it seemed to me, so much more to work with, so many more voices. Rather than showing the videos of Bechdel talking about her processes, I selected songs from the play that correlated with the excerpts from the book. I also select sections of the interview related to the content in the songs and parts of the book I shared with the students. Together we read but we also listened to songs and the authors talk about both the book and the musical. We read; we listened; and we talked. As a result, we could hear even more voices.

It might be argued, indeed I argue, that we were immersed in polyphony. Thus, reflecting on these teacherly experiences as a researcher challenged me to take a polyphonic perspective of Street's work.

Polyphony in Literacy Events

According to Bakhtin, polyphony in literature is a "*plurality of independent and unmerged [fully valid] voices and consciousnesses*" (p. 6, emphasis in original). It is "what happens *between various consciousnesses*, that is, their interaction and interdependence" (p. 36, again, emphasis in original) that is important to Bakhtin. In other words, voices and consciousnesses must be both independent and in*ter*dependent. He says that "the artistic will of polyphony is a will to combine many wills, a will to the *event*" (p. 21, emphasis added). And here he means an event in literature. I will refer to this as a *literature* event.

What I do not mean by a literature event is a kind of literacy event. Heath (1983), as Street (1995) takes up in his work, defines a literacy event as "'any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of participants' interactions and their interpretive processes'" (p. 162). Of course, Street (1999) argues that such events are really literacy practices in that they are not just the "observable behaviors around literacy … but also the concepts and meanings that are brought to those events that give them meaning" (p. 38). In an effort to connect to Bakhtin's conceptualization of polyphony, though, I, like Heath, use the term literacy event. Accordingly, I focus on observable behaviors in a single event. That said, I also strive to attend to meaningful concepts brought to that event, as Street advises.

The term literature event can be used to describe a kind of literacy event, one where not just any piece of writing is central, but where a piece of writing that is deemed to be literature is central. I'm not particularly interested in determining what writing does and does not count as literature (any more than I am interested in determining what does and does not count as art, for example). So, "literature event" used in this way is not of particular use to me. Instead, I use literature event to mean an event in literature, where, according to Bakhtin, many independent voices interact, even depend on one another, in any given *event* in a novel. A literature event, then, can be a part of a literacy event, but it is not a kind of literacy event. That said, Bakhtin's notion of polyphony in literature events can push understandings of literacy events by bringing voices and consciousnesses in those events to the fore.

It is not too much of a stretch, it seems to me, to think of polyphony in a *literacy* event. Like in a literature event, in a literacy event many wills are combined, interaction and independence are attended to, and a "plurality of independent and unmerged [fully] valid voices" are included. In a *literature* event, these wills, voices, and consciousnesses are those of characters, particularly Dostoevsky's characters, as well as the author himself. But what about in a *literacy* ' The wills, voices, and consciousnesses are still of the characters and authors, at least when a literature event is a part of the larger literacy event, but the wills, voices, and consciousnesses are also of the participants in the literacy event. In the case of a classroom literacy event, they are of the students and teachers, in addition to the characters and authors of the literature event.

Methods

In an effort to explore the possibilities, I examine the literacy event with which I opened this chapter in more detail. I documented this and many other literacy events and practices across three semesters in which I taught and researched an LGBTQ-themed literature course at a local high school. In the first semester, a doctoral student and research apprentice worked with me on the project. Across all semesters, field notes (Emerson et al., 2011) were taken of every class meeting, audio or video recordings were made of most of the class meetings, documents collected included course materials and students work, and interviews were conducted of students and some adult staff at the school. Recordings were studied and pertinent excerpts were transcribed. For the purpose of the project represented in this chapter, I analyzed all of the data associated with a single lesson in the third offering of the class.

The class was about 6 weeks into the semester-long course. There were ten students, all seniors, in the class. Six of them preferred the use of feminine pronouns, three of masculine pronouns, and one preferred the use of the singular plural pronouns, such as they/them/theirs. Among the ten, six identified as straight, two as gay, one as bi, and one as asexual. Five identified as white, three as Black, one as Mexican, and one as biracial. We were studying memoirs. We had read Kuklin's (2014) *Beyond magenta*, Andrews' (2014) *Some assembly required*, and Hill's (2014) *Rethinking normal*, and students were about to write their own memoirs. In the bit I focus on here, though, we were studying *Fun home* (Bechdel, 2006), which, as I mentioned, is a graphic memoir, as a way of thinking about different forms their memoirs might take. This was the third time I had taught the course, and this was my third effort at engaging students in *Fun home*.

Focal Lesson

I hone in on a 12-minute part of the 42-minute lesson within an 85-minute class period. In this bit, we focused on three texts, construed broadly. One of the three texts was two pages out of Bechdel's graphic memoir (see Figure 7.1).

There is so much to discuss on these two pages, even just in terms of polyphony, which is the lens I bring to it here. There are the voices of college-age Alison and her father, Bruce, most prominently. Alison is eager to connect with her father since just coming out as lesbian, but her father is unavailable to connect with her because he is so isolated in his own internalized homophobia. Bakhtin argues that there is also the voice of the author, Alison Bechdel. I would argue that intertextual (Kristeva, 1980) connections bring more voices into the conversation. First, in these two pages, twentieth-century French novelist Colette is referenced. More specifically, her autobiography is referenced, although you cannot tell this from just these two pages, but that is the "Colette book" Bruce gave Alison (Bechdel, p. 205), saying "You should learn about Paris in the twenties, that whole scene," which was during a time that Colette was married to a man and, with his encouragement, engaged in extramarital lesbian affairs. Thus, her voice whispered themes of same-sex desire within and against the confines of traditional marriage, as we come to know about Bruce. Since my students were unlikely able to "hear" the voice of Colette, I briefly

described who she was. Similarly, I briefly introduced them to Odysseus, Telemachus, Stephen, and Bloom. Odysseus and Telemachus, of Greek mythology, and Stephen Dedalus and Leopold Bloom, of James Joyce's *Odysseus*, contribute to the conversation with talk about parent and child relationships, such as the one under scrutiny on these two pages, that is between college-age Alison and her father. With Stephen and Bloom comes the additional voice of Joyce, who is understood to have some shared life experiences with Stephen. In other words, in just the literature event of these two pages of Bechdel's memoir, there is already cacophony.

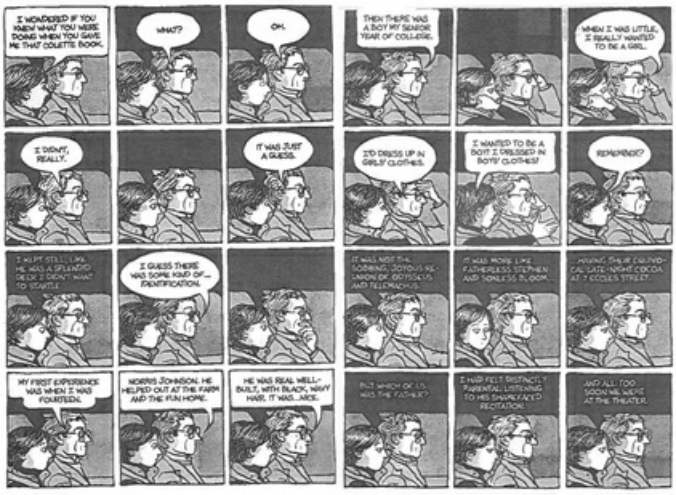

FIGURE 7.1 Excerpt from Alison Bechdel's *Fun home.*

In this classroom literacy event, though, we brought another text: an excerpt from "Telephone Wire" (Kron & Tesori, 2015). This song is in *Fun home* the musical by Lisa Kron, the lyricist of the musical, and Jeanine Tesori, the composer of the musical. The song represents these two pages, combined with the following two pages. See the excerpt we listened to in Figure 7.2.

In the song, college-age Alison struggles to talk about what it is like, both of them, daughter and father, being gay. He talks about his experiences as a closeted gay man, but he makes no effort to connect with her, despite her efforts. The lyrics bring, again, college-age Alison and Bruce's voices to the conversation, but this time these characters, and thus their voices, were crafted by Kron and Tresori, drawing on Bechdel, rather than Bechdel herself. In Kron and Tresori's play, the adult version of Alison sings while watching her college-age-self talking with her father in the car. Her father also sings, but unlike adult-Alison, he is in the moment of the car conversation. The difference here is that the adult version of Alison knows that her father will, 4 months after this conversation, die from suicide. There is a weight, then, added with her contribution to the conversation. It could further be argued that because we listened to the song, rather than read the lyrics, the voices of the actors singing the song were also brought into the class conversation in this particular literacy event.

Excerpt of Telephone Wire Lyrics Played for Class

[ALISON]
Telephone wire
Run and run
Telephone wire
Sundown on the creek
Partly frozen, partly flowing
Must be windy, trees are bending
Junction 50 field needs mowing
Feels like the car is floating

Say something!
Talk to him!
Say something!
Anything!
At the light, at the light, at the light, at the light
At the light, at the light, at the light, at the light

Like, you could say
"So, how does it feel to know
That you and I are both—"

[BRUCE]
Hey

[ALISON]
Yeah?

[BRUCE]
Where do you want to go?

[ALISON]
Oh, I don't know

[BRUCE]
I know a bar that's kind of hidden away
A seedy club for folks like… you know
Could be fun

[ALISON]
But Dad, I'm not twenty-one

[BRUCE]
Yeah, right

[ALISON]
Telephone wire
Long black line
Telephone wire
Finely threaded …

FIGURE 7.2 Excerpt from Jeanine Tresori and Lisa Kron's *Telephone wire*.

The third text in this focal lesson was an excerpt of an audiorecording of an interview, by National Public Radio's Terry Gross (2015), of Alison Bechdel, the author of the book; Lisa Kron, lyricist of the musical; and Jeanine Tesori, composer of the musical. In doing so, the authorial voices become much more pronounced than they are in the literature events of reading the pages from the memoir or listening to the lyrics of the song. By "turning up" the authorial voices, the significance of the aforementioned weight that adult-Alison helps to make visible with her hindsight is underscored by both Bechdel and Tesori's reflections on this particular scene in the play. Bechdel reflects on her first time seeing the scene:

> *Bechdel:* I just wanted to say that when I first saw that moment on stage in an early workshop version of the, of Bruce turning to not college-age Alison but the adult Alison, that was, that was, so emotional. I totally teared up, and I don't, I'm not a crying person but that was really powerful that the adult Alison and the father finally were connecting, on stage, before me.
>
> *Gross:* Which you didn't get to do in real-life.
>
> *Bechdel:* Yes.

By amplifying Bechdel's voice in the literacy event, readers and listeners were challenged to acknowledge the emotional impact of the potential for this gay daughter and father to connect, whether it is unrealized potential, as in the book, or realized potential, as in the play and song.

Tesori further added to this conversation:

> I find this particular section unbearable because of my own relationship with my father, who is not alive. You know, the, the things that were left unsaid and the silence just, the presence of that silence in, in my life is, makes me, I literally just shut my eyes when this goes by, because there's so many things. It would have been easier had certain things been said, and it's too late now. And watching the attempt, and the incompleteness of the moment is, I find it really wrenching to watch.

The addition of Tesori's voice to the literacy event underscored the consequences of the unrealized potential of connection, not only as was the case between Bechdel and her father but also between Tesori and her father. There is a depth, then, added with their contributions to the conversation.

So, in the book, or even in just the two focal pages, there are Bechdel's characters, and her as the author, and further embedded are Joyce's characters, and him as the author, among others. In the play, there are Kron and Tesori's versions of Bechdel's characters, and theirs as authors. And in the interview, the authors' voices are amplified, and Gross's voice is added. With these additional voices and volumes, we gain weight and depth. And to all of this, we bring the voices of teacher and students. My voice as the teacher is already evident in my descriptions of Colette and Joyce's *Odysseus*, as examples. Here, though, I focus primarily on student voices. After reading the scene aloud together, students talked about the disconnect between daughter and father. In response to my question, "What's going on there?" Kristy said,

> The part that caught my attention the most was when he was saying how when he was little he really wanted to be a girl and dressed in girls' clothes… . And she was like, "I wanted to be a boy, dress in boys' clothes. Remember?" And it reminded me back to the scene on this side [see Figure 7.3, which we had read, heard, and discussed previously], where he's like, "Is *that* what you want to look like?" And it's like, he was kind of like judging her for it. But, like, he did the same thing when he was little.

Similarly, when I asked what they thought of the song, whether the song captured the content of the panels, Desiree said:

> Yeah, I think the ending of the song really stuck out because it was like "that we're both – " then she didn't get to say 'gay,' he like cut her off. So I don't remember what he said, but he said something that had nothing to do with what she was singing about… . So, it like put the awkwardness that was captured on the paper into the song.

The added voices of students to the conversation of the literacy event, as distinct from a literature event or even a collection of literature events, shifts the focus from daughters' longing for connections with their fathers to *these* daughters, that is Kristy and Desiree, blaming Alison's father for putting obstacles in between his daughter and himself and therefore preventing their connection, indeed assuring their disconnect.

Discussion

The grief that we hear in Bechdel and Tesori's words did not get taken up by students, but the frustration in the younger Alison, particularly as represented in the book, *did* get taken up by these young women in the class. I suspect that this dropping of grief and taking up of frustration

was, in part, because these young women identified less with the adult authors and more with the young character in the book. Regardless of the reason for this move, on which I can only speculate, the consequence of bringing the students' voices into the conversation – a move that is not paralleled in Bakhtin's analysis of Dostoevsky – is that it not only complicates our thinking, as bringing any additional voices and volumes might, but more importantly is that it challenges us to remember why it matters and to whom, why the panel or song or interview matters to *whom*.

FIGURE 7.3 Excerpt from Alison Bechdel's *Fun home*.

So, it turns out that I, as both teacher and researcher, but particularly as teacher, don't really care if Dostoevsky engages in what Bakhtin calls the "artistic method" (p. 69) of polyphony, but I do care about collections of voices that are simultaneously independent and interdependent. That is to say, I care more about polyphony in literacy events than in literature events, even when literature events are embedded within classroom literacy events. More specifically, I care about the grief, frustration, and complexity polyphony can provoke. Such provocations demand continual explorations of what constitutes humanity in what is taught and learned in literacy

events in educational contexts. Let me be clear. This is not a mere preference for dealing with grief and frustrations and complexity. It is a call for reconceptualizing literacy practices and the teaching and learning of literacy by foregrounding polyphony that makes it possible for dealing with grief and frustration and complexity and other similar aspects of being human among other humans.

Together, in polyphony, "voices remain independent and, as such, are combined in a unity of a higher order" (p. 21). A higher order that Bakhtin argues "destroy[s] the established forms of the fundamentally *monologic*" (p. 8, emphasis in original). Polyphony is ubiquitous in all events, literature, literacy, and otherwise. There are always the wills, voices, and consciousnesses of those participating in the events. Even in an event that may seem unpopulated, there are still the wills, voices, and consciousnesses of those who *were* in the space, those who *will* be, or even those who *may* be. Vladimir and Estragon wait for Godot, and though he never appears, his presence is undeniable (Beckett, 1953). The monologic, perhaps like Godot, never really exists. There is never the one and only logic that drives all. People may refuse to recognize the logics of others, but they exist, with and without such recognition. Acknowledging polyphony destroys the myth of the monologic.

A parallel can be drawn between Bakhtin's notion of polyphony, which stands in stark contrast to the monologic, and Street's conceptualization of literacy as ideological as distinct from autonomous. Let me be clear, polyphony is not the same as ideological, nor is monologic the same as autonomous, but it can be argued that they challenge us to do some complementary intellectual work. According to Street's ideological model of literacy (2001), literacy is always ideological, "it is always embedded in socially constructed epistemological principles" (p. 7), and it is "always contested, both its meanings and its practices" (p. 8). In contrast, the autonomous model of literacy "disguises the cultural and ideological assumptions that underpin it and that can then be presented as though they are neutral and universal" (p. 7). While the two models can and do exist, the autonomous model is a fiction. Even a literacy event in which a single student sitting in an empty room taking a standardized test is highly ideological. The student brings with her understandings and experiences of the content of the test and test-taking itself. The test carries with it values of what counts as knowledge, among many others. In short, such a literacy event is saturated with ideologies, even when these ideologies are being actively ignored. Just as acknowledging polyphony destroys the myth of the monologic, recognizing the ideologic nature of literacy events and practices exposes the fictional nature of the autonomous model.

In short, it is worth understanding literacy events and practices as both polyphonic and ideological. To do otherwise, that is to understand them as monologic or autonomous, is not only foolish and but also severely constraining. Consider, for a moment, the earlier time I tried to teach Bechdel's *Fun home*. There were the voices of college-age Alison, her father Bruce, the author Bechdel, as well as Colette, even if not those of Kron and Tesori, or even of Joyce. But because I did not pedagogically foreground the notion of polyphony, maybe students didn't listen for those voices, maybe they couldn't hear them, either way, though, they did not add their own voices to the conversation. In the later time I tried to teach Bechdel's *Fun home*, the literacy event wasn't more polyphonous, necessarily, but polyphony was pedagogically underscored, with intention

and direction. Students heard; they listened; and they contributed to the conversation. Through the listening and the talking, the ideologies, which were, of course, there all along, became named.

Understanding literacy teaching and learning as both ideological and polyphonic matters because those of us engaged in literacy events and practices, including but not limited to students and teachers, are challenged to think and feel with more complexity as a result of encountering a diversity of independent and interdependent voices and consciousnesses, including one another's. In other words, when literacy teaching and learning is understood as ideological and polyphonic, it has the potential to be humanizing, inviting teachers and students to recognize and perhaps even embrace aspects of humanity in themselves, one another, and others.

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Notes

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8

Academic Literacies as Laminated Assemblage and Embodied Semiotic Becoming

Paul Prior and Andrea R. Olinger

Early in the 1980s, a confluence of situated empirical studies of literate and communicative practices (Heath, 1983; Scribner & Cole, 1981; Scollon & Scollon, 1981; Street, 1984) challenged theories that defined literacy as generic technologies (chirographic or print), fixated on textual artifacts (products), theorized literacy based on features of texts, and weighed the cognitive and moral value of persons on deeply ethnocentric literate scales. Those studies documented literacy was neither fixed in the features of textual artifacts nor located in acts of inscription, but was instead embedded in social practices diffused throughout people's cultural-historical lifeworlds. Such practices were complexly situated in cultural histories; deftly tuned to specific motives, functions, and forms of participation; and thus best characterized as extremely heterogeneous and evolving. This practice perspective on literacy rejected easy, ethnocentric ascriptions of value to persons, groups, and their literate activity in favor of precise, ethnographic attention to situated literate practices and their consequences for making persons, groups, and social worlds. Street (1984) named this new view of literacies the *ideological model*, contrasting it with the older *autonomous model*.

Lea and Street (1998, 2006) identified three pedagogical frameworks for academic writing on a continuum from autonomous to ideological models: *study skills* (transmission of general, autonomous literate knowledge and skill); *academic socialization* (acculturation into "the ways of talking, writing, thinking, and using literacy that typified members of a disciplinary or subject area community", 2006, p. 368); and *academic literacies* (viewing literate practices as "more complex, dynamic, nuanced, situated, and involving both epistemological issues and social processes, including power relations among people, institutions, and social identities", 2006, p. 369). As researchers interested in how academic literacies and disciplinarity are produced, represented, received, used, and negotiated across temporal-spatial (chronotopic) scales, we are struck that, decades after those pioneering studies, we still find practice approaches tied down in the dense ideological undergrowth of old, autonomous models of literacy.

As Prior (1998) observed, practice models of communication shrank the size of social formations (shifting competence from national languages to speech and discourse communities) and expanded the phenomena included (from knowledge of language as a system to situated ways of using language). However, these revised units retained neo-Platonic architectures, where shared norms of a community govern successful participation and communication. In contrast, we take up the radical implications of Vološinov's (1973) claim that language is a "purely historical phenomenon" (p. 82) (i.e., not a system of rules), which means communication and

coordinated activity are at most grounded in *quasi-shared* experiences (e.g., Prior, 2001; Rommetveit, 1985). We argue then for a shift from autonomous neo-Platonic abstractions to the messy, historical, embodied, necessarily semiotic character of human activity and becoming.

A fully embodied, material, and historical account of academic literacies and human becoming is needed to extricate academic literacies from the pairing of metasocial ideologies (where social groups are represented as bounded, discrete territories that reproduce socialized members) with metasemiotic ideologies (ways we classify, value, and socially index different semiotic resources), a combination that routinely leads literate practices to be imagined as *reading-and-writing-in-x* (whether *x* is as concrete as a specific class or as abstract as an international, multilingual discipline). We have found Latour's (2005) flat, rhizomatic, definitively anti-Platonic architecture for the social meshes well with the notion of *chronotopic lamination* (Prior, 1998; Prior & Shipka, 2003), which integrated Bakhtin's (1981) dialogic *chronotopes* (representational and embodied) with Goffman's (1981) interactional *lamination*. Once we understand activity as chronotopically situated, mediated, dispersed, and dialogic, it follows that any cultural event, act, or artifact, as a convergence of many histories and a history-in-the making, can only emerge as a *laminated assemblage* (Prior & Schaffner, 2011).

Academic Literacies, Laminated Assemblage, and Embodied Semiotic Becoming

Whether typified in the everyday scheme of four modes (reading/writing/listening/speaking) or representations of social groups as bounded territories, these commonsense metasemiotic and metasocial ideologies keep resuscitating autonomous models of literacy. Even in the face of fatal empirical evidence and theoretical critique, these ideologies reanimate a host of zombie concepts (e.g., discourse communities, autonomous texts, singular authorship, literal meaning, stylistic clarity, writing ability as a psychological trait) and continue to ensnare practice theories of academic literacies and human becoming.

Popular culture, writing textbooks, and even much scholarship still typically represent writing in terms dictated by the dominant metasemiotic ideology: as an autonomous mode (*writing*) rather than as part of fully embodied semiosis; as a noun (written artifacts and textual genres) rather than a verb (the embodied activity people do around writing); as the product of individual authors working alone in bounded episodes rather than joint activity across extended chronotopic scales; and as well-defined skills (fixed knowledge we can teach and learn) rather than in-flux ways of being in evolving worlds (something we become and make).

Reporting research on writing around graduate seminars in different fields at a US university, Prior (1998) argued typical conceptualizations of writing as text and transcription make poor units of analysis and proposed *literate activity*— situated, mediated, chronotopically dispersed, and necessarily multimodal—as an alternative:

> When seen as situated activity, writing does not stand alone as the discrete act of a writer, but emerges as a confluence of

> many streams of activity: reading, talking, observing, acting, making, thinking and feeling as well as transcribing words on paper.
>
> *(p. xi)*

We see now that this challenge to metasemiotic ideologies of writing defined literate activity as multimodal by framing it around other seemingly autonomous modes (*reading*, *talking*, *thinking*, etc.). Using commonsense categories complexly to challenge commonsense categories used simplistically is tricky. By 1998, Prior's claim should already have been old news, documented in the situated literacy and writing process (see Witte, 1992) research of the 1980s.

Fundamentally, whether in Vološinov's (1973) account of externalized discourse emerging from a sea of inner signs or Vygotsky's (1987) account of *sense* as affect-rich, imagistic, motivated, and personalized, it should have long been clear that autonomous semiotic modes cannot exist in the material-historical world we inhabit (Prior & Hengst, 2010). Agha (2007) captures this insight in defining language use as "events of semiosis in which language occurs" (p. 6), a radical departure from neo-Platonic notions of language as an ideal system. Paraphrasing Agha, Prior (2015) suggests literate activity represents "events of semiosis in which writing is implicated" (p. 197). That so much research has nevertheless continued to study autonomous modes (writing, reading, and talk) over the past 20 years suggests the persistent power of commonsense categories to erode theoretical principles.

Prior (1998) also described how disciplines are typically represented in everyday and research contexts in neo-Platonic terms—as idealized, territorial, consensual discourse communities people *enter into* and *join*, communities that "have" genres, members, borders, and rules that govern disciplinary activity. This metasocial ideology is robustly grounded in a matrix of commonsense tropes and typifications: conduit metaphors for communication; container tropes for social groups and institutions; the neo-Platonic imaginary of macrosocial norms and rules that govern individual performance; the dominant political ideology of nationality; and linguistic typifications of social groups. It is striking that despite different theoretical accounts of the social (discourse communities, communities of practice, Discourses, activity systems), the examples relentlessly replicate already named social categories—home, school, work, high school jocks, biker bars, butchers, physicists, medical clinics.

Practice views of learning have found it difficult to escape this metasocial gravity. In contrast with territorial metaphors of becoming a member of a community, Lave and Wenger (1991) described learning as "trajectories of participation" (p. 121) in evolving social practices that simultaneously continue and transform social formations and identities. However, when it came to disciplines, their account reverts to strikingly territorial representations:

> in most high schools, there is a group of students engaged over a substantial period of time in learning physics. What community of practice is in the process of reproduction? Possibly the students participate only in the reproduction of the high school itself.... The reproduction cycles of the physicists' community start much later, possibly only in graduate school.
>
> *(Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 99)*

Similarly, in *Worlds apart: Acting and writing in academic and workplace contexts*, Dias, Freedman, Medway and Paré (1999) draw on practice theories of language, learning, and literacy,

yet articulate a radically autonomous account of disciplinary literacies. At the end of a 7-year study exploring relationships between university study in professional fields like architecture and work in corresponding professions, they offered this surprising conclusion:

> Writing at school and writing at work are indeed worlds apart. Writing *is* acting, but in Activity Theory terms, writing at work and writing in school constitute two very different activities… *we write where we are*… location, it would appear, is (almost) everything.
>
> *(p. 223)*

This conclusion is remarkably strange. If a student's work in a senior architecture design course in April is irrelevant to her work in an architecture firm in May, then what possible relevance is there for more distant experiences—other courses in college; k-12 schooling; home life; community activities; or childhood play?

Even uptakes of Latour's actor-network theory can reinscribe these metasocial frameworks. For example, Brandt and Clinton (2002) argued research on literate practices has been too local and proposed to remedy this by drawing on Latour to reconceptualize literacy as *a* thing-in-action, "a transcontextualizing social agent" (p. 351) that can bridge the micro- and macro-social. This uptake, however, conflicts with Latour's (2005) explicit rejection of *micro* and *macro* as a legitimate architecture for society. How can Latour be invoked to bridge a gap he argues does not exist? How can a flat architecture that invites us to follow trajectories converging in and spinning off from artifacts and events —things small, mobile, massively multiple, constantly becoming—be invoked in support of literacy writ very large in the singular?

Discussing how temporal scales converge in activity and learning, Lemke (2000) asked questions at the heart of understanding trajectories of semiotic becoming: "How do *moments* add up to *lives*? How do our shared moments together add up to *social life* as such?" (p. 273). Considering how fast, local processes co-evolve with long, slow ones, Lemke points to "the circulation through the network of *semiotic artifacts* (i.e., books, buildings, bodies) that enables coordination between processes on radically different timescales" (p. 275). We argue this coordination of massively multiple trajectories is best understood as a matter of laminated assemblage and semiotic becoming. To illustrate what this approach entails, we turn briefly to our research on academic literacies. First, Andrea describes a study that highlights the embodiment of style; Paul then traces trajectories in a case study of a biologist's becoming across the lifespan.

Embodying and Laminating Academic Writing Styles

Whether academic writing is taken as a single, generic skill or the specialized practices of discourse communities people are socialized into, style is a key element in representations of writing. Generic style guides like Strunk and White (1999) or Williams and Bizup (2014) have been embraced by academics as roadmaps to literate clarity, while style guides of disciplinary associations (e.g., APA, MLA) are routinely, if unevenly, enforced by journal and book editors. In my research, I (Andrea) have examined how academic writers represent and enact disciplinary

writing styles, specifically exploring the co-constructed, dynamic, laminated nature of stylistic perceptions and practices (Olinger, 2014, 2016). As illustrated in the examples below from semi-structured and text-based interviews with three academic writers (one undergraduate psychology major and faculty members in entomology and film history), my data display style, an element of academic literacy practices, as laminated assemblages of embodied dispositions.

Interviews with Corinne, a college senior writing an honors thesis in psychology, identified the complexly laminated nature of two academic writing styles she was learning during her junior and senior years: that of Dan, a professor who taught a three-semester course for thesis writers and asked students to write in a "narrative style" for the first semester of the course, and that of "Harold" (a pseudonym), her advisor, who wrote in what she called a "stereotypical academic" style. These stylistic designations invoked more than the linguistic and textual features she associated with each professor; they also indexed audiences, genres, processes, and histories. For Corinne, Dan's style was a way of communicating with wider audiences—"trying to make it accessible to the- to a person who isn't even in a psychology field"—and she saw it applying to a range of genres, such as emails and press releases. She also speculated that she enjoyed Dan's style— especially his focus on making introductions engaging—because it resembled writing processes for literary analyses she had done for college literature courses and AP English. In those genres, she could rely on one source of knowledge—like a novel—and "just let my thoughts flow." In contrast, the process of writing her literature review in Harold's style, "felt very dry" to her because she was synthesizing around 80 articles, each of which sent her to earlier articles, and she had to focus on citing accurately. She said she felt "freer" writing her discussion section because she didn't have to stop and cite. Corinne's constructs of "Dan's style" and "Harold's style" are, as a result, not just bundles of linguistic/textual features but also laminated bundles of chronotopes indexing relationships, genres, experiences, and emotions.

As such, styles emerge, arguably, as a kind of habitus (Bourdieu, 1977)—embodied dispositions of readers and writers rather than products of abstract, algorithmic rules (cf. Hanks's 1996 account of discourse genres.) These dispositions became visible in my videorecorded interviews, as participants often enacted and took stances on stylistic qualities through metaphoric gestures and other embodied actions. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that metaphors, even without gestural expression, are embodied, grounded in people's "physical and cultural experience" of the world (p. 14). For instance, that humans sleep lying down likely contributes to consciousness often being described as *up* and unconsciousness as *down* (e.g. "Wake up", "She's up", "He fell asleep") (p. 15). Like the embodied gesture that emerged and circulated among members of a biochemistry lab to index a molecular process (Becvar, Hollan, & Hutchins, 2005), these writers' metaphoric gestures embodied and shaped how they viewed writing styles.

For example, Claudio, an entomologist, praised scientific papers that, "if you read [them], your mind never wanders"; "you just go from paragraph to paragraph, and it's just the flow is so clean… the topic sentences are always spot on." As he said "wanders," he floated his palm from high to low (see Figure 8.1). "Never wanders" and the corresponding gesture invoke the Communication as Journey metaphor, an entailment of the conduit metaphor, with his floating palm enacting the smooth movement of the reader's mind and his positive evaluation of the style

(Olinger, 2014).

Compare Claudio's metaphoric gestures with those of Jing Jing, a film historian, who was contrasting a writing style she associated with the field of history against a style she identified as characteristic of sociology or political science, a style she described as "very boring, like math, okay bl- blah blah blah blah okay step one, step two, step three." As she said the word "step" three times—v erbalizing her perception of the mathlike, too-rigid and explicit structure of those disciplines' styles—she sliced her flat hand in stages down through the air (see Figure 8.2). The quick, sharp movements of her hand construct her negative stance toward this choppy, plodding style.

FIGURE 8.1 Claudio's floating palm as he said "wanders".[1]

FIGURE 8.2 Jing Jing's quick, sharp, slicing gestures ("*step* one, *step* two, *step* three").

These contrasting enactments of seemingly similar gestures (Claudio's floating, Jing Jing's slicing) display that academic writing styles are embodied and affective, registered in gestural metaphors and other embodied actions. These dispositions—toward how texts make writers and readers feel (e.g., Claudio's and Jing Jing's smooth or choppy pathways; Corinne's flowing or dry sensations)—are folded into the laminated assemblages that are identified as styles. To consider how such dispositions develop over academic writers' lives, we turn next to Paul's research on semiotic becoming across the lifespan.

Nora Becoming a Biologist

Interested in tracing ontogenetic trajectories of literate activity, disciplinarity and semiotic remediation (Kell, 2015; Prior, 1998; Prior et al., 2006; Roozen & Erickson, 2017), I (Paul) have been conducting longitudinal ethnographic case studies of three biologists. I focus here on Nora, who in 2018 holds a post-doctoral position at the University of Maryland, College Park. Nora has been conducting and publishing laboratory and field research on the neuroendocrinology and

behavioral display of social bonding in zebra finches. This case study draws on semi-structured, life-history, and text-based interviews; participant observation; collection of texts that reach back to elementary school; and memory (because Nora is my daughter). The other two participants are her husband, Ben, and their friend and colleague, Matt. Although in different specializations, the three live together and are involved daily in mundane and disciplinary interactions. People sometimes wonder if it is tricky to do research within my family; however, I am more struck by the way everyday life affords participant observation across diverse settings and over long timeframes. With Nora, this perspective began with her birth in 1987, encompassing a wide range of socio-material settings that offer rich grounds for understanding how moments have added up to her still-emerging personhood—including her ways of being in the world as a biologist.

My research has identified experiences dispersed across Nora's life that have motivated, animated and informed her becoming-a-biologist, including:

- childhood encounters with popular science texts and artifacts,
- home experiences with cats and dogs,
- family nature activities (e.g., bird-watching, kayaking),
- family pretend play (e.g., Cindy Magic, described below),
- family talk,
- certain school experiences (e.g., math in high school, lab experiences in college), and
- varied other cultural activities (e.g., musical performance).

At the center of Nora's trajectory of becoming a biologist, and the chain of texts that index that becoming, I see an affective and motivational orientation to animals and the emergent linking of that orientation to discourses and practices around biology.

Car Rides (1991—2017): Authoring Words and Worlds

In research on composing processes of academic writers, Prior and Shipka (2003) found that environment-selecting-and-structuring practices (ESSPs), "the ways writers tune their environments and get in tune with them, the ways they work to build durable and fleeting contexts for their work, are central practices in literate activity" (p. 228). ESSPs highlight the centrality of making and aligning with what Hutchins (1995) calls functional systems, in which people coordinate activity with distributed "artifactual and social interactional resources" to accomplish situated goals (p. 316). Our family regularly took long drives (3–14 hours) for summer vacations and family visits. For Julie (Nora's mom, my spouse, who got her PhD in 2001 and joined the faculty in Speech and Hearing Sciences) and me (Nora's dad, who got a PhD in 1992 and joined the faculty in Writing Studies and English), these drives occasioned long discussions of academic reading (e.g., about Goffman's footings) and writing (e.g., discussing how to structure arguments). While in the car, we also listened to audiobooks, made family plans, and discussed family problems. Nora said her earliest sense of what it meant to be academic came from hearing Julie and me talk about the details of our work—a kind of conversation she aspired to participate

in. To illustrate the complex blend of affect, identity, and emerging practices that come together in laminated assemblages and semiotic becoming, I turn next to two moments that highlight trajectories of family, fantasy, nature, semiotic practice, and science, centered in the functional systems afforded by long drives.

In 1991, Nora (about 3.5 years old) and I were on a long drive through Wisconsin and Illinois. Motivated by the need to pass time and by Nora's recent viewing of—and deep anger and distress about—the animated Disney film *101 Dalmatians*, we began to develop a pretend game, which we later came to call *Cindy Magic*. In the game that emerged on that drive, Nora imagined a new persona, Cruella Magic (a heroine to counter Cruella de Vil, the villain who kidnapped Dalmatian puppies to make a fur coat). Cruella Magic (Nora) would find and save lost or kidnapped baby animals. I played their parents: I would knock on the car window, Nora would answer, and I would ask about my alliteratively named babies (e.g., "Hello, this is Holly Hippopotamus. I've lost my children: Henry, Heather, and Hannah. Do you have them?"). Cruella Magic (Nora) would always have rescued the children and would return them to the very grateful parent (me). Pause. Then I would knock again, starting a new sequence ("Hello, this is Tina Tiger…"). Nora loved this routine of saving animals and we played it for hours that day.

Over the next 6 years, the game continued, often played in the car or during chores. It became more elaborate, with an extended family of *Magics* and a wide range of scenarios. It eventually focused on the lives of the daughters of Cruella Magic's sister, Cindy Magic: Mary (Nora), Elizabeth (me), and eventually Jane (Anna). The sisters' adventures ranged from the fantastic (e.g., using satellites and robots to locate a kidnapped mother who was booby-trapped with bombs by Cruella de Vil) to the mundane (e.g., cooking an imaginary dinner). Julie studied this game during her PhD, and we have both analyzed and theorized her data (e.g., Hengst & Miller, 1999; Prior et al., 2006). *Cindy Magic*, with its focus on animals and leadership, was part of Nora's broader engagements with nature (reading books, watching films, bird watching, playing with pets, hiking and kayaking) that converged in her decision to major in biology.

In 2017, Nora was taking the lead in an acoustic analysis of temporal fine structure in zebra finch vocalizations in the laboratory where she was a postdoctoral fellow. Their data suggested the fine structure might convey an acoustic signature (identifying individual birds) as well as biologically relevant information about the type of call and the bird's sex. She and her co-authors presented an initial analysis at the 2017 American Society of Acoustics (ASA) conference and then planned to write up a journal article. I asked Nora to sketch a network representation of her work on the paper, something that would depict key interactions she had had with others around this analysis (see Figure 8.3).

In the post-ASA phase, Nora writes that she went home and had intense discussions with "mom and dad" (Julie and me), "particularly one good one" in the car (about 2 hours) from Indianapolis to Champaign. As she and her co-authors debriefed the ASA paper, they found that if they ran the pair-wise comparisons in two directions (rather than one-way as they had done before the conference), the results shifted and evidence for an individual acoustic signature became less compelling. I had heard Nora and Julie talking on the phone one night about the difference but hadn't gotten the details, so as we drove through the flat farmland of central

Indiana and as her sister and daughter fell asleep in the backseat, I asked Nora to explain the differences. Our conversation dug into how the statistical analysis was done, how the data records were set up (which resulted in one-way comparisons somewhat confounded with sex), and how to conceptualize identity (i.e., as including both social categories, like sex or age, as well as a bird's individual characteristics).

FIGURE 8.3 Nora's drawing of key interactions across four phases of the zebra finch fine structure project: Developing a National Institute on Deafness and Other Communication Disorders (NIDCD) post-doctoral proposal; designing and doing the research; preparing the co-authored ASA paper; and working toward publication after ASA.

Discussing her sketch in an interview, Nora noted:[2]

> The conversation in the car was about specifics of the analysis that I haven't fully fixed or rectified yet,... so what clicked for me in that car ride, which is why it was so helpful, was that, if you're looking, if there's behaviorally relevant or biologically relevant patterns in a vocalization in the time wave form... you know, we could suspect that there would be 10 types of information available that we could see and analyze... because there's all kinds of things you can hear in a sound, like motivation, stress, sex, gender, individual identity, all these things, right? So we, so I decided that it made sense that you could go hierarchical, so that if you're trying to look at all of them at once, then things are going to be confounded, so like it's going to be harder to see individual identity if you look between males and females because really there's going to be individual identity and male and female identity.

As we talked about our interaction on that drive, Nora noted she and I tend to have our best conversations while driving or doing other activities. Nora did eventually explore the hierarchical analysis, but she and her co-authors decided to re-analyze the data another way and moved the paper to submission and publication in *Nature Scientific Reports* in April 2018. What these two car rides illustrate is that academic literacies develop and occur not inside the borders of autonomous texts and territories, but in complexly dialogic, embodied and laminated chronotopic worlds, where family and lab, vacation and work, childhood pretend-play and adult science, embodied interaction and textual artifacts, all are fused, purely historical, embodied semiotic phenomena.

Conclusion

Our research illustrates how *reading-and-writing-in-x* is a category error, much like Ryle's (1949) example of the visitor who, given a tour of Oxford and shown various colleges, libraries, labs, and offices, finally asks where Oxford University is, not recognizing its dispersion across particular spaces and times. We see how the simple commonsense categories of "style" and "writing in psychology" for Corinne are likewise dispersed: more personal (Dan's and Harold's style), more affective and embodied (indexing senses of flow, freedom, and dryness), and less bounded (entangled with Dan's writing for non-academic audiences and her literary analyses in English classes). Semiotically, the metaphoric gestures Claudio and Jing Jing produce as they describe textual flows in recognizable academic styles also point to a deeply embodied, dispositional sense. Olinger (2016) draws on these kinds of findings to argue that style be understood as "the dynamic co-construction of typified indexical meanings (types of people, practices, situations, texts) perceived in a single sign or a cluster of signs and influenced by participants' language ideologies" (p. 125). The instability of style (Olinger, 2014) like the complexity of disciplinarity (Prior, 1998) arise from ongoing processes of laminated assemblage.

Critically, we do not mean to evoke laminated assemblage as a simple process of fixing (even fixing-for-now). For Goffman (1981), lamination signals fluid heterogeneity, not congealed composition, as he evoked how people dance deftly into, out of, and across the multiple activity footings always immanent in any interaction. *Lamination* evokes laminar flows as multiple rhizomatic lines of Lemke's (2000) already heterogeneous semiotic artifacts (bodies, texts, tools, buildings) converge in moments, while *assemblage* (the here-and-now of activity) is always becoming—to evoke a technical metaphor, moments are points of dynamic turbulent blending. What spins off from such moments are laminated, heterogeneous artifacts heading into their futures. Tracing moments across a lifespan, as in Nora's family car rides over two decades, displays the deeply distributed and heterogeneous character of semiotic becoming and laminated assemblage around academic literacies.

Academic and disciplinary life are popularly represented as specialized clubs where enthusiasts share esoteric knowledge, membership is regulated, and activity is governed by common norms and goals. As we have noted, even practice approaches to academic writing and learning have tended to isolate disciplinary domains and conceptualize academic literacies as *reading-and-writing-in-x* (whether *x* is a classroom, institution, or discipline). Street's (1984) ideological model of literacy should have alerted researchers to the futility of that framing of the problem. Literacies, disciplinarity, and acts of semiosis are purely historical, dialogic phenomena, which means we need dynamic, emergent, embodied, messy notions like *laminated assemblage* and *semiotic becoming* to grapple with them. It is past time to fully recognize the radical implications of those early studies of literate practice and to finally put to rest the dominant metasemiotic and metasocial ideologies of autonomous models of literacy and becoming.

Notes

1 This figure was previously printed in "On the instability of disciplinary style: Common and conflicting metaphors and practices in text, talk, and gesture," *Research in the Teaching of English* (Olinger, 2014). Copyright 2014 by the National Council of Teachers of English. Reprinted with permission.

2 The transcription here is loose and excludes backchannels ("umhm," "yeah"). Ellipses indicate deleted words.

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Part IV
Literacy as Praxis in Complex Educational Contexts

9

Literacy Research as Ideological Practice

Knowledge, Reflexivity and the Researcher

Uta Papen

Introduction

Drawing on my ongoing research about literacy teaching in English primary schools, in this chapter I examine the processes of knowledge creation in ethnographies of literacy. I start from the assumption that all research is ideologically framed. Within education policy making, the current trend is to demand of researchers that they produce 'evidence-based' findings, implying that there are simple 'facts' to deduct from research and that partiality can be avoided. Concomitant with such views about research, literacy is seen as a set of generic skills and there is a strong belief that 'best practices' in teaching such skills can be identified if 'gold standards' of research are applied. Brian Street's (1993) notion of literacy as ideological practice is grounded in a different perspective: all uses of literacy, within schools, in everyday life and in research, are socially situated and framed by dominant discourses and practices. In this chapter, I illustrate what this perspective means by examining the processes of knowledge creation during a recent ethnography of literacy teaching. My aim with this chapter is to offer a nuanced account of what constitutes a valid ethnographic inquiry into the practices of literacy teaching in primary schools in England. The result illustrates poignantly the ideological nature of literacy and literacy teaching in primary (elementary) schools. My main intention with this chapter though is not to present what I found but to examine the contexts of research I worked in. In so doing, I distil in some detail the layers of contextual circumstances that shaped my work as an ethnographer in a primary school. I will show that what others call 'bias' is in fact a deliberate act of positioning myself in a way that best allowed me to understand how the teachers and the children I worked with engaged with policy and how, in so doing, they produced specific practices of teaching and learning.

As I seek to produce a transparent account of the processes of knowledge creation in ethnographic research about literacy, a degree of reflexivity (Roulston & Shelton, 2015) is required. Introspection, a part of researcher reflexivity, as Brian would have agreed, is an essential habit of mind of the ethnographer. Retheorizing literacy as social practice requires us to take a

close look at how we produce knowledge about literacy practices. It requires us to extend the discussion of contexts for literacy to the contexts of research and to the intersections between research, (teaching) practice and policy, bearing in mind that as researchers we do not only want to 're-theorize' but to contribute to a reform of policy and practice. In the current era of research and policy-making, however, ethnographers of literacy face widespread beliefs, amongst the public and policymakers, in the superiority of experimental research. To counter these hegemonies, we need convincing and transparent accounts of how as ethnographers we produce knowledge and what this knowledge can offer to teachers, schools and governments.

The Study: Literacy Teaching in Primary Schools and the Role of Phonics

The empirical research I draw on here was an ethnography of literacy teaching, conducted from October 2013 to July 2014. Throughout these months, I regularly visited a Year 1 (5 and 6-year-old children) primary school class. The project itself, however, was much wider: my classroom observations were interlinked with a policy, media and research analysis that I conducted at the same time as visiting the school. In the following, I briefly discuss each of these layers to reveal the processes of knowledge creation in my project. As the reader will see, this allows me to draw attention to the various interrelated contexts – educational, social, and political – that shaped both the practices of teaching in the school and my documenting and making sense of these practices as a researcher.

Researching the Policies (Layer 1)

At the time of my research, as today, primary literacy teaching in England was regulated by a national curriculum that sets out the statutory requirements for what and how to teach reading and writing. Synthetic phonics – a specific method of teaching literacy – was part of these requirements. Teachers and schools were (and still are) obliged to deliver a number of national tests, amongst these the controversial Phonics Screening Check, to be passed by all children at the end of Year 1 (Flewitt & Robert-Holmes, 2015). In early summer 2014, I watched the children in my class getting ready for this test. Instead of their normal phonics sessions, at this time, the so-called 'alien words' – words with no meaning – 20 of which are included in the test, took centre stage in the phonics lessons. National policies, as this example shows, had a direct bearing on the local context I researched. Accordingly, a policy analysis had to be part of my ethnography. Alien words are used in the test because they are claimed to assess 'pure' decoding skills without the child being able to draw on their knowledge of a word's meaning when decoding. That this is deemed useful is of course a strong illustration of the autonomous model of literacy (Street, 1993)

and its role in primary literacy policy. Not only is meaning not being tested, it is deliberately excluded from the assessment. Instead, an isolated and abstract skill is assessed. In media and policy discourse, however, the Screening Check is discussed as a proxy for reading ability. We can see here that what is named and counts as literacy strongly determines policy and practice (Street, 2011).

So how did I go about understanding the policies of literacy teaching that set the context for the local practices I observed on the ground? And what did I find? I found a strong 'phonics discourse' (Goouch, 2007) to dominate government policy, translated into curriculum guidance, the promotion of specific teaching materials, teaching and testing practices. It is important to add that this phonics discourse is in fact a 'synthetic phonics discourse', the English government actively discouraging schools from using other phonics methods.

How did I reach this conclusion? To begin with, I need to acknowledge that I came to this project with a critical view on the current policy. The self-congratulatory pronouncements by ministers and school inspectors about the power of synthetic phonics to make every child in the country literate (which I had heard about on the radio and TV) had made me curious and, admittedly, sceptical. Hence, my desire to find out how phonics actually works and whether it is as good as is claimed. Readers may say that from the start my research was compromised by my bias. But where did this 'bias', or rather, this position, come from? Having researched literacy for many years, I knew that literacy teaching was a perennial issue and that this was not the first attempt to find a 'magic bullet'. So why should this new one, synthetic phonics, work? My scepticism was confirmed by my readings of relevant research literature. There are very few studies evidencing with certainty the superiority of synthetic phonics over analytic phonics and other methods of teaching reading. The research evidence on synthetic phonics is highly uncertain. How could I disregard these views when starting my own investigation? Not only those in the tradition of New Literacy Studies ('my camp', so to speak) had reservations. Educational psychologists too have struggled to find clear evidence in support of synthetic phonics as the best approach (see Torgerson et al., 2018; Torgerson et al., 2006).

Critical discourse analysis (CDA), not unlike ethnography, has at times been accused of subjectivity. CDA researchers are said to 'cherry pick' the documents they analyse and to start from preconceived ideological positions (Machin & Mayr, 2012), leading in that way to a partial account of what discourses dominate. Could I be accused of this? The first step of my policy analysis was to find out what documents there were. In the case of primary literacy policy, the argument of cherry picking could be countered easily. The policy documents and politician's statements about primary literacy policy that I could find are striking for the uniformity of their content: it is phonics and phonics again! So, to some extent, the choice of the specific document I analysed in detail did not matter as there is little divergence of views and ideas in the current policy (see also Dombey, 2014). While I only analysed one document in detail, I can say with some confidence that this text does express the government's view. Furthermore, the document I analysed was prominently placed on the Ministry of Education's website. It appeared to be addressed to a wider public or at least to teachers and schools, setting out the government's views on phonics in surprisingly strong and at times even informal language. I had no reason not to

believe that this document expressed the government's view on phonics (see Chapter 4 of Papen, 2016).

As a scholarly approach, critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2003) requires the researcher to look closely, sentence by sentence, and at times word by word, to carefully examine any assertions a text makes. This is also how I proceeded. I still remember spending much time pouring over the nearly six pages of the document line by line. Fittingly, it is called an 'evidence paper'. My insights were the result of a careful and rigorous analysis, to understand the 'evidence' it presented. This process, amongst other things, made me realise how the (unidentified) author of the text selectively drew on academic research to make their case and how, as different reports and studies were cited, a curious but significant change in the description of phonics occurred. What was initially referred to as the effectiveness of 'systematic phonics', drawing as evidence inter alia on a national inquiry into literacy teaching in the US (NRP, 2000), in the course of my text turned first to 'systematic synthetic phonics' and finally to 'synthetic phonics'. The latter, however, is a specific version of phonics. Its effectiveness is contested and the quoted US inquiry did not conclude that synthetic phonics is superior to other phonics methods. The English government, nevertheless, chose synthetic phonics as its declared 'best practice'. Matched funding offered to schools for buying phonics materials from a government-supported list of commercial programmes ensured that synthetic phonics became widely used in primary schools. One of these programmes, ReadWriteInc., was used in St Hilda, the school I worked in.

In the Classroom: Ethnography (Layer 2)

The ethnographer's first and most important job, Brian used to insist, is to find out 'what's going on' in the setting or context under study. Crucially, the ethnographer has to do that initially without judging. Despite my scepticism of phonics (see above), this is what I set out to do.

To find out what is going on in a setting, the ethnographer needs time. While some researchers suggest 'rapid ethnography' (Jeffrey & Troman, 2004) as an alternative to the traditional model of fieldwork, in my case, time was an essential condition for knowledge to be created. Many of the insights I gained are the results of gradual discoveries and observations taking place over the many hours spent in the school. My repeated participation in phonics lessons showed me how strongly the government's policy of supporting synthetic phonics had shaped the practices of teaching reading in the school. Facilitated by a set of synthetic phonics teaching materials that included phonics cards and posters as well as worksheets and booklets for the children, on four of five mornings of the week, the teacher and teaching assistants (TAs) led small groups in the practice of learning sounds and their corresponding letters as well as how to blend these to form words. Prior to the school's acquisition of this synthetic phonics programme, no such lessons had taken place, as the teachers told me.

That I stayed beyond these phonics sessions and attended as many lessons as possible turned out to be of utmost importance, helping me to understand that the teaching of reading went far

beyond synthetic phonics. Contrary to what the government likes to claim, it was not synthetic phonics as such but a range of teaching and learning practices, involving a diversity of texts and reading activities that allowed the children in St. Hilda to learn to read. In essence, my findings (Papen, 2016), suggest that if synthetic phonics worked, it did so because of how the teachers embedded it in a rich literacy curriculum and how phonics was related to learning in other subjects, for example science lessons or religious education. Staying not only for the morning but returning after the lunch break offered an insight into the cross-curricula importance of literacy, with even crafting sessions and singing providing opportunities for children's engagement with literacy (Papen, 2018). Time here was of the essence, allowing me to understand how reading and writing, as practices, were embedded in many lesson activities and to see how the teachers, despite the introduction of synthetic phonics, continued to use a range of other practices, including whole class reading and discussion of story and picturebooks to support the children's literacy. My regular visits allowed me to not only gain these insights, but to convincingly argue for their significance: having spent many hours in the class and returning for many weeks, provided the empirical data to support my arguments. Repeatedly taking part in the same or similar practices revealed their importance. The long-term approach also allowed me to see the children's literacy developing and growing.

Staying on afforded 'the unearthing of complexities and nuances' (Parker-Jenkins, 2018) that allowed me to present an empirically grounded claim offering a more nuanced view on the – so easily asserted – success of phonics. Bringing together these insights with what my policy and media analysis had shown, I could expose the government's view of literacy teaching as too narrow, ignoring important parts of teaching practices and teachers' work. Staying on over several months afforded invaluable experience of the teacher and teaching assistants' work. I had entered the class as a researcher and 'parent helper', the latter offering a suitable position for me to occupy because the children and teachers were used to parents assisting in lessons. Initially, my role was limited to supporting individual children and helping with lesson preparation (e.g. copying pages from books we needed). Over the weeks though, I began to get more involved, following the teacher's guidance and taking over specific tasks, from leading group activities, to taking over whole class reading and helping with the termly individual reading assessments. Not being used to the demands of classroom management and the needs of 6-year olds, these were challenging (but enjoyable) experiences for me. Exposing myself to these situations (for example, how to hold the attention of a group of young children for more than a few minutes) produced the insights which are at the core of what I consider to be my, the ethnographer's, claims to validity. One such insight is about the central role of the teacher in phonics lessons and beyond. A rather banal insight, readers may feel. And, yet, given the policy context, as I knew it, given the dominance of experimental methods in much literacy research, drawing our attention to the teacher as agent in the classroom is anything but banal or unnecessary. Current policy, my analysis (see above) has shown, privileges the method over the person who delivers it, thus putting face into scientifically proven teaching 'recipes' (i.e. synthetic phonics) that teachers should 'faithfully' adhere to. Teachers though are not the passive users of such recipes and they draw on their experience and knowledge of the children as the, in their view, legitimate

knowledge base for decisions about their teaching (see Mills, 2011).

Getting involved more closely produced feelings, the strongest amongst these perhaps my empathy with the teachers and my admiration for the task they fulfilled. I can hear (some) readers' alarm bells ringing. What do empathy and admiration mean for my ability to do my researcher's work: to 'critically' and 'analytically', examine what works and what does not in literacy teaching? To respond to this, I return to one of the first books I read as an undergraduate student of social anthropology: Hortense Powdermaker's *Stranger and friend* (1967). In her book, Powdermaker eloquently describes what is at the heart of knowledge creation in ethnography: the meeting of emic and etic, of participant and analytical perspectives (Parker-Jenkins, 2018). What I came to understand in this project results from the interplay between these two perspectives. Closeness and participation are an indispensable side of the equation, including the sharing of perspectives with the teachers and the thoughts this provoked. Far from clouding my scholarly judgement, this was essential to understanding how phonics works and why it works. Reflecting on the experience of being in the classroom, comparing my notes (that included my expressions of affinity and empathy) with what other researchers had found, re-reading my fieldnotes from the distance and comfort of my office chair, afforded the dialogue out of which I developed my understanding. The teachers were crucial partners in this dialogue. The following exemplifies this.

My Relations with the Teachers and Teaching Assistants (Layer 3)

One of the most significant and challenging moments of my fieldwork was when I realised how much the teachers in St Hilda liked synthetic phonics. 'We love phonics and we do it' they said, and 'This is a ReadWriteInc. school.' (Read-WriteInc. is the synthetic phonics programme the school used). 'The government has forced this on us, very much, we don't mind because it actually works this time'. These are some of the views the teachers (of the Reception, Year 1 and Year 2 classes) shared with me, in informal conversations, and in an interview. What they said certainly baffled me. It challenged my own scepticism (see above). While the teachers did not share the same enthusiasm for all aspects of the government's literacy policy, their support for synthetic phonics was unanimous.

My conversation with the teachers and the TAs (who regularly delivered phonics lessons) were an essential part of my ethnography. As Forsey (2010) suggests, participant observation is as much about listening as it is about seeing. As I had come to know and respect the teachers, I could not dismiss or 'explain away' what they said. In class, I observed them teaching phonics and while they evidently did so with enthusiasm and commitment, I had not been clear about their views on the approach. It was thus necessary for me to talk to them. These conversations, concomitant with the observations I made, invited me to rethink my own views. And rethinking is what I did, leading, in the end, to a change in my perspective: an acknowledgement of the contribution synthetic phonics can make to the practices of literacy teaching, and, thus, to children learning to

read. However, while phonics had undoubtedly changed the social practices of teaching reading in St. Hilda, bringing with it a focus on isolated skills (letter-sound knowledge) that have to be explicitly taught, the teachers continued to engage the children in a broad range of literacy practices and they emphasized the need for a wide and rich literacy curriculum, based on picturebooks, stories and informational texts, both print and digital. In other words, the practices and contexts within which literacy teaching took place were more complex and diverse than what the government's policy suggests.

Where are the Children in My Ethnography? (Layer 4)

So far, I have said very little about the children. There were 30 of them in the class and while I interacted with all of them, I did not work with any child on a regular basis or more intensively than with others. When, how and for how long I interacted with individual children in the class was decided ad hoc, relating to my role in a lesson and was not something I tried to control. Nevertheless, my regular visits to the class offered many opportunities to observe and experience the children's different reactions to phonics and literacy lessons, stories and songs. I watched enthusiasm, excitement, boredom and occasional big yawns. I collected examples of the children's writing and I talked to them about what they liked and did not like about school and about reading and writing.

Working closely with the children allowed me to see the variation in how they engaged with the lessons. Some learned about sounds and letters easily, others struggled. As I regularly spent time practicing reading with different children, I could see that some progressed quickly from words to sentences, while others found it much harder to get to a level where reading a short text stopped being a chore. Not a significant insight, you may say. The teacher certainly agreed. When I first told her about my surprise at seeing the wide variety in abilities amongst the children, she explained that in her (many years) of experience that variation was entirely normal. At this age, she explained, children's individual trajectories differed greatly. She added that we also had to take account of the age differences between them. Reflecting on this observation later on, I realised the extent to which this puts into question the appropriateness and, more importantly, the usefulness of the Phonics Screening Check that all these children had to sit. Even the government seems to acknowledge that younger children do less well on the test than others (see Moss, 2017, p. 63). Yet, as I remember from my fieldwork, the teacher knew that for those who would come out below the expected level, she would not only have to reassure the parents but to set up some additional provision.

While what I have said so far about the children suggests that the classroom ethnography allowed me to learn a lot, I am mindful of 'the limits of [my] understanding and knowing' (Mikkonen et al., 2017, p. 519) about the children's reception of phonics and their roads into literacy. My contact with the children was limited to classroom time and the occasional conversations during playtime. They engaged with me as another adult, often calling me 'teacher'

but also knowing that I had a child myself. I did not interview the children. While I met some of the parents, I did not attempt to engage them in 'research conversations' about their children's learning. My project, from the start, had been framed by the focus on teaching: this provided the vantage point from which to discuss phonics. Another approach would have been required to gain deeper insights into the children's engagement with phonics.

Discussion and Conclusions

My aim in this chapter was to 'invite readers into a critical dialogue' (Lichterman, 2017, p. 5) about the claims to knowledge that emerged from my recent study into the practices of literacy teaching in an English primary school. Exposing myself to the realities of that teaching was essential to the insights gained.

It follows from the above that impartiality and the alleged superiority of 'objective' research and scientific evidence are a fallacy. For those who, like me, choose closeness and participation, it is, however, important to engage in ongoing reflection about one's position and involvement with the participants. However, I concur with Lichterman's (2017) assertion that the point of this is not to ponder over seemingly inherent and fixed social attributes (i.e. my middle-classness) which are believed to have unavoidable repercussions for the fieldwork. Rather, the intention is to show how the researcher deliberately positions herself in the interest of getting to know the context and its actors and how she uses her reflexivity as an ongoing intellectual instrument in data collection and analysis (Slembrouck, 2005). This includes thinking about how shifts in the researcher's long-term relationships with participants enable or hinder new insights emerging. For example, in my case, as I kept returning every week, the teacher gradually included me more centrally in lesson activities. Getting more involved meant that new opportunities arose for me to experience phonics lessons from a teacher's perspective. As I kept being amongst them, both teachers and children got used to my presence and to a degree, I became just another member of their class.

Becoming gradually more involved with the teaching produced many new questions – questions that I would be unlikely to have identified had I continued to remain fully in the parent helper role. These questions appeared in my field-notes. Growing involvement with teaching also allowed for more frequent and more natural opportunities to talk to the teachers and TAs about their work – not in the context of a research interview – but as ad hoc conversations arising from shared experience. However, while my gradual repositioning as contributor to the lessons afforded these contacts, it also made me acutely aware of the teachers' workload and the constant time pressures they faced. The class teacher was also the school's deputy head as well as leading its choir, so she rarely spent her breaks in leisurely conversations with colleagues in the staff room. The effect this had on me was that I hesitated to request her attention with my research-related questions. When such conversations occurred, they felt 'collegial' but suffered from brevity. Being by now highly aware of how much time went into planning and preparing a single lesson, I always hesitated to ask more than the most pressing questions. Doing ethnography in a

busy workplace, undoubtedly, has its limitations. Experiencing first hand how busy the teachers were, did, however, also produce important insights: for example, it allowed me to see that the synthetic phonics programme we used offered a lot of readily available materials, easily adaptable and suitable for different levels and thus, quite simply, a convenient resource for the very busy teachers to draw on. Other materials we used had to be prepared: found, downloaded, printed and copied. 'Time' here emerged to be a factor that significantly complexifies the context of literacy teaching in schools.

Exposing the researcher's positions and reflections, as I have sought to do in this paper, supports sincerity and honesty in research (Tracy, 2010). In line with others, I consider these to be essential components of 'quality' assessments for qualitative research (Tracy, 2010). Following such a perspective, I conceptualise validity in terms other than scientific objectivity. The usefulness of research in schools should not be evaluated against an alleged scientific standard, but needs to take account of the questions and concerns of teachers, pupils and school communities (Moss, 2017). At the same time, and very much in line with the contextual approach to literacy that is Brian's legacy, quality assessments of any kind of research, including those using experimental studies such as RTCs, need to consider the context and the people involved as crucial factors shaping what teaching works or doesn't and why (Wyse & Torgerson, 2017). Classrooms are not laboratories (Luke, 2012).

Conceived in the above way, ethnographies of literacy teaching can offer insights that policy makers have good reasons to pay attention to. For example, we can use our insights to remind governments of the teachers and their central role in any teaching-learning context. We can point out that while the search for best recipes should not be abandoned, what makes a recipe work is always the cook who uses and adapts it. We can also work with teachers to support them in their roles and to document and make known their efforts. To do so, we need to continue our (ethnographers') efforts to understand and make known the complexities in the social and ideological contexts – constantly changing as open to the ambitions of changing ministers and governments – within which literacy teaching plays out and as part of which teachers enact their own practices of engaging children as developing readers (and writers).

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10
Testing Practice in a Southern School

Mastin Prinsloo and Lara-Stephanie Krause

Literacy Studies researchers have studied 'literacy in its social context' since the early shaping work in the New Literacy Studies of Brian Street (1984) along with Heath (1983), Scribner and Cole (1981), Scollon and Scollon (1981) and others. As Street (2009, p. 28) put it, literacy should be thought of "not as an issue of measurement or of skills but as social practices that vary from one context to another" and as shaped by the effects of social power. The study of literacy as situated practices that can best be studied ethnographically has become an influential approach over recent decades but has had to adjust to the challenges of changing social contexts. This chapter focuses specifically on the question of whether the idea of practices continues to be an important one in responding to these shifts. We examine the application of and response to the last round of the Progress in Reading Literacy Survey (PIRLS) in South Africa and contrast this with a study of a classroom in Cape Town where a teacher prepares her students for a standard, centrally distributed test. We argue that the contrast between these two shows us the critical role that situated practices continue to play in research on literacy.

Practices Writ Large or Small?

The microskills of writing competence are often referred to as examples of how much explicit and background knowledge as well as a situated repertoire make up literacy practices, beyond basic coding and decoding skills (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Gee, 1996, Lewis & Fabos, 2005; Burnett et al., 2014), including a feel for occasion, grasp of subject matter, along with a sense of audience and purpose. These practices are thought of as carrying a history, as situated and, indeed, as hard to pinpoint sometimes, because they include elements that are both stated and implicit, foregrounded and backgrounded, value-based and seemingly trivial on occasion, as well. This raises challenges for their theorisation and their use in research analysis and also produces considerable variability amongst Literacy Studies researchers as to how they think about practices in their work. Street (2000, p. 13), in referencing an exchange with Janet Maybin, noted that the term practices in Literacy Studies since the 1980s seemed to cover "rather different kinds of stuff" within one term, some of them more amenable to empirical investigation while some were more abstract, to do with arguments about what underlying ideologies were at play. In elaborating on this insight, here we examine competing and critical arguments both from within Literacy Studies and sociolinguistics, as well as from broader social theory.

Practices, Vanishing Points and 'Multilevel Analysis'

Luke (2004, p. 333) argued that literacy researchers needed to avoid "a kind of new autonomous model" that assumes that 'social practices' have an intrinsic value and instead called for a finer grained "multilevel of analysis of which kinds of textual practice count, for whom, where, and in what contexts, but also in relation to the availability of other kinds of capital: economic, social, ecological, libidinal and otherwise". He suggested to Literacy Studies researchers that "we should take Street's axiom about literacy as social practice as but a starting point for analysis and not as the end point – lest it become a 'vanishing point'". Luke's reference to practices as vanishing points invokes a debate around practices theory amongst post-Wittgenstein philosophers, launched by Turner's (1994, p. 1) ringing critique: "Practices, it would appear, are the vanishing point of twentieth-century philosophy… the concept is deeply elusive". Turner takes on major arguments by philosophers for the centrality of practice and practices (Wittgenstein, Heidegger and Dreyfus, in particular) and finds them wanting. He insists that they present an incoherent view that orientations to knowledge, or convictions, inevitably draw from a largely tacit and unstated picture of the world that a person has acquired from their immediate community. Its incoherence lies, he says, in the notion of a practice as a "shared possession" because there is no way to account for how practices in the form of knowledge orientations might be transmitted from person to person such that the "same internal thing, the same practice, is produced in another person" if they are not made explicit, brought to consciousness and consciously transmitted (Turner, 1994, p. 54). His conclusion is, that we should reject the notion of practice in favour of talk of habits, as a less encompassing concept that takes account of behavioural routines that are not consciously acquired or equated with consciousness, because knowledge, he insists, cannot be transmitted if it is not explicit and consciously held and communicated. His version of 'habituation' does not depend on the idea that 'practices' are shared or social, and consequently, he says, is not a 'social theory of practice'.

Turner's criticisms of practices would appear, in turn, however, to rely on a separation of reasoning from activity, along with a preference for a model of language as autonomous and without ambiguity (as Street might have described it). In Turner's model, knowledge can be explicitly formulated in the form of ideas that are context-free in their formulation and transmitted in propositional or other explicit form, and as politically and contextually neutral, while they might have political consequences. Some of Turner's colleagues have rejected his formulation (Stern, 2000; Bohman, 1997). Stern insists that theories of practice already exist, in ethnomethodology, in reconstructive social theory and in thick ethnographic description where practices and knowledge processes are articulated, and where researchers are able to describe how normative practices get from their public locations into the persons whose activities are shaped by them and who act them out or respond to them.

This brings us back to Luke's call for a finer grained "multilevel analysis" of which kinds of textual practice count. His call rests on the premise that the localised studies produced through ethnographic research are unable to account for larger determining dynamics from outside the context of study that shape the local. Two prevalent attempts currently to produce such multi-

level analysis are those of the sociolinguistics scales model (Blommaert, 2010) and critical realist theory in sociology (Elder-Vass, 2004) but neither of these have yet developed a convincing account of how 'micro-interactional' dynamics relate to 'macro-sociological' contexts. Critical realist scholars insist that structural, cultural and agential components have to be analysed separately, with attention to their relations with each other and what these enable and disallow, and not to merge levels in analysis, as Bourdieu's and Giddens's accounts of practices are said to do (Archer et al., 2016; Pratten, 2013; Bhaskar, 1998). The sociolinguistics scales model sees language-linked social inequalities as effects of a contemporary global capitalist system that is divided between structurally unequal parts, described as centres and peripheries in relation to each other in a cascade of scales, starting at the global and including centre-periphery relations at national, regional and local levels, for example between urban and rural environments in particular regions and between centres and peripheries within cities and other local environments. Language and literacy resources get stigmatised or valorised depending on their location, so for example, 'grassroots literacy' emerging from African settings is seen as low status at the global centres (Blommaert, 2008) and Nigerian or Indian English are seen as low status in Northern centres (Dong & Blommaert, 2009). Because of their systemic and relational orientation, however, neither of these two theoretical orientations is well attuned to dealing with the constructed, political, variable and unpredictable nature of language and literacy practices in particular contexts, rather taking a 'long-distance' or 'bird's eye' view on such matters. The sociolinguistics scales model, for example places its emphasis on social inequalities occurring in relations between sites and scales, e.g., rural accents regarded with contempt in Beijing, in Dong and Blommaert's (2009) study or samples of writing by Africans in France treated as inferior and racialised displays in Europe (Blommaert, 2008, Vigouroux, 2015). It pays less attention to inequalities within sites, and its systemic emphasis can have the effect of naturalising boundaries between sites as well as between groups of people rather than seeing them as constructed, contested, or shifting (Canagarajah, 2015; Prinsloo, 2017). They are consequently less effective at dealing with micro-interactional dynamics and the complexities of situated practices.

In response, we here look at education settings where 'local literacies' encounter 'macro-level' national, standardised and transnational criteria. We examine if the local is 'disappeared' in the face of centralised or standardised activity. It turns out that the idea of practices remains crucial for making sense of such local encounters and that the stripping out of practices in state-level interventions turns out badly for all concerned. Our focus here is a discussion of the outcomes and responses to the Progress in Reading Literacy Survey (PIRLS) tests run in South Africa in 2016 and reported on in 2017 (Howie et al., 2017). We also look at how teachers in a sub-elite Cape Town school prepare their students for writing centralized and standardized tests.

The PIRLS Tests

The release of the latest PIRLS report for South Africa in December 2017 was a moment of public

alarm as reflected in news reports and comments on social media at the time. The study tested a selection of Grade 4 children across the country in 2016 and compared their results to 50 other countries where the test was also run. The one glaring finding that kept getting repeated and endorsed in news reports and online conversations was that "78 percent of Grade 4s in SA cannot read for meaning". A news article summed up the source of alarm:

> (T)he students in question failed to meet the lowest literacy benchmark of the study: retrieving basic information from texts to answer simple questions. To put this into global perspective, only 4 percent of students internationally were unable to reach this benchmark, as opposed to South Africa's 78 percent".
>
> *(Daily Maverick, 6 December 2017)*

The *Mail and Guardian*'s (December 2017) end of year Cabinet Report Card gave the national Minister of Basic Education a D rating, largely because of the PIRLS results, adding: "This is shocking".

But there are problems with these generic, transnational tests and what is wrong with them has got everything to do with their claim to be reliably testing literacy as a neutral and supposedly context-free phenomenon. They are exercises designed to focus on the so-called comprehension skills of retrieval, inference, interpretation and evaluation, understood as generic or contextless skills which have either been learnt or have not been learnt and can be reliably tested for and compared across widely diverging socio-economic, socio-cultural and sociolinguistic contexts. The PIRLS data is based on a test devised in Boston USA, where children read two passages and then answer questions on them. South African implementers translated the passages from US into UK Standard English and then into the remaining ten recognised South African standard languages (Howie et al., 2017). The implementers assume that South African children will each have most ease in reading and responding to these passages in one standard South African language amongst the 11 so-called national languages. The implementers also assume that the translated passages are equivalent to, or carry a commensurate comparability with the English original. Amongst other problems with this procedure is the notion that students are at ease reading in the standard language identified as their 'mother tongue' and that such 'mother tongues' are unified and homogenous resources that are carried by individuals. Instead, the local languaging of children in multilingual urban and other settings in South Africa absorbs diversity and unpredictability in a frame of language as socially practised and dynamic rather than as static standard resources that were codified in the nineteenth century by European missionaries (Harries, 2007). The administrators of the South African PIRLS tests will not let researchers examine the original nor the translated test passages used across the designated 11 South African languages, on the grounds that the tests and the text pieces that they used have to be kept confidential in case there is a reason to use them again for testing purposes. The two examples of text passages that the PIRLS centre in Boston gives for the 2016 tests (Mullis & Martin, 2015) include a discussion of dinosaurs and fossils and it is unlikely that the translators would have found recognisable equivalent terms for these in all, or any, of the nine designated languages or that students would make sense of whatever alternatives were devised to designate dinosaurs and fossils, if that passage was indeed used for the test.

Literacy, along with language, is a simplified construct in these exercises, streamlined for administration and for measurement and presented as context-neutral. The tests purport to test children's individual literacy skills but are more examinations of whether the children's experiences of schooling match the unexamined or unstated assumptions of the tester as to how schooling is done. What they are then, are tests for compatible practices. They don't show conclusively that children can or can't 'read for meaning', only that they are prepared or unprepared for a certain kind of activity which includes a narrow focus on textual comprehension and a particular kind of response to questions about that text. In a related study of children and PIRLS testing in England, Maybin (2013) identified this narrow focus on textual comprehension processes as missing out on the imaginative and dialogic engagement with reading and writing of the children she studied in informal and non-testing contexts. Children as readers and writers are constructed by this literacy as generalised subjects without any social location and who are, or can become, more or less efficient processors of narrative and informative text. The model of language in these tests is a similarly contextless one, resting on the flawed assumption that 'reading for meaning' involves taking meaning that rests autonomously and unambiguously on the page or screen, almost as if language was a nomenclature: a list of terms corresponding to a list of things (Harris, 1998). In this guise 'literacy' is an historical product of particular discourses on language, schooling and development and is what Freebody and Freiburg (2008) describe as a compact concept, its value apparently self-evident. Questioning the value of this literacy is like questioning the value of water. We might call this an autonomous model of literacy. For our purposes here, we can see this as literacy without the practices that make reading and writing a relevant human activity.

Seeing Like a State

An alternative way of describing the autonomous model of literacy with regard to schooling contexts that does indeed involve a 'multi-level analysis' is to say that it involves 'seeing like a state' in Scott's (1998) memorable phrase. The construction of literacy in the PIRLS tests as a unitary, portable and readily testable property of individuals can be seen as not just evidence of an autonomous model of literacy in practice but as an example of administrative strategies commonly associated with state administration, or with related strategies of governmentality (Foucault, 2010). Here, officials and academics take what are often "exceptionally complex, illegible and local social processes" in Scott's words and create a standard grid, which allows centralised recording and monitoring, to make these diverging practices "more legible – and hence manipulable – from above and from the centre" (Scott, 1998, p. 2). Scott points out that such designed constructs that purport to correspond to actual practice are necessarily schematic and always ignore essential features of any real functioning social order or site of activity. (A work-to-rule strike is one example where production processes can be severely disrupted by workers simply refusing to carry out all the informal improvisations and practices that aren't codified but

which make things work.) The formal scheme is parasitic on informal processes that, alone, it could not create or maintain and to the degree that the formal scheme makes no allowances for these processes or actually suppresses them, "it fails both its intended beneficiaries and ultimately its designers as well" (Scott, 1998, p. 3). Such simplifications are like abridged maps in that they represent only the slice of social activity that interests the official observer, but unlike maps they can sometimes cause much of the reality they depict to be remade or distorted through the effects of state power. Scott describes examples of such strategies where the actual features of located complexity, or situated practices, were suppressed or ignored and which failed as strategies in a variety of sites, including scientific forestry initiatives, standardisations of language and legal discourse, also the Ujamaa village campaign in Tanzania from 1973 to 1976, along with Stalin's first 5-year plan for a collective economy in 1920s Soviet Russia, all of which ignored situated complexity or established practices and failed or distorted the practices that they were intending to remove or enhance.

In the South African case, policy, curriculum and teaching methods in schooling in the twentieth century that impacted South African schooling were developed primarily in ideologically monolingual contexts such as the USA and the UK, over many decades, and then packaged and exported to South Africa and elsewhere. They present an administratively tailored view of literacy and language, and ignore the situated and variable nature of language and literacy practices, effectively turning away from what it is that children, youths and adults bring with them to the literacy learning and language use in educational settings. In examining how this 'abridged map' of centralised curriculum statements and standardised testing encounters the situated linguistic and institutional realities of mass schooling in a southern sub-elite context, we examine one example of classroom teaching and testing in a township school in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, taken from a longer study by Lara Krause on language and teaching in one school and also presented and discussed in Krause and Prinsloo, 2016; Dowling and Krause, 2018; and Prinsloo and Krause (in press).

Putting Context into Testing

The school site that we focus on here is located in Khayelitsha, a residential area in Cape Town. The spatialization of apartheid, achieved through city planning aimed at keeping population groups separate, continues to be a defining feature of Cape Town, more so even than Johannesburg. Townships such as Khayelitsha, comprising low-cost formal housing along with proliferating shack settlements, cluster and grow on the city periphery and are strong reminders to residents and visitors alike that Cape Town, which is often idealised in tourist publicity, is a profoundly unequal, spatially fractured environment. Originally laid out in the late 1980s to house 250 000 people moved from elsewhere in Cape Town because of their race classification, commonly quoted estimates talk now of 1 to 1.2 million and even 2 million inhabitants in Khayelitsha. The large majority of children here live and go to school in this township and often

stay isolated from the city centre, along with their parents, due to the geographical distance, a lack of financial means and widespread unemployment. Children's language use is therefore very much situated in this particular setting, which, linguistically, is predominantly associated with Xhosa. However, the Xhosa that is spoken in people's homes is not the same as the standard language that is tested in schools and that is also the official medium of instruction from Grade 1 to Grade 3 in primary school. This standard was codified by European missionaries from one regional dialect among several, in a rural environment in the nineteenth century and the contemporary urban language that is spoken by residents and their children differs considerably from it (Harries, 2007; Prinsloo, 1999). After 3 years of this so-called 'mother-tongue education', Standard English now becomes the medium of instruction for the remaining 4 years of primary school and then throughout high school and university. As efficient urban languagers equipped with language resources that do not easily fit linguistic boxes, children in Khayelitsha, along with others in ex-colonial settings are 'caught between the Standards'. They have to 'leave behind' the language/semiotic repertoire, 'ways of knowing' (Heath, 1983) and practices that they grow up with in their homes, to learn at school through hegemonic standard languages, and the material and semiotic practices that characterise formal schooling in this setting (Krause and Prinsloo, 2016). Except for concessions made by way of the 3 years of 'mother-tongue education', the education system then administratively positions all students as monolingual by way of curricula, textbooks and tests that are available in English only. Official education department communications to schools also ask teachers to refrain from 'code-switching' in classrooms (Tyler & McKinney, in press) and with that devalue and delegitimise teachers' and students' urban languaging practices as potential resources in teaching and learning. Children's meaningful engagement with reading and writing is hardly possible under such conditions where what counts as school literacy is either in Standard Xhosa or in Standard English whereas the children – and for the most part also their teachers – are perhaps best described as urban Xhosa languagers.

Here is one devastating example of what 'seeing like a state' produces in this context, where the insistence on "the erroneous and deadening fiction of normative mono-dialectalism" (Fishman, quoted in Rampton, 2010, p. 275) would produce near paralysis of learning in the classroom if teachers didn't defy their principal's instruction that there is to be 'no code-switching' in class. We can describe this mono-dialectical fiction as constructing an imaginary speech community on a national scale, of children who are fluent in the codes and practices of the urban middle classes and teachers who are similarly fluent as well as being appropriately trained for teaching in their contexts. When it comes to testing, all children are treated as equals and context-free. As Silverstein (2014, p. 5) elaborates, when children are asked, by teachers or testers, 'What language do you speak?', the enquirer means 'what denotational code(s) – centrally, grammatically conforming words and expressions – for representing things and states-of-affairs in the world do you control?' It is a construct of language devoid of all the practices that give meaning to language, both spoken and written, along with all the other semiotic resources with which communication happens. Standard English in this setting is a "voice from nowhere" as he describes it, occupying 'top-and-centre' as a register for denotation in formal contexts. In the case

of Xhosa in the Western Cape, it is not what people speak nor how they speak (Dowling & Krause, 2018). Nonetheless, the standard language becomes an unmarked and unnamed resource that is seen to be functioning in the service of ideas and meaning (Davila, 2016).

As indicated earlier, the principal at our school is guided by similar assumptions about the standard languages and criticises his teachers for overstepping language boundaries in their practices:

> they tend to teach Maths in Xhosa, because they are Xhosa people. They tend to teach English in Xhosa. That's why we have problem with our children, because they mustn't code-switch, we call it a code-switching. They must teach English even Grade 4. They must be taught the language of the lesson, of the learning area. All the learning area, the language of the learning area is English. Only Xhosa as a learning area that must be taught in Xhosa. And it's not happening, that's why we have problems. And we know that not to happen, we know that a failure of the teachers, because the teachers think they have, they got a sympathy for the children, they undermine the knowledge of the children. They also think that children will not be able to understand them. Now they want to get onto the level of the children [by code-switching], the time is going. That's why we have a problem.

Teachers – despite feeling bad about their translingual practices in class, knowing they are 'overstepping' instructions from the top, nevertheless argue for the function of translanguaging in the classroom, like this Grade 4 Geography during the in interview:

> So if… I said… 'umlambo', then translate 'umlambo' to 'a river', in English, I'll rather do that. Rather than just speaking English, leaving them behind. Because if they don't understand, if a learner doesn't understand the first word in a sentence, she or he won't understand the whole sentence and then they become bored. That is why you have to mix, especially in Grade 4.

His specific reference to Grade 4 comes from the fact that this is the first year that students are instructed through and expected to write in Standard English, coming from 3 years of learning reading and writing in Standard Xhosa. The same teacher who made concessions for translanguaging in oral classroom interactions tells us, however, that students are not allowed to write fluidly across designated languages when written work is submitted under test conditions:

> *T:* In Geography there must be, all the things must be in English.
>
> *L:* Mhm so when they answer in Xhosa you gonna mark it wrong?
>
> *T:* Yes.
>
> *L:* So even the content if it's correct?
>
> *T:* It's correct but it's, it's wrong.

The ideological status of literacy as the highest form of language use causes what flexibility and fluidity there is in classroom languaging to disappear when the administrative grid of standard and centralised testing is applied. Street described this construction of literacy as *scriptism* – a belief in the superiority, in various respects, of written languages over spoken languages, accompanied by the widely-held view that some forms or uses of language are more 'context-dependent' or 'objective' than others (Street, 1984; Prinsloo & Street, 2014). The status of written, standardised, centralised testing in organising the outcomes of mass schooling continues to perpetuate this myth, while marginalising new forms of written engagement which are

prevalent outside of schooling, on screens and mobile phones where fluid languaging and multimodal communication thrive.

The assumption on the part of central testers of a common testing procedure across schooling contexts is contradicted by the actual events of testing in schools, as we now describe briefly from our data from one school, where localising of standard practises takes place, both as a kind of simultaneous resistance and a compliance with the requirements from the top and centre (see also Prinsloo & Krause, in press). The arrival of the physical exam paper at the school induces a series of re-shaping processes aimed at making it possible for students to pass or nearly pass, and to not get their teachers into trouble. In the extract below, the researcher asks the teacher about a comment she heard the teacher make in a class when a centralized test was to be written:

> *R:* Mhm because sometimes I've heard you say that you've said: "We've read this story four times, two or three times, before we writing the exam and you still don't understand."
>
> *T:* Yes.
>
> *R:* So when did you do that reading?
>
> *T:* When the paper comes, when I receive the paper on Friday, then I make the copy of the story. We'll read the paper during the reading time.
>
> *R:* On a Monday?
>
> *T:* On the same day. Then we read it again on Monday.
>
> *R:* And again on Tuesday.
>
> *T:* And again on Tuesday, before we write it.
>
> *R:* And the department wants you to do that?
>
> *T:* No I chose to do it. No-one told me that I can do that. I just thought I must give them a chance to understand the story more, to see the words, to be able to understand. Because if you can come with the paper today, they are seeing the story for the first time, they will write nothing. They won't understand at all.

This account from this township school teacher hints at a rupture in the logic of the centralized assessment system, which assumes that testing is done in the same way in all its schools. The following data piece, however, documents what the teacher told us above: she aims to not let her students write an exam on a previously unseen passage. Below we see how she reads and explains the comprehension story that is part of the test to the students for the last time before they have to answer questions about it in the exam:

Oliver Twist passage

> *Teacher (reading from original passage):* Oliver was even less happy in the workhouse than he had been with Mrs Mann. He now had to work, which made him even hungrier.
>
> *Teacher (explaining):* It means that before Oliver went to stay at the workhouse, he first stayed with Mrs Mann. And in Mrs Mann's house he didn't have to work, but now, since he is staying at the workhouse, in the workhouse Oliver has to work now. It makes him even more hungrier. *Imlambisa ngakumbi into yokusebenza* (translation: it makes him more/especially hungry, this thing of working).

In the written task, unfamiliar terms and complex phrasing carry signals that are not grasped by students who don't have fluid access to the denotational codes of Standard English, nor to the semantic context of nineteenth-century London workhouses and orphanages. The teacher's Xhosa explanation involves more than a simple translation in that the particular syntactical resources of Xhosa are used to make sense of the textual action. Standard English of the kind written here relies on context along with syntactical signals to make meaning, whereas Standard as well as local urban Xhosa languaging operates with a detailed system of agreement markers (noun classes and verb-noun agreement rules) which allow listeners to track referents unambiguously. This agreement morphology makes it easier to grasp here that it is the 'thing of working' that causes Oliver to get even more hungry. This is a causal connection that can easily be missed by children who are just beginning to learn in standard written English, but one that is crucial for them to understand if they are to answer the exam questions successfully.

The teacher also describes some of the institutional dynamics around testing and grading that apply to schools here and further pressure her into developing mechanisms to make learners cope with centralized assessment requirements:

> *T:* I become scared because the more learners that fail, the department is after you. So you need to try by all means, you must be able to explain the case. Because when we do the class work, the learner does good.
>
> *R:* Do you know what will happen if, let's say, the department would come after you, as you said?
>
> *T:* I don't know really, but I know that they need the learners to pass. You must make sure that you don't get the high number of failures.

In closing, these testing dynamics remain hidden from view if we 'see like a state' and do not approach such literacy events as local practices linked to contexts beyond the local. The testing and wider curriculum demands of the schooling system reduce language and literacy engagement to a rather painful parody of effective engagement, where teachers strive to perpetuate the myth that their students are coping or nearly coping with impossible expectations. As with the PIRLS tests, if the tests and outcomes are not approached as contextual literacy events and situated practices, all they do is perpetuate an established view of children in such contexts as 'bad readers' without starting to understand what the issues at hand are about and how to start to address them.

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11
Reading Philosophy Critically

Agentive Classroom Enactment

Lynne Isham and Constant Leung

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine a specific Critical Thinking-based construct of 'reading' in the context of an Advanced Level (A Level) Philosophy and Ethics class for students of 17 years of age. Critical Thinking in this study consists of a cross-curricular scheme for thinking (see next section for elaboration). Drawing on Street's (1984) ideological model of literacy, we explore the reading events presented here with reference to A Level (equivalent of matriculation in England) curriculum specifications, institutional demands, teacher and student expectations, and the role of Critical Thinking as an institutionally performed ideology rather than as a decontextualized phenomenon. As a result of the insights gained from this study, we raise questions and suggest ways in which Street's ideological model might be further elaborated to examine literacy practices in contemporary classrooms where disciplinary content, institutional goals and educational policies are mediated by teachers' and students' agentive conduct, enacted through interactional talk, in the classroom.

The data presented in this chapter comes from a classroom-based study in a multi-cultural urban comprehensive secondary school in West London for students aged 11–18. The focus in this chapter is specifically on reading events surrounding students' engagement with an extract from a philosophy textbook in an A Level Philosophy lesson. A Levels in the English education system are the examinations taken at the age of 18 and are the main qualifications through which students secure entry into university. They constitute a narrowing and deepening of disciplinary content and skills from the broader based General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) taken at the age of 16. The A Level, therefore, represents a shift for students who are required to engage with content of greater conceptual complexity, and respond to increased academic literacy demands in terms of texts to be engaged with and the nature of written outcomes expected. Such demands have been further reinforced by A Level reform which has been underway in England since September 2015. As such, study at A Level could be understood as the 'apprenticeship' into the discipline (Andrews & Mitchell, 2001).

Critical Thinking in a Philosophy Lesson

Critical Thinking features in this account as the school had identified it as a potential means of addressing issues arising from the transition from GCSE to A level referred to above. The teacher of Philosophy and Ethics featured in this chapter was part of a cross-curricular group of A Level teachers at the school who had been working with a particular metacognitive model of Critical Thinking, to inform their A Level teaching, succinctly encapsulated as follows,

> Critical Thinking is that mode of thinking – about any subject, content or problem – in which the thinker improves the quality of his or her thinking by skilfully analysing, assessing and reconstructing it. Critical Thinking is self-directed, self-disciplined, self-monitored and self-corrective thinking.
>
> *(Paul & Elder, 2006, p. xxiii)*

A Critical Thinking-based approach to teaching had been institutionally sanctioned, being devised and led by senior leaders in the school, who, over the course of 8 years, had worked with teachers across all curriculum areas taught at A Level in the school. As a result, it is possible to argue that a Critical Thinking-based approach had become infused into a distinctive pedagogical practice within the school, understood by teachers, and students, as 'how we teach A Level here'.

The rationale for the development of such an approach to teaching arose from a persistent issue of students from the school's highly ethnically and linguistically diverse student population not necessarily translating successful performance at GCSE into meeting the requirements for the top grades at A Level, and thus not accessing places on prestigious and competitive university courses. Perceived remedies to such lower than expected achievement included supporting students' engagement with complex content; promoting conceptual understanding; and developing the academic written genres required by the subject in the A Level examination. The Critical Thinking program was developed, therefore, with the aim of promoting an approach to classroom pedagogy with teachers that would foster amongst A Level students deeper intellectual engagement with subject content, associated academic discourse, and more adaptive dispositions towards challenge and difficulty (for a more detailed account, see Isham, 2018).

A key characteristic of these teachers' engagement with the Critical Thinking model was a tendency to draw selectively on aspects of it as deemed relevant to the specific difficulties their students had with particular elements of the A Level specifications in their subject. As a result, teachers were engaged in an ongoing process of blending aspects of the Critical Thinking model with their A Level specifications, informed by their own assessment or diagnosis of the intellectual difficulties that such specifications presented their students. This will be illustrated in the example below where such a diagnosis appears to have informed our participant teacher's, Ms Andrews (pseudonym), adoption and adaptation of a Critical Thinking-based approach to reading activities in her lessons.

Quite clearly this rather complex amalgam of subject content (Philosophy) and Critical Thinking teaching represents a highly situated pedagogic context with implications for literacy practice in the classroom. Street's (2001, p. 8) formulation of the ideological model of literacy suggests that 'literacy is a social practice, not simply a technical and neutral skill… it is embedded

in socially constructed epistemological principles'. The two conceptual components underlying this model – literacy as manifestation and reflection of epistemological diversity, and literacy as a social practice – are fundamental to our analysis here.

Criticality in Philosophy

Ms Andrews identified two specific difficulties her students had in relation to the A Level requirement to 'discuss critically the ontological argument from Anselm and Descartes and the challenges from Gaunilo and Kant', which entailed a critical evaluation of 'their strengths and weaknesses' (OCR, 2013, p. 13). First, in relation to being able to engage with the ideas critically, Ms Andrews recognised the barrier presented by her students' insecure understanding of the difference between inductive and deductive or analytic forms of argument; the ontological argument being a form of the latter, as we will see presently in the data extracts. She explained prior to the lesson that,

> one of the hardest things for them is the concept of a type of argument. That's a real tricky one. For the ontological argument, they have to get what analytic means, and that it comes from the definition and so that links to the type of argument.

Second, she noted that when reading was set for individual homework, it did not necessarily result in students developing a clear understanding of what they had read. It would appear that the teacher, at this time, saw reading as an 'encounter' with the print of the text that, she assumed, would lead to 'understanding'. However, her assessment of reading homework indicated that the students only managed to gain a fairly impressionistic understanding of the text they had read, rather than a secure and precise understanding of the key ideas or an argument. On this point Ms Andrews was of the view that 'often, if they don't quite understand, they'll say they've got a clear idea, that "it's something to do with" whatever, and therefore they have the gist, but they can't see the specific stages of the argument.'

The teacher had, therefore, traced poor performance in written essays and exam answers to students not necessarily understanding carefully and accurately what they had read and were unable to respond to the need for critical discussion or evaluation of such content. In this context, therefore, 'criticality' for these students and their teacher assumes two levels of meaning: first, it refers to a careful and accurate reading for meaning in this classroom context, in other words, students need to engage in a critical metacognitive process to ensure they understand with precision what they are reading; and second, it refers to the critical nature of the discussion and evaluation required by the A Level specifications as referred to above, which can only be broached if students have a clear and precise understanding of the arguments under question.

]iven the teacher had identified that students tend to struggle to make sense of the text, or that they were not aware of the fact that their understanding may be partial or impressionistic, she had made a conscious decision that such reading is best supported through activities structured in class as part of the lesson rather than set as homework. As a result, reading as a process of meaning making and meaning taking in this classroom is overt, explicitly taught, and deliberately

practised. As will be shown below, reading in this lesson therefore assumes a particular nature and form due to the disciplinary demands of the A Level, which in this lesson entails understanding the ontological argument and the prerequisite knowledge of the features of a deductively valid argument. We will look at episodes from one lesson to see how the reading of a text is actualised in this classroom.

Reading Critically in a Philosophy Class

The classroom interactional talk data presented in this chapter is drawn from an ethnographically informed school-based study of Critical Thinking (Isham, 2018). The first three extracts are taken from a 45 minute lesson that was at the end of a unit on ontological arguments for the existence of God. The fourth extract is from the teacher's commentary on the lesson after the lesson had taken place. In the lesson, students worked in pairs on 'a close reading' task of an extract from a textbook on the ontological argument. Students spent 25 minutes on this reading task. This was followed by some students feeding back on their understanding of the text to the whole class.

'Close reading' is a reading strategy explored as part of the school's approach to a Critical Thinking-based pedagogy. Based on the principle that 'the work of close reading consists in mindfully extracting and internalizing important meanings implicit in a text', as Paul and Elder (2008, p. 9) outline in their account of Critical Thinking, students are required to articulate their own understanding of each sentence in a paragraph with a partner, leading to a written reformulation of the paragraph. In extract 1, the teacher gives the class her instructions on how the reading task is to be conducted. Extract 2 is part of an extended teacher-student interaction which took place during the reading activity; in the third extract one of the students reported the outcome from the reading task shared with the rest of the class; and the fourth extract is a reflection by the teacher after the lesson on how she approaches the reading of complex texts as part of her teaching. We have chosen to draw attention to these particular moments in the lesson because of our focus on the enactment of Critical Thinking in the situated participatory processes which, as Green, Castanheira and Yeager (2011, p. 50) suggest, comprise, 'the ways of knowing, being and doing constructed in and through the actions of participants in a particular moment or across times and events in the classroom'.

The data extracts below illustrate the ways in which the teaching of the Philosophy content, mediated through spoken and written language and other semiotic means, was infused with Critical Thinking. We regard these as 'telling' moments (Mitchell, 1984). Our description and analysis here are largely concerned with how Critical Thinking was enacted, paying attention to participant meanings manifested in talk (Leung & Street, 2017).

Transcription Key

T:	Teacher
S:	Student
()	Non-transcribable segments of talk.
(unclear)	Uncertain transcription. Words within parentheses indicate transcriber's guess.
(())	Paralinguistic or non-verbal behavior
…	Brief pauses or hesitations within and between utterances
(.4)	Numerals in parentheses mark silence, in tenths of a second.
(.)	A full stop in parentheses indicates a micro pause less than 0.1 second long.
=	Equal signs indicate that the turn continues at the next identical symbol on the next line or that there is no interval between the end of prior turn and the start of next turn.
my book	Underlining indicates marked stress or emphasis.
?	A question mark indicates rising intonation at turn completion.
↑	A sharp rise in intonation.
↓	A sharp fall in intonation.

Extract 1

1. T: So what I want you to do first of all, I want you to look through it,
2. look at any words you don't understand, underline them and look them up,
3. and then I want you to put the argument into your own words. Ok, so
4. you cannot use the same words, it's got to be, it's got to be like you're
5. doing a translation, ok, really, really closely wording it and looking at
6. it really carefully and putting it into your own words underneath.

The extract above reveals that reading in this context is highly constrained and determined by the teacher as indicated by the teacher's repetition 'I want you to' (lines 1 & 3). This is further reinforced by the teacher who clearly operationalizes the process in terms of what steps students must take and also in terms of the sequence in which these steps should occur. Through her use of the imperative (line 2) such as 'underline', 'look them [words] up', as well as interdiction (line 4) 'you cannot use the same words', within a clearly defined sequence 'first of all' (line 1), 'and then' (line 3), the teacher clearly communicates a very controlled view of reading driving students in a particular direction. Characterizing the task as one of 'translation' aligns reading in this context with the transference of meaning from one language system to another, in this case, the language or 'voice' of the textbook to that of the student's own. The choice of adverbs such as 'closely', 'carefully', combined with the repetition of 'really' (lines 5 & 6) reinforces the expectation of precision in understanding as conveyed through lexical choices, a further feature of the practice of translation.

Extract 2

1. S: Miss?
2. T:Yeah
3. S: you see this part here, it talks about God is (unclear)
4. deductive so is it saying that reason... by reasoning we should just
5. (follow) it?
6. T: so what they're saying is, if they accept the premises as true,
7. the conclusion follows necessarily. (.6) What does that mean?
8. S: If it's deductive then it's =
9. T: = yeah but what... what's the premises mean?
10. S: What you're trying to say
11. T:What do you mean by what you're trying to say?
12. S: What it's trying to state, like, sentences
13. T:Yeah, sentences, so it's a stage in the argument so a premise
14. ...premise is a sta.. . so if that premise is true then it leads
15. to that premise then it leads to that premise you're going to
16. get(.) the conclusion.
17. S: So this sentence has to be true (.2)
18. T: No ↑ but... the argument, yeah, in other words if we accept the
19. premises, as in a bachelor means an unmarried man, then if you say
20. that D is a bachelor, it means he must be =
21. S: = You don't really need a conclusion*?*
22. T: No, you don't, so that… that's the whole point, because it's
23. contained within the word.
24. S: So you don't need a conclusion↓

In this extract we see a student initiating an interaction with the teacher as she, the student, engages in the process of trying to make sense of the text and its articulation of the ontological argument which begins as follows (see appendix for the full paragraph), 'Ontological arguments for God's existence are supposed to be deductively valid. In other words, if we accept their premises as true, the conclusion is said to follow necessarily'.

That the student accepts and engages with the reading process as laid down by the teacher is indicated through her initiation of the interaction with the teacher (lines 1 & 3) in which she tests out her yet unrefined understanding of what is meant by a deductively valid argument, 'so are they saying that… by reasoning we should just follow it?' (lines 4–5). In response, the teacher's questioning serves to probe the student's seemingly imprecise understanding of the role of a premise in a deductively valid argument (lines 9 to 11). However, there appears to be a shift taking place in lines 17–24 with a reversal of roles in the initiation-response structure, indicating a development in the student's understanding. Whereas the student's imprecise explanation of 'premise' in lines 10 and 12 could be said to be indicative of impressionistic understanding, the teacher's feedback in lines 13–16 elaborates on the relationship between premises and conclusion in a deductively valid argument. At this point (line 17) the student resumes the role of initiation

with a question to check her understanding of what the teacher has said, and this is continued in line 21. The student's question in line 21 suggests she is starting to see the connection between premises and a logically necessary conclusion arising from the premises. The student's intonation in line 24 suggests a statement of confirmation rather than a question, indicating a possible shift in her understanding.

A key point to be made here is that the student appears to be scaffolded through interactional talk into a specific understanding of the text by the teacher through a series of guiding and illustrating statements (Alexander, 2004), and, in so doing, both the teacher and the student are also participating in a co-construction of what it means 'to read' in the context of this classroom event. The student appears to accept her role as laid out by her teacher's instruction and takes responsibility for working out meaning for herself as indicated by her use of the teacher to test out her understanding (lines 3–5; 17, 21, 24). Conversely, the teacher reinforces her expectation that reading in this context means students engaging closely with the text by refraining from 'telling' students the meaning directly, but through facilitative questioning to probe and disinter imprecise understanding.

Extract 3

1. S: ((Reads from her notes taken from the reading task)).
2. Ontological arguments for God only have one logically
3. necessary conclusion. The argument that God (.3) if we accept
4. the propositions presented in the argument then there can only be
5. one conclusion, that God exists. If the argument is successful
6. then it allows us humans to know that God does (unclear) really
7. exist but before the argument can be successful we have to make
8. sure that the propositions of the argument are true. The
9. ontological argument claims that their premises are unattackable as
10. they only care about the definitions and the concept of
11. God. Because they look closely at the concept of God and
12. not evidence from the world, they think that it is a good starting
13. point. ((Student looks up)) And that's where I got to.

A student was asked to read out to the class the written paragraph she had constructed with her partner on the close reading of the text. There appear to be three main moves being made by the student through her reading which could be indicative of gaining a deeper understanding of complex content. The first two consist of: the transformation of the original text into simpler syntactical structures whilst appearing to retain the essential meaning, thus indicating the student's ability to reformulate meaning; and the contextualization of abstract terms from the field of deductive argument in relation to the specific argument under study, that is, the ontological argument for the existence of God. These two features are illustrated succinctly by the students' rendition of the text's original line, 'In other words, if we accept their premises as true,

the conclusion is said to follow necessarily'. In lines 3–5 of extract 3, the student transfers the complex idea of a necessarily logical conclusion from the passive voice to an agentive 'if we… then…' structure in the active voice. Furthermore, her addition of 'then' and 'only be one' (lines 4–5) indicates an understanding of the relationship between the premises and the logically necessary conclusion. In addition, the student frames the general concept of 'conclusion' in the context of the specific ontological argument under study.

A third move is the use of synonyms or synonymous phrases indicating student understanding of possibly unfamiliar terms. However, this also revealed how students may 'mis-read' the syntactical subtleties of the original text and bring to the fore how misunderstandings can occur. This is illustrated through the student's rendition of the original text, 'But ontological arguments also claim their premises are unassailable since they concern only definitions and the analysis of concepts, and specifically the analysis of God'. The student's version is shown in lines 9–11 in extract 3 above where she uses a synonym for 'unassailable' which she had checked on an online dictionary in the lesson. However, there is a possible misunderstanding of which noun the personal pronoun 'they' is referring to: in the text it refers to premises, in the student's work it refers to 'ontological arguments' and so the meaning is not quite clear. 'They only care about' is not quite an accurate synonym in this context for 'concern'. Nevertheless, what the student outcome shows is an engagement with the nature of the reading task as laid down by the teacher, and a willingness to exert a high degree of intellectual effort in order to attempt to make sense of a dense and conceptually complex text.

Extract 4

1. T: …in the past I might have skipped over that but then now, probably
2. how my teaching has changed now, I take a tiny, tiny bit and take ages on
3. it is probably better than a lot of… than spending longer on something
4. and also getting them to decipher it, the fact that they've had to work
5. it out and hopefully that means they will remember it better than a
6. simple text or when they look at a simpler text, which they will, it
7. should make it easier.

In this extract, the teacher makes explicit her conscious decision to bring 'close reading' of complex texts as she has operationalized it into her classroom practice; and that it is underpinned by a conceptualization of reading such texts as an intellectual process of 'deciphering' (line 4) and 'working out' meaning (lines 4–5). A practical pedagogical point highlighted, however, is that the class was given almost 25 minutes to make sense of a paragraph of seven sentences. The dilemma this presents teachers in terms of 'coverage' of content at the expense of securing depth of understanding is indicated here whereby the teacher makes an explicit choice to spend time on strategies such as close reading to ensure students' secure understanding. The consequence of such an approach appears to take on a clear metacognitive dimension by 'slowing down' the reading process, literally. In this way, students interrogate the meaning of each line, externalize

an inner conversation they might have about its meaning by sharing and shaping their understanding with their partner, and then consolidating that understanding by making a written record of 'their' understanding of the line, as revealed above in extracts 2 and 3. The illustrative example of interactions generated by the close reading task in extract 2 appears to indicate how the task opens up, or at least begins to open up, meaning for the students involved.

A further observation to be made is the multi-modality dimension of this ostensibly reading task which involves individual reading of the text, sharing ideas orally in pairs about its meaning along with a written record of the pair's 'translation'. It would appear that students, by having to articulate that understanding, discuss it, test it through their interaction with the teacher or their peer, and then to write it, are engaged in the process of developing an understanding of the complex ideas of the text which are directly linked to the requirements of the A Level course, and therefore moving towards 'making it their own'. As such, the enactment of reading was integrated into the flow of classroom interactions that comprised a great deal of talk.

Discussion

We would suggest that the account of reading presented in this chapter instantiates Street's (1984) ideological view of literacy and notably its iteration in an educational institutional context in the form of Academic Literacies (Street, 1996) in several ways. Reading in this lesson was part of a very particular and distinctive classroom practice shaped by epistemological issues from the discipline alongside the wider institutional concerns of raising achievement, given the role of the A Level as gatekeeper to university entrance. However, we would also suggest that this account might also raise some questions and indicate ways in which Street's original ideological model may be further expanded upon for contemporary classrooms; to incorporate more explicit foregrounding of the role of individual agency in terms of literacy practices; and to explore further the role of talk as integral to the practices of reading and writing. These ideas will now be examined further.

Reading in the context of this A Level lesson takes the form of a very particular social practice (Street, 1984) that, although clearly directed and determined by the teacher, appears to be readily accepted by students who demonstrate a willingness to engage with the struggle for meaning from complex texts. Through the practice of reading presented here, students are learning explicitly how to 'take' meaning (Heath, 1982, p. 49) from conceptually challenging texts that mark a transition from 'general' to 'advanced' study. In the furtherance of this aim, reading in the hands of this teacher is infused with some of the principles from the Critical Thinking model she has engaged with within the context of the wider institution, notably an approach in which students question and test their own understanding of what they read with each other, and with their teacher. Reading critically in this classroom assumes, therefore, a distinctive metacognitive character that involves the four modalities of reading, speaking, listening, and writing through which students 'acquire' the processes enabling them to secure their own understanding of texts.

Reading as conducted in this classroom, therefore, has a very particular use and purpose, linked to what the teacher has identified as barriers to students achieving high academic outcomes at A Level in her subject: notably their ability to secure a clear and accurate understanding of complex philosophical content to enable them to meet the requirements of critical discussion and evaluation, as stipulated in the A Level exam specifications. This is framed within a wider institutional concern for maximizing achievement amongst students at A Level. The concept of the ideological model of literacy, therefore, is not understood here in the broad sense of a set of naturalized practices within different cultures or populations as in Street's original account (1984). Rather, we would argue that the ideological dimension of the *deliberately* engendered literacy practices by the teacher presented in this chapter can be traced from the institutional culture of the school and its concern with A Level outcomes for students, as referred to above, which is, in turn, informed by a wider national culture where high stakes assessments in the form of A Levels determine access to university. Reading, within this context, therefore, is understood by the teacher concerned as engaging with specific types of texts in order to develop the depth of conceptual understanding required for high-level performance in such qualifications.

That the Critical Thinking program which the teacher had engaged with was also institutionally endorsed as a means through which to address the issue of academic performance at A Level itself is a further indication of the ideological dynamic at play between wider educational culture, institutional culture, and disciplinary specific literacy practices in the classroom. Critical Thinking, itself, therefore, also assumes an ideological dimension both in terms of the rationale for its use in an institutional sense, and in a disciplinary sense, whereby its pedagogic rendering by the teacher into distinctive literacy practices is executed to enable students to engage with the specific epistemological demands of the discipline as framed by the A Level exam.

We would also suggest, however, that, based on the ideas from this chapter, the ideological dimension of Street's model could be extended into a more situated theoretical framework to apply to contemporary classroom contexts which might be informed by questions such as: what is the institutional perception of 'reading' (or any other literacy activity)? What part does reading or writing play in terms of the institutions' functions and goals? How is a literacy activity being enacted through different disciplines? What part does spoken language play in situated literacy events? How does any additional curricular initiative such as Critical Thinking play out in specific classroom events and practices?

A further feature to explore in terms of developing Street's ideological model might be to consider the role of human agency. Up until this point, the discussion has been about ideas acting on or influencing reading and writing activities in terms of a situated contingent process. The agentive dimension of the classroom is important to take into account as, although teachers and students are influenced by the classroom and educational context, their conduct is not driven by some pre-ordained script. In a study of academic literacy Paltridge, Starfield and Tardy (2016, p. 23) suggest that 'contexts… are not objective conditions but rather (inter)subjective conditions that… are as much created by participants in their interactions with each other (and with others' texts) as by members of particular groups or communities'. (Also see Bloome, Kalman and

Seymour for a discussion on literacy events as situated emergent enactment, in this volume).

Indeed, what is clear from the classroom data presented here is the agency of the teacher in terms of interpreting the act of reading in a very particular way, and student agency as illustrated through the nature of their participation in these reading events. Whereas the ideological trajectory of the reading practices in Ms Andrews's class in relation to institutional and wider cultural pressures and influences were explored above, it would not be accurate or true to say that the teacher and students are merely an instrument of such pressures. The sense of agency within such influences is still evident in the way the teacher has reflected upon the inadequacy of 'reading' set for homework; her assessment of the need to address 'reading' in a more explicit, pro-active way; her interpretation and enactment of the Critical Thinking approach to close reading and how that was orchestrated in her lesson; and her conscious decision to spend more lesson time on close reading of complex texts. Equally, student agency is demonstrated through the manner of interrogating the text (and the teacher) in the context of assuming ownership of 'meaning making' and 'meaning taking'. It is to be conjectured whether teachers of the same subject or teachers of other disciplines would interpret the reading demands of their subject A Level and the needs of their students in the same way, and how student agentive conduct might present itself. It is such conjecture that may be a fruitful path to pursue in further research and in this way explore the role of individual agency within an ideological model of literacy as applied to contemporary classrooms.

A final development we would suggest in relation to the data presented here is to examine more closely the role of talk surrounding the instances of reading (and writing). As was referred to above, the Critical Thinking principles underpinning the reading practices adopted in this classroom engendered a multi- modality approach where talk with peers and/or the teacher as part of the process of 'meaning taking' was a significant feature. Indeed, it is in these moments of interactions where the principles of the Critical Thinking approach are blended with the disciplinary focus of the text, as illustrated by instances of student questioning which served to surface, examine, and then address insecure understanding of the philosophical ideas in the text. As such, talk as part of classroom reading and writing practices presented here serves to provide a portal into the richness and complexity of such practices. We would argue that in this particular lesson talk constituted a significant part of the enactment of Critical Thinking.

We fully acknowledge that in Street's (1984) original work he examined the relationship between text and oral traditions which were grounded in ethnographic and sociolinguistic studies of how people used language in particular contexts. Talk, therefore, in this sense was a constitutive part of reading. In relation to an Academic Literacies context, spoken and written forms are used in terms of exploring issues of genre (Lea & Street, 2006), but not necessarily as part of the process around reading itself. Leung and Street (2017), amongst others, have since further developed this earlier position to engage specifically with classroom discourse data, to which this chapter also makes a contribution. Extending this focus on talk within an ideological model of literacy would continue to mark a conceptual expansion on the original work where an examination of the talk surrounding (or integral to) literacy practices in classroom contexts would contribute to further our understanding of 'the social practices and conceptions of reading and

writing', and 'how such practices are taught and how they are imparted' (Street, 1984, p. 1).

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Appendix

Original text used for the reading task (Jones et al., 2005, p. 26). Ontological arguments for God's existence are supposed to be deductively valid. In other words, if we accept their premises as

true, the conclusion is said to follow necessarily. Such arguments, if successful, would clearly represent an incredible achievement for human reason, for they promise to establish God's existence with absolute certainty!

However, as we saw above, before we can be certain that they succeed we need to be sure the premises used in such arguments are true. But ontological arguments also claim their premises are unassailable since they concern only definitions and the analysis of concepts, and specifically the analysis of God. Because we can examine the concept of God in a purely a priori manner it represents a firm starting point for our argument. Thus an ontological argument should establish the existence of God with the same degree of certainty as is to be found in mathematics.

12
Approaches to Academic Literacy Instruction

Classifications, Conflicts and New Directions

Ursula Wingate

Introduction

A festschrift provides an ideal opportunity for revisiting an influential concept associated to the festschrift recipient and re-evaluating it from a present-day perspective. In Brian Street's festschrift, the concept of 'Academic Literacies' is an obvious choice, as it has substantially influenced research and teaching practices in the UK and internationally. The concept emerged in the 1990s and became widely known through Lea and Street's (1998) seminal paper. Informed by New Literacy Studies (Street, 1984), Academic Literacies sees reading and writing at university as social practices that are shaped by ideologies, identities and institutional power relations. The impact of Lea and Street's paper is obvious through the fact that it reached more than 2000 citations and remains, 20 years after publication, one of the most widely read articles in *Studies in Higher Education*. The concept of Academic Literacies has shaped the work of writing researchers and practitioners worldwide, as is evidenced in numerous publications over the years, some of which clearly demonstrate its application in international contexts.

Lea and Street (1998) analysed the institutional approaches in UK universities to supporting students' academic writing in the 1990s, with a particular focus on the situation of local students in a changing higher education context. They proposed Academic Literacies as a model that is superior to, and at the same time encapsulates, two existing ones. These they called Study Skills and Academic Socialisation. For Lea and Street, when academic writing is regarded as Study Skills, surface features of writing such as grammar and spelling are taught in a generic fashion; this type of teaching is typically offered in English language centres where instructors are often on non-academic and short-term contracts (Hyland & Hamp-Lyon, 2002). In Lea and Street's view, Academic Socialisation approaches, which include genre-based pedagogies such as English for Academic Purposes (EAP), aim to induct students to the culture of the university and the conventions of academic writing. More than 15 years later, Jenkins (2014), considering the perspective of students who are non-native speakers of English, proposed another hierarchical tripartite classification, in which English as an Academic Lingua Franca (ELFA) takes the leading

position as the 'single paradigm-changing approach' (p. 49), and supersedes two other groups of approaches, the 'conforming' ones, including EAP and other genre models, and the 'challenging' ones, including Academic Literacies. Several reservations about such evaluative hierarchies and the relatively low status of EAP and other genre approaches (henceforth Genre/EAP) in both classifications have already been expressed (Duff, 2010; Wingate & Tribble, 2012; Tribble, 2017).

In this chapter, I revisit this evaluation of Genre/EAP and the claim that Academic Literacies and ELFA are superior[1] because of their transformational and paradigm-shifting value, and argue that the convergence of models rather than divisive hierarchies is needed to develop and promote an academic literacy pedagogy that benefits all students in contemporary higher education, and at the same time considerably enhances the role of instructors in EAP/Academic Literacy. I propose a curriculum-integrated approach to academic literacy instruction that draws on the best principles from all models, and show how Academic Literacies and ELFA can continue to contribute important insights to further this approach.

Academic Literacies: Impact and Conflicts

The Academic Literacies model offered a new perspective on academic writing at a time when there was a substantial increase in student participation in higher education, and a growing understanding that the traditional support measures were insufficient in helping them to meet the literacy demands of their study programmes. Lea and Street exposed the inadequacy of the then dominant instructional approaches and the associated deficit view of students, and proposed Academic Literacies as a practice – rather than a text-oriented approach, which 'takes account of the cultural and contextual component of writing and reading practices' (Lea & Street, 1998: 158). By shifting the research focus from written texts to the factors that influence writing, and broadening the research methodology from text analysis to ethnographically-oriented methods, Lea and Street's model triggered numerous research studies and interventions, initially in the UK and South Africa, but gradually also in other countries, such as the USA, Brazil and Australia. Academic Literacies has had a lasting influence on writing instruction and curriculum design, as evidenced by the recent volume edited by Lillis et al. (2015), which presents 31 cases studies of 'transformative practice' in different disciplines, gathered from educational settings in 10 different countries.

However, the label of 'transformation' has been attributed to Academic Literacies in a somewhat divisive manner, so that when Genre/EAP approaches are considered they are bunched together under the label Academic Socialisation and depicted as normative and text-biased (e.g. Lillis & Scott, 2007). Whilst there is no doubt that Academic Literacies has been transformative, particularly in relation to our understanding of literacy practices in Higher Education, I would argue that the same can be said of genre models, as they have produced innovative and clearly defined teaching methodologies (see Pérez-Llantada & Swales, 2017 for an overview) and have a substantial track record of successful instructional practice in various educational contexts around

the world. Examples of this include support for indigenous students' academic reading and writing in an Australian university (Rose et al., 2008), and the integration of corpus analysis in programmes where graduate students in a UK university explore specific disciplinary genres (Charles, 2015). When these are taken into account, the hierarchical view of Academic Literacies as superior to 'Academic Socialisation' appears to be based on an insufficient differentiation between various applications of Genre/EAP, as well as a rather unspecific concept of transformation.

Applications of Genre/EAP

There is a clear difference in the way in which EAP has been practised 'pragmatically' in some contexts, and the way it was theorised by genre scholars such as Swales or Johns. Pragmatic EAP is mainly concerned with teaching students the standards of (often poorly conceptualised) 'academic' writing to help them succeed at university; critiquing these standards is not a teaching objective. It therefore 'runs the danger of reinforcing norms, beliefs and ideologies that maintain inequitable social and cultural relations' (Pennycook, 1997: 256). It is obviously this type of EAP at which the critique of Academic Literacies proponents was targeted. Other critical approaches such as Critical EAP have also accused pragmatic EAP of being normative because it is 'concerned with teaching students a set of dominant academic discourse norms, i.e. the Anglo-American type' (Harwood & Hadley, 2004: 356). According to Lillis and Scott (2007), EAP focuses on identifying linguistic and rhetorical features in texts and inducting students into appropriating them. This means that EAP reifies academic conventions, giving the impression that they are 'not open to negotiation and criticism' (Canagarajah, 2002: 32), and that students are expected to accept these conventions unquestioningly and suppress their familiar discourses. The critical approaches, whilst recognising the need to work with texts,[2] see themselves as transformative because they engage in critiquing dominant academic norms, 'eliciting the perspective of writers' and 'exploring alternative ways of meaning making' (Lillis & Scott 2007: 13). To give students the opportunity to use familiar semiotic resources, Canaga-rajah (2011) proposes 'codemeshing', i.e. the permission not only to use different languages, but also different communicative modes and symbols systems.

This pragmatic EAP work has been typically carried out in EAP teaching units that cater for non-native speaker students from a range of disciplines; these units still exist in many Anglophone universities and their work is often skills-focused (Turner, 2004). Normativity is almost unavoidable in such settings. As discipline-specific genres cannot be addressed, given the heterogeneous student groups and the instructors' likely unfamiliarity with the conventions of a range of different disciplines, academic language is generalised and reduced to what is perceived as common linguistic and stylistic features. These are taught as if they represented academic norms across disciplines, giving students the impression that 'the academy is a relatively homogeneous culture' (Lea & Street, 1998: 159). This trend of presenting certain linguistic features as universal academic language norms is also obvious in EAP textbooks; as Harwood (2005) points

out, corpus-based studies found shortcomings in the way these textbooks represent the actual language used by academic writers. Research evidence shows how the normative EAP approach can create 'deficit identities' in students (Marshall, 2010).

This type of EAP, however, contradicts the principles of genre theory that underpins EAP as well as other genre-based teaching models, and practices have been changing towards genre analysis that includes 'a much richer account of the contexts in which they occur' (Jones, 2004: 257). Genre scholars have always warned against the prescriptive use of text models (e.g. Swales, 1990; Johns, 2008) and highlighted the importance of exploring the social practices surrounding academic writing. Whilst Academic Literacies research has used ethnography as a *research* approach to investigate these practices, genre scholars have used ethnography as a *teaching* approach (e.g. Johns, 2011; Motta-Roth, 2009), asking students to carry out interviews and observations in the communities where the target genres are produced. Johns has stressed the need for developing students' genre awareness as opposed to teaching for genre acquisition. While genre acquisition enables students to reproduce a specific genre from exemplars, genre awareness allows them to recognise genres as flexible and socially situated forms of communication and as 'problem-spaces open to critique and challenge' (2011: 61). Thus, genre scholars favour the development of students' critical stances towards dominant conventions, however, they also insist on the importance of text. As Gardner (2012: 53) points out, a problem for the teaching of academic literacy 'arises when practices based pedagogies are not complimented with a focus on the wording of the written text'. Hyland (2007: 151–152) also sees text analysis as the starting point for critique, stating that '[L]earning about genres does not preclude critical analysis but, in fact, provides a necessary basis for critical engagement with cultural and textual practices'.

This attention to text has been critiqued by Academic Literacies proponents, who see their own model's transformative potential in 'the extent to which *practice* is privileged above text' (Lillis & Scott 2007: 10, italics in original). According to Lillis (in Lillis et al., 2015: 9), normative stances are concerned with questions such as '[W]hat is the nature of the writing and literacy required – at the level of genre, grammar, style and rhetoric? How can these most usefully be researched (made visible) and taught'? By contrast, Academic Literacies is regarded as transformative because of its concern with 'additional' questions such as '[H]ow have particular conventions become legitimized – and what might alternatives be. To what extent do they serve knowledge making – and are other ways of making knowledge, and other kinds of knowledge/knowing possible?' (ibid.).

At this point it may be useful to explore which type or level of transformation Lillis and colleagues have in mind.

Transforming What?

Lillis and Scott (2007: 12) refer to Academic Literacies *research* as transformative, which obviously means that researchers take a broader perspective and ask the additional questions

presented above with the aim to eventually transform writing practices in higher education. Some of the research findings, for instance on writers' perspectives or on alternatives to conventional forms of writing, have indeed provided new ideas for transformation in teaching practices, as well as in materials and curriculum design. For example, Lillis (2001) drew on her own research to promote text-focused dialogues between writing instructors and students, and Lea (2004) described how Academic Literacies principles can be applied to the design of a postgraduate course. The question is, however, to what extent Academic Literacies has brought about transformation to the teaching and learning of academic literacy. The recent examples of 'transformative practice', presented in Lillis et al. (2015), include case studies of raising the visibility of expected conventions and their hidden features, or of encouraging students to draw on alternative semiotic resources such as drawing or story-telling. A concern with these case studies is that they represent individual understandings and applications of the Academic Literacies model in confined contexts, but do not signify a unified pedagogical programme which can be transferred to wider contexts. When it comes to changes in institution-wide policies and practices that would result in transforming the experience of whole student populations, Academic Literacies has had less impact. Section 4 of Lillis et al. (2015) is entitled 'Transforming institutional frameworks of academic writing'; however, the few actual cases of transformation are limited to specific parts of the institution. Admittedly, changes in institution-wide policies and practices are difficult to achieve; however, as I will discuss later, they are crucial for an adequate literacy instruction for *all* students. It is unlikely that such changes can be triggered by an individual model, particularly if lacks a clearly defined teaching agenda.

If transformation is related to *teaching* and the student experience rather than research, the questions attributed by Lillis to normative stances (such as 'What is the nature of the writing and literacy required?', see previous section) have greater relevance than those attributed to transformative approaches. In teaching contexts, the genre-based models have greater transformative or 'empowering' (Hyland, 2004: 15) value, as they address students' immediate learning needs and accelerate their participation in the academic discourse community. Two of the genre models, Rhetorical Genre Studies (RGS), which is rooted in the North American College Composition courses (e.g. Bawarshi & Reiff, 2010), and EAP, which is taught to non-native speaker students in most Anglophone universities, are both established parts of institutional structures and have therefore a wide reach and large transformative potential. To achieve this potential and avoid normativity, the insights and recommendations from critical approaches such as Academic Literacies are valuable. Therefore, instead of unhelpful dichotomies, alliances should be formed between different approaches. As Lillis (in Lillis et al., 2015: 11) acknowledges, 'working towards transformation in higher education is a large and challenging project, possible only through extensive collaboration'. This collaboration needs to be between genre-based approaches and critical approaches so that a combination of textual work and critical analysis of literacy practices is ensured.

Some practitioners who align themselves to Academic Literacies do recognise the value of Genre/EAP and the importance of working with texts. Gimenez and Thomas (2015: 29), for instance, propose a 'usable pedagogy' that aims at 'giving students access to and mobilizing the

linguistic and analytical tools needed for active participation in their academic and professional discourse communities'. The authors assert that they do not reject text-based approaches and that an 'either-or view is problematic' (p. 30). Paxton and Frith (2015: 156) point out that in their context of widening participation in a previously 'white' university in South Africa, 'normative approaches that involve inducting students into existing and available discourses are essential'. However, although several scholars have pointed out the compatibility of existing approaches and there have been various calls for using them in a complementary fashion (e.g. Gardner, 2012; Wingate & Tribble, 2012), divisive and hierarchical perspectives still exist, as the next section shows.

ELFA - A Paradigm-shifting Approach?

The most recent classification of 'the various approaches towards and perspectives/positions on academic English/EAP', proposed by Jenkins (2015: 48), comes from an ELFA perspective, which is concerned with 'non-mother-tongue academics (at any level in their career) who use English in international communication in academic contexts anywhere in the world' (p. 61). Jenkins distinguishes three groups. The first is made up of 'conforming approaches', as 'they conform by default to native academic English', and contains everything that is in the Academic Literacies category of 'Academic Socialisation', namely 'General EAP', other genre approaches and corpus studies. The second group consists of the 'challenging approaches', including Critical EAP, Contrastive Rhetoric and Academic Literacies, as they question the conformity imposed by the members of the previous group. Although the challenging approaches 'share, to an extent, some of ELFA's socio-ideological concerns', it is ELFA that takes the top position in this hierarchy as the 'single, paradigm-shifting approach' (p. 49). In which sense ELFA is paradigm-shifting is not directly explained, but it is suggested that ELFA research is needed to find out how academic English is used successfully by non-native speakers even though they diverge from 'native academic English'. Several claims underpinning Jenkins's classification and the positioning of ELFA are rather problematic in my view.

First, ELFA reaffirms the unhelpful dichotomy of native versus non-native speakers of English, which has been seen as irrelevant for academic literacy instruction, because academic discourse represents an unfamiliar language variety for native and non-native speakers alike. In advanced-level academic writing, as Römer (2009: 99) points out, 'we actually move beyond the native/non-native distinction and find that, in this context, experience or expertise is a more important aspect to consider than nativeness'. Mauranen (2012: 69), an ELFA scholar, also rejects this dichotomy, commenting that the acquisition of academic literacy 'involves much more than a few surface expressions and poses challenges in students' first languages as well.... This levels the playing field for those who study in a foreign language, at least to some extent'. Jenkins's (2014: 11) claim that the conforming approaches teach non-native speakers of English to accommodate to 'native academic English' or 'replicate the *national* academic English norms' (italics in original) is also

questionable. Academic English is an international language, used and shaped by global academic discourse communities, of which many members do not have English as their first language. In these communities, 'native academic English' does not exist, and neither do 'national academic English norms', as it is unclear which nation should impose them. Underpinning this claim is an assumption that Genre/EAP approaches enforce linguistic correctness at the level of grammar and spelling (where national norms would play a role); however, I have already explained that they have a much broader agenda. Even in academic publishing, linguistic conformity tends no longer to be enforced. Tribble (2017) has provided corpus-based evidence of a relatively high number of non-standard usages of English in published articles written by non-native speakers. If this divergence is accepted in high-stake academic writing, it is unlikely that writing instruction in the 'conforming approaches' is still pursuing the 'native speaker' linguistic competence. Lastly, ELFA has so far relied on corpora of spoken and informal written academic discourse and has therefore limited research evidence on which theoretical claims or pedagogical recommendations could be based.

Moving on from Evaluative Hierarchies - New Directions

My response to both classifications is that evaluative hierarchies are generally unhelpful for achieving large-scale transformation, and that transformation is not possible without an instructional programme – which neither Academic Literacies nor ELFA provides. I would also argue that the low positioning of Genre/EAP approaches in the two classifications, based on the allegation that they require students' accommodation to institutional norms and disciplinary conventions, is not justified from a contemporary perspective. Whilst at the time of Lea and Street's (1998) paper EAP practices may still have been prescriptive to some extent, these have been changing since the 1990s (Tribble, 1996; Hyland, 2004), and not only in the direction of exploring the social practices of genres that I mentioned earlier. An increasing number of EAP units have also begun to co-operate with academics in the disciplines to develop discipline and programme-specific academic literacy instruction (e.g. Morley, 2008). The contemporary problem with EAP is not prescriptiveness but the fact that these initiatives are not far-reaching enough. Similarly to the case studies of Academic Literacies discussed earlier, the changes, for instance collaboration with academic departments, take place in pockets and affect only some parts of the university instead of reaching the level of institutional policy. However, institution-wide structural and instructional changes must be implemented if universities want to offer adequate academic literacy support to their diverse student populations.

The change needed in institutional policy is the integration of academic literacy instruction into subject curricula, based on the collaboration between subject lecturers and EAP or learning development specialists (called EAP instructors henceforth). This change would require a fundamental shift in the mind-sets of academics and academic managers, from the perception of academic writing as a set of skills to be taught only to students with skills deficits, towards the

understanding that academic literacy means learning the communicative practices of an academic discourse community, that this is a learning need for *all* students, and that literacy instruction needs to be integrated with subject instruction to be inclusive and relevant. This integration would require substantial changes in instructional practices, because the subject lecturer, as expert in the discourse community, would carry the main responsibility for teaching academic literacy. Since subject lecturers often lack the necessary training and literary awareness, they would require considerable support from EAP instructors. Consequently, the role of EAP staff would change from the main providers of writing instruction, who are 'frequently employed as vulnerable, short term instructors in marginalised service units' (Hyland & Hamp-Lyons, 2002: 10), to the collaborator and advisor of subject lecturers. Instead of teaching from 'service units', they would be allocated to specific departments, where they would help lecturers to embed literacy instruction into their regular teaching and assessment practices. I have discussed the various methods of curriculum integration elsewhere (Wingate, 2015), but want to provide assessment as an example to show how EAP instructors can help making literacy instruction part of regular work routines.

A powerful method of individual literacy instruction is formative feedback as it helps students to recognise and address shortcomings in their writing. Assessing student assignments is part of lecturers' regular workload, and regulations in many universities require explicit feedback comments. If the feedback is designed to be formative, it is writing instruction at the same time, without adding to lecturers' workload. However, studies have revealed that feedback comments often fail to be formative, as they focus on surface features (e.g. Lea & Street, 1998), and/ or are formulated in general or abstract terms that confuse students (e.g. Carless, 2006). To be able to provide formative feedback, lecturers have to develop explicit knowledge of the relevant genres and the ability to identify and label, in accessible language, the essential problems in students' production of these genres. EAP instructors, who are familiar with genre analysis and the necessary metalanguage, are therefore best placed to support subject lecturers in developing these abilities.

So far, examples of institution-wide integration of academic literacy instruction into subject curricula are rare.[3] This is not surprising, as it is difficult to convince university managers of this approach, particularly as it would be more cost- intensive than the currently dominant provision of extra-curricular courses where instructors are often employed on short-term contracts. Curriculum integration would require substantial investment into staff development and incentives for subject lecturers, as well as more permanent positions for EAP instructors. A fundamental reason for the absence of this approach, however, is the lack of a strong pedagogical argument and comprehensive pedagogical concept that would be needed in the first place to convince university managers. To develop both argument and concept, the different models must do away with mutual animosities and evaluative hierarchies and combine their best principles. In the final sections, I consider in which ways Genre/EAP, Academic Literacies and ELFA can contribute to the argument for, and concept of, curriculum-integrated academic literacy instruction.

As to the pedagogical argument, Genre/EAP provides a strong rationale, namely that academic

discourse communities have their specific genres and discourse conventions which cannot be learned outside the community. Academic Literacies contributes to the argument with the critique that conventional EAP does not allow negotiation of academic conventions and alternatives to them. In the curriculum-integrated approach, by contrast, the subject lecturer would engage in discussions about the texts that students have to read or write, or have written, which would almost certainly lead to the negotiation of disciplinary requirements and 'alternative ways of meaning making' (Lillis & Scott, 2007: 13). With its focus on the challenges that non-native speaker students experience with academic English, ELFA has not much to contribute to the pedagogical argument; as discussed earlier, these challenges are not unique to non-native speakers.

In relation to the pedagogical concept, I fully support the argument of genre scholars such as Gardner, Hyland or Johns that genre-based pedagogies, which are already fully developed and widely applied, should be at the core of academic literacy instruction. Unlike the other models, genre approaches address students' immediate need of having to read and write academic texts and give them access to the necessary linguistic resources. The main feature of the curriculum-integrated model would be that much of the genre work would be done in the classroom, alongside subject teaching, where the subject lecturer would raise awareness of how knowledge is communicated in texts. In addition, following an Academic Literacies proposal (e.g. Lillis, 2001), more individual dialogue about texts between lecturers and students would be integrated into teaching and assessment practices (for more detail see Wingate, 2015). ELFA also has an important principle to contribute, that of 'mutual intelligibility among the relevant international academic community inside and outside the institution' (Jenkins, 2014: 202) as the main criterion for assessing students' use of English. The application of this principle would considerably change assessment practices and require extensive staff development work. At the same time, it would considerably alleviate students' difficulties with academic writing by allowing them to draw on their linguistic repertoires and familiar discourses. To make this possible, ELFA scholars would have to develop clear guidelines for distinguishing mutually intelligible features from unintelligible ones.

The discussion has shown that the principles from both Genre/EAP and Academic Literacies support the proposal of curriculum-integrated academic literacy instruction, while ELFA has the potential to contribute to it. If scholars from all three approaches joined forces to promote this proposal, transformation of university policies and practices, leading to the transformation of students' experience of entering academic discourse communities, could eventually be achieved.

Notes

1 This rather divisive hierarchy appears in the normative-versus-transformative dichotomy proposed by Lillis and Scott (2007). It was clearly not the intention of Lea and Street, who stated that the three models ('Study Skills, 'Academic Socialisation' and Academic Literacies') 'are not mutually exclusive', but that the 'academic literacies model, then, incorporates both of the other models into a more encompassing understanding of the nature of student writing' (1998: 158).

2 See for instance Pennycook's (1994: 317–318) argument for first giving students access to the standard discourses before encouraging them to explore alternatives.

3 One of them is the University of Wollongong where 'collaborative curriculum-integrated literacy instruction' was introduced in the 1990s (Percy & Skillen, 2000); this approach was subsequently taken by a number of Australian universities.

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PART V
Literacy and Personhood

13
Literacy and the Time Being

Michiko Hikida

In efforts to prepare students for accountability testing and to align with federal and state literacy standards, many school districts have laid out calendars of literacy objectives for teachers to follow. Literacy constructed in this way becomes a unit of time (Genishi & Dyson, 2009; Nespor et al., 2009), where each school year is made up of regular intervals of reading levels and standards through which students are expected to move. This ignores children's "unique 'inner clocks'" (Geni-shi & Dyson, 2009, p. 37) and the time they need to "learn everything offered in classrooms" (p. 55). As a result, many teachers and students feel the frustration and stress of being "out of sync" (Buchholz, 2016) with these literacy curricular timetables.

The construction of literacy as a unit of time also resurrects the autonomous model (Street, 1984) in that there is a tacit assumption that literacy is a set of skills, and that these skills can be doled out and learned in regular intervals of time. Becoming literate, under this model, assumes that students will progress from skill to skill at the same steady, calculable rate. Along with this construction of literacy as a unit of time, within neoliberal ideologies of meritocracy and competition (Au, 2016; Leonardo & Broderick, 2011; McDermott et al., 2009), schools become contexts in which students are judged against an imagined ideal where they are always "at risk of falling short of the ideal of what human subjects ought to be" and do (Davies, 2014, p. 34). Further, in line with meritocratic ideologies, Davies argues that an "individual's attempts to live up to the ideal are read in terms of free choice—anyone can succeed if they make the right choices. And that the choices they make will be judged on moral terms"(p. 34). In other words, if one makes the right choice then they are of good character. Thus, within educational contexts, what is right and good is arguably keeping up with literacy's units of time. Each temporal literacy unit, then, serves as an ontological building block (Nespor et al., 2009) of which the personhood of the students (and teachers) are constructed and measured. Those who are "out of sync" (Buchholz, 2016) are often judged as "struggling" or "disabled," or morally lacking, and are often spatially and temporally separated from their peers (Nespor et al., 2009).

What I aim to do in this chapter is to explore the social practices of personhood and literacy through a particular lens of time in hopes of widening the aperture of who is seen as fully human in schools. I hope to offer a theoretical perspective of emergent possibility by bringing Erickson's (2004) discussion of the distinction between Kronos and Kairos constructions of time into conversation with Bloome and Beauchemin's (2016) theory of personhood as languaged. In other words, I am re-theorizing literacy as units of time that then constrain the possibilities of being human within schooling contexts. To illustrate, I will examine a classroom literacy event to explore some possibilities this theoretical conversation affords. I close with implications for

literacy theory and research.

Time

I draw on Erikson's (2004) discussion of time as represented by the Greek words of *Kronos* and *Kairos*. Kronos is the root of chronology and is the measured, ordered, linear flow of time. It is this experience of time that is implicated when literacy curriculum is constructed through calendars of standards and objectives. Kairos, on the other hand, is the opportune, or "tactical timing of appropriateness" (Erickson, 2004, p. 7). This tactical timing, as I understand it, includes things like the appropriate time to reap or sow (i.e. nature's timing) and the timing of jokes and humor.

Media theorist Douglas Rushkoff (2013) uses a water metaphor to similarly describe two constructs of time. One he describes as a pond, which he argues "creates changes within itself by remaining still" (p. 141). It is in this stillness, he suggests, that ecosystems and cultures have opportunities to grow. The other experience of time Rushkoff likens to a stream, which he suggests "creates change beyond itself by remaining in motion" (p. 141). Krono-logic timing is like the continually flowing stream, creating change beyond itself through processes like erosion and deposition. For example, when a literacy curriculum is constructed as units of Krono-logic time, literacy skills come at a continually moving and steady flow in hopes of creating change beyond literacy itself as literate knowledge is deposited in students as the curriculum flows by.

Kairo-logic time is more like the pond, in which interlocutors engage in sustained, intersubjective interaction, creating change within themselves and their relationships with each other. To use another classroom example to illustrate Kairo-logic time, each year elementary school teachers are assigned somewhere around 20 students with whom they sit in the pond of the 9-month school calendar. Within that time, they engage in sustained, relational interaction during which teachers and students change within themselves both as a class community, and arguably as individuals as well. It is within this relative stillness that classroom cultures are built, including classroom definitions of personhood, although like the creek that feeds the pond, there is also the continual current of the curricular stream flowing through each day.

Rushkoff (2013) argues we need access to both experiences of time. Where we get into trouble, he suggests, is when we conflate these two conceptualizations. Nespor and colleagues (2009), drawing on the work of Heimer (2001), suggest that when school-based interactions are in only Krono-logic time "children's biographical identities and the larger contexts of their lives become illegible" (Nespor et al., 2009, p. 379). That is, when the only experience of time in schools is Krono-logic, it brings up issues of personhood and the potential for its erasure. This is because within the ever-present curricular flow, only certain ways of being and doing are valued, and arguably, those are instrumental ways of being, or what will be discussed below as an I-It relational orientation.

Time Being

According to Ruth Ozeki (2013), beings who live in time, as we all do, are "time beings" (p. 3). What this draws attention to is the inseparability between time and personhood. In this section I consider what it means to be a "time being" by examining how the conceptualizations of time explained above might intersect with Bloome and Beauchemin's (2016) theorization of personhood. In other words, I examine what it means to *be* in both Krono-logic and Kairo-logic time (i.e. to be a "time being").

Drawing on Buber's relational constructs of personhood to examine the lan-guaging of life in classrooms, Bloome and Beauchemin (2016) conceptualize personhood as "the state of being human as defined by our engagement in dialogue with each other as we oscillate between two modes of being—I-Thou and I-It" (p. 158). The authors argue that dialogue refers to a continual, emergent "engage-ment with others (or with oneself) in which there is [sometimes] recognition of the self in the other (empathy, mutuality, and intersubjectivity)" (p. 158). Within school contexts, dialogues that (emergently) define personhood happen at a variety of levels. These include the institutional dialogues that define personhood as well as the dialogues within and between individuals in classrooms. The ways personhood is defined across these contexts are mutually influential, but not necessarily the same.

According to Bloome and Beauchemin (2016), it is within the I-Thou relationship that we see "our humanity and the humanity of others as inseparable" (p. 158). By contrast, the I-It orientation they describe as engagement with another with "only part of our being" (p. 158). Buber (1971) asserts that it is within the I-It orientation to personhood that things get done, and "we have to get things done" (Bloome & Beauchemin, 2016, p. 158). I build on their argument that the I-It orientation is a more instrumental (get things done) relational construct than the I-Thou, which is more intersubjective. Like Rushkoff's (2013) assertion regarding experiences of time, Bloome and Beauchemin (2016) argue that we need to be able to distinguish and access both the I-It and the I-Thou orientations to personhood.

Bloome and Beauchemin recognize the importance of time within these experiences of personhood. They argue that "the complex, nonlinear multilayered belonging-together of human existence is unacknowledged when we account for people's actions through objective time" (Bloome & Beauchemin, 2016, p. 159). To frame this in Erickson's constructs of time, when we collapse the experience of time into a singular Krono-logic we overlook the complexity of being together in nonlinear time. In a linear view of time, children are always seen as incomplete, or as in the process of becoming fully human, but not yet fully human (Buchholtz, 2016). They are on their way somewhere, but have not yet arrived.

Building on these theories of time and personhood, I argue that the I-It is an experience of personhood within Krono-logic time and the I-Thou is within Kairo-logic time. Below, I bring this conceptual collaboration of time and personhood to the examination of a classroom literacy event in hopes of demonstrating the complex work in which students engage every day in the messiness of multilayered time.

The Kairo-logic of I-You Personhood

Raymond and Marley (self-selected pseudonyms) were fifth graders in a school located in a predominantly working class community of color in central Texas. The school, Huerta Elementary, was under pressure from the district to raise students' High Stakes Test (HST) scores. In an attempt to do that, the students were assigned a tremendous number of test prep texts, or short passages, of often contrived text, with a set of multiple choice questions at the end. In the event analyzed below, Raymond and Marley read one of these assigned passages.

Important to understanding this interaction is knowing that Raymond was identified for special education services as a student with a learning disability in reading. When I asked how he felt about reading he said "the words are hard." The special educator who had provided services for him for 3 years reported that at the beginning of the school year he read on about the first grade level, meaning that by some measure Raymond was several years' worth of literacy behind his peers. In other words, Raymond was "out of sync" (Buchholtz, 2016) with the literacy curricular timetable, so much so that he had been labeled "learning disabled." Consequently, for 45 minutes a day he was segregated from his peers for specialized reading instruction. Unlike Raymond, Marley was perceived as having kept up with the literacy timetable. He had passed the state accountability test every year he'd taken it, which was often used by teachers to measure students literacy, and, in my observation, he readily engaged with reading and books in class.

On this February morning, Raymond had not yet been pulled for special education services, so he worked on the literacy task assigned to the class at large. The assignment was to complete a test prep passage based on a variation of the "Country Mouse, City Mouse" story, while practicing the requisite test taking strategies (here, writing the gist next to each paragraph). The teacher, Mr. Peterson, had given the students the option of working with a partner, allowing them to select with whom they worked. "Look for someone you're going to be successful with," he said. Then he cautioned them against choosing their "best friends" because, "best friends are good for doing best friend stuff," but this wasn't best friend stuff. This characterization of the task anticipates an I-It orientation between partners and suggests that literacy is not an interaction one does with friends, rather one's partner was an instrument for accomplishing the task. Despite the warning, Raymond and Marley, who in my observation were good friends who often shared jokes, decided to work together. They settled down on the floor in the back of the classroom to work. I placed the recorder on a nearby desk and Raymond promptly moved it onto the floor between them as I walked away.

The transcript begins just after the boys settled a dispute regarding where the text began and where they needed to begin reading in which they appealed to Mr. Peterson to arbitrate. In the end, Raymond was proven wrong, and thus "out of sync" (Buchholtz, 2016) with the text. I have displayed this interaction in three columns. The column on the left is the interaction within the Krono-logic flow of time in which personhood is defined as the I-It. The middle column occurs in the Kairo-logic flow of time of the boys' I-Thou friendship. The third column are my analytic notes, including the intercontextualization I recognized drawn from my long-term engagement in the classroom. Text read from the passage appears in italics. Underlined are imperatives that

index the Krono-logic flow of time. Periods represent full stops and (:) indicate elongated syllables.

Ln	*Speaker*	*Krono-Logic, I-It Flow*	*Kairo-Logic I-Thou Flow*	*In tercontextualization Cues*
1	Marley:	*Emma=*		
2	Chorally:	*= a humble country mouse xxxx at her vegetable garden.*		
3	Raymond:	*I-*		
4	Marley:	Wait. wait. wait. wait. We need to write. “Likes garden”		Time-based imperative and reference to the test taking strategy of writing the gist
5	Raymond:	Likes garden?		
6	Marley:	Wait, no. Emma!		time-based imperative
7	Raymond:		We need to move this thing down here (about the recorder)	
8	Marley:	Emma. Likes. Card-		
9	Raymond:	So, Emma likes the garden?		
10	Marley:	um-hmmm		
11	Raymond:		Yeah! (into the recorder). Look you can see the thing go up. I’m talking.	
12			Ba-Boosh (into the recorder)	A sound often used playfully between the boys
13	Chorally:		(Giggle)	Uptake of the I-Thou orientation
14	Marley:	Hurry up. Come on. Write. “Emma likes garden.” Or you don't even have to write Emma, just put a arrow right here and then write		time-based imperative
15			Boosh._	Ratification of the I-Thou proposed in line 12
16		You don’t need to write Emma.		
17			(Singing)	Introduction of another cultural meme from
			Ha:llelu:jah::	

			(giggles)	the underlife
18	Raymond:		(Singing)	
			Ha:llelu:jah::	Uptake and ratification of the meme s use
			Ha:llelu:jah::	
19	Marley:	Ok. ready?		time-based imperative
20	Raymond:		(Singing)	
			Ha:llelu:jah::	
21	Marley:	Ready?		time-based imperative
22	Raymond:		(Singing)	
			Ha:llelu:jah::	
23	Marley:	Ready? Ok. *I must invite my cousin Henry from the city to join me.*		time-based imperative

This interaction went on in a similar fashion for almost an hour. The boys flowed between the Krono-logic press of the literacy task and the Kairo-logic time of their friendship, dancing between I-It and I-Thou orientations to each other. As mentioned, Raymond was "out of sync" with the a priori literacy timetable, making this text a challenge for him to track and decode. Thus, within the Krono-logic timing of the reading demands his value as an instrumental partner for accomplishing this task was questionable and his personhood was at risk as he failed to keep up. The valuation of speed in the Krono-logic I-It is evidenced by Marley's repeated use of the time-based imperative "hurry up." Marley's use of "[are you] ready?" in lines 19, 21, and 23 also functioned to pressure Raymond into moving continually through the stream of time in relation to the text.

At the same time, Raymond and Marley engaged in the Kairo-logic time of their friendship. Through intercontextual moves, they brought moments from the Krono-logic past into the Kairo-logic present that oriented them in an I-Thou relationship. In line 12 Raymond says "ba-boosh." This was a sound that I often heard in the underlife (Gutierrez et al., 1995) of the tumultuous participation framework of the class (for the particulars of the whole group participation framework see Hikida, 2018). On multiple occasions, before and after this interaction, one of the boys in class would make this sound (I did not observe any of the girls engaging), often inserted under whole-group talk. The sound would ripple around the room, as various boys repeated it. They would watch each other, smile, and laugh, arguably using this sound as a way of being together in friendship. In those moments of group formation, they oriented themselves within I-Thou. For his part, the teacher allowed the underlife to flourish, and he rarely in my observation stopped the boys from connecting in this way.

Here, Raymond used "ba-boosh" to invite Marley into an I-Thou orientation drawing on their shared history. Tactically, Marley acknowledged and validated Raymond's invitation when he incorporated "boosh" into the imperative in lines 14 and 15 ("then write boosh"). Marley's response was "just in time," letting Raymond know that he was heard and their friendship was

logic present.

Marley "listens doubly" (Davies, 2014, p. 41). First, he listened to Raymond to demonstrate intersubjectivity and I-Thou engagement. Second, he listened to the time pressure of the assignment, and encouraged Raymond to keep up with the literacy task, which was a significant practice in being a student in this schooling context. Marley also used the singing of "Ha:llelu:jah::" in line 17 (another cultural meme observed repeatedly in the underlife, perhaps an intertextual reference to the movie *Shrek*) to maintain the Kairo-logic interactional thread. These cultural memes had value within this classroom context, and grew out of the Kairo-logic stillness of the sustained relational engagement of the people within this class. Marley and Raymond used them to tend to their friendship, and importantly, to recognize Raymond's humanity beyond his orientation within the literacy timetable.

Marley and Raymond demonstrated that "the relationship between the I-It and the I-Thou is nuanced and vacillating" (Bloome & Beauchemin, 2016, p. 159). While they vacillated across orientations to time and personhood, each relationship was cohesive within the interaction through the maintenance of topic, volume, pitch, and intonation. They demonstrated "the complex, nonlinear multilayered belonging-together of human existence [that] is unacknowledged when we account for people's actions [only] through objective time" (Bloome & Beauchemin, 2016, p. 159). In other words, if the intercontextual moves, which functioned outside of the steady Krono-logic temporal stream, were dismissed as non sequiturs and nonsensical, then the relational work they accomplished would be lost or erased. Scholars (Adam, 2008; Nespor et al., 2009) have argued that "we live polychronic lives" (Nespor, 2009, p. 374) where experiences of time are multiple and often overlapping, which the analysis above demonstrates. Each time Marley and Raymond drew on a cultural meme from a "temporally upstream" (Erickson, 2004, p. 194) Krono-logic moment, they experienced the tactically appropriate Kairo-logic time in which their friendship was built and maintained.

It could be argued that Raymond is simply trying to get Marley off task to save face or to get out of a tedious literacy assignment. In fact, at one point as the teacher and I passed each other he looked at me and said, "They aren't getting anything done, are they?" I was not sure then, and I disagree now. I believe that interpretation dismisses the complexity of the boys "ways of being in relation to" (Davies, 2014, p. 44) literacy, time, and each other that unfolded in this interaction. They were getting a lot done. One of those things, I argue, is that Raymond and Marley demonstrate how the doing of school within the I-It relationship can be languaged simultaneously with I-Thou mutuality and friendship.

To be clear, I am not suggesting that a Krono-logic I-It orientation is somehow bad and that we should strive toward only operating in Kairo-logic I-Thou relationships. Rather, both orientations of time and personhood are necessary. As Davies (2014) suggests, we need the predictability of Krono-logic I-It routines, because it is within this flow of time-as-usual that moments of diffraction occur, or when the stream of Krono-logic time is disrupted, which can give rise to new ways of being together (i.e. the I-Thou).

One of the interactional mechanisms that afforded the kind of relational work on which Raymond and Marley intercontextually drew was the rich underlife in this classroom. When I

Raymond and Marley intercontextually drew was the rich underlife in this classroom. When I asked the teacher about his apparent permissiveness of the underlife he said that it "doesn't help anybody" to shout out "What are you doing?" This suggests that he was willing, at least at times, to let go of attachment to the status quo (Davies, 2014) of the Krono-logic I-It construction of literacy in school to allow the Kairo-logic I-Thou relationality to flourish.

Implications for Literacy Theory

Theoretically, as a unit of time, literacy seems to have experienced "overwind-ing," or the squishing of "really big timescales into much smaller or nonexistent ones" (Rushkoff, 2013, p. 136). This overwinding of literacy in schools is largely undergirded by US market-driven, neoliberal ideologies. When the dominant concept of being literate in schools is an I-It, meritocratic, effort-based, "anyone can succeed" idealization (Davies, 2014), then students like Raymond, who are "out of sync" with the literacy timetable can find themselves identified as learning disabled and segregated from their peers for all or part of the day.

When we examine the literacy event above through a purely Krono-logic lens, we can see evidence of how that identification and segregation might occur. Reading down the Krono-logic column, Marley repeatedly indexed the constraints of this stream of literacy-as-time as he repeatedly cajoled Raymond to hurry up, come on, and be ready. But Raymond's "unique 'inner clock'" (Genishi & Dyson, 2009, p. 37) was such that he could not "be ready" on the demand of the arbitrary school calendar, and Raymond's participation faded to silence. This demonstrates that within this construct of literacy Raymond's I-It (instrumental) personhood was ineffective and, within a matter of turns, erased. It seems that Raymond could not *be* with Marley within this flow of time. If this were all to which we attended, as teachers and schools often do, Raymond would seem incapable, perhaps even disabled. However, and importantly, when we look down the Kairo-logic column, we see the active, collaborative agency of the boys as they reify (make material) Raymond's personhood through their languaging of their intercontextual friendship. The constraints of Krono-logic time seem suspended as the boys make relevant cultural texts shared at other Krono-logic times. Where Raymond fades and disappears in one flow of time, in the other he acts strategically, laughs, and sings, always in interaction with Marley.

In other words, as we continue to build on the theorization of literacy as a set of practices, we must also consider how these practices are tied to particular constructions of time. Here, I have explored how two different constructs of literacy-as-time (Kronos and Kairos) afford and constrain the possibilities for being recognized and valued as fully human. Striving toward the examination of complex ways of being together with each other (and with text) can help us to recognize and maintain the humanity of our participants as they work to do the same. This takes up the call of Duncan-Andrade (2006), who encouraged us to approach our research and analysis *con cariño*, or with care. In the current educational (and arguably political) context, where neoliberal ideologies dominate and where readers like Raymond are marginalized, conducting

research *con cariño* becomes a moral imperative.

Closing Thoughts

> What it is to be a person, to be moral and to be human in specific cultural contexts is frequently signified by the kind of literacy practices in which a person is engaged. This is highlighted by the ways in which, during International Literacy Year, Agencies including UNESCO came to associate literacy with the idea of a fully human person, with enlightenment in contrast with the dark space of 'illiteracy'. This I would like to suggest, is characteristic of the ways in which literacy and personhood are intertwined in many cultural discourses and serve to remind us that the acquisition of literacy involves more than simply technical skills.
>
> *(Street, 1994, p. 97)*

As Street suggests above, literacy is tied to morality, where morality is an understanding "about what is right and wrong, good and bad, worthy and unworthy, [and] just and unjust" (Smith, 2009, p. 8). Schools, then, can be seen as cultural institutions governed by the moral orders, or the "intersubjectively and institutionally shared social structuring of moral systems" (p. 10), of the contexts in which they are situated. Smith (2009) asserts "one of the best ways to reveal the moral character of social institutions… is to violate the moral norms and observe the reaction" (p. 25).

By being "out of sync" and not keeping up with the steady stream of standards and skills, it could be argued that Raymond violated the moral norms of literacy as a unit of time. Under the pressures of the Krono-logic literacy timetables Raymond, and other students like him, have had their Kairo-logic timing of change within themselves ignored in ways that mediate the moral measure and worth of their person. Somewhere along the way we "lost the ability to distinguish between different scales of time and beg[an] to subject one level of activity to the time constraints of another" (Rushkoff, 2013, p. 134). We now seem to expect all children to grow and mature by the same Krono-logic clock, when the timing of growth is inherently Kairo-logic. Unfortunately, this misguided belief has deleterious and alienating consequences for individuals in schools and beyond.

Along with Bloome and Beauchemin (2016), I wonder if the historical and institutional moral order of schooling has not yet conceptualized the existence of being with others beyond the I-It relationship. This makes the work Marley and Raymond did together noteworthy. We see that Marley felt the pressure of the Krono-logic literacy unit every time he told Raymond to hurry. We also see that Marley listened to Raymond's diffractions of the Krono-logic I-It as he appealed for the Kairo-logic I-Thou orientation. "[M]oments of being [together]… unfolded" (Davies, 2014, p. 38) as Marley made socially relevant and consequential the intercontextual moves Raymond made, even if this togetherness was fleeting. Davies argues that what it is possible for a person "to *be* depends on what kind of subject is recognizable in this context, and on what that context affords him – how it positions him, what modes of enunciation it draws on, and what it values" (Davies, 2014, p. 42). Marley gracefully valued the Krono-logic literacy of school and the Kairo-logic literacy of friendship. He occupied a liminal space where he and Raymond were "forever on the way" (Greene, 1995, p. 1), and always already enough.

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14
Faith, Culture and Identity

The Everyday Literacy Practices

Zanib Rasool

Introduction

The work of Brian Street offers a framework in which to question Western narratives of literacy and has shaped my thinking in relation to literacy pedagogy and a different lens to view community literacy practices. His work presented the concept of the 'autonomous model of literacy', to describe the way in which governments and other policy makers view literacy to be a specific set of skills which we should all possess without much room for diversity and taking away agency from individuals by imposing 'Western conceptions of literacy on to other cultures' (Street, 2003a, p. 2). I find Street's ideological model of literacy aligns with the everyday literacy practices of my family and community and, 'offers a more culturally sensitive view of literacy practices varying from one culture to another' (Street, 2003b, p. 77). I see my own literacy practices embedded in my faith, culture, and identity and part of my everyday routine and rituals, offering me a sense of history and collectiveness.

Through an auto-ethnographic framework, I will describe literacy practices which Street termed as 'social practices and conceptions of reading and writing' (1984, p. 1) within my family and community and explore the informal litera-cies using a framework of literacy events and practices. I will begin with my own parents' literacy practices associated with religion, heritage, cultural objects and story-telling and then go on to describe the social literacy practices of Asian women in my household and the younger generation's hybrid literacy practices linked to identity and social media. I will conclude by explaining the importance to my family events such as 'Milad- un- Nabi' a specific Islamic literacy practice like the 'Maktab literacy' described by Street (1984), I see literacy as an everyday social and cultural lived experience, an example of which is women's school-gate literacy conversations. I will describe these important but invisible literacy practices which are often overshadowed by Western modes of literacy and advocate for rethinking literacy in a wider context drawing from the work of Brian Street who argued literacy is 'rooted in conceptions of knowledge, identity and being' (2003b, p .78).

Memories of Literacy Practices

I begin with my own family's literacy practices. I am the daughter of wonderful and loving parents who could not read or write in any language. Yet, they had religious knowledge, a heritage language and the practical knowledge of survival in a new country and bringing up a family on an immigrant's low wages.

Faith Literacy: My father's Story

My dear father was a man of great strength and character, at age 12 he worked in Karachi (Pakistan) driving rickshaws and never had any formal schooling. At 21 he came to England and most of his life he worked in the steel factory doing back-breaking work. The proudest moment for us was when our father at the age of 50 learned to read the Quran, it was hard and he struggled but he was determined. He then went on to teach the Quran as a volunteer to a number of people. He would be up at 5 am and start his day visiting a friend's house a few miles away to teach him the Quran. When I got home from work there he would be teaching the Quran to a group of boys excluded from the Mosque. Religious literacy is an important part of my life. In my family the faith teacher was my father, he taught his grandchildren to read the Quran, and socialized them in Islamic practices. The Prophet Muhammad, Peace be upon him is quoted in the Hadith.[1] 'The best among you (Muslims) are those who learn the Qur'an and teach it'. We see the sharing of Islamic knowledge as a moral duty placed on us. Knowledge and learning is something shared with the community rather than education being an individual success. McCaleb (1994) argues that Western societies foster 'individu-alism and personal success and competition over cooperation and collaboration' (p. 45). It may also be the case that gradually immigrant communities from outside the West assimilate to Western countries; they also get caught up in individualism in knowledge and learning.

I reflect back to my childhood listening to family stories, my grandfather's reading of poetry he had written, or reciting the Quran most evenings by the coal fire. A family is a 'space for communal sharing of resources' (hooks, 2000, p. 37). At the age of 5, I was learning English at school, Quranic Arabic at Mosque and Mirpuri/Punjabi at home and had grasped none. I remember crying whilst listening to my maternal grandfather's voice; it really moved me and lifted me spiritually. It saddens me that we did not keep safe the pieces of paper grandfather wrote his poetry on which he left lying around the house. His two brothers also wrote poetry in Urdu (the official language of Pakistan) but none of their children did. I have discovered I like writing poetry as do my nieces. I hope that makes my grandfather happy that we, the girls, are keeping the old family tradition of poetry writing alive. In my family, we view literacy as both oral and written text and don't really differentiate when we are home. Heath and Street (2008) argue 'every speaker reflects habits, loyalties, and ideologies of language forged in cultural patterns that existed before they were born' (p. 6). I often find my youngest niece reading a book

in a corner of the living room and her two brothers making their own stories up of giants.

Some of the objects in my home have Islamic text written on them, verses from the holy Quran. I have textile embroidered quotes from the Quran, photos of my parents on a pilgrimage to Mecca in Saudi Arabia, a miniature of Minar-e-Pakistan, Mazar-e-Quaid, and Faisal Masjid (historical buildings in Pakistan) given to me by relatives when I last visited Pakistan. All of these define my Muslim identity and Pakistani heritage which is important to me. If I lose my identity I will lose a part of my ancestors' history who walk with me, I feel their presence around me when I am home through the cultural objects, and the Islamic text displayed around my house. I also have fridge magnets from different places which have become cultural objects and I use the magnets to narrate stories of my holidays, and the people I have met.

Objects from Back Home: My Mother's Story

FIGURE 14.1 Islamic text and cultural objects. *Photo taken by Zanib Rasool.*

I was the co-investigator on a project funded by the Arts and Humanities Council through the Connected Communities programme 'Taking Yourself Seriously' (2017–2018) which explored artistic approaches to social cohesion focussing on the life stories of British women of Pakistani heritage spanning over three generations. What came across strongly in the research was how the older women of my mother's generation use objects to narrate stories of migration, the loss of home and making a new life in an often hostile environment. The women who I interviewed talked about their life stories, the sadness of leaving their country of birth, telling their stories through objects; a flour grinder (Chakki), the clay eating pots, the hand sewing machine, a bed (Khat/Manji), the prayer mat, the green flag of Pakistan with its star and moon, water in a clay pot carried by a woman on her head. My mother tells her story of walking for miles with her friends to the next village to collect water at dawn before it became too hot; she gets very angry when the grandchildren leave the water tap running. These objects embody minority ethnic women's emotional experiences of the world and help articulate those feelings when words are not adequate.

Through objects, diverse communities sustain and preserve their histories, traditions and social/cultural everyday practices. In an account of my mother's objects and stories, I (Rasool,

2017) say that objects intertwine with our histories and narrate our migration stories of moving from one continent to another, place to place, with a suitcase filled with things that are memories of the old home. My mother had an old leather suitcase kept under her bed in which she saved letters from back home, an old passport, a black and white photo of her parents, multi coloured glass bracelets, henna powder packets, a green pray mat belonging to her father. Artist Shaheen Shah explains that the suitcase 'was never just a container of things; it was the *palanquin* (carrier) of memories and for memories. Wherever the suitcase went, the memories went too' (Shah, 2018, p. 55). My mother describes waiting for the bracelet seller before the Eid celebrations and all the girls in the village would buy bracelets from the large basket he carried on his head, and having henna designs painted on their hands; this is a tradition we females in the family still continue. Henna patterns are forms of cultural literacy practice signifying celebrations, a wedding, the Eid Festival.

A few years ago, my mother was feeling nostalgic and had a bed (Khat/Manji) shipped from Pakistan; it came in parts which we assembled together here. Nostalgia allows us to drift back to the past and bring those memories alive to share with others through storytelling.

My mother's Manji (bed) is more than just something to sleep on. My mother's Manji (bed) has a basic wooden frame and rope woven together which makes the base, not very comfortable but the bed tells a story of her sleeping under the stars on warm nights in Pakistan which she abandoned to come here, the story of a mother's sacrifice to give her children a better life in a new country. 'Home possessions' constitute precipitates of re-memories and narrated histories. These are 'souvenirs from the traversed landscapes of the journey' (Kelly & Divya, 2004, p. 314). The lonely old Manji in my spare bedroom, like my mother, yearns for sunnier climates, twinkling stars in the dark sky to shine over it. Objects are old friends and reminders for the older generation of their other home and their other lives left behind.

I asked my mother what it felt like to sleep under the stars during the summer months.

> The whole of the summer from February to October we use to sleep outside. Sometimes we took our Khats/Manjis up on to the flat roof of the house and the whole family slept up on the roof. It was extremely hot and humid. You got bitten by mosquitos during the night. The black crows could be seen high up on the trees cawing loudly which disturbed your sleep. Sometimes snakes would be slithering under your Manji. It was such fun to sleep under the stars, you felt such freedom and you felt so alive.

My beloved mother's face lights up and she is 16 again as she tells this story, these are stories that need to be voiced. My mother tells her stories to her grandchildren hoping they will tell the same story to their children and keep her memories alive when she is no longer with us. The grandchildren lie on her Manji and imagine the stars and they start naming these imagined stars.

The stories my mother told are a similar social practice as that of Bangladeshi mothers, as reported by Blackledge (2001). The mothers mention telling stories to their children, one woman explains 'I tell the children stories in Sylheti, traditional stories. Islamic stories and stories I make up myself. I do this two or three times a week' (p. 359). I remember as a small child, my grandfather telling us stories and opening up similar magical worlds without a book in sight.

The Literacy Practices of my Sisters-in-law and their Children

I see in my household Pakistani women's knowledge of sewing and embroidery. My sister-in-law who was born in Pakistan utilises the internet as a creative tool, taking inspiration from Western fashion and blending it with Asian clothes she sews for her teenage daughter. She combines sewing knowledge passed down by older female family members and new knowledge of social media taught to her by her children. My sister-in-law would be labelled 'illiterate' as she does not have adequate English language skills, yet she is very enterprising in merging old knowledge with new literacy practices. You find her amongst yards of colourful bold fabrics, silk, and satin, and her old Singer sewing machines and iPad next to her, googling away for new designs and ideas, hybridizing Eastern and Western fashion. My sister-in-law exemplifies changing literacy practices, the transforming of practice through information technology; she uses social media to learn new recipes. Another sister-in-law shares herbal remedies on her Facebook page. Her grandfather was an herbalist in Pakistan and she acquired knowledge of herbs and plants from him. For sickness, she suggests fresh mint leaves, green cardamom with a pinch of tea leaves boiled in water, cooled down to drink.

With the younger generation of the Rasool family, I observe that their literacies are associated with social media. As I write this chapter, during the holy month of Ramadan, I receive WhatsApp messages every morning, beautiful quotes from the Quran. One I received this morning from my niece said 'The Prophet Muhammad, Peace be upon him said: when the month of Ramadan arrives, the door of mercy are opened'. Young people in my family are part of the in-group with their friends on Facebook but they are also the out-group signifying the differences through the Islamic messages they send to how they greet friends on social media from 'Hiya pal' to 'Aslam ali kum', meaning 'Peace be upon you' to Muslim friends, code switching all the time between different ethnic groups of friends.

As time goes on, families gradually lose the art of story-telling which the older generation did so well. The oral Islamic stories of holy wars told to my older nephews by their grandfather have been turned into animation on YouTube; the information and the messages are still the same but delivered in a different way, utilising new technology as a tool to retain the messages from old Islamic text when many parents don't have the knowledge which the grandparents held to share with the next generation. Pandharipande (2018) found, when looking at the Hindu rituals of Satsang and Puja, that more Hindus were turning to social media, 'with the fast growing use of digital media, increasingly more Hindus in the U.S. diaspora are beginning to use digital media for carrying out or performing their rituals'. (p. 185). This is a way forward for people living away from their homeland to sustain some of their literacy events. The scattering of worshippers all over the world means digitalization of the holy text is important so those scriptures remain in the archives in their authenticity.

Women of my mother's generation were very knowledgeable and set up what they called 'committees' something similar to a Credit Union at the same time as Credit Unions started to appear on the landscape. Every Friday many women, including my mother, would deposit their savings at a house of a trusted female member of the community. Often, it was someone with

little formal schooling themselves. When someone needed the money to pay for an unexpected household bill they would ask if they could be paid first from the 'committee funds'. This was a relationship based on trust as once you have taken your money out you had to keep paying into the committee to cover the amount taken out. Even today when we have banks this is still a popular way of saving money, a particular literacy practice amongst South Asian women. This also served another function for isolated women like my mother who had small children and could not leave the house often. The Friday ritual of dropping the money off at someone's house meant an opportunity to sit down and receive all the local news, such as: Who has recently had a new baby? Whose mother was not well in Pakistan? It gave women also the opportunity to take part in Friday (Jumma) prayers together at a time when women did not have access to the Mosques like men.

Minority Ethnic Women's School-gate Literacies

I was a community development worker in my early career and will reflect on Asian women's informal school-gate literacy practices I observed. A good community development worker always undertook outreach on school sites to engage young mothers in more formal education. You soon found out that these women are 'funds of knowledge' (Gonzalez, et al., 1995). I gained a lot of knowledge through conversations with women recently arrived from Pakistan, such as how to numb the pain of a toothache, or a migraine. A clove of black pepper placed near the aching tooth and for a migraine, cut a thick slice of raw potato and wrap it in a muslin cloth and place on your forehead. My mother was always happy when I came home with information such as where to buy good quality fresh fish from. This was useful, practical knowledge embedded in their daily routine of running a household, similar to middle-class white women reading the Good Housekeeping magazine.

You often find women congregating in groups, exchanging community news, transferring knowledge, sometimes orally, from things they have read. Examples include women telling each other information – such as the Asian fabric shop is having a sale, or 20 per cent off on Daz soap powder at Asda. Women who can read and write keep other women informed. Mack (2004, cited in Alidou, 2006) in her study of African Muslim women, found that Muslim women who acquire knowledge through the written word often tend to favour oral means of imparting and (re)constructing knowledge. Asian women often in this country exchange knowledge this way. As a community development worker they made my life easy, if I told one woman about an English class being set up in a local community centre, she will tell the very next day at the school gate another 15 women. Many women adopt new technology to aid their literacy practices and transfer that information through oral dialogue with those women who don't read written language. School gate literacies have a particular routine; these are what Wenger (1998) refers to 'nodes for the dissemination, interpretation and use of information' (p. 252). These sorts of literacy practices are social exchanges and may be the one way busy young mums acquire

information and new knowledge.

Literacy Events as Communal and Shared Practice

Heath (1983) says a literacy event is an event 'in which a written text is involved in a social interaction' (p. 93). A literacy event for my family is the Milad-Un-Nabi, the celebration of the life of the Prophet Muhammad, Peace be upon him, where the house is decorated, food is cooked and shared, and the Quran is recited, often read in Arabic, irrespective of mother language. The Milad as a religious event is the language of instruction, the reciting of Islamic text but there is a social aspect of sharing of food and friendship, a part of a lived culture that brings together a community and strengthens its faith at a time of a rise in Islamophobia across Europe. The whole of my family comes together, often we invite friends and neighbours, the women of the household get up early and start cooking with my mother giving instructions. My nieces with their little brothers decorate the house. We read Quranic verses; recite poetry and Naats (poetry praising the Prophet Muhammad, Peace be upon him). Women are central to these community practices; according to Akhtar (2014) 'women reassembled bits of Pakistan life and culture in the UK through cooking, stories, and performance of religious rituals' (p. 234). This kind of literacy event happens in most Muslim homes across the world and is one way in which, 'many people maintain ties to their country of origin' (Lam & Warnner, 2012, p. 191) the sharing of literacy events across geographical space and boundaries.

According to Gregory et al. (2013) faith literacies are very special 'communi-ties of practice' (p. 46), most cultures have special literacy events, but often we don't understand the epistemology of such events. David's (2012) study of Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu explored the religious and cultural practices of movement and dance. One of the girls in his study, Sahaana (13) says that dance 'is part of my faith as it has prayers to God, and it tells the story of our God, Lord Nataraja' (p. 381).

Such events in communities 'can preserve histories of learning as living practices' (Wenger, 1998, p. 251). In communities like mine, literacy is a social, dynamic, living, breathing thing, whether it's school-gate literacy where mums stand and share information on things they have read or the celebration of religious festivals through a literacy event. These are multi ways of knowing. Hall and Tandon (2007) argue that 'knowledge is both created and represented in multiple forms, including text, image, numbers, story, music, drama, poetry, ceremony and meditation' (p. 13).

Negotiating Literacy and the Loss of Heritage Language

In a previous article on co-production and community knowledge I wrote that, 'Community knowledge is also demand driven because individuals in the community need to acquire new knowledge in order to survive the everyday, for example, applying for a job on the Universal Job

match website or bidding for a council house online' (Rasool, 2017, p. 314). These are all literacy practices which I refer to as 'survival literacies'. It is the children who acquire this knowledge quickly and pass it on their parents. I remember going with my mother to the greengrocers and reading the prices of fruit and vegetables; you have to quickly transfer numerical numbers from English to Mirpuri. There was an expectation on children that by going to school for a few years they would help their parents negotiate everyday life, so often less emphasis is put on the retaining the mother language and community literacy practices, as parents want their children to do well and acquire cultural capital, since they left their homeland in the first place to open up opportunities for their children. Sadly, something has to give and we, the migrant's children are, forever, negotiating. In my own family, I see the younger generation not retaining their heritage language and requiring us to interpret for them when they are speaking to my mother, their grandmother.

Reflecting on the loss of our mother language and feeling nostalgic I wrote:

Lost Words

I grief today for those words lost in translation

We turned our backs on a language that would have sustained and nourished us

A language that was a reminder of our past and something we could have identified with in the future

The beautiful words from the valleys of Kashmir and from the hills of Punjab now silenced

My soul cries that we did not fight hard enough to retain what was rightfully ours

Blinded by the language of the imperialism which we too gladly adopted

Given away in a blink of an eye, what was dear to our ancestors

I can now hear their anguish, 'you traitors!'

You sold away your mother's words.

Naz Rassool (2012) echoes my sentiments, the 'everyday negotiation between different aspects of identity leads to the development of hybrid identities – complex multilingual, multicultural identities which involve adopting English while at the same time marinating cultural aspect to their lives in previous countries' (p. 68). I see my community's social and cultural practices slowly assimilating as we lose our heritage language, but religious practices and the Quranic language still remains strong linking all Muslims across boundaries as a global identifier through events

such as Ramadan, the Hajj (Pilgrimage to Mecca), Friday (Jumma) prayers, Milad-Un-Nabi and Eid Festivals. It is still very important for many parents their children are involved in faith literacy and maintain their Islamic identity at least.

Reflexivity: Repositioning Cultural Literacy Practices of the Other

> Reflection is a process that involves playing back a period of time related to previous values experiences in search of significant discoveries or insight about oneself, one's behaviours, one's values, or knowledge gained.
>
> *(De Sjarlais & Smith, 2011, p. 88)*

If I play back my childhood memories, the happiest times were when I listened to my grandfather reciting his poetry or the Quran. It always made me feel warm inside while outside it snowed knee-deep; this is a vivid memory that I carry with me of my grandfather and I often hear his beautiful voice in the mornings as I awake.

Writing this chapter allowed me the luxury of self-reflexivity and I am rather ashamed to say that being born in Britain and educated in British institutions I often did not value literacy practices within my own family and community and privileged Western literacy (which I viewed as modern) over my own heritage and cultural literacies. One has to value one's own community literacy practices before you can ask others to do so, years of being colonized by the British education system leads to minority community children thinking that 'West is best'.

I now see women like my mother as historians, philosophers, culturalists, linguists and amazing storytellers.

Conclusion

I have drawn from the work of Street who inspired me to relook at my own community's literacy practice in a new way. Using an emic lens – a term coined by Pike (1967) meaning 'insider perspective' – has not been easy or straightforward; my view occasionally gets blurred and like others in similar positions, I end up judging my own family and community literacy practices by Western expectations, norms, and values. I also have to concede that literacy practices evolve, and ethnic minority communities have to find new ways of making literacy meaningful and contemporary for the next generation.

Like Street, I argue minority ethnic families and communities are involved in multi-literacies, which are epistemologically rooted, valued based and relational to others. Both local and global literacy practices are immersed in history, culture, and ways of being. My literacy at home is very much inter-generational and family orientated, socially embedded, building a bridge between the country of my heritage (Pakistan) and the country of my birth (Britain), linked to family migration across national boundaries and retaining a part of the old ways of doing literacy and at

the same time negotiating and hybridising with Western literacy practices.

Note

1 The Hadith is the record of the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad, Peace be upon him, and is accepted as a major source of Islamic religious text.

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15
Examining Our Blind Spots

Personhood, Literacy, and Power

Stephanie Power-Carter and Bita Zakeri

The goal of this chapter is to make visible how issues of power can complicate the relationship between personhood and literacy, specifically, we attempt to examine and articulate power relations and tensions embedded in autonomous and ideological models of literacy, particularly for those from historically underrepresented groups. We view this chapter as an exploration of seeing and making visible the "who" of literacy. We suggest that exploring the "who" can complicate not only how we see, but help us begin to unpack power relations embedded within nuanced layers of complexities and make visible "blind spots" that have real consequences for youth as they engage in "doing literacy." We explore the following questions: *Who* is positioned/how? *How* is the *who* situated historically and contextually? What are the consequences and for *whom*? To further unpack the relationships of literacy, personhood, and power, we use the voices of African American youth from a longitudinal qualitative study in a community literacy intervention research program as witnesses to such positioning and a way to capture and illustrate the tensions.

Who We Are?

Given that "who" is central to this chapter, it is important to note who we are in relation to this work. In many ways, as researchers and scholars from marginalized backgrounds both of us embody the very questions with which we are engaging. Stephanie Power-Carter is an African American woman who grew up in the rural south, a first generation college student, former high school English teacher, and a mother of an African American son. Bita Zakeri is an Iranian American transnational woman who was born in the Islamic Republic of Iran and spent years as a young girl experiencing and witnessing how the oppressive regime trampled on the rights of those who did not share the same convictions, particularly women. When she left Iran with her family, she was "othered" in three other countries, England, Canada, and the United States, and married someone of mixed ethnicity. She is also the mother of a multi-ethnic son and daughter.

Both of us have reaped the benefits and consequences of how literacy gets taken up as an

autonomous approach or an ideological one. In fact it was Street's (1996) articulation of power and literacy that helped us engage more deeply with and better understand the subtle ways that power can elude us in relation to literacy. Much of our scholarship has been about complicating and making visible how power functions within contexts as people act, interact, and react, as they engage in "doing literacy."

Background to Data: Trajectories of Who

It is important to note that the data from the 5 year longitudinal community literacy intervention research program for African American youth referenced in this chapter was greatly informed by the work of Street (1996), Egan-Robertson (1998), Bloome (1985), Green & Wallat (1981), Woodson (1933), hooks (1994), and Collins (1990). Dr. Power-Carter created the CLIP program as a means to actualize the theories and conceptualization that she had been exposed to as a means to better understand "doing literacy," and also explore disconnects that Black youth seemed to be having as their experiences were often captured in terms of "gaps" rather than resilience and possibilities. In writing this article, in retrospect, Dr. Power-Carter, has come to realize that essentially during the CLIP program she was providing the young CLIP scholars an opportunity to explore the "who" as they engaged in doing literacy. CLIP took place over a 5 year period. Participants included two African American graduate students, Kafi Kumasi and Jeremey Gilmore, who were very involved in the community, as well as 15 African American youth. Nine of the youth participated for the duration of the study and were followed from the last semester of their freshmen year of high school until the end of their senior year, with the exception of two, who began during their middle school, seventh and eighth grade year. Students were nominated by the community to participate, and students with the most nominations were identified. Then, nominees and parents met with Dr. Power-Carter and were invited to participate. They all made a commitment to meet after school twice a week for 2 hours. The youth received free tutoring, mentoring, and opportunities to engage in reading, writing, critical thinking, and leadership in multiple contexts and in culturally authentic ways. CLIP was a unique program and the experiences and voices of its participants are very present in our exploration of the "who" in this work. We use their voices throughout this chapter to bear witness and illuminate the relationship of power, literacy, and personhood.

Conscious Raising: Personhood, Literacy, and Power

Bloome et al. (2005) argue that central to understanding literacy is to view it as a social practice involving people acting, reacting, and interacting around written and spoken language in a given context. Thus, they claim literacy can be thought of as social practices conceptualized within events by participants through their individual and collective histories interacting with each other

(p. 6). Further, Martin-Jones and Jones (2001) define literacies as ways of reading and writing texts that are bound in social practices and located in individual action within social and cultural processes (p. 4–5). Moreover, while personhood also involves understanding how collective and individual histories interact, it can also be thought of as a "dynamic and cultural construct about who is and what is considered a person, what attributes and rights are constructed as inherent to being a person, and what social positions are available within the construct of being a person" (Egan-Robertson, 1998, p. 453). To further illuminate personhood as a cultural construct, Dillard's (2012) scholarship provides an Africanist perspective by using the African philosophy of Ubuntu. Dillard notes that Ubuntu "captures how each individual's personhood is ideally expressed in relationship with others." It is only through such expression within and in relation to the collective that individuality itself is expressed. Battle (2009) further elaborates

> Ubuntu comes from a linguistic group of sub-Saharan languages known as Bantu. Both words, Ubuntu and Bantu can be recognized by the common root of -ntu (human). The prefix ba-denotes the plural form of humanity. In short, Ubuntu means personhood. A further etymological foundation for ntu can be translated as being, that is human being.

Street (1996), Battle (2009), Dillard (2012), Egan-Robertson (1998), and Bloome et al.'s (2005) work are also central to the ways that we think of personhood. Particularly, we argue that people belong to communities, which are dynamic, dialogic, and grounded in collective histories, and they are constantly acting, responding, and reacting to each other.

Simply put, personhood can also be thought of as how people are able to "see" each other. How people begin to imbue meaning based on what they know or don't know about each other's collective histories. How one's knowledge about each other, or lack thereof, can create blinds spots that can have implications and consequences for the "who" and ultimately begin to structure social order. According to Bloome et al. (2005):

> How a cultural group defines *person* has broad implications and is intimately connected to issues of morality, social structure, social interaction.... The shared concept of personhood held by a group is part of the process of assigning meaning and significance and structuring social order.
>
> *(p. 3)*

Accordingly, personhood can be thought of as a cultural construct imbued with meaning and informed by social interactions and social structures, and literacy is social practice, people acting, reacting, and interacting around written, spoken, non-verbal, embodied language in a given event. Thus, we suggest one factor that must be explored to better understand the complexities and nuances between personhood and literacy, is an often elusive and thinly veiled layer of power relations. We suggest that power relations are central to understanding how literacy can be used as a powerful signifier of personhood.

If we layer Bourdieu's (1983) notion of capital into our exploration, it opens up and helps us think of literacy as a type of signifier or capital that not only represents what type of person one can become, but also if one is recognized as a "person" at all.

In short, one's literacy ability can literally be used to ascribe meaning and value to bodies that are socially and historically situated. These meanings and values become subtly embedded and normalized in our languaging and materialize in our actions and interaction with each other and

ultimately inform how we see and "who" we see.

Bearing Witness to Autonomous Approach

In a 1996 paper, Street argued that there were two ways of thinking about power in relationship to literacy. One approach was power as process, which recognizes power as contextualized and relational. This approach considers the collective histories that people bring with them as they are "doing" literacy. This view of power is best captured in an ideological approach to literacy because it also takes into consideration that people have agency and that they act, react, and respond to each other. Thus power is not static but dynamic and people are at the center of doing literacy. Moreover, power as product is another way to think of power. One might align this quantifiable notion of power to an autonomous model of literacy, which suggests that literacy itself is devoid of any cultural and/or ideological underpinnings. It is a set of skills, readings, writing that are transferable and measurable (Bloome et al., 2005). What becomes problematic when thinking of literacy simply as a set of competences and or skill(s) that are quantifiable is that issues of power becomes veiled and uncomplicated. If only seen as a set of quantifiable skills, literacy becomes homogenized and universalized as a type of ahistorical competence. Rather than recognizing that people are at the center of literacy practices and that they bring their social and cultural worlds with them, as they act, react and engage in doing literacy. To reduce the relationship of literacy and personhood to a quantifiable type of ahistorical competence can also facilitate inequities that simultaneously perpetuate and affirm certain groups' ways of engaging in literacy as exclusive and privileged without acknowledging cultural and historical influences and "value" (Power-Carter, 2007). To illuminate, our exploration of the relationship between literacy, personhood, and power and illustrate how an uncomplicated view of literacy can facilitate blind spots, we share an excerpt of data from a CLIP interview conversation data where a CLIP scholar, D shared the following about her writing when asked by S. P-C: "Do you think your teachers would appreciate your pieces [poems]?"

CLIP Voices

> **D. states**: "they can't appreciate them [her poems] because they cant relate and if you can't relate to something, you really can't appreciate it. And if you really know nothing about it you know or they may find it offensive you know…"

When asked if she would have been able to write her poems in school. She shared the following:

D states: "They [her teacher] wouldn't have gave me all the support that I have here. They wouldn't have really approved of it. My teachers most likely, my teachers probably, most of them, I am not going to say all of them, wouldn't approve of me. They probably would have said that I was discriminating against white people, most likely, which it wasn't that. It wasn't that at all…"

D's excerpts are representative of tensions that CLIP scholars often expressed in the program but seldom articulated in their school setting. Both of D's excerpts make visible how she felt her writings and poems about the Black experience would not have been accepted by her white teachers at school. What D articulates is significant because she begins to make visible a blind spot that exist between her and the teacher. D views her teacher as someone who can't relate to the ways that she does literacy. She also makes visible the potential consequences and risk of her trying to share. She suggests that her teacher might get offended and "wouldn't approve of, me." Moreover, D's literacy artifacts are also important because they become representations of who she is and who she can be in the classroom space and/or school. Doing literacy for her comes with great risk. It is also important to note that while D's conversation references her teacher, we also want to note another layer of complexity that we feel needs further exploration. White teachers often seem unaware of how historically marginalized students were experiencing "doing literacy" in their classrooms – schools. Power-Carter's study (2001) that focused on African American female identity, noted that the teacher in the study saw herself as simply teaching skills and knowledge mandated by her district's curriculum. However, as captured in the excerpt, the consequences of unarticulated power relations embedded in doing literacy in school weigh heavily on youth from historically marginalized groups, as they are less likely to speak out because when they do, school personnel and structures often translate their voices as hostile or negative. Based on data, one might argue that simply focusing on providing youth with literacy skills can reinforce notions of privilege that devalue "who" some students can be as they engage in doing literacy and can also render their literacy contributions as "offensive." Thus an autonomous approach to literacy has potential to perpetuate inequities that not only limit how one sees, but who one sees, and how one values. Such inequity has potential to do much harm because literacy becomes a tool used to ascribe value to a person. To further illustrate, one might think of the relationship between personhood and literacy on a sort of continuum that positions some as "more of a person" and others as "less of a person" or not a "person" based on their literacy skills. Depending on where one falls on the continuum, one can begin to determine who is more valuable or valued. To further problematize, some scholars (e.g., Power-Carter, 2007; Woodson, 1933; Richardson, 2003; Yazzie-Mintz, 2007; San Pedro, 2014; Kirkland, 2011) have argued that conceptions of literacy in the western world, particularly the educational system, are often more aligned with dominant culture and/or privileged groups, thereby positioning the privileged as more than others. These positionings are usually solely based on arbitrary characteristics used to facilitate social order and notions of pedigree or status. One might argue

that what a quantifiable and autonomous model of literacy lacks is perspective and analysis from the margins. One might even argue that such an approach has reified a type of singular personhood. This singular approach has given rise to not only reducing and simplifying what constitutes literacy and viewing it as a set of skills that can be universally measured and tested, but also subtly preserving, facilitating, and ascribing value to particular ways of being. Thus not only solidifying who can be recognized as a person, but to what extent and when one will be recognized as a person. Such an approach might be viewed as damaging (Tuck, 2009), because it perpetuates what Ngozi Adichie (2009) calls a single story. Similarly, an autonomous approach privileges a "single story" of literacy that privileges and normalizes the literacy practices of some, particularly upper to middle class Whites, while also dismissing and delegitimizing the literacy practice of others. Again, to further demonstrate this point, we share an excerpt of an interview-conversation from a Clip scholar represented as "N." To contextualize: N was asked, "What was her favorite project?" N talked about her CLIP research project. She had created a survey for a research question where she was exploring the experiences of Black males and school discipline. In the excerpt below, she shares an experience where when she approached "certain teachers" with the survey and information about her project. She noted that teachers refused to fill out the survey.

CLIP Voices

N states: "no not at all. Because even when we had those notes to ask us about, it was asking about a black male, certain teachers wouldn't even like sign it and wouldn't even give it the time of day just because they saw black male."

During an interview-conversation another CLIP scholar C, when asked about school, C states:

CLIP Voices

"I don't think my teachers really care. Cause like I don't know. They stereotype a lot to me. Like they think so little of you. Like when you try to do good or whatever, they always figure out a way to bring you down." When asked why she felt that way, she stated, "I don' know it's just like—that's how I feel."

Looking across CLIP data, it became increasingly clear that CLIP participants characterized the literacy that they did in school as relating more to an autonomous approach. When students attempted to take the literacy that was engaged in CLIP to school and unpack the "who," it did not readily fit the skills approach. In fact, in several instances, participants suggested that they had to walk a thin line not to be perceived as "disrespecting" their teachers. Particularly, N in her excerpt seems to suggest that she didn't feel that she could share and was concerned that her teacher would get offended and/or just ignore her. She shared how teachers often stereotype her and didn't appear to feel that her teachers "really care." These blind spots not only seem to impact "who" she felt she could be but also "who" her teacher could be or how she viewed her teacher. Equally important to note, throughout the data, almost always, with a few exceptions, teachers were positioned in uncaring ways. Data suggests that due to unarticulated power relations embedded in the autonomous approach to literacy, blind spots occur and can facilitate an endless cycle of "gaps" that have material consequences for not only students, but teachers as well.

Bearing Witness to an Ideological Approach

While an autonomous approach to literacy might be considered exclusive, an ideological approach to literacy might be considered more inclusive as Street (1996) notes that it "forces one to be more wary of grand generalizations and cherished assumptions about literacy itself… it recognizes the ideological and therefore culturally embedded nature of such practices" (p. 29). In this model, we argue that power relations become more visible and can also be seen as transformational. Viewing power in this way expands one's lens and provides a framework to interrogate more deeply and examine how literacy can be used not only as a signifier, but a tool to respond to power relations. More specifically, such perspectives extend opportunities for people to explore each other's humanity, as well as consider agency, resilience, and the identity intersections that people navigate as they are "doing literacy." We suggest that an ideological approach to literacy facilitates seeing one's humanness and personhood as intersectional and complex rather than simply as a skill to be obtained. In many ways, the CLIP program embodied the ideological approach: its participants often spoke of how the CLIP program did literacy differently from their schools because it took "who" they were into consideration. It provided youth with opportunities to explore literacy in ways that spoke to the complexities of "who" they embodied in the spaces that they navigated. It also provided them space to "re-search" and look again, to think critically about the complexities and layers of power that often informed how they saw themselves, each other, and others, especially in terms of doing literacy.

To elaborate and bear witness to the effects of the ideological approach, we share excerpts from interview-conversation data below: When asked if she would have been able to write "something like that in school" in reference to her poetry that emphasized the Black experience:

CLIP Voices

D states: "they [schools] wouldn't have given me all the support I have here. They wouldn't have really approved of it."

D suggests that CLIP provided support and school didn't necessarily. To further elaborate, another scholar, N, was asked how she thinks about literacy as a result of participating in CLIP?

CLIP Voices

N states: "Now when I think about literacy. I think about writing and knowing things and getting to know more—about what you know but knowing [there is] more to that. For example, like when we had to do um our projects on anything that we wanted to do, and I chose police brutality. I knew something about it, but realized it wasn't as in depth as I got further into it."

E was also another CLIP scholar. When asked to "describe how you see literacy as part of the CLIP program?", E begins to articulate what it means to engage literacy using an autonomous approach.

CLIP Voices

E: projects um sometimes there were people that didn't really want to do their job but then there was people that was. So, I mean overall it was, it was a good experience, but then you learn that you can't always depend on somebody. So, you got to work hard and get your part done and then if you have time then you know help the other person out. You got to work hard. I mean it was fun. It was fun. I liked them a lot.

J: so you liked them personally. You did like them.

E: um hum I liked them, because I mean I learned a lot. So, I mean its always good to learn something.

J: that's true. Do you see the projects helping to affirm or to support your culture at all?

E: yeah because we were teaching other people about how we lived and why we were being

stereotyped and why we shouldn't be stereotyped and stuff like that. So, we were teaching people so they can learn you know like don't judge us you know what I mean what you see somebody else doing.

J: who is the we you're talking about or us?

E: like um judge us like African American like they might see one African American on TV like going to jail or getting in a fight or robbing somebody and then they think all African Americans do that so I mean just cause you see that don't judge all African Americans.

J: based on that ok. Um. Do you have any favorite projects that we did do?

E: let's see. The one was the poster session, because we came to the School of Education building and we had our posters that we made and we was teaching people about the way um different African Americans, not just African Americans but what African Americans like and how we being stereotyped. So, I feel that we got to teach people and we're not even teachers and we had to explain it and…

J: right, did you feel like a teacher during that?

E: yeah because I mean some of the people did not even know some of the information and they was like "wow this is interesting." So, I feel like we taught them and it felt good. I can finally teaching somebody else.

CLIP provided African American students with an expanded lens to unpack the nuance and complexities of doing literacy, and they were able to expand and see literacy as not only relevant to themselves but something that they already do. Both excerpts above are rich and helpful as they demonstrate how students have engaged in literacy as a transformative tool to educate. Moreover, this approach provides youth with opportunities to contest and respond to power relations that characterized them negatively or not at all.

The ideological approach, when actualized, can become a rich space where youth are able to engage in doing literacy in meaningful ways. E noted how he was able to use literacy as a tool to "teach" other people. Particularly, "so they can learn you know like don't judge us you know what I mean what you see somebody else doing." Rather than yield to blind spots, an ideological approach provided youth with opportunities to examine the "who," make visible power relations, and unpack the complexities of doing literacy. Also, in examining the "who" of literacy, they were able to see themselves not in terms of "failures" or gaps but as powerful agents who are engaged in literacy.

These excerpts begin to provide a glimpse of how an ideological approach to literacy can serve as a transformative tool to educate and provide youth with opportunities to contest and respond to power relations that can negatively characterize "who" they are and/or "who" they can become or if they are recognized as a person at all.

Ponderings

CLIP scholars' responses are not necessarily new, nor scarce. If one considers American education, their voices simply reverberate as testimonies along with many throughout our complex history. One might argue that the very conundrum that African American youth and youth of color often face is historically situated. For centuries people of color have had to navigate the relationship of literacy, personhood, and power. For example, in the 1800s, it was illegal for Blacks to engage in reading and writing; doing so could mean death as Blacks were not considered persons, but property (Harris, 1990). In later centuries, an autonomous approach to literacy was used during the Jim Crowe era as a tool to dehumanize Blacks, reify their social position, and diminish their personhood (Harris, 1990).

Interestingly, what the CLIP data begins to suggest is that the autonomous approach is still very present in our education system and continues to operate in ways that violently terrorize and devalues some youth of color. Often times relegating their literacy to a test score without recognizing their humanity, resilience, or the layers of complexities they navigate.

Based on our exploration and experiences, we suggest that an ideological approach to literacy is helpful; but if such an approach were layered with the theory of intersectionality, it would provide the opportunity to explore the "who" across various sociopolitical and economic spheres and historical timelines, exploring power relations with respect to issues of race, gender, class, religion, etc. Crenshaw (1997), a critical race theorist, builds on Du Bois (1903) scholarship and uses the term "intersections" to capture how overlapping social identities inform our identities and how our identities are situated in larger systems of domination and/or oppression. When attempting to capture the experiences of historically marginalized groups, layering on an intersectional approach to personhood makes more visible the power relations at work that affect individual and group social identities. Furthermore, an intersectional approach acknowledges agency, the various ways that people act and react to systems of domination. It is significant to stress that while the ideological approach is about literacy and power, intersectional-ity is about identity and power. In our exploration of power and CLIP scholars, we have come to understand these as complimentary paradigms. The ideological approach helps us understand that reading and writing is something people do. It is never neutral but informed by identities, and always a social act that is embedded in a particular world view. Intersectionality helps us understand that people do literacy and people bring with them their social and cultural experiences that are grounded in collective histories. Thus, literacy, personhood, and power are inextricably tied together. Their relationship is messy as it is intertextually, contextually, relationally, socially, and historically situated. Based on what we have found thus far, the consequences of using an autonomous approach are problematic as literacy becomes a static signifier to categorize rather than a resource to explore and transform that characterizes an ideological approach.

In summary, we argue that in order to address our blind spots, we as scholars and educators need to use an ideological model along with the theory of intersectionality and/or other critical theories of identity as a means to capture how literacy can be used as a transformative tool to articulate and contest power relation.

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PART VI
The Conversation Continues

16
Literacy as Social and Cultural in the Future Perfect Tense

Brian Street with David Bloome, Maria Lucia Castanheira, Constant Leung, and Jennifer Rowsell

Brian's comments

We started working on this book immediately after a two-day festschrift seminar in honor of the scholarship that Brian Street had accomplished. The first day was in Brighton, where Brian lived, and the second day was at King's College London, where he worked. So many people wanted to attend and share their thoughts and scholarship in honor of Brian's influence in the field, that 2 days and two locations were necessary.[1] We held these festschrift seminars on November 21 and November 22, 2016. We had originally planned to have the festschrift event in the coming Spring 2017, but the doctors told us not to wait if we wanted Brian to attend. As it turned out, he was in hospital for the two days of the festschrift seminar. From the hospital ward, Brian was able to give a welcome to the attendees which we video recorded and played at the two seminars. That video and video recordings of all of the talks at the festschrift seminars are available through the web page of the Center for Video Ethnography and Discourse Analysis at The Ohio State University. The URL is: https://cveda.ehe.osu.edu/ideas/street-festchrift-seminar/

After the festschrift seminar the four of us – Dave, Lalu, Constant, and Jennifer – started planning this edited volume. We did not want the book to be a replication of the festschrift seminar; after all, those talks would be available through the video recordings. We thought that the best way to honor Brian and the work he had accomplished was to ask scholars who built on Brian's work to push beyond it, to engage in what we eventually came to call a re-theorizing of literacy practices. We wanted the group of scholars to include multiple generations of scholars and include scholars from diverse parts of the world. We shared these ideas with Brian, he tweaked them more than a little bit, and we began to put the book together.

We had hoped that Brian might be able to write a concluding chapter, to respond to the directions people were taking up for a re-theorizing of literacy practices. We had doubts that he had the strength to do so; but he insisted. Perhaps because he suspected that he would not have the time to wait until the chapters were written before writing his concluding chapter, Brian began writing near immediately after the festschrift seminar. Although he did not have the book chapters, he had the video recordings of all of the talks. He watched them and wrote. He did not finish the chapter. He died on June 21, 2017. Lalu says that he was writing right up to the last few days. What follows is what Brian wrote. We have left it as it was, unedited and not revised. So the

text is not polished. After presenting what Brian wrote, we will share some of our thoughts about what he wrote in light of the chapters in this volume. (One note, you will see a reference to "Street Talk." This was the original title we had for the book).

* * * * * *

Since I and others took to writing in the 1970s and 80s (eg Bloch, 1975; Clanchy, 1979; Finnegan, 1973; Freire, 1972; Goody, 1968; Heath, 1983; Ong, 1982; Street, 1975, 1984) about the possibility of moving the study of literacy from a technical, skills based approach – what I then termed 'autonomous model' – to a more social and power aware approach – what I then termed an 'ideological model' – there have been considerable developments in the field (cf Leung, 2008; Mace, 2002; Papen, 2005; Pahl and Rowsell, 2005; Rogers, 1999, 2014; Taylor, 2006). Many of the authors in the present volume have particularly contributed to these and indicate how they now see the field as having moved on. From my point of view I see a broadening of what counts as literacy and an increasing development of links between literacy and other fields, notably in linguistics and education. Where some might have seen the original debate as a narrow focus on aspects of reading and writing, it is now apparent that the arguments developed then have opened up the space for a broader discussion that crosses disciplines and fields and opens up the study of literacy to more challenging and insightful perspectives. Rather than just repeat the views expressed earlier in this volume, I will attempt here to bring things together and to point forward to possible future developments.

I am very aware that, whilst those in this book and others in our field, have built upon a social perspective, there is still a considerable area that sees literacy as rather narrow, technical skills. This can be found in some educational approaches and especially in policy perspectives. So one issue in the publication of such a volume will be how it might contribute to broadening of these perspectives. Amongst other things this involves persuading those in education and in policy of the values of such broadening. At first glance I could see this volume, with its elaborate title, being put aside by such practitioners as relevant mainly to specialists rather than to those working to link literacy to education and policy. Quite how we make this link is a key issue. A number of the authors in this volume do attempt to move in this direction, in different countries, notably Prinsloo and Krause in South Africa; Wingate in the United Kingdom and Minjeong Kim in the United States to name but a few. But the question still arises as to how far readers from such countries and others and from the areas of education and policy will pick the book up in the first place. Perhaps this is one of the key forward movements for us all – to share the findings and insights revealed here with a broader audience, not just fellow academics and researchers.

What, then, are the findings expressed in a language that those in education and policy can see? As I see it, this involves recognizing from the research developed here, how those of us working with students, colleagues and others in education and policy, can no longer treat literacy as a narrow set of skills, to be tested by formal models and if we continue to do so then that will contribute to the apparent 'problems' that many encounter in these fields regarding outcomes. This may involve a change of discourse as we translate the issues raised here to everyday practice. That, maybe, is the next big step in the field – but one which I believe all the writers in the

present volume will be happy to take.

And at the same time, we might ask ourselves how has the field moved on and how does this volume recognize such movement, with an eye to continuing development? Certainly if we read back over those 1980 publications and many since, we can identify important developments. For instance, whereas those of us writing in the 1980s were challenging narrow views of literacy within the field, with reference to specific authors and their foci, we can now identify movements by academics, researchers and practitioners that have opened things up considerably. One contribution is that they have brought to bear insights and concepts from a variety of fields, as we can see above – concepts such as 'how written language is saturated with multiple and contesting social, political, economic, cultural, spatial, and temporal contexts and ideologies'; addressing issues such as 'recognition of the complex contexts in which written language is used'; and 'what literacy practices are used for, how literacy practices vary across social settings and institutions'. Whilst these may seem like fairly straightforward issues, as signaled in the introduction to this volume, as the authors demonstrate throughout, in fact it is in answering them that we can begin to address the complex problems involved in linking theory and practice in the field and therefore in moving both forward.

Drawing on my own work in Brazil with my colleague Maria Castanheira, I provide a brief concrete example of how I think we can bring these issues to the fore. For instance, we connected work in literacy in general with specific work in Brazil on academic literacies, one of the sub fields that have emerged more recently (cf also Lea & Street, 1998; Pahl and Rowsell 2005):

> 'We explore the perspectives of two groups of non-traditional students as they reflect on their experiences in navigating educational contexts in a Brazilian public university. The term non-traditional is used to refer to students from social groups whose previous generation had no, or very limited, access to university. We explore what we term the "hidden features" of the contextualized nature of academic writing. We present two cases: students from Angola and from Campo, both groups not traditionally represented in Brazilian universities. We explored the development of writing in academic contexts by examining tensions identified by these students and their tutors/teachers as they engaged with academic literacies'.

Without going into more detail, then, I see this as the kind of approach that the broadening of the field can involve, with its application of the ideas outlined in this book and some of the new concepts and terms involved and I anticipate that this is the sort of thing we will find in other papers and proposals as the field expands.

Another example is an account by the Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, entitled "ISESCO's New Literacy Vision", which attempts to capture these movements:

> 'In his preface to the study, ISESCO Director General, Dr Abdulaziz Othman Altwaijri, stresses that the new Organization's vision requires quality literacy intervention through a sustained collective and comprehensive involvement of all the segments of society, while ensuring a transition from an individual approach with limited impact to a collective one based on a holistic approach to understanding illiteracy'.

So, international organisations are also picking up this broader, social approach, what in this case Othman Altwaijri, calls a 'holistic' one. And we can watch out for other such examples and for the practical outcomes associated with them, as the field moves on. A key issue here, then, is what will be the kind of contribution that *StreetTalk* can make.

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Dave's Reflections

There's a subtle move that Brian makes in the first paragraph in discussing the movement of the

field beyond the theories and ideas of the 1970s and 1980s. The first set of scholars cited are mostly people in anthropology and the social sciences; the second set of scholars are in education. This parallels a move that Brian made in his own career; being in the Anthropology Department at the University of Sussex for 22 years and then shifting to the College of Education at King's College London. And while one can explain this as the opening up of education to anthropological theories and their intense interest in reading and writing education, one can also interpret the nature of the two sets of citations as referencing epistemological issues. It was not an abandonment of social, cultural, and linguistic anthropology as a foundation for building understanding and insight into literacy and culture, but rather the inherently cross-disciplinary context of education as a field combined with an epistemology grounded in practice. Brian had been lecturing and teaching at the Graduate School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania for 8 years prior to his move to Education and his students and collaborators there, as well as some of his students at the University of Sussex were either in Education or engaged in scholarship related to education. We suspect that Brian thought about this move more so as a needed shift in the nature of the conversations that were required about literacy, culture, and language; conversations that included scholars across fields as well as people engaged in the practice of literacy education at all levels from infants to university and in locations near and far from where he lived. One learns something from being engaged in the practice of reading, writing, and literacy education that informs epistemology and theorizing that cannot be learned from discussions of theory and research alone; if nothing else, it is that what people do with written language does not fit neatly into theoretical boxes and that the complexities and contradictions of any social situation overwhelm attempts to singly dimensionalize literacy practices. We see this embrace of complexity informed by both theory and practice in nearly every chapter. It will no longer do to theorize or research literacy from the sidelines.

There are different views on what might be meant by the "broadening of what counts as literacy". There are those in the field who view any activity that involves complex understanding and insight or an accumulated knowledge base to be a "literacy". And there are those for whom literacy as a thing-in-and-of-itself is a non sequitur, as there can only be literacy events and literacy practices: social events and social practices involving the nontrivial use of written language regardless of modality. Brian is associated with the latter view and the "broadening" is an essential recognition that in their daily lives people use written language all the time, often in ways quite dissimilar to the literacy practices of school or of dominant institutions. It is a radical and disruptive idea to do away from characterizing people based on their level of literacy and to treat everyone as bringing valuable experiences in literacy events and literacy practices to educational systems. The idea undermines the hierarchy educational systems often exploit and reproduce.

Jennifer's Reflections

Reading Brian's text as a response to the book and festschrift events calls to mind two consistent strands that played out in our friendship. The first strand is the depth of his knowledge about the lineages of literacy as a social practice over time and across varied spaces. And the second strand is his generosity of spirit and thought as he draws on research across the field – from new to established scholars – and across cultural and religious divides – from Islamic verses to Christian script. Brian was always and everywhere about respectful listening and equality across cultures, religion, and people. What emerged for me as I read his final few pages of writing is his gaze ahead to where literacy is going. In particular, I paused when I read this line (and heard Brian's voice saying it),

> *whereas those of us writing in the 1980s were challenging narrow views of literacy within the field, with reference to specific authors and their foci, we can now identify movements by academics, researchers and practitioners that have opened things up considerably.*

I paused because I longed at that moment to talk to Brian about the ascendance of post-humanism and of the non-human as part of the literacy as social practice assemblage with the human. I am not entirely sure what he would say, but I am confident that he would draw out anthropological artifacts in the work and writings of Evans Pritchard or Bourdieu's detailed descriptions of objects and homes in Algeria or Brian's own fieldwork in Iran. Likely he would reference Gunther Kress and his seminal work on social semiotics and then more recent work by Carey Jewitt and others. If we then moved onto the affect turn, I can only guess that Brian would talk about affective flows within cultures or even emotional connections with literature or embodied and sensory-laden perceptions guided by culture, religion, and belief systems. Returning to the Duke Ellington song "Lost in Meditation", Brian taught me to linger over ideas and meditate on people's writing and not race to answer, conclusion, or evaluation.

I cannot and should not pretend to know or speculate what Brian would say or think, but in hearing his voice in his final written response and in recalling his tremendous impact on me, I can only hope to maintain his abiding curiosity and commitment to the future of literacy and to honor his work.

Maria Lucia Castanheira (Lalu)'s reflection

One way of seeing the inclusion of Brian's unfinished text to this volume is to understand that we are taking on his views of talking and writing (and uses of other social semiotic means), and understanding and intervening in the world as continuums, not as separated entities. His unfinished 'conclusion' came by e-mail with a note saying, "how does this look as a first draft towards my conclusion in the festschrift book?" Sure, as many of his friends and colleagues will recognize, a generous way of opening up or continuing a conversation.

As I read his e-mail message and unfinished conclusion again, I think about his engagement in conversations while meeting colleagues and students through Skype or participating in Seminars, while planning to do things, while involved and working to accomplish what was planned in

meeting with others – that being writing, conferences, teaching, outreach programs or research projects. I think about his full engagement and commitment to projects he hoped would contribute to create new understandings, broaden access to knowledge, and hopefully persuade others to recognize the advantages of adopting literacy as social practice perspective as crucial to understanding issues related to power, identiy and social change. Further, understanding literacy as social practice as a way to begin the work for making institutions more inclusive of those that are marginalized in society or to recognize and value local ways of knowing and living in a world of huge economic and social inequalities.

One way Brian's commitment to this 'life program' took shape was in actions to bring academics, practioners and policy makers into conversations across institutions (e.g., DFID, UNESCO, University). During the Festschrift (November 2016, Brighton and King's College) and in a Memorial event held at the University of East Anglia (March, 2017), there were people that came from these intersecting worlds. Such a happening was recognized by participants as one of Brian's legacy. I believe, we all agree with Brian's words that there is a need to continue to find ways of translating and sharing findings like the ones reported in this book with a broader audience, and to find ways to "translate the issues raised here to everyday practice", as exemplified in Blackburn's, Isham & Leung's, or Prior & Olinger's chapters.

Reading his calls on his text made me think that he had a calm and steady way of moving in engaging and connecting with people to make things like that happen, in bringing this future here and now as much as possible. As I continued to encounter his friends, colleagues, and students that had a chance to meet and work with Brian at different moments of their lives and over the years, I confirm what I had a chance to see and live so many times, that his commitment and ways of connecting with people were genuine, 'natural' and constant as much as his generosity. A generosity in listening, sharing and proposing ideas, in respecting differences while not avoiding challenging one's position, in relating to people on an equal basis without neglecting where he stood. In this way he had contributed immensily to local and situated movements addressing specific situations that had impact in moving projects forward (e.g., at the School of Education, UFMG, he contributed in various ways to developing educational programs and research projects.).

In moving forward now, taking on his reflexive hat, we may continue to ask friends and colleagues, "how does this look as a first draft towards my (our)[continuing conversation]?"

Notes

1 We note that after Brian's death there were other memorial events and festschrift seminars held in other places by colleagues, former students, and friends.

2 We have left the references as Brian had left them, without reformatting them according to APA style manual guidelines. We did correct any errant information we found in the list of references.

About the Contributors

Mollie V. Blackburn is a professor in the Department of Teaching and Learning at the Ohio State University. Her research focuses on literacy, language, and social change, with particular attention to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and questioning (LGBTQ) youth and the teachers who serve them. She is the author of *Interrupting Hate: Homophobia in Schools and what Literacy can do about it*, a coauthor of *Stepping Up!: Teachers Advocating for Sexual and Gender Diversity in Schools*, and a co-editor of *Acting Out!: Combating Homophobia through Teacher Activism.*

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Lynne Isham has just completed her doctorate at King's College London (2018) where she worked under the supervision of Constant Leung and Brian Street. Her research explored how teachers interpreted critical thinking in the context of their disciplines and how they translated their interpretations into pedagogical practices. She presented her work at the AILA conference, 2017. She is a full-time senior leader in a large 11–18 secondary school in London where she has responsibility for curriculum, pedagogy and research.

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Gunther Kress is Professor of Semiotics and Education at the UCL Institute of Education, University of London. His aim is to continue developing a social semiotic theory of meaning-making, in which multimodal communication, learning, and identity are entirely interconnected. Central in that agenda are tools apt for the 'recognition' and 'valuation' of learning. Some books are: *Language as Ideology; Social Semiotics* (both with Bob Hodge); *Before Writing: Rethinking the Paths to Literacy*; *Reading Images: The Grammar of Graphic Design*; *Multimodal Discourse: The Modes and Media of Contemporary Communication*; *Literacy in the New Media Age*; *Multimodality: A Social Semiotic Approach to Contemporary Communication*; *Multimodality, Communication, Learning: A Social Semiotic Frame.*

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Stephanie Power-Carter is an associate professor at Indiana University, Bloomington in the Department of Literacy, Culture, and Language Education. Her research primarily focuses on African American youth literacies and education as well as a broad range of issues covering equity and inclusion in the field of education. She uses Black feminist theory, sociolinguistic ethnography, critical discourse analysis, and research on whiteness to help conceptualize and analyze her scholarship. She sees herself as a scholar-activist and frequently collaborates with students, teachers, administrators, district personnel, and researchers to translate and operationalize her research and also to create curricular innovation and extensions that support culturally conscious teaching and learning.

Mastin Prinsloo is an Emeritus Professor in the School of Education at the University of Cape Town, researching in language and literacy studies, with a recent focus on languaging in schools, children's early engagements with reading and writing on screen, and policy and testing of literacy in early schooling. His coedited books include *Language, Literacy and Diversity: Moving Words* (2015); *Educating for Language and Literacy Diversity: Mobile Selves* (2014), both with Christopher Stroud; and *Literacy Studies* (2013) with Mike Baynham.

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